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Department of History

The Municipal Administration of Glasgow, 1833-1912:
Public Service and the Scottish Civic Identity.

by

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PART FIVE - THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF GLASGOW'S
TOWN CLERKS

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"When figurative dirks are drawn
O'er points that few can understan',
We've aye a legal chiel at han',
 Wi' ready art,
To soothe and souther a' that's thrawn,
 Oor guid Toon Clerk."

¹From a poem by Councillor David Willox, written in tribute to Glasgow's Town Clerk, Adam Whitson Myles, c.1910.

I. The Reddie - Turner Era, 1833-1872

Although a good deal has been previously written in this thesis about the rôle of the Town Clerk as the most important civil officer serving Glasgow Town Council, what follows is an attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of the subject during the period between 1833 and 1912. As the Council's functions and area of jurisdiction altered over time, so too did the office of Town Clerk, and by the 1900s - as will be seen - the traditional responsibilities attached to the post were increasingly called into question. However, Glasgow's Town Clerks, along with the Scottish legal fraternity, had always reacted resolutely against any encroachment of their powers, making relationships with the city's elected representatives tense and often volatile. Personal considerations undoubtedly lay behind much of the friction that periodically surfaced, particularly as the Town Clerks tended to be men of strong character, unwilling to uncritically accept directives from above. Matters were also

not assisted by the fact that the 1833 Burgh Reform Act, which continued to be the basis of municipal law in Scottish royal burghs throughout much of the nineteenth century, laid down no guidance as to the regulation of the Town Clerk's office.² Points at issue were thus open to considerable interpretation; a position which, in a large and rapidly growing city like Glasgow, could seriously retard the municipal administration.

In such circumstances the Town Clerks liked to believe that while the elected personnel of the Town Council was prone to shift and change, their own office was a solid symbol of permanence, and a safeguard against arbitrary behaviour from capricious town councillors and magistrates. This attitude was reinforced by case law precedents established during the early nineteenth century, whereby Town Clerks were guaranteed lifelong security of tenure, unless they committed a gross misdemeanour.³ As various Glasgow councillors were to discover after costly and time-consuming efforts, it was virtually impossible to remove a sitting Town Clerk, except by offering enormous financial inducements. Because of this unassailable position, Town Clerks were often able to stamp their personality on municipal affairs, and wield considerable influence in the community. Moreover, the stipulation that appointments should be for life allowed for direct continuity with the pre-reform period, indicating that the apparent move towards democracy from the 1830s was by no means a sharp break

with the past. Thus, Angus Turner, the formidable Glasgow Town Clerk who first entered Council employment in 1825, continued in office until he was persuaded to retire in 1872. Turner was proud of the municipal heritage attached to his post, and was not prepared to sanction change simply because a particular Town Council demanded it. This was a view endorsed by his even more formidable successor, Sir James Marwick, and was to survive into the early years of the twentieth century.

Yet it would be mistaken to assume that prior to 1912 Glasgow's Town Clerks resembled fossils from a previous age, or that they were enemies of progress. Their skills and training put them among the forefront of the Scottish legal profession, and Sir James Marwick's lengthy list of publications on law and burgh history is alone a fitting testimony to his abilities, notwithstanding his expertise as a Town Clerk and Parliamentary law agent. In their day-to-day business within the municipality, Glasgow's Town Clerks were, on the whole, efficient and incorruptible, despite claims that their entrenched position gave them too much leeway in controlling civic affairs. They received handsome remuneration for their efforts - more than in any other city in the United Kingdom - and it was consequently in their interests, and that of the community, to have a tight reign on legal and administrative services.⁴ This was especially so during a period of rapid urban expansion, when the Town Clerk's volume of work reached

unprecedented levels. As law agents, the Town Clerks acted as a vital channel for the legislative processes which gradually built up the city's municipal enterprises. They advised town councillors as to the practicalities or pitfalls of any particular course of action, and took a leading part in the often intricate negotiations at the Parliamentary level. They prepared briefs for counsel during Select Committee proceedings, and worked in tandem with the London law agents in promoting private Bills. Their sphere of operations was thus not parochial or introverted, and - of necessity - their relationship with representatives of national Government was close.

The Town Clerk's original function had been substantially different from the rôle that came to characterise Glasgow's prime municipal office by the end of the nineteenth century. The first reference in Glasgow's burghal records to the Town Clerk - or Common Clerk as he was usually known - can be traced back to 1444, although the office had been established much earlier, to service the needs of the Burgh Court.⁵ This Court had evolved after the foundation of the burgh during the twelfth century, and it seems probable that the Town Council itself developed as an administrative adjunct to the Court.⁶ The Burgh Court initially covered wide areas of civil and criminal jurisdiction, although its primary function was to ensure the maintenance of the magisterial obligation to preserve the King's

peace and punish offenders. Much of its business dealt with petty crime or the recovery of debts, its most serious cases relating to theft and severe assault.⁷

With the increasing reliance on formal law procedures, the magistrates had to call on professional expertise to advise them in their deliberations, and the permanent position of Town Clerk was thus firmly established. The Clerk was always a notary public and his main responsibilities, in addition to acting as Court assessor, were to keep a record of Court and Council proceedings and maintain the burgh records.⁸ Until the seventeenth century there were no legal textbooks or manuals of procedure available to the guide the Town Clerks, which meant that they had to have considerable skill in accurately interpreting law processes. The duties of the Town Clerk were based on common law precedents rooted in the distant past; statutory functions, in relation to the conduct of municipal elections, rating and finance, were features of the nineteenth century.⁹ Good lawyers had been at a premium in the early period, and there was consequently little dispute between Clerks and Council over the nature of the job, despite the vagueness of the terms of reference. This is not to suggest that there had been no differences of opinion, but these tended to be of a politico-religious character, especially after the social upheavals of the Reformation.¹⁰

It was not until Glasgow became more fully developed as a

commercial centre during the eighteenth century, with the attendant urban problems, that the Council began to carefully scrutinise the Town Clerk's rôle. By 1766 there must have been mounting difficulties over definition, because in that year the Council took the decision to inscribe in the minutes "... what presently occurs to them as the functions of the town clerk, which they wish inserted in the council book for strict observation".¹¹ The list drawn up by the councillors emphasised the traditional and foremost function of the Clerk to act as assessor to the Burgh Court, along with the Dean of Guild Court, founded in 1605. Also stressed was the maintenance of the burgh records, especially the Register of Sasines, recording property transactions. In addition, reference was made to the drafting and prosecution of Parliamentary Bills; a function which within a century was to take up the greatest proportion of the Town Clerk's time, although it was never a legal requirement that he had to act as the Council's law agent.¹²

There were two Town Clerks in 1766, who were jointly entitled to the whole fees and emoluments deriving from the Council's legal work.¹³ Understandably, business was briskly generated in the rapidly growing city, making the Town Clerkship financially attractive to aspirants for the office. Yet ironically, as the volume of Burgh Court cases increased during the second half of the eighteenth century, a significant change was taking place in Scottish law practice. This related to the

important statute of 1747, passed in the wake of the Jacobite Rebellion, abolishing virtually all heritable jurisdictions in Scotland.¹⁴ The immediate rationale behind the legislation was to break the influence of hereditary sheriffs, who had a strong personal power-base in the Highlands, but in the longer term the effects of the Act reached much further. Thus, the jurisdiction removed from the heritable courts was reinvested in the Sheriff Courts, which grew in number and prestige throughout Scotland, and gradually absorbed many of the functions of the older Burgh Courts. Glasgow was initially an exception to the norm, for although a Sheriff Court was established after 1747, its influence over Burgh Court affairs remained negligible for many years.¹⁵ However, in the opinion of reformers, the prime advantage of the Sheriff Court was in its professionalism and accountability to the law. The judges were not lay magistrates, as in the Burgh Courts, but sheriffs depute, who required to be advocates of at least three years standing.¹⁶ The Sheriff Court was consequently perceived as a more desirable alternative to its burgh counterpart, because judgments could be passed by competent and carefully-selected men with the requisite judicial responsibility and legal training. Over time, therefore, the status of Glasgow's Burgh Court gave way to the Sheriff Court, especially from 1822, when a resident sheriff was appointed for the city.¹⁷

The decline of the Burgh Court had wide-ranging implications

for the office of Town Clerk during the nineteenth century. The criterion for selecting suitable Clerks had been previously based on their expertise in Court procedure, and it was certainly his skill as an advocate which prompted James Reddie to be appointed principal Town Clerk in 1804. Reddie was virtually judge to the Burgh Court, and was at one stage reputed to have heard some six thousand cases in a year.¹⁸ Glasgow certainly had the busiest civil court in Scotland under Reddie's assessorship, and criminal cases reached record figures of over a thousand in 1820, the year of the "Radical War".¹⁹ After this time, the Town Clerk's case-load diminished drastically, as the sheriffs depute took on more areas of Burgh Court jurisdiction, and a network of Police Courts was established after the municipal extension of 1846. The Town Clerk's links with the Police Courts became increasingly tenuous, and under the Glasgow Police Act of 1862, provision was made for a clear separation of the Town Clerk's duties from those of the Police Clerk.²⁰ It was not until 1904 that the two offices were eventually merged in Glasgow, and this was for administrative reasons, as the criminal jurisdiction of the magistrates had all but disappeared.

James Reddie remained principal Town Clerk until his death in 1852, and acted as something of a rôle model for his contemporaries and successors. His influence lingered long after 1852, because Angus Turner was one of Reddie's protégés,

having served as a young lawyer directly under him. Reddie's philosophy was shaped by his early background, which was rooted in the cultural and intellectual environment of post-Enlightenment Edinburgh. Although a Fifeshire man, Reddie was educated at Edinburgh High School and the University, where Henry Brougham was a class-mate and close friend.²¹ Reddie had a brilliant academic career, and was destined for stardom at the Scottish bar, but at the age of twenty-eight he accepted the lucrative appointment of Town Clerk in Glasgow. He immediately set about reorganising administrative arrangements within the Burgh Court, to tighten procedure and ease the flow of work.²² Reddie's reputation was such that he became widely known as "The Lord Chancellor of Scotland", although partisans of municipal reform saw him as a more sinister and manipulative figure.²³ As has been related elsewhere, Reddie was a prime target for the reformed Town Council after 1833, where certain elected representatives were anxious to replace him with a man of more congenial views.²⁴ It was fortunate for Reddie that at this stage a protracted court case relating to another burgh reached the House of Lords, and affirmed the ruling that Town Clerks could not be summarily removed from office.²⁵ Although the ruling was not intended to be a final decision, it was sufficient for Glasgow Town Council to abruptly draw back from its pursuit of Reddie. It was also perhaps not coincidental that the Lords' decision was delivered in Parliament by Henry

Brougham, a former Lord Chancellor and Reddie's erstwhile school friend.

Unlike other Scottish burghs - and their English counterparts - it was a requirement in Glasgow that the Town Clerks should devote their entire time to the service of the municipality, and not continue in private practice. Consequently, the financial returns had to be worthwhile to persuade lawyers to enter the Town Clerk's office, especially as eminent men like Reddie were sought for the principal post. Although in later years the Council preferred the Town Clerkship to be a single appointment, there was no legal obligation that this had to be the rule. Thus Reddie, as principal Town Clerk, was able to draw the largest proportion of fees and emoluments, but from 1820 had jointly shared the office with Robert Thomson, until the latter's death in 1835. From 1835 to 1842 there were three Town Clerks, after which time four men shared the post, with Reddie remaining in the prime position. The breakdown of the Town Clerks' fee distribution reveals Reddie's continuing importance during the 1840s, despite the diminished volume of business from the Burgh Court. He was entitled to claim seven-sixteenths of the total revenue, with his three junior colleagues - William Davie, Arthur Forbes and Angus Turner - receiving three-sixteenths each.²⁶ Yet Reddie's advancing years delegated much of the onerous work of the Town Clerk's office to the younger men, even though he still paid close

attention to overall administration. His forte, after all, had been as assessor in the Burgh Court, and not in the increasingly important areas of conveyancing or law agency work. Indeed, in the years immediately prior to his death, Reddie's main claim to fame was the publication of a series of weighty volumes on the subject of international maritime law.²⁷

The allocation of fees and emoluments was probably one reason why there were so many Town Clerks up to 1852, rather than the later practice of a single appointment, with designated deutes. The Town Clerks' financial arrangements had long been something of a mystery to Glasgow's councillors and citizens, and it seemed that Reddie and his colleagues were intent on perpetuating the enigma. So reluctant were the Town Clerks to reveal their income that it was only after much pressure from the Council in 1872 that an audited statement of revenue was eventually produced.²⁸ Prior to this time, the Council had estimated a total of about £3,000 a year under the Reddie régime, but there was a widespread belief in the city that this amount erred too drastically on the side of caution.²⁹ As long as the incumbents of the office declared their share of the revenue in percentages rather than actual figures, this belief could be neither disproved or substantiated. On the matter of designated deutes, it was deemed by the Town Clerks to be easier if each could control his individual affairs, rather than establish an integrated departmental structure. Deutes would

necessarily be under the direct employment of the principal Town Clerk, thus removing a good deal of the flexibility and security of tenure traditionally attached to the post.³⁰ The Town Clerks had always jealously guarded their position of independence as public officers, serving the law, which Reddie had so successfully protected in Glasgow from the 1830s.³¹

It would seem that the dominating presence of Reddie latterly put many councillors in awe of him, and there was little attempt to interfere with the Town Clerk's office until after his death in 1852. Immediately, however, attitudes radically altered, and - as if it had been waiting all along for Reddie's demise - the Town Council embarked on a reappraisal of its relationship with the Town Clerks. This process, which was to last for twenty years, eventually reached the stage of a bitter war of attrition, although the initial negotiations seemed to commence reasonably enough on both sides. In the first place, the Council and the remaining Town Clerks - Davie, Forbes and Turner - were agreed that there should be no replacement for Reddie. The Council recognised that the flow of Burgh Court work had all but ceased, and that the three junior Town Clerks had already conducted most of the Council's legal business before Reddie's death. On their part, the Town Clerks were attracted by the idea of rearranging the fee structure on a more equitable basis, dividing Reddie's former lion's share into a third apiece. There was to be no recognised principal Town

Clerk, although some councillors argued that it was desirable that the municipality should have some sort of legal figurehead, to "... fill the public eye, and attach to the office that degree of dignity and confidence which should belong to it".³² Memories of Reddie's near fifty year reign were probably too fresh for this to be acceptable to the majority, and an important advantage of an equally-shared Town Clerkship was that power could not be held by one man alone. This was especially so as Angus Turner was showing signs of being firmly fixed in the Reddie mould, and needed the restraining influence of his two colleagues, who had an altogether less abrasive reputation.³³

The seemingly settled state of affairs reached over the Town Clerkship did not, however, reflect Council satisfaction that the matter had been resolved in the long-term interests of the city. There was still an uneasy feeling among councillors that the Town Clerks had too much freedom of action, especially over their financial arrangements. After 1852 an effort had been made to reach a partial compromise in respect of the monies paid directly by the Council to the Town Clerks, whereby a fixed amount of £360 each was to be made annually available, in lieu of fees.³⁴ This represented a segment of the Town Clerks' total remuneration, which largely derived from property transactions under the Burgh Register of Sasines, but it was at least a concrete figure, and not open to interpretation.³⁵ At

the same time, the Council was investigating the possibility of establishing a Fee Fund, to allow fees to be paid into one central account, out of which the Town Clerks would be paid a salary. A Fund already existed in Edinburgh, where in 1851 the Council had taken advantage of the death of one Town Clerk and the resignation of another to effect such a scheme.³⁶ It had clear advantages over the old system, for not only did the Fund make the Town Clerks more directly accountable, but also saved the Council money. At a time when the legal business of the municipality was expanding substantially, due to the volume of Parliamentary work in connection with large-scale projects like the Loch Katrine water supply, it made economic sense to place a limit on the income which the Town Clerks were allowed to accrue. The amount of public money being paid out on the fledgling municipal enterprises could be electorally damaging enough, without public servants being seen to make a financial killing in the process.

Understandably, Glasgow's Town Clerks did not react positively to the notion of a Fee Fund, which they perceived as a back-door means of curtailing their independence, as well as their income.³⁷ However, they recognised that their reputation was being damaged by allegations of financial furtiveness, and were prepared to go along with a degree of openness, as in 1852. Yet, over time, attitudes began to harden, as a result of several unanticipated events which

undermined the careful negotiations following Reddie's death. In 1855 Arthur Forbes died, and William Davie followed him to the grave in 1857. Although Davie was nearly seventy, Forbes was only in his early fifties, and had been expected to survive for many years. Both men, as has been noted, were more conciliatory in their attitude to the Town Council than the brusque personality of Angus Turner, although the latter had always shown a united front with his colleagues on the question of the fee structure. What altered matters for the worse after the deaths of Davie and Forbes was the appointment of Alexander Monro, taken on in 1858 as junior rather than joint Town Clerk. Monro was ambitious and single-minded, and it was not long before he clashed with Turner. As ever, the differences centred on the vexed question of money, but an increasingly political dimension was beginning to show through.

Politics had, of course, played a prominent part in the appointment of Town Clerks prior to 1858. Indeed, the office had been regarded as an integral component of the pre-reform structure, and after 1833 Reddie's most vocal defenders had been Conservative councillors. When Arthur Forbes entered the Council's service in 1842, the municipality had been under Conservative control, and the Liberal opposition voted against the new appointment.³⁸ Although it was considered highly inappropriate for the Town Clerks to express their political preferences, little guesswork was necessary as to where their

allegiances lay, and their tacit anti-Liberal sentiments caused considerable friction until 1843, when the Conservatives lost their municipal power-base. After this time a truce seems to have been called, and - with Reddie virtually retired - the pressure was eased between the predominantly Liberal Town Council and the Conservative Town Clerks. In any case, up to the 1860s overt political partisanship was generally muted on the Council, and a working relationship was thus easier to establish. However, the delicately-balanced equilibrium was forced to shift when the personnel within the Town Clerk's office altered, and the Liberal and Conservative ideologies were gradually redefined to meet the demands of the revitalised reform movement.

The appointment of Alexander Monro was a forceful indicator of changing times. He was aged only thirty-four in 1858, and belonged to a different generation from the previous Town Clerks, with no direct experience of the bitter reform struggles of the 1830s. Like all Town Clerks, Monro was circumspect about his politics, and cannot be conclusively identified as a Liberal; nevertheless, his attitude certainly differed from that of his predecessors, and Monro had a particularly close relationship with Gladstonian councillors, notably Sir James Watson. In choosing Monro for the job, Glasgow's councillors were reflecting what they saw as the future development of municipal services, already taking shape with the acquisition of

the water supply, public parks, and the McLellan Galleries. The judicial skills attached to Reddie's era were identified as belonging to the past; the Town Clerk now required to be an efficient administrator and Parliamentary law agent, serving a rapidly expanding urban community. In this context, the old unstructured framework of the Town Clerk's office was deemed to be anachronistic, with the irremovable Angus Turner as its physical embodiment. There had been discontented murmurings against Turner's continuing presence before Monro's appointment, but after 1858 the sharp contrast in style between the older and younger man brought these grievances glaringly into the open.³⁹

The basis of Monro's appointment had conformed to a new arrangement by the Town Council, which was anxious to introduce a Fee Fund system as a preliminary to a wholesale reorganisation of the Town Clerk's office. It was therefore agreed in principle that Turner should draw a fixed salary of £1,200 per annum and Monro £700.⁴⁰ So far this seemed to be progress, but a major stumbling block remained as to the actual mechanism for implementing the Fee Fund. The Town Clerks hesitated about making a final commitment, distrustful of the Council and of one another. In October 1858 Monro boldly took the initiative, and repudiated the terms of his original appointment. He refused to limit his claims on the fees to £700, and to Turner's horror, began retaining substantial monies without asking for the

authority of the principal Town Clerk.⁴¹ Tensions were further exacerbated when an embarrassed Town Council sought legal counsel, and was given the unequivocal reply that:⁴²

We are of opinion that Mr. Monro has been validly appointed to the office of Town Clerk and that he may maintain his appointment while he repudiates any of the conditions ... which shall appear to be illegal and ultra vires ...

For the meantime, councillors were thwarted from making further efforts to regulate the financial arrangements of the Town Clerk's office. By the early 1860s no one seemed to know how much money was being channelled to the Town Clerks, and who was earning what in proportion to the total income. A rich public scandal was brewing, made all the more piquant by a tenacious determination on the part of councillors to win out over the legal profession, and the brooding resentment of Angus Turner, who had been upstaged by his junior colleague.

There was to be no short-term solution to the crisis, which was eventually resolved only after Turner's retiral in 1872; until then the law as it stood was firmly on the side of the status quo. In 1860 the Town Council sought to promote a Bill in Parliament to change the law, but was brusquely advised that private legislation was not the appropriate means of doing this.⁴³ Turner increasingly vented his feelings against the Council, convinced that he was being deliberately squeezed out of office. He passed bitter comments on the competence of

councillors to deal with matters relating to the Town Clerks, claiming in an aggrieved letter to the Glasgow Herald that:⁴⁴

The truth is, many men coming into the Town Council frequently from a commercial desk have no notion of the important duties attached to the office of Town Clerk. They seem to think ... that the Town Clerk was bound to act with the same disregard of what he conceived to be his proper official duties - as "my clerk is bound to obey my orders" ...

In Turner's view, there was no longer room for compromise; his standing as Monro's senior had been seriously undermined, and he was no longer prepared to give an inch.

Meanwhile, Glasgow's junior Town Clerk - after a dramatic entrance to Council service - had patched up some of his differences with the elected representatives, and was increasingly their preferred choice for conducting Parliamentary business. Indeed, the successful assertion of his rights in 1858 had probably done his image some good, by showing that he was no weakling in comparison with Turner. Reference has already been made to Monro's close relationship with Sir James Watson, Lord Provost between 1871 and 1874, which crystallised when the City Improvement Trust was created in 1866. Monro had been given sole power to act as secretary and law agent to the Trust, dealing with the day-to-day business, including conveyancing.⁴⁵ For this he received £700 per annum, over and above his existing fees as Town Clerk, and out of which he was expected to staff the office. It was with reference to this

arrangement that James Salmon had voiced concern about the "small bureau of officials" controlling Trust affairs, when he threw his weight behind the successful campaign against Lord Provost Blackie in 1866.⁴⁶ Apart from some minor conveyancing work, Turner had been excluded from Trust business; a snub which deeply rankled, and which he explained in 1871 as attributable to "... some mysterious connection which I have on more than one occasion observed between the present Lord Provost [Watson] ... and Mr. Alexander Monro".⁴⁷ The remark caused a furore in the Council, and Turner was forced to retract it, although his animosity against Watson and Monro continued to run deep.⁴⁸

It was by now obvious that the unresolved matter of the Town Clerkship needed urgent attention. From 1866 radical Liberals were using the scandal as a platform for attacking Council policies as a whole, perceiving it as the symptom of a deep-rooted malaise within the municipality, which was not conducive to democratic government. The apparently uncontrolled cash-flow towards the Town Clerks was a particularly fruitful area for radical propaganda, especially as the expenses arising from Parliamentary business accelerated sharply during the 1860s.⁴⁹ This, after all, was the era which inaugurated the City Improvement Trust, Glasgow's tramways, and the municipalisation of the city's gas supply. As a result of the work being generated for the Town Clerks via these enterprises, George Jackson - standing for municipal office as a "Working

Man's" candidate - claimed in 1869 that one of them was pocketing "... £7,000 to £10,000 a year at least".⁵⁰ Turner assumed that the recipient of these allegedly ill-gotten gains must be himself, and wrote another indignant letter to the Glasgow Herald, claiming that the total annual emoluments of the office were only in the region of £1,750.⁵¹ As there was no financial statement that could even approximate the accuracy of Turner's contention, his protests were treated with a good deal of scepticism. Whatever he argued, Turner could not shake off the mounting public criticism against him, which Watson and his influential allies were doing little to dispel.

Two events contributed to the settlement of the crisis, and the long-term regulation of the Town Clerk's office. In October 1871 Alexander Monro died unexpectedly, and the following month James Watson became Lord Provost. Monro's death forced a reassessment of the Council's legal arrangements, but Watson had no intention of allowing any controlling influence to Angus Turner, who continued to display disconcertingly healthy vigour for a man of over seventy. As has been related in the chapter dealing with the city's boundary expansion, the new Lord Provost took immediate steps to promote a Parliamentary Bill to introduce the Fee Fund and clearly define the rôle of the Town Clerk; a course of action which was suddenly made much easier in the more open political climate of the 1870s, especially as Watson's great friend Gladstone was in power.⁵² Not

surprisingly, Turner dug in his heels, and refused to be party to any changes which would fundamentally affect his interests. It was not that he was anxious to remain in office, especially under Watson, but he was using every possible device to place himself in the best possible bargaining position over a retirement settlement. In true Reddie style, Turner was also safeguarding the traditions attached to the Town Clerkship by ensuring that the Council would not have a totally free hand in promoting the Bill.

The ensuing struggle between Watson and Turner was portrayed to the public as something of a farce, although both sides were deadly serious in their intentions. It was certainly one of the major issues in the city's newspapers throughout 1872, and The Bailie - Glasgow's long-running satirical weekly - was born in the midst of the crisis.⁵³ Irritated by Turner's refusal to come to terms, Watson and his supporters used the Glasgow Herald to put pressure on the recalcitrant Town Clerk by providing a breakdown of his income over the past three years. This information had been supplied to the Council by Turner himself, to back up claims that he would only accept a retirement allowance reflecting his existing life-style. The Herald obliged Watson with a sensational editorial in December 1871, which calculated Turner's income to be a staggering £8,300 a year.⁵⁴ When audited accounts were released the following year, this figure was shown to be generally accurate, although

it should be borne in mind that it did not make allowances for the Town Clerk's substantial overheads, such as the payment of legal assistants.⁵⁵ However, Jackson's earlier allegations were apparently vindicated, and at a time when a skilled workman was very lucky to earn 30s a week - or about £80 annually - the revelations made a profound impact.⁵⁶ The Herald expressed righteous indignation over Turner's position, suggesting that he:⁵⁷

... probably had a larger income than any Judge in Great Britain, or than any member of the Cabinet, with the exception of the Lord Chancellor. According to Mr Turner's own showing, he could not have drawn a richer prize in the lottery of life had he remained at the Bar and, either by transcendent talents or by influence in higher quarters, received the uppermost seat of the Court of Session.

Turner defended himself in spirited fashion. He said it was not his fault that the volume of Parliamentary business had increased; indeed, he was "sick" of the work, but duty called, and outside law agents would undoubtedly charge the Council more.⁵⁸ He shifted the blame for the tangled state of the Town Clerk's office on Watson and Monro, alleging that until their interference, the whole operation had been "... a model of propriety and successful management".⁵⁹ Accusation was followed by counter-accusation, and the newspaper correspondence columns were filled with lively and sometimes abusive exchanges between Turner and his detractors. It would be unfair to say that Turner was enjoying himself, but there must have been some

sense of release that he was at last able to settle old scores. If he had to go, he preferred that it would be with a bang, and there was still plenty of opportunity for metaphorical fireworks. As the Town Council feverishly pushed its Bill through Parliament, Turner made ostentatious protests in an attempt to thwart its progress. He was helped by James Martin, the outspoken East End councillor, who had a deep mistrust of Watson's manipulative influence.⁶⁰ Conversely, most councillors supported Watson, if only to see the back of Turner, and restore a semblance of order to Council affairs. Turner fully appreciated the effects of this nuisance value, because as long as he stood firm, the Council would be forced to give him all the more money for a pension.

In June 1872 the Glasgow Municipal Act received the Royal Assent, but was rendered partially inoperable because agreement had still not been reached with Turner. The patience of Lord Provost Watson had by now worn thin, and he resolved to confront his adversary at a full Council meeting, to call him to account. Accordingly, a motion was placed on the agenda for the 25th July, to the effect that as from a given date Turner's services would be no longer required.⁶¹ The meeting seemed likely to be one of the most sensational for years, and lived up to this promise. Watson moved the motion, stating that it was "... one of the most painful duties I have had to discharge since I became connected with the Town Council".⁶² He dwelt

at length on Turner's alleged shortcomings; his advancing years, his professional incompetence, his recent obstructive behaviour.⁶³ Watson had taken legal counsel from the Lord Advocate, George Young, who advised that there were grounds for formally challenging Turner's security of tenure.⁶⁴ In view of Young's positive recommendations, the Lord Provost was quite prepared to go to the highest court in the land if it would determine, conclusively, Turner's standing as Town Clerk.

The Town Council overwhelmingly endorsed this strategy, and supported Turner's removal by twenty-nine votes to eleven.⁶⁵ During a heated debate Turner vigorously defended himself, but was strangely muted about the Lord Advocate's advice. Perhaps he realised that his bluff had been called, bearing in mind that in 1837 the House of Lords had given an imprecise ruling as to the tenure of Scottish Town Clerks. He must also have been shocked that the legal profession was no longer prepared to protect its own. At all events, Turner suddenly agreed to come to terms, not least to safeguard his retirement allowance. This did not mean that the remaining negotiations were smooth, and independent arbiters had to be called in to reach a settlement. Turner's pension was finally fixed at two thousand guineas a year, plus £400 payable from the Clyde Trustees. He resigned as Town Clerk with effect from 31st December 1872; allowed, in the end, to go gracefully, rather than be forced out of office.⁶⁶ Shortly before his departure from Glasgow, a revealing

assessment of Town Clerk's personality was made in The Bailie's
'Men You Know' column. It stated:⁶⁷

Perhaps [Turner's] worst fault was the feeling of contemptuous disdain he entertained towards the Town Council They presented themselves to his mind as a pack of illiterate shopkeepers, socially his inferiors, and incapable of deciding intelligently on questions which came before them, and he allowed this scorn to be seen. Naturally, the feeling, and especially its display, was resented by the chosen vessels who are not in the habit of undervaluing either themselves or their wisdom ...

Turner subsequently retired to his estate near Pitlochry, Perthshire, and died in 1876 as the result of a drowning accident.

II. James D. Marwick and Glasgow's Administrative Restructuring, 1872-1903

Angus Turner's resignation as Town Clerk in 1872 severed an enduring link with the style of administration which had long prevailed at the municipal level in Glasgow, although in the wake of his departure there was no possibility of an overnight readjustment to the old bureaucracy. Since 1833, councillors had repeatedly burnt their fingers in attempts to impose new men and methods in the Town Clerk's office, and after forty years the lesson had been driven home that meaningful change could only be initiated in a spirit of co-operation rather than conflict, with the full confidence of the legal profession's wary watchdogs. Indeed, the desire to restore harmonious relations in the conduct of civic affairs had latterly become something of an end in itself, far outweighing the mounting pressures for structural reform within the municipality. By focusing attention on Turner as the prime obstacle to improving the Council's internal organisation, it came to be believed that it was personalities rather than the system which had previously been at fault. This does not mean to suggest that by the 1870s councillors had forgotten about the need for better administration to cope with the unprecedented expansion in public services; however, in the context of the debilitating crisis over the Town Clerkship, the immediate priority after Turner's departure was simply to set the municipal machinery

back into motion.

Understandably, Turner's letter of resignation had been accepted with alacrity by the Town Council in October 1872, and plans were immediately drawn up for finding his successor. The guidelines were partially determined by the new Glasgow Municipal Act, which defined the financial and administrative organisation of the Town Clerk's office, and allowed for the creation of a Fee Fund.⁶⁸ Written into the Act was the stipulation that £2,000 a year was to be the minimum salary for the post, plus £500 as an annual payment for law agency work. Nothing was stated about the traditional responsibilities of the Town Clerks, or the tenure of the office, which was still governed by the old precedents, and thus open to interpretation. It was clear that the 1872 Act had been a compromise, to help Glasgow Town Council out of a tight corner, and restore some credibility to its municipal affairs. While the organisation of the office was therefore drastically altered, laying the foundations for a more accountable departmental structure, the functions remained largely unchanged. Above all, the Town Clerks' independence - so cherished by the legal profession - was not called into question.

The Town Council had initially thought about appointing two Town Clerks, on a joint basis, but for financial reasons decided to make a single appointment.⁶⁹ In December 1872

advertisements were duly issued, and by the end of the month ten applications had been received, which were carefully scrutinised.⁷⁰ It was immediately obvious that the calibre of the candidates did not meet the Council's high expectations; accordingly, the applications were set aside, while contingency measures were considered. It would have been illegal, even temporarily, for there to be no Town Clerk, and so Andrew Cunninghame - Clerk to the Burgh Sasines Office - was appointed for three months, on a pro-rata salary of £2,000.⁷¹ The Council was intent on looking outside for its Town Clerk, and Cunninghame clearly understood this, making no efforts to seek the position permanently. Meanwhile, Lord Provost Watson was consulting his colleagues as to what should be done to attract the type of man he so desperately required to conduct the Council's legal business. Watson's criteria for the post blended efficiency, enthusiasm, and personal congeniality; a difficult enough mixture bearing in mind the limited number of top-class lawyers in Scotland with public service experience.

One of Watson's closest Council associates at the time was William Walls, a successful oil-refiner and fellow Liberal. Walls understood the intricacies of the Town Clerkship better than most, because he had served a legal apprenticeship to the Town Clerk of Kirkwall, Orkney, which was also his native town.⁷² After moving to Edinburgh, Walls subsequently gave up the law for the more lucrative sphere of commerce, but he still

retained a wide network of legal connections. Among these was James D. Marwick, Town Clerk of Edinburgh, who was Leith-born, but came from a prominent Kirkwall family. Walls had known Marwick since boyhood, and their families belonged to the same Secession (later United Presbyterian) Church in Kirkwall.⁷³ They shared similar politics, and Marwick had been a Liberal town councillor in Edinburgh between 1856 and 1859.⁷⁴ His dual legal and municipal background had made him the natural choice for the Edinburgh Town Clerkship when it became vacant in 1860, and since then his reputation had risen steadily. Walls had early identified him as the man most likely to conform to Watson's criteria for a successful Town Clerk; moreover, because he knew Watson and Marwick intimately, Walls was in a pivotal position to promote Marwick's candidacy for the post.

It remains unclear precisely what influence Walls was able to exercise on Watson to approach Marwick, and whether Walls had previously communicated with Marwick on the subject. According to the latter's memoirs in 1905, the offer came out of the blue, but as Marwick fails to give credit to Walls' undoubted efforts on his behalf, this assertion cannot be wholly relied upon.⁷⁵ At all events, Watson made the offer and, after some deliberation, Marwick accepted. It would have been surprising had he refused; Marwick's annual salary as Town Clerk of Edinburgh was £900, and so the Glasgow appointment was an enormous leap in status and prestige.⁷⁶ He claimed at the

time to be reluctant to leave Edinburgh, and for social and family reasons he probably was, but The Bailie took an altogether more realistic attitude towards Watson's offer of £2,500 a year. It said, in a rather unsubtle joke at Edinburgh's expense:⁷⁷

... we can fancy the yell of delight with which the man must have heard that Glasgow and £2,500 a year awaited his pleasure; that he had only to gape to catch the plum; that he was free from the chains and slavery of the petty provincialism of the Edinburgh board of shopkeepers; that his £900 a year was all but multiplied by three ... If he did not do all that in him lay to dance a hornpipe ... he must be more than mortal.

Yet once in his new post Marwick fully intended to give the impression that he was more than mortal, despite any personal misgivings. Following Angus Turner must have been a daunting task, and Marwick took immediate steps to assert his authority when he took office in April 1873. Soon afterwards, he submitted an elaborate report to the Town Council, containing detailed recommendations as to the appointment of designated deputies and the reorganisation of the department. This was exactly the kind of arrangement that councillors wanted, and an administrative basis was established that survived until the 1900s.⁷⁸ After the report had been approved, Marwick was able to delegate much more of the Town Clerk's work than his predecessors, taking on a management function and setting up a departmental structure with a clearly-defined chain of command.

For the purposes of determining the appropriate allowances payable under the Fee Fund, two precise areas of legal responsibility were recognised within the Town Clerk's office.⁷⁹ The first related to traditional and statutory functions, most notably the recording of deeds under the Burgh Register of Sasines. The second area covered non-statutory services to the Town Council, including law agency business and the administration of the assorted municipal Trusts. Because of the legal intricacies involved over property transactions, City Improvements was identified as the major Trust in terms of generating work, followed by Water, Gas, Parks and Galleries, and Markets.⁸⁰ The administration of the Tramways Committee was also included in this area, although - in light of later developments - it must be stressed that the schedule of allowances for all Trust business related to secretarial services only.

Marwick's deputies were each given a specific area of responsibility, with the Secretaryships of the important Trusts evenly distributed. However, as far as City Improvements was concerned, it was made clear to Marwick prior to his appointment that he would be required to take personal charge of the Trust's administration.⁸¹ Lord Provost Watson was determined to protect his pet project from any taint of scandal, and wanted Marwick to act as the champion of municipal interests should future difficulties arise. Apart from this proviso, Marwick was

given considerable freedom of action in 1873, with authority to staff and structure his department much as he pleased. He was particularly anxious to regulate the basis of new appointments, preferring that his clerks should - like himself - devote their energies solely to the municipal service.⁸² Accordingly, previous practice was discontinued, whereby junior staff were often employed on an agency basis from outside law firms. At the more senior level, Marwick's immediate deputy - Andrew Cunninghame - was appointed on an annual salary of £500. In his day-to-day business Cunninghame was still responsible for the Burgh Sasines Office, while a newcomer, Robert Renwick, dealt with all the Council's conveyancing.⁸³ Renwick had accompanied Marwick to Glasgow from the Edinburgh Town Clerk's office, and both men were to retain a life-long friendship, sharing a similar passion for Scottish burghal history and antiquarian studies.⁸⁴ Two other youthful high-fliers in the department were John Bowers and James G. Monro, the nephew of Alexander Monro.⁸⁵ Dealing principally with Trust business, Bowers and Monro had been noted prize-winners in their student days, the former at Glasgow University and the latter at Edinburgh.

Over the years, Marwick was able to command a good deal of loyalty from his staff, and within the reorganised Town Clerk's office there was to be no repetition of the smouldering hostility which had characterised the relationship between

Turner and Monro after 1858. Not that Marwick was an easy person to work with; throughout his career he was noted as being "independent and somewhat masterful in bearing", although this was generally considered to be a desirable trait for a successful Town Clerk, so long as it did not reach Turneresque proportions.⁸⁶ Yet although he was highly regarded among his immediate circle of colleagues, Marwick's powerful position in Glasgow did not meet with universal approval, and he soon began to make enemies. This was perhaps understandable, given his determination to demonstrate his professional mettle, and the widespread - if inaccurate - assumption that he was a cat's paw of the influential Watson clique. Marwick was initially caught in the awkward dilemma of how best to handle the Council leadership, and in view of the murmurings about his close relationship with Lord Provost Watson he consciously cultivated the strong and single-minded approach. While this did much to mute the accusations that he acted as the creature of certain city fathers, it created problems in other respects, with the result that Marwick faced a fiery baptism during his early years as Town Clerk.

Indeed, Andrew Jackson has recently described the circumstances of Marwick's first real confrontation, over the seemingly minor issue of the clerk and assessorship to the Dean of Guild Court.⁸⁷ Although dating from 1605, the Court had come to be used as an important vehicle for enforcing building

regulations; a power which had been originally granted under the Police Act of 1843, and which had steadily developed thereafter.⁸⁸ The point at issue in 1873 was the hazy question of whether the Town Council or the Merchants' House had the legal authority to appoint the clerk and assessor to the Court; Marwick argued the former premise, against the claims of the Dean of Guild and his colleagues. After an acrimonious exchange of views, both sides doggedly refused to come to terms over what was regarded as an important issue of principle, and in 1876 the case was eventually heard in the Court of Session.⁸⁹ Despite presenting a mass of weighty evidence, Marwick and the Town Council were ruled to have made an error about their unilateral assumption of rights; a decision which was not readily accepted by the unsuccessful litigants, least of all the Town Clerk. As a result, an uneasy friction developed between Marwick and the Merchants' House leadership, which considered his attitude over the clerk and assessorship to have been over-zealous. In due course the breach was healed, but not before Marwick had managed to alienate important figures in Glasgow's establishment circles.⁹⁰ The lesson was soon to be brought home even more graphically, in a further notorious episode of municipal history.

This next affair was to be a protracted one, with many complex nuances, although as far as Marwick was concerned the seeds were sown when he agreed to his conditions of appointment

in 1873. As has been seen, he gave specific assurances as to the Secretaryship of the City Improvement Trust. He also accepted the implementation of the Fee Fund, which seemed to provide clear guidelines as to the distribution of fees and emoluments accruing to the Town Clerk's office. After a few years, the Fee Fund came to be such a success that when Angus Turner's pension was cancelled after his death in 1876, the Town Council (with "Jeems" Martin dissenting) saw its way to boosting Marwick's annual salary by £1,000.⁹¹ Yet because the Fund was now in surplus, it was a requirement under the terms of the Glasgow Municipal Act that the accounts should be passed to the auditor of the Court of Session, who had powers to determine any readjustments to the schedule of allowances. Immediately, Marwick raised a problem of definition; what, he argued, were the duties of the Town Clerk under law? He believed that they were strictly the traditional and statutory functions, and made no provision for the far more lucrative non-statutory services.⁹² In legal terms, therefore, the Fee Fund accounts were not in surplus, and need not be presented to the auditor. His views were eventually supported by an outside lawyer, Dr. Anderson Kirkwood, who under instructions from the Town Council's Finance Committee made a thorough investigation of the matter.⁹³

By differentiating between the statutory and non-statutory aspects of the Town Clerkship - that is, those obligations which

the Town Clerk was personally required to fulfil under law, and those which any lawyer could provide on an agency basis - Marwick declared that he was attempting to safeguard professional standards.⁹⁴ Thus, if the Court of Session auditor ruled that the Town Clerk's scale of fees should be reduced, it followed that local government lawyers could be compelled to charge less than the market rate for their services. However, the Town Council was not to be convinced of this logic, nor was James Nicol, the City Accountant, who was anxious that the completed Fee Fund accounts should be speedily sent to the auditor. Nicol detected that there was more to Marwick's grievance than a desire to protect the legal fraternity, and that he was actually safeguarding his own interests. Not that Nicol accused the Town Clerk of dishonesty, but he let it be known that he was unhappy about Marwick's interpretation of the rules governing the Fee Fund, whereby he was able to retain monies which were charged for services over and above these specified in the Fund's schedule.⁹⁵ Nicol believed that there was too fine a line distinguishing what actually constituted fees coming under the Fund's remit, and that Marwick was using this dubiety to advantage. The Town Clerk's legal dealings with the Tramway's Company was cited as a particular example by Nicol, who firmly believed that any remuneration from this source ought to be wholly credited to the Fund. Nicol's determination that the accounts should be passed

to the auditor was therefore fuelled by his desire that any such anomalies should be conclusively settled.

The revelation that Marwick was pocketing more than £3,500 per annum conjured up unsettling visions of Angus Turner and his hoarded gold, and councillors took immediate action to support the City Accountant once the full facts of the affair were known. As a point of principle, it was agreed in February 1880 that in future no additional monies could be retained by the Town Clerk, and that Marwick should pay back to the Council almost £4,000 accumulated as fees since...1873.⁹⁶ This was a device to keep the books straight; the Council, for their part, were quite prepared to pay an honorarium of £3,000 to Marwick "in respect of his past services", and make allowance for extra expenses owed to the Town Clerk as "the balance of his outlays".⁹⁷ Yet although Marwick did not lose out financially, this humiliating transaction was an enormous blow to his pride. He was perfectly aware, however, that to stand his ground might be even more damaging to his position, and he therefore conceded defeat. He diplomatically stated his acceptance of the decision in a letter, read out during the full Council meeting of 4th March 1880:⁹⁸

I cannot, consistently with the duty which I owe to the community of Glasgow, allow any pecuniary consideration to lead me into a position of antagonism with the Corporation ... The interests of the city, as well as of my own health and comfort,

require that there should be harmonious
action between the Corporation and myself.

If Marwick - grudgingly - was forced to make his peace with the Town Council, he was less likely to forgive James Nicol for his part in exposing the affair to the public. History does not record Marwick's response when Nicol was promoted to the prestigious position of City Chamberlain in 1882, but it can safely be assumed that he did not welcome the appointment. Indeed, ample evidence exists of long-standing friction between the two men going beyond the Fee Fund episode, and it was in this context that the municipal mine-field of the City Improvement Trust began to enter the scenario.⁹⁹ It has already been noted that the importance of the Trust was spelled out to Marwick prior to his appointment in 1873, and so the Town Clerk's direct responsibility for the smooth operation of Trust affairs cannot be disputed. Characteristically, however, Marwick had fixed ideas as to where the limits of his responsibility lay. So, inconveniently enough, did James Nicol. Put at its simplest, the two officials were not prepared to co-operate in dealing with the complicated legal and financial transactions over the feuing arrangements for properties under Trust control.¹⁰⁰ The debate revolved around the old trade union "spheres of influence" principle, but City Improvements turned out to be a dangerous area for Marwick and Nicol to lock metaphorical horns. In due course, their

confrontation was to reach the proportions of a full-blown scandal, while anxious councillors frantically tried to reduce the damage to municipal credibility.

As it happened, the man who did most to trigger the crisis was William Walls, in his capacity as City Treasurer during 1883. Subsequent assessments of his action at that time have not been favourable, and it was generally believed that his motivations were guided by personal considerations, rather than the public good.¹⁰¹ Certainly, Walls gave all the appearance of conducting a crusade against James Nicol, as the antagonist of his great protégé, Town Clerk Marwick. The denouement finally came about when the Council sought to endorse Nicol in the newly-established position of Registrar, under the terms of the 1883 Corporation Loans Act.¹⁰² The Registrar's function was simply to ensure that the accounts of the several municipal Trusts were in order, and that they did not exceed specified borrowing powers. However, Walls raised strenuous objections to the appointment of Nicol, claiming that he was incompetent to take on the task. Detailed allegations followed about professional shortcomings in the City Chamberlain's office, which most seriously related to the failure to collect the feu-duties due from certain Improvement Trust properties, with the result that arrears had accumulated to the value of £3,600.¹⁰³ Other gross irregularities cited by Walls included Nicol's refusal to follow Council guidelines as to accountancy

procedures and the use of a personal bank account to lodge and withdraw municipal monies.¹⁰⁴

Understandably, such serious charges against a long-standing official were immediately made the subject of investigation by the Town Council, and a special committee was created under Dean of Guild William McEwan. Yet, when the committee's findings were made known in March 1884, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed both inside and outside the Council over the apparent lack of rigour in scrutinising the City Chamberlain's activities.¹⁰⁵ The North British Daily Mail was particularly critical, but not because it had any personal axe to grind against Nicol, whom it believed to be the victim of circumstances not wholly under his control. Instead, the Mail resurrected the old argument that there was something peculiar about the entire history of the Improvement Trust, and that Glaswegians should scarcely be surprised about the nature of the chickens that were coming home to roost.¹⁰⁶ Mounting a strong attack on the Dean of Guild for being over-protective of Nicol, the Mail went on to argue:¹⁰⁷

Now the ratepayers are not likely to stand any nice little arrangements of this kind, and it is utterly impossible that the matter can be allowed to sleep in such a way. There must be inquiry, and in our opinion that inquiry should reach back to the commencement of Improvement Trust operations. Enough is contained in the present report to cast the gravest suspicion upon the former assurances that nothing could go wrong, and if things are

left as they are, the public will have the best reasons for believing that the "hush-up" policy has been adopted for some more cogent reason than merely to save the City Chamberlain. We shall perhaps soon know whom the cap fits.

This was perhaps not quite the effect anticipated by Messrs. Walls and Marwick, or the "Orcadian brothers", as The Bailie scathingly dubbed them.¹⁰⁸ The general conduct of municipal affairs had been called into question by their pursuit of Nicol, reflecting badly on their own involvement in sensitive financial and administrative areas. Above all, the fact that both men - and not a few town councillors - had long been aware of the tangled state of Improvement Trust feuing arrangements only reinforced suspicions about their failure to act earlier.¹⁰⁹ Worse was to follow within the Town Council itself, where George Jackson - rising star of the Glasgow Liberal Working Men's Electoral Union - bluntly accused Walls of conducting a witch-hunt.¹¹⁰ Rather than Nicol being perceived as the guilty party, the City Treasurer and Town Clerk found themselves in the dock, having incurred the wrath of a large number of councillors who resented the municipality being brought into such glaring disrepute. Not that Nicol was exonerated from what independent investigators subsequently confirmed to be unacceptable lapses in professional standards. Nicol was censured, but not dismissed, as Walls had clearly hoped.¹¹¹ Still acting as Nicol's champion, George Jackson eventually persuaded his Council colleagues to formally admit that the City

Chamberlain's office had been placed under intolerable pressure by the flow of business arising from the Improvement Trust during the 1870s, and that a more realistic appraisal of its administration would be necessary to set the Council's financial arrangements on a better footing.¹¹²

What should be made of this deeply damaging episode, which jolted public confidence in Town Clerk Marwick and virtually destroyed Walls's hitherto glowing reputation as a councillor? Like much that is contentious in the civic arena, personalities, politics and power were important underlying factors. The most obvious manifestation of turbulence within the municipal hierarchy was the Marwick-Nicol confrontation, which had been simmering for years to the increasing detriment of inter-departmental efficiency. In the aftermath of the 1884 crisis, The Bailie expressed the feelings of a good many Glaswegians when it issued the following cautionary advice to the erring civic officials:¹¹³

Town Clerk and Chamberlain alike, and a good many of those over and under them, must understand that they have incurred the grave displeasure of the public, and reform their ways accordingly, otherwise there will be some good situations vacant soon.

Yet in terms of the rivalry which had developed between the two men, it is worth pointing out that Nicol's record of municipal service to Glasgow stretched back much further than Marwick's. He had originally been taken on as confidential assistant to

Town Clerk Forbes in 1854, and subsequently worked for John Burnet - Secretary to the Glasgow Water Commissioners - before joining the City Chamberlain's office.¹¹⁴ His experience in legal as well as financial matters emanated from a well-respected school, and it is understandable that after 1873 he resented Marwick's determined approach to the operation of the Fee Fund. Moreover, Nicol was in a position of advantage, having carefully constructed an important network of municipal connections over the years, which was to stand him in good stead when the showdown came with Marwick.... The protectiveness demonstrated by the likes of Dean of Guild McEwan was an acknowledgement of Nicol's long-standing position within the civic community, and reflected Marwick's continuing vulnerability following the earlier ill-judged efforts to mark his territory as Town Clerk.

William Walls was even more abrasive in character than his fellow Orcadian; a feature of his personality which had long been noticed, and which contemporaries perceived as the prime obstacle to his elevation to the Civic Chair.¹¹⁵ Accordingly, he never overtly directed his energies towards securing the municipal limelight. Yet he was far from unambitious: Walls wanted power, but understood that there were more subtle ways of achieving it than by loudly staking a claim for the Lord Provostship. His patronage of Marwick in 1873 represented an outstanding example of his ability to insinuate ideas among the

Council's leadership, winning an influence that belied his public persona. Perhaps his early legal training had taught him the advantages of this approach, encouraging him to believe that he was the indispensable voice of municipal authority. Moreover, Walls's formidable financial expertise was regarded as one of his most potent attributes by fellow councillors, adding to the hard-headed image he was anxious to promote. Unfortunately, this strength was ultimately to be a source of weakness, as Walls became convinced that his position was unassailable. The events of 1884 showed how far hard-headedness had degenerated into heavy-handedness as he ruthlessly sought to throw James Nicol to the wolves. More in sorrow than in anger, one perceptive commentator aptly summed up the damage which Walls had self-inflicted: "He had once the chance of becoming the most popular and influential man in Civic affairs, but I fear he has lost it".¹¹⁶

By the 1880s, however, the ideas and attitudes of town councillors had undergone significant changes since 1873, when Walls had helped bring Marwick to Glasgow. Attention will be focused elsewhere in this thesis on the rise to power of Sir William Collins and his allies within the temperance movement, which reached a climax when Collins was elected as the city's first teetotal Lord Provost in 1877.¹¹⁷ Collins's ascendancy corresponded with the waning influence of the group associated with the Blackie-Watson era, of which Walls was - of course - a

prominent member. By 1884, the reaction to mounting criticisms over the Improvement Trust was a sign of the changing times; instead of jumping to the defensive, councillors generally accepted that errors had been made in the Trust's administration. The traumatic aftermath of the City of Glasgow Bank failure had done much to foster this new climate of realism, as the grand hopes for the reconstructed inner city were suddenly thwarted by a collapse in the property market.¹¹⁸ By relying on pre-1878 instincts Messrs. Walls and Marwick had therefore misjudged the prevailing mood within the Council Chambers, which was more concerned about resolving immediate problems than by apportioning blame for past misdeeds. George Jackson was only one of many councillors who argued that an important part of this process involved the creation of a more integrated administrative structure, serving the Council as a whole, with stricter financial accountability.¹¹⁹ If any one positive feature emerged from the débâcle of 1884, it was the realisation on all sides that radical reorganisation was now essential.

However, the municipal machinery was still slow to respond to the call for instant solutions, even though the most glaring faults within the bureaucracy were speedily remedied. During the 1880s the dominating theme in Glasgow Town Council was that of boundary expansion, and councillors were looking towards the needs of the enlarged municipality when they argued the case for

reorganisation. The trial of strength between the Town Clerk and City Chamberlain served as an important catalyst towards clearing the air on the subject, but did not in itself trigger the movement for reform. Meaningful change could only be achieved once the city was itself redefined; an objective which had so far proved to be fraught with difficulties. Yet ever-ready to rise to a challenge, the pursuit of the "Greater Glasgow" became something of a personal crusade for Town Clerk Marwick, and he was consistently to the fore in local and Parliamentary negotiations. Every conceivable legal source was consulted in Marwick's beaverish efforts to build up a dossier of evidence, and his 1879 Statement on Municipal Expansion constituted the classic argument in favour of the expanded city for several decades to come.¹²⁰ Whatever the precise nature of the Council's relationship with J.B. Fleming and his pro-annexationist allies, the successful tactics used after 1884 in the extension campaign bear all the hallmarks of Messrs. Fleming and Marwick at their most wily. There can be no doubt that Marwick redeemed his reputation among councillors by his handling of the boundary question, and that the eventual achievement of the extended city in 1891 was one of his most enduring services to Glasgow. So intense was Marwick's commitment to the cause that in 1894, when he was obliged to renounce the Council's law agency work due to ill-health, he made an exception for future boundary cases.¹²¹

Of course, Marwick was involved in other activities as Town Clerk between 1873 and 1903. As has been previously explained, although the rôle of Parliamentary law agent did not constitute part of the Town Clerk's traditional function, the work increasingly came to take up a good deal of time. During his thirty years in Glasgow, Marwick was responsible for an unprecedented flow of Parliamentary business, with over sixty local Acts reaching the statute book.¹²² Some dealt with matters of great complexity, particularly over the boundaries issue, while others were promoted simply for the purpose of extending existing powers. The Council also took the opportunity - where appropriate - to make its opinions known on general Parliamentary Bills, and reference has been made elsewhere to Glasgow's crucial intervention in the shaping of the 1883 Electric Lighting Act.¹²³ To maximise the municipal influence on such occasions, the Town Clerk liaised with his counterparts from other local authorities, and relationships were consolidated with the likes of Edward Orford Smith in Birmingham, William H. Talbot in Manchester and the formidable Samuel Johnson in Nottingham.¹²⁴ As his biographer records, Marwick particularly relished his forays to Westminster and the challenge of direct participation in the law-making process:¹²⁵

In the office with his secretaries and clerks,
in the consulting room with the able barristers

who were to support the case of the Council, and in the Parliamentary Committee Rooms, Marwick was always efficient and always at home.

After Marwick's efforts for the "Greater Glasgow" had borne fruit, a whole new series of problems arose about the legal and administrative arrangements for the enlarged municipality. During the 1890s Act followed Act to define the jurisdiction of the city, ensuring that the added burghs became fully integrated with Glasgow, and that services were extended to all the new districts. Another administrative tier was created in 1893 with the granting of "County of a City" status, as in Edinburgh; Glasgow's traditional burghal identity changed substantially, and the rôle of the Town Clerk had to be reappraised.¹²⁶ Yet, although the department expanded to cope with these extraordinary responsibilities, there were constant complaints from Marwick that his staff were being stretched to the limit. Certainly, looking over the general output of the department during this period, the most immediate question seems to be exactly when the Town Clerk and his deputies managed to find time to conduct their ordinary business, and produce such intricate and indispensable publications as Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow, or the voluminous Extracts from the Burgh Records.¹²⁷

In response to the changing nature of Glasgow's civic administration, an important piece of legislation was passed in 1895, which had a profound effect on the Town Clerk's future

conditions of employment. Under the Glasgow Corporation and Police Act, the life-long security of tenure traditionally attached to the post was removed, while councillors were able to exercise much more of a controlling influence by determining the number of post-holders, the level of salary, and the precise job description.¹²⁸ The ambiguity previously involved in being a servant to the Council or servant to the law was therefore clarified, although provisos were written into the Act which ensured that a Town Clerk could not be dismissed unless on the vote of two-thirds of Corporation members.¹²⁹ Another important feature of the Act was that the Corporation was given direct responsibility for the city's police, instead of acting as separately constituted Police Commissioners, as had prevailed since 1846.¹³⁰ Accordingly, provision was made to merge the Town Clerk's office with that of the Police Clerk, but only after Marwick's retiral. His original conditions of appointment, fixed in 1872, were safeguarded, following a plea that he was not professionally competent to deal with police affairs.¹³¹ For a man of Marwick's self-assurance this was uncharacteristic false modesty, but it had the effect of maintaining the status quo until 1903.

Marwick's determination not to oversee a wholesale departmental restructuring reveals that he was continuing to display that streak of independence which had long been associated with the city's Town Clerks. He emphatically did not

conform to P.J. Waller's picturesque description of the leading English Town Clerks, who apparently "... enjoyed a position not unlike royal favourites or Byzantine eunuchs in time past".¹³² Even after the events of 1884 Marwick could still spark a reaction over his interpretation of the law, in adherence to the old principle of Town Clerkship that there were "... duties to perform with regard to the public as well as to members of the Town Council".¹³³ In his relations with councillors he remained personally close to Sir James Watson, but when Marwick turned Unionist in 1886 he made enemies of the Gladstonians, particularly the pro-temperance supporters of Samuel Chisholm. The antipathy was mutual, and Marwick played a mischievous rôle in the 1902 campaign to discredit Chisholm, by now Lord Provost.¹³⁴ In an unlikely alliance with Andrew Scott Gibson - the outrageous Springburn councillor, who had dubious connections with the drinks' trade - Marwick solemnly declared that Chisholm and his magisterial allies were acting illegally by claiming lunches at Corporation expense.¹³⁵ The idea was to show that overindulgence did not just apply to the consumption of alcohol, and that Chisholm was a hypocrite. Marwick was also scornful of the growing socialist presence on the Corporation, showing that like many Unionists he supported a degree of municipal enterprise, but not municipal collectivism.¹³⁶

Yet Marwick's period of office marked a crucial transition

from the Council's burgh-based organisation of the early 1870s to the massive corporate structure of the 1890s. He succeeded in a rôle that would have daunted others because he was in a position to assimilate older influences as well as the new, although the latter began eventually to overtake him. His lifelong obsession with history and antiquarian studies displayed the retrospective side to his character, as if he had to fully understand the evolutionary process before he could come to terms with future developments. Perhaps this was an essential requirement of the job, at a time when the structure of Scottish local government was being forced to adapt to contemporary needs. Someone with more entrenched views one way or the other might not have guided the transition process so smoothly over the years. Despite his abrasive reputation, one of Marwick's better qualities was his preparedness to back down in any confrontation with the Council, even though he often did so grudgingly. One direct result of this restraining influence was that Glasgow's municipal administration became noted for its businesslike professionalism, with a reputation for appointing chief officials of high calibre.¹³⁷ Indeed, the city prided itself on its ability to pay the top men market rates; a policy that Joseph Chamberlain endorsed on a visit to Glasgow during 1897, when he said that to do otherwise was the slippery slope to corruption.¹³⁸

Of course, with an annual salary of £3,500, Glasgow's

citizens had a right to expect something exceptional from their Town Clerk. This remuneration alone put Marwick in the forefront of local government officers, not just in the United Kingdom, but throughout the world. By the 1890s, his nearest rival in terms of status was Town Clerk Smith of Birmingham who was paid £2,000 a year, followed by Talbot of Manchester with £1,750.¹³⁹ Marwick's elevated position among his peers can be attributed to the historic development of the Town Council's legal services, which originated much further back than in many English cities. Birmingham and Manchester were relatively recent municipal entities, which had been late in developing their administration and thus did not need to conform to the old burghal precedents. The Glasgow Town Clerkship was unique in the way it had evolved, with extraordinary conditions of service, and although fundamental changes in the nature of the job had been sanctioned in 1895, there was still no doubt of its prime position in the league table of municipal appointments. Accordingly, if it was a hard enough task for Marwick to follow Turner in 1873, the prospects for Marwick's successor were even more problematic. From the 1890s this vexed question provided Glaswegians with much food for thought, as Marwick approached old age and likely retirement.

III. After Marwick: the Quest for the Municipal
Manager, 1903-12

Town Clerk Marwick had cause to look back with nostalgia on that memorable municipal year of 1888, as it was then that probably his greatest honour was bestowed, when Queen Victoria conferred a knighthood during her visit to Glasgow's International Exhibition. The occasion was of enormous symbolic significance, as it was the first time that any local government officer had been so distinguished in Scotland.¹⁴⁰ In the person of Sir James D. Marwick, the importance of the public service had been formally acknowledged, and was a fitting climax to years of assiduous efforts to establish Glasgow as the "model municipality" in terms of administration.

Indeed, subsequent commentators unkindly suggested that Marwick's elevated position had not been entirely merited, and reflected more on the Council's self-promoted image than on his professional abilities.¹⁴¹ It was also said that the knighthood exacerbated tensions at the municipal level, as by singling out the Town Clerk to be especially worthy of eminence, "... it has placed a social distinction between him and the members of the Town Council, which does not tend to the public benefit".¹⁴² Whatever the truth of this assertion, the recognition of the rôle of Glasgow's Town Clerk at least served to show how far relationships had altered since Angus Turner's dramatic exit in 1872. Sixteen year later, Marwick's moment of

triumph could never have been achieved had he not - after a few false starts - won the full confidence of the civic leadership.

1888 was also to be significant for Marwick in another crucial respect; under his terms of employment, a pension of £1,500 per annum had been guaranteed in the event of his retiring any time after fifteen years full service with the Council.¹⁴³ Accordingly, this arrangement took effect from March 1888, when Marwick was still relatively young at the age of sixty-one. Lord Provost Watson had originally made the offer to avoid repetition of the unseemly wrangles with Town Clerk Turner over what constituted the appropriate standard of living for a retired gentleman; it was also intended to act as an incentive for Marwick not to hold out to the bitter end, when his faculties might have become irredeemably blunted. There were already several awkward precedents where senior serving officials had died in office, long after their deputies had been obliged to take on the task of discharging their duties.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, the question of retirement allowances for all local government staff surfaced forcefully during the 1890s, when growing professionalism within the public service identified the need to confront the "jobs for life" problem, and the barrier this created towards the establishment of a meaningful career structure.¹⁴⁵ The peculiarities of the Glasgow Town Clerkship meant that councillors had been forced to think much sooner about this delicate issue, in the hope that Marwick would not

adhere to the ad vitam aut culpam principle governing his tenure. From 1888 Marwick was therefore very much aware of the power he retained in respect of his continuing service, despite the favourable opportunities for early retirement.

Marwick chose not to demit office at a time when he was carefully nursing the "Greater Glasgow" campaign, and seemed palpably close to victory. However, he was quite prepared to go when the Glasgow Corporation and Police Act was passed in 1895, and the conditions attached to the Town Clerkship were radically altered. According to his own account, he was prevailed upon to stay by Lord Provosts Bell and Richmond, who were anxious to preserve continuity at a time of unprecedented change in the municipal administration.¹⁴⁶ Marwick even managed to secure an annual increase of £1,000 in his proposed pension as an inducement not to retire prematurely, while of course personal safeguards were written into the new legislation. Yet while the administrative factor was important, politics should also be stressed as a more subtle reason for Marwick's continuation in office up to 1903. His Unionist sympathies from 1886 had accorded well with the convictions of the civic leadership, and this personal congeniality survived until the onset of the Chisholm régime in 1899.¹⁴⁷ Marwick was latterly in a considerable position of strength as Town Clerk, which coincidentally served the interests of the predominant power-group within the Town Council. When the balance began to

shift, he was no longer so sure of his ground, and shrewdly recognised that the time was ripe for his departure.

Marwick's ability to blend the old with the new has already been noted as a feature of his personality, and when he eventually gave notice of his resignation after thirty years service in Glasgow, he was at pains to point out how far the Town Clerkship had altered during his career. On his reckoning the workload had more than quadrupled since 1873, and although he suggested that, "It is not for me to unduly magnify my office or its duties", he clearly implied that changes in the nature of the job were necessary to cope with the demands of the modern municipality.¹⁴⁸ Some ten years previously a kindred Council spirit - Robert Crawford - had cogently argued the need for administrative reform, based on "increased unity, force and efficiency" within the existing structure.¹⁴⁹ Since that time, the "position of the permanent official" had generally become a subject of debate among reformers, anxious to determine the precise dividing line between the powers of elected representatives and public officers.¹⁵⁰ It was argued that municipalities were growing at too fast a pace for councillors to keep up with day-to-day administration, and that the larger departments were assuming the character of individual enterprises, with no overall control. In the words of one contemporary commentator, "... civic administration is becoming so complex a matter that each branch touches a dozen others, and

therefore the need for harmony and co-operation increases daily".¹⁵¹

One proposed solution was that Scottish Town Councils should be allowed to appoint a general manager, responsible for overseeing all municipal affairs, liaising with departments, and ensuring no unnecessary overlapping of functions. There were elements of the traditional Town Clerk's rôle within this idea, but otherwise the similarities between the two posts were slight. For instance, it was thought unnecessary that the general manager should hold legal qualifications, while his powers were intended to go much further than those of the Town Clerk, touching on areas of direct political influence. Perhaps the best analogy was with the German *Bürgermeister*, who was a permanent paid official with administrative responsibilities, but in a position to criticise and overrule elected representatives. Such was his power that, according to one picturesque comparison, "... he is both the mainspring of the municipal clock and the clock face; he keeps the machinery going and he tells the time".¹⁵² Even Arthur Kay was an enthusiast, praising Berlin as "the best managed city in Europe", and attributing its administrative excellence to the guiding influence of the *Bürgermeister*.¹⁵³ Moreover, Germany was not the only country where such schemes had been implemented; in the United States the idea of the city manager was having widespread appeal, not least to act as a check to the municipal corruption

rife among elected representatives.¹⁵⁴ The American experiment also illustrated the advantages of applying scientific management practices to the sphere of local government, reassuring businessmen that, "... what has contributed to the success of their business will make for the success of their city".¹⁵⁵

One fervent advocate of a general managership for Glasgow Corporation was Daniel Macaulay Stevenson, who joked that his ideas on the subject appeared as almost an "obsession" to colleagues.¹⁵⁶ Like many leading councillors, Stevenson had impeccable business credentials, having made his fortune as a coal exporter.¹⁵⁷ He came from a well-known Glasgow family; Daniel Macaulay, his grandfather, had been a campaigning journalist of pro-Chartist proclivities, while his brother - Robert - was a distinguished landscape painter. Stevenson himself was an outspoken free-thinker, much to the chagrin of his evangelical allies in the Liberal party, who attributed his "lukewarm sympathy" for religion to his early education at the Glasgow Secular School.¹⁵⁸ Yet he was a popular man, of formidable intellectual attainments, admired even by those who disliked his penchant for municipal "Progressivism". Although adhering to the radical family tradition, Stevenson had assimilated an eclectic variety of political influences, showing sympathy for Fabian socialism and American democracy, but also admiring much in the governmental structure of Imperial

Germany.¹⁵⁹ Significantly, his brother-in-law was Bürgermeister of Hamburg, and so Stevenson had a close personal insight into the German system; a connection, incidentally, which was to prompt accusations of pro-German sympathies in 1914, when he had almost reached the end of his term as Lord Provost.¹⁶⁰

Yet how could the office of Bürgermeister, so clearly tied in with the bureaucratic organisation of the paternalist German state, relate to the municipal traditions of Glasgow? It would have needed a civic revolution for the German precedent to become established in Scotland, combining as it did important aspects of the Provost's and Town Clerk's work. Moreover, past experience had shown that any drastic interference with existing institutions was likely to be fiercely resisted. For instance, in Glasgow during the 1890s plans to alter the legal status of the Lord Provostship had foundered because of concerted opposition within both the City Chambers and Parliament.¹⁶¹ This did not mean that Stevenson was discouraged from promoting the idea of the general managership; indeed, he consistently championed the cause throughout his civic career.¹⁶² On the other hand, he appreciated the need for caution in introducing such a scheme, which critics argued would erode municipal accountability and replace "controlled officialdom" with "uncontrolled autocracy".¹⁶³ There were also vested interests to consider, as elected representatives and full-time officials

might be antagonised by too forceful an intrusion into existing spheres of influence. Accordingly, Stevenson came to the conclusion that the job should be built up from an existing base, where a controlled experiment could be conducted to see how far the municipal framework could be altered from within.

When Marwick decided to retire in 1903 a golden opportunity was presented to Stevenson and his allies to promote a modified general manager scheme for Glasgow. Fortuitously, Lord Provost Primrose was yet another admirer of the German system of local government, and threw his weight behind Stevenson's endeavours. However, careful thought was needed to weigh up any new proposals, and so a successor to Marwick was not immediately appointed. Instead, the veteran James G. Monro was prevailed upon to accept an interim appointment, which eventually stretched to fifteen months.¹⁶⁴ During this time, a special Corporation committee - with Stevenson to the fore - made a detailed examination of the organisation and functions of the Town Clerk's office. Many Corporation plans for redevelopment had remained frozen as long as Marwick remained in post; at least these could now be implemented. Moreover, any new appointment would not be bound by some of the legal restrictions attached to Marwick's job, because the 1872 Act had been effectively repealed.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately for Stevenson there was much less freedom of action in other areas. There was no question but that the Town Clerk had to have the appropriate

legal qualifications, and that his primary responsibilities were determined by the old burgh conventions, engraved by Scots law as on tablets of stone. Still, there seemed to be some room for manoeuvre, and so a train of events was set in motion which was to be almost as embarrassing to the Corporation as the Turner and Nicol episodes of previous decades.

In the first instance, Stevenson's ponderous proceedings over the reorganised administrative arrangements in the Town Clerk's office were viewed with mounting discontent by the staff immediately affected. The crunch came in December 1904, when after thirty-six years of municipal service, James G. Monro sent in a letter of resignation to Lord Provost Primrose.¹⁶⁶ He made pointed reference to the unsettled atmosphere prevailing in the department since Marwick's departure, and suggested that his own temporary position was not conducive to effective management. Above all, he felt aggrieved that the Corporation had fixed his remuneration at only £300 more than his previous annual salary of £700, claiming this to be "... a decided slur on the office which I have the honour to hold".¹⁶⁷ The implication was that contrary to their loudly-proclaimed principles, councillors were taking unfair advantage of the situation and not paying the appropriate rate for the job. Monro may have sensed that - as in 1873 - the Corporation had no intention of making an internal appointment, and were using him until such times as a new man could be found. He may also have

been suspicious about some of the ideas emanating from the Stevenson camp, and wanted to force the Corporation's hand.

Certainly, from this time onwards, the Town Clerkship became a topic of heated discussion within the city, and the small body of "Stalwart" councillors, plus the unpredictable followers of Andrew Scott Gibson, took the opportunity to berate the civic leadership over its handling of the matter. They formed an unofficial Committee to defend the interests of John Bowers - the most likely internal candidate for the post - who had been appointed acting Town Clerk following Monro's resignation. A Dundonian by birth, but long resident in Glasgow, Bowers had first endeared himself to Town Clerk Marwick by his understanding of the intricacies of feudal conveyancing; an accomplishment which Stevenson was unlikely to place uppermost in his list of desirable qualifications for a general manager.¹⁶⁸ Yet he also had the advantage of some thirty years unbroken service with the Council, administering all the important Trusts, and forming an intricate network of municipal connections. The Bailie, which keenly supported Bowers, echoed the popular sentiment that he was being unfairly treated:¹⁶⁹

Mr. Bowers, who is thoroughly up on the city's legal business is keeping the place warm for some highly paid outsider, who will bring to the post an abounding ignorance of local wants and affairs ... The higher seats of office are stimulating chairs to encourage the underlings to put forward their best efforts, and a democratic municipality like Glasgow should

surely maintain that every employee carries in himself the prospect of departmental chief.

An advertisement for the Glasgow Town Clerkship had meantime appeared in appropriate newspapers and journals throughout the United Kingdom.¹⁷⁰ The annual salary was to be "not less" than £1,500; a substantial drop from Marwick's day, but the payment of public officials was a sensitive issue in the changing political climate of the 1900s, especially with the Labour Party on the rise. The Corporation receive fifteen replies to its advertisement, one of which could have been scarcely serious, as it was addressed to "My Lord Mayor, Glasgow".¹⁷¹ The majority of the applicants were English, although once the short list was selected the balance was adjusted to four Scots and one Englishman. Among the Scots were Adam Whitson Myles, County Clerk of Forfar; James Muirhead, the former Clerk to Hillhead Burgh and a well-known expert on municipal law; and John Bowers, the internal candidate.¹⁷² One of the latter's junior colleagues, John Lindsay, previously Police Clerk in Glasgow, later withdrew his application in favour of Bowers. The English candidate was R. Melling Prescott, Town Clerk to the London Borough of Fulham, who was a thirty-nine year old solicitor with a high opinion of his professional qualities. He sent in a luxuriously printed curriculum vitae, charting his municipal career in detail and including glowing testimonials.¹⁷³ He even appended

photographs of "Important Public Works, with which the Applicant has been Associated", although, curiously, there was no photograph of himself. Neither did he mention his family or educational background, nor did he reveal his full name.

There can be little doubt that Prescott had been personally singled out by Stevenson as the candidate most approximating to his ideal of the general manager. It remains obscure whether Stevenson had acted as an intermediary for Prescott, like Walls with Marwick in 1873, but he was Prescott's most enthusiastic supporter in the Corporation, and when the time came actually nominated Prescott for the Town Clerkship.¹⁷⁴ Certainly, Stalwarts and Gibsonites detected "wire-pulling" to be behind Prescott's sudden popularity, and pressed their case for Bowers even harder.¹⁷⁵ The other candidates had by now been eliminated, with only Prescott and Bowers in the field, but the Corporation prevaricated for a number of weeks before making a final appointment. It was not that there had been any difficulty about making a final choice between the two, because Prescott was clearly the front-runner, but there was a major problem about Prescott's qualifications for the job, which had been overlooked in the initial advertisement.

Although a solicitor, Prescott was not a law agent within the terms of the Law Agents (Scotland) Act, 1873, nor was he a notary public.¹⁷⁶ Accordingly, under Scottish law he was prohibited from discharging many of the essential duties of the

Town Clerk. The Corporation was thus placed in the awkward dilemma of either dropping Prescott, or taking a calculated risk and offering him the post, in the certain knowledge that a good deal of his legal authority within the municipality would be invalidated. The Lord Advocate advised that a possible solution would be to designate a depute, duly qualified, to act until Prescott could be admitted as a law agent and notary public.¹⁷⁷ Although this option was clearly all the more insulting to Bowers, the Corporation adopted it, and in March 1905 Prescott was formally offered the job..

In anticipation of this decision there had been a growing public outcry, and latent nationalist sentiments suddenly surfaced throughout Glasgow. The Bailie referred to Prescott in withering terms as "this Englishman", and predicted that no good would come from his appointment:¹⁷⁸

What kind of era have we fallen upon? ... If a particular clique of the Town Council succeeds in establishing this unenlightened - municipally speaking - southerner in the Town Clerk's Chair, the ratepayers may make up their minds to woe and tribulation.

Not surprisingly, one of the most outraged sections of the community was the Scottish legal profession, which had nursed hopes that one of their own members would attain the prime Glasgow post. Prescott's appointment was seen as an intrusion into private territory, setting a dangerous precedent for the future. In protest, the Glasgow Faculty of Procurators passed a

lengthy resolution, claiming that the Corporation was acting "... contrary to immemorial usage and the spirit of the law".¹⁷⁹ Although a Glasgow Herald editorial suggested that this attitude smacked of "trade unionism", it was wholly sympathetic to the general argument.¹⁸⁰ In face of a virulent press campaign and the closing of ranks among the legal fraternity, the pressure became too much for Prescott. Conceding that "strong local feeling" had made his position untenable, he abruptly withdrew his candidature.¹⁸¹ He speedily returned to Fulham, leaving several red-faced councillors to pick up the pieces, and find a more suitable Town Clerk.

Whoever the new appointment was likely to be, it was certainly not John Bowers, even though he stoically agreed to continue as acting Town Clerk while the post was readvertised. He had made powerful enemies within the municipal hierarchy, who were still intent in bringing in an outsider. Various theories were put forward as to why Bowers had been passed over, and at one Corporation meeting Andrew Scott Gibson suggested that it was to do with Bowers's gnome-like appearance, which contrasted unfavourably with Marwick's striking, leonine good-looks.¹⁸² Gibson, who was of diminutive stature himself, gave a spirited defence of small men - including Napoleon - but it was not enough to win sufficient allies for Bowers. The readvertisement also had its farcical side; the Local Government Journal urged

its English readers not to apply for the Glasgow job, on the grounds of racial discrimination.¹⁸³ No fewer than twenty-five bona fide Scots law agents eventually sent in applications, and a short list was determined by the simple expedient of rejecting all candidates over fifty years old. Not only was Bowers's size against him, so was his age; he was fifty-seven.¹⁸⁴ The Bailie gloomily suggested that the Glasgow Town Clerkship was cursed, and that the city was now an international laughing stock.¹⁸⁵ The candidates on the current short list appeared to be "supreme nobodies" with testimonials from "nonentities", and the final affront to the dignity of the Empire's Second City was that the Town Clerk of provincial Buckie - "Oh, Lord, Buckie!" - had emerged as front-runner¹⁸⁶

It was Forfar, rather than Buckie, which delivered its chosen son to Glasgow as the city's new Town Clerk. Adam Whitson Myles, one of the previously unsuccessful candidates, took the oath of office in October 1905, thus ending two years of drama and speculation. The saga of the proposed general managership had by this time reached such embarrassing proportions, that there was no question but that a suitable appointment should be speedily made. Myles was clearly the compromise candidate; although unknown in Glasgow, he held impeccable legal qualifications, and had the added attraction of being a relatively non-controversial choice.¹⁸⁷ He was never

quite able to shake off the stigma that he had not been first preference as Town Clerk, and seems to have done a workmanlike rather than outstanding job for the Corporation; in his obituary, the Glasgow Herald diplomatically described his approach as "cautious and thorough".¹⁸⁸ Ten years younger than Bowers, Myles was of suitably imposing appearance, "... with a cast of countenance which recalls that of Lord Kitchener".¹⁸⁹ Appointed in the prime of life, he seemed on the verge of building up a long and successful career, and immediately threw himself into the revived plans to extend the municipal boundaries. Yet he died following acute appendicitis in February 1912, shortly before this grand objective was finally realised. The Corporation - with Daniel Macaulay Stevenson as Lord Provost - was once again placed in the dilemma of what to do about appointing a new Town Clerk, and whether to attempt a radical reappraisal of the post.

As far as Lord Provost Stevenson was concerned, his position was unequivocal; he firmly believed that Corporation interests would best be served by the creation of a "proper civic service organisation", which included the appointment of a general manager.¹⁹⁰ Such was the intensity of his convictions, that he argued the case for a "department of civics" to be founded at Glasgow University, for the purpose of training public administrators and teaching the principles of citizenship.¹⁹¹ In this context, Stevenson's views reflected the idealism of

early twentieth century urban improvers, notably Patrick Geddes and Thomas Coglan Horsfall. The concept of "civics" had been popularised by Geddes, an Edinburgh biologist and pioneer sociologist, who had done much to stimulate the town planning movement.¹⁹² In their commitment to local government, Stevenson and Horsfall shared much in common, both men having derived considerable inspiration from John Ruskin and his philosophy of "ennobling the life of the people".¹⁹³ Like Stevenson, Horsfall passionately believed that municipal intervention in Britain - along similar lines to the German experience - was necessary to achieve a meaningful solution to urban problems. In his important 1904 publication, The Improvement of the Dwellings and Surroundings of the People: the Example of Germany, Horsfall argued that an increased rôle for paid officials would help to secure this model administration.¹⁹⁴

The consolidation of municipal trading, together with the emergence of a more scientific approach to urban issues, had refined the earlier tentative ideas about the application of a general manager scheme in Glasgow. In 1908 the Glasgow Herald featured a series of articles, "Should there be a Municipal Manager?", showing that the subject had not been abandoned in the wake of Prescott's hasty retreat to Fulham, and that councillors were continuing to weigh up the possibilities.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, the Herald suggested that in 1905 the true intentions of

Prescott's supporters had not been fully appreciated, and it was the handling of the affair rather than the underlying principle which had been at fault.¹⁹⁶ With the benefit of considerable hindsight, the anonymous writer went on to argue that as a first step towards any meaningful administrative reorganisation the Corporation should effectively buy-off existing officials, in order to demonstrate good faith that their personal position would not be undermined. The ground would thus be cleared to make way for the general manager, who would be able to streamline the bureaucracy with a view to more closely integrating the individual departmental structures. The manager would not replace the Town Clerk, who would remain responsible for the Corporation's legal work; however, in terms of status, the Town Clerk would be subordinate to the new municipal supremo.

Not surprisingly, Daniel Macaulay Stevenson responded favourably to the Glasgow Herald articles, adding his own opinion as to why the general managership would be of benefit to the Corporation:¹⁹⁷

It must appeal to every business man accustomed to handling large affairs. I have no doubt that a general manager, even if paid the highest salary known in this country for similar employment, could save it to the Corporation many times over every year, besides saving much valuable time of committees and Council meetings presently spent in discussing working details which ought to be left to a competent executive officer.

From the tenor of Stevenson's statements, together with the support of influential allies ranging from Sir Samuel Chisholm to Arthur Kay, it would appear that the prospect of wholesale administrative restructuring was under active consideration in Glasgow.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the likelihood of adding such populous districts as Govan and Partick to the municipality created an excellent opportunity for introducing fundamental changes. The untimely demise of Adam Whitson Myles therefore came at the worst possible time for the Corporation, because with boundary negotiations still pending, it was impracticable at such a critical stage to enter into the labyrinthine complexities of replacing him with a general manager. In the short term, it was much more important for the Corporation to make a success of its annexation plans, and then consider the options for reorganisation once the boundary question had been conclusively settled.

Accordingly, less than a month after Myles's death, John Lindsay was offered - and accepted - the Glasgow Town Clerkship.¹⁹⁹ Lindsay had already taken over much of the city's legal business from his ailing head of department, impressing councillors with his skilful handling of the intricate boundary negotiations. Indeed, the Corporation's 1914 publication, Municipal Glasgow: Its Evolution and Enterprises, remains eloquent testimony to Lindsay's efforts to prepare the case for annexation.²⁰⁰ A Gorbaldonian, and yet another

Glasgow University prize-winning student, he had served the bulk of his municipal career in the Police Department, before its amalgamation with the Town Clerk's office in 1904.²⁰¹ Significantly, his great heroes as public administrators were John Burnet and John Lang, both former Glasgow Police Clerks, and Lindsay himself had built up a reputation as a "fighting" lawyer, with particular expertise on public health issues.²⁰² Lindsay had the added advantage of being a local man, noted for his diplomatic ability to place councillors at their ease.²⁰³ He retained this popularity throughout his career, serving as Town Clerk until his death in 1927. Eight years previously he had emulated Marwick's great success and collected a knighthood.

As for the plan to appoint a general manager, this went the way of many optimistic hopes after 1914, when the war drastically cut across Glasgow's domestic aspirations. The fact that the scheme was also tainted with dubious German connections was enough to ensure adherence to existing traditions for several decades to come. Yet Stevenson's pioneering ideas were to re-emerge some seventy years after he had first put forward his blueprint for Glasgow Corporation. Following the recommendations of the Paterson Report into the structure of municipal management in Scotland, the newly-created district and regional authorities in May 1975 were strongly encouraged to appoint a Chief Executive.²⁰⁴ The terms of reference for the post, as stipulated in 1989 by Strathclyde Regional Council,

bore striking similarities to the criteria identified by Stevenson at the turn of the century:²⁰⁵

The Chief Executive is the Regional Council's chief policy adviser and is the link between officials of the Council and its elected members. He is the head of the Council's paid service and has authority over all other officers ... He is responsible for ... ensuring the efficient and effective implementation of the Council's programmes and policies and to that end ensuring that the resources of the authority are most effectively deployed ...

Legal qualifications were not a requirement for the job, although most Chief Executives after 1975 were former Town or County Clerks.²⁰⁶ One notable exception to this rule was Sir Lawrence Boyle, who as Strathclyde Region's first Chief Executive was an accountant by training.²⁰⁷ By a wry coincidence, he also happened to be in direct line of succession from James Nicol - Town Clerk Marwick's old antagonist - as he had previously served as City Chamberlain to Glasgow Corporation.

References

1. David Willox, Members of the Glasgow Corporation, 1907-1910: A Poetical Sketch, (Glasgow, n.d., but c.1910), page 93.

2. The most authoritative and detailed definition of the Town Clerk's functions is set out in Marwick, Observations on the Law and Practice in Regard to Municipal Elections ..., op. cit., pages 346-359. Marwick's guidelines for burghs other than Glasgow prevailed until the passing of the Town Councils (Scotland) Act in 1900. The functions of Glasgow's Town Clerk, prior to 1903, are set out in Glasgow Town Council, Glasgow Corporation and Police Bill, 1895, page 420, SRA A3/1/162. English law was more clearly defined according to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, and there was no lifelong security of tenure. See T.E. Headrick, The Town Clerk in English Local Government, (London, 1962), page 21.

3. Marwick, *ibid.*, pages 346-348; also, Atkinson, op. cit., page 82.

4. In 1893 Glasgow Corporation compared the salaries and conditions of Town Clerks in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham with those of its own Town Clerk, Sir James Marwick. The following figures have been taken from, "Minutes of the Special Committee on Amalgamation of the Town Clerk's and Police Clerk's Office", 18th January 1893, in Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, pages 322-324, SRA D-TC 6/1/1.1.

	Town Clerk's Salary	Total Dept. Wages
Glasgow	£3,500	£6,800
Manchester	£1,750	£5,926
Liverpool	£1,600	£6,573
Birmingham	£2,000	£3,927

5. James S. McGrath, The Administration of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1574-1586, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986), page 181.

6. *Ibid.*, pages 4-5.

7. See George S. Pryde, "The Burgh Court and Allied Jurisdictions", in Stair Society and Contributors (eds.), An Introduction to Scottish Legal History, (Edinburgh, 1958), pages 384-390.

8. David Murray, Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland: as Illustrated in the History of Glasgow and some Neighbouring

Burghs, (Glasgow, 1924), vol. I, page 229. Glasgow's Burgh Court and Town Council were closely interrelated until the early seventeenth century. Prior to this, the proceedings of both were recorded in the Burgh Court's Act Book. See McGrath, op. cit., pages 4-5.

9. Glasgow Town Council, Glasgow Corporation and Police Bill, 1895, op. cit.

10. See Andrew M. Jackson, Glasgow Dean of Guild Court: A History, (Glasgow, 1983), pages 21-22, for an account of the Council's turbulent relationship with Archibald Heygate, a Town Clerk with Roman Catholic sympathies. Heygate seems to have been a prototype for the strong-willed Town Clerks of the nineteenth century.

11. Robert Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, with Charters and other Documents, Volume VII, 1760-80, op. cit., page 228.

12. Glasgow Town Council, Glasgow Corporation and Police Bill, 1895, op. cit.

13. The joint Town Clerks in 1766 were Archibald McGilchrist and John Wilson, both writers in Glasgow. See *ibid.* Interestingly, the tenure of their appointment is clearly stated to be "during the will and pleasure of the magistrates"; there were no legal precedents at this date as to lifelong tenure.

14. See William Ferguson, op. cit., pages 154-156, for the background to the Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act of 1747. Ann E. Whetstone, op. cit., pages 1-27, suggests that the heritable jurisdictions had been long regarded as an anachronism under Scottish law, and the Rebellion of 1745 provided a convenient opportunity for their abolition.

15. Jackson, op. cit., page 70.

16. Whetstone, op. cit., page 5.

17. See George Blair, Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis, (Glasgow, 1857), page 147, which forms part of a brief memoir of James Reddie, Town Clerk of Glasgow between 1804 and 1852.

18. *Ibid.*, page 143.

19. Bell and Paton, op. cit., page 105.

20. 25 and 26 Victoria, cap. 204, [1862], "An Act to

consolidate and amend the Acts relating to the Police and Statute Labour of the City of Glasgow, and for other purposes".

21. For details of Reddie's career, see Blair, *op. cit.*, pages 143-148; also the Glasgow Herald, 9th April 1852, for Reddie's obituary.

22. Jackson, *op. cit.*, pages 75-76.

23. Glasgow Herald, 9th April 1852.

24. See pages 53-58.

25. For full details of the case, which related to the Burgh of Annan, see Marwick, Observations on the Law and Practice in Regard to Municipal Elections ..., *op. cit.*, pages 346-349.

26. Glasgow Town Council, Report by the Lord Provost and Magistrates to the Town Council of Glasgow in Reference to Certain Claims of the Town Clerks, with an Appendix, Containing Extracts from the Minutes of the Magistrates and Council on the Subject, (Glasgow, 1864), page 10.

27. Blair, *op. cit.*, page 147.

28. See Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, *op. cit.*, page 130.

29. See the Glasgow Herald, 24th September 1852. During the course of a Council debate on the Town Clerk's fee structure, a Liberal town councillor - William Bankier - expressed strong doubts about the accuracy of Reddie's figures.

30. This explanation is suggested in William Davie's obituary, Glasgow Herald, 1st January 1858.

31. For manifestations of this independent feeling among Glasgow's Town Clerks, see the Glasgow Herald, 6th June 1843, for James Reddie's views of what he considered to be the extent of his responsibilities. For an early twentieth century opinion - little changed from the 1840s - see "The Town Clerkship of Glasgow, Memorandum for the Special Committee Appointed by the Corporation", contained in Glasgow Corporation, Minutes, Special Committee on Town Clerkship, 13th January 1904, print 7, page 318, SRA, C1.3.31.

32. Quoted in the Glasgow Herald, 24th September 1852. The speaker was again William Bankier.

33. For indications of the gentler qualities of Forbes and Davie, see their respective obituaries in *ibid.*, 5th December

- 1855 and 1st January 1858. The Herald suggests that Davie had "... a lack of vigour ... in dealing with scoundrels and disreputables who were brought before the Police Court".
34. Glasgow Town Council, Report ... in Reference to Certain Claims of the Town Clerks ..., op. cit., page 11.
35. See *ibid.*, page 13. In a "Statement of Emoluments of the Office of Town Clerks, for Five Years Preceding January 1852", almost half the Town Clerk's income derived from property work, notably the preparation of Instruments of Sasine.
36. See Edinburgh Town Council, Documents Relating to the City Clerk's Fee Fund, Ordered to be Printed by Act of Council, 12th February 1856, SRA D-TC 14.1.4, MP14-775.
37. Glasgow Herald, 24th September 1852.
38. Glasgow Town Council, Report ... in Reference to Certain Claims of the Town Clerks, op. cit., page 10.
39. Some councillors believed that Turner was deliberately obstructing the appointment of a second Town Clerk, in order to keep a personal grip on the office. For Turner's defence of his stance, see the Glasgow Herald, 14th October 1857. He alleges that political influences within the Council were being brought to bear against him.
40. See "Notes of Suspension and Interdict: Angus Turner, Town Clerk of Glasgow, against Alexander Monro, Second Town Clerk of Glasgow, 24th August 1859", in Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., pages 10-11.
41. *Ibid.*, pages 11-12.
42. For the full legal opinion of the Lord Advocate and others, see Glasgow Town Council, Report ... in Reference to Certain Claims of the Town Clerks, op. cit., page 18.
43. The brusque adviser was Lord Redesdale - grandfather of the famous Mitford sisters - who was an expert on the drafting of private Bills, and often looked over proposed legislation from Glasgow Town Council. See Note by Lord Redesdale Annexed to the Bill for the Regulation of the Office of the Town Clerk of the City of Glasgow, SRA 6/1/1.1.
44. Glasgow Herald, 1st October 1859.
45. For Turner's jaundiced comments on this, see *ibid.*, 9th December 1871.

46. See pages 313-314.
47. Quoted in the Glasgow Herald, 9th December 1871.
48. For Turner's retraction, see his letter reproduced on pages 97-100 of Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit.
49. For example, see James Leitch Lang's pamphlet, Divide and Conquer: the Glasgow Town Clerks' Law Accounts, (Glasgow, 1867).
50. Quoted in the Glasgow Herald, 2nd October 1869; the speech is again referred to in ibid., 8th December 1871. For some background to Jackson's candidature in the First Ward, see Iain G.C. Hutchison, Politics and Society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-86, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974), pages 143-145.
51. Glasgow Herald, 5th October 1869.
52. See pages 148-151.
53. Watson and Turner were among the first prominent Glasgow citizens to be scrutinised in The Bailie's long-running "Men You Know" column, which provided useful biographical details about councillors and officials. See The Bailie, 23rd October 1872 for Watson, and 11th December 1872 for Turner.
54. Glasgow Herald, 8th December 1871. The Herald was a strong supporter of Watson at this time, defending him against attacks by the rival North British Daily Mail over allegations of manipulative influence in municipal affairs.
55. Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., page 130. It remains unclear what proportion of fees were claimed by Alexander Monro; however, the audited statement calculated a yearly average income of £7,157 for the Town Clerk's office, including areas of responsibility formerly dealt with by Monro. £8,000 was eventually the global figure budgeted for the Fee Fund, so it would seem that the Herald's claims in 1871 related to the absolute maximum that Turner was likely accrue as sole Town Clerk.
56. For a list of contemporary wage rates, see Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875, (Fontana edition, London, 1979), pages 115-117. The wages point was also stressed by George Jackson; see the Glasgow Herald, 2nd October 1869.
57. Ibid., 8th December 1871.
58. For Turner's reply to the Herald, see ibid., 9th December

- 1871.
59. Ibid., 23rd July 1872.
60. Ibid., 26th July 1872.
61. The terms of the motion had been endorsed by the Lord Advocate, George Young. See Glasgow Town Council, Documents Bearing upon the Motions (with relation to the Town Clerk's Office), of which the Lord Provost and Councillor Lang gave Notice at the Meeting of the Town Council on 18th July 1872, (Glasgow, 1872), page 2.
62. Quoted in the Glasgow Herald, 26th July 1872.
63. As it happened, Turner and Watson were much the same age, having been born in 1800 and 1801 respectively.
64. For the complete opinion of the Lord Advocate and others, see Glasgow Town Council, Documents Bearing upon the Motions (with relation to the Town Clerk's Office) ..., op. cit., pages 6-7.
65. See Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., page 128, containing an extract from the Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 25th July 1872.
66. See the Glasgow Herald, 17th October 1872, for the terms of the final agreement between Turner and the Town Council.
67. The Bailie, 11th December 1872. The Bailie also hints that there were deeper and darker reasons for the confrontation between Watson and Turner, but refuses to elucidate the nature of these. The Bailie was being cautious; this was precisely the time when successful litigation was taken out against the North British Daily Mail and Councillor James Steel for defamation.
68. For the relevant sections of the Glasgow Municipal Act see Glasgow Town Council, Documents bearing upon the Motions (with relation to the Town Clerk's Office) ..., op. cit., pages 9-11.
69. Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., page 153, contains an extract from the Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 10th December 1872.
70. See *ibid.*, page 154, for a list of applicants. All but one were resident in Scotland.
71. *Ibid.*, pages 155-156.
72. See the Glasgow Herald, 29th September and 2nd October 1893

for Walls' obituary notices. He also merits a section in a biographical anthology of sketches taken from the magazine Fairplay, and published as Clydeside Cameos, (London, 1885). Walls is not mentioned by name; instead he is given the pseudonym of "Long Sixteens".

73. Walls was seven years older than Marwick, having been born in 1819. Orkney had a substantial Seceder, later United Presbyterian, community. See Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, op. cit., pages 68-71. Marwick subsequently joined the Congregational Church in Edinburgh, and in later years leaned towards the Established Church.

74. See John Gray McKendrick, Memoir of Sir James David Marwick, 1826 to 1908, (Glasgow, 1909), pages 19-21. The memoir is also reproduced as a preliminary to Sir James D. Marwick, The River Clyde and Clyde Burghs, (Glasgow, 1909).

75. Sir James D. Marwick, A Retrospect, (Glasgow, 1905), pages 136-138.

76. Note, however, that in 1860 Marwick was able to retain his private law practice in Edinburgh, and thus received substantial income from that quarter. He was no longer able to do this on transfer to Glasgow, and his huge salary was partial compensation for loss of revenue. See McKendrick, op. cit., page 21.

77. The Bailie, 14th May 1873.

78. The Report is contained in Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., pages 163-166. See also McKendrick, op. cit., pages 30-31.

79. "Minutes of the Special Committee on the Reorganisation of the Town Clerk's Office", 29th July 1873, in Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., pages 167-168. The members of the Committee were James Bain, James Brown, William Collins, Archibald Gray Macdonald, William Miller, James Moir, James Morrison, Alexander Osborne, William Taylor and William Walls.

80. There were also several minor Trusts administered by the Town Clerk's department, which dated from the pre-1833 period and were the personal bequests of individuals. For instance, the Shuna Trust had been constituted in 1829 by a deed of Mr. Yeates of Devonshire, who vested the trusteeship of the small Argyllshire island of Shuna under the Town Council, acting as feudal superior. The proceeds accruing from properties in Shuna were specifically directed towards the benefit of the

city, especially the University and Anderson's Institution.

81. See Marwick's "Reorganisation Report", in Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., pages 165-166.

82. Ibid. It is worth pointing out that after the death of Alexander Monro in 1871, City Improvement Trust administration was handled by James Muirhead, who was later to cross swords with Marwick as Clerk to Hillhead Burgh. Subsequently an expert on local government law, in 1905 Muirhead was placed on the shortlist for the Glasgow Town Clerkship.

83. Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., pages 164-165.

84. McKendrick, op. cit., page 30. Renwick, as successor to Andrew Cunninghame, became depute Town Clerk in 1885. Son of a farmer, Renwick was from Torbank, Peebleshire. His close connection with Marwick dated from 1864, when he joined the Edinburgh Town Clerk's office. When the Scottish Burgh Records Society was formed in 1865, Marwick and Renwick became leading lights, and thereafter voluminous documentation flowed forth from both men. Renwick was latterly an acknowledged expert on Glasgow's history, noted for such meticulous publications as Glasgow Memorials, (Glasgow, 1908). He died on 11th January 1920, aged seventy-eight. A lengthy tribute to Renwick appears in his posthumous publication, History of Glasgow, Volume I: Pre-Reformation Period, (Glasgow, 1921). He had been commissioned by the Town Council to write a history of the city, but was only able to progress the work to 1560; the remaining volumes, stopping in 1833, were completed by George Eyre-Todd.

85. Messrs. Bowers and Monro were to play a crucial rôle in the Town Clerk's story; see pages 557-563.

86. Quoted in Jackson, op. cit., page 101.

87. Ibid., pages 101-106.

88. In addition to *ibid.*, a brief account of the functions of Glasgow's Dean of Guild Court appears in Thomas Ferguson, op. cit., pages 54-56.

89. Jackson, op. cit., page 104. The author points out that the debate over the clerk and assessorship masked the more fundamental issue of the continuing right of the Dean of Guild to serve as an ex officio town councillor. The Merchants' House was taking a calculated risk in pursuing the case to the Court of Session, as an adverse decision might have seriously undermined its basis of municipal authority. However, Marwick does not appear to have been motivated by a particular desire to

remove the Merchants' House presence from the Council Chambers.

90. Despite the Merchants' House victory in 1876, Town Clerk Marwick continued to service the Dean of Guild Court until 1885, when he sought to hand over the responsibility to one of his deputies. It was at this stage that the Merchants' House availed itself of the opportunity to sever the municipal connection in respect of the clerk and assessorship, and Robert Berry - Professor of Scots Law at Glasgow University - took over.

91. See the Glasgow Herald, 2nd February 1877, for a report of the decision to increase Marwick's salary.

92. "Statement by Mr. Marwick as to the Town Clerk's Fee Fund", in Glasgow Town Council, Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., page 209.

93. See Kirkwood's "Glasgow Municipal Act, 1872: Note on the Meaning and Effect of the Clauses in the Act relating to the Appointment of the Town Clerk and the Fee Fund", reproduced in *ibid.*, pages 214-215.

94. *Ibid.*, page 208.

95. "Special Meeting of Finance Committee, 22nd October 1879: Statement by J. Nicol, City Accountant", in *ibid.*, pages 174-176.

96. Glasgow Town Council, Minutes, 12 February 1880, SRA C1.1.71.

97. As originally agreed at a Special Meeting of the Finance Committee on 4th February 1880. See Glasgow Town Council, Office of Town Clerk, op. cit., page 223.

98. The letter, dated 18th February 1880, is reproduced in *ibid.*, page 228.

99. The background to the inter-departmental squabble is copiously documented in Glasgow Town Council, Interim Report by the Special Committee appointed by the Town Council on the 17th March 1884 to Investigate into the whole Financial Management of the Office of City Chamberlain. See SRA D-TC 14.1.2, MP14-249.

100. Nicol's official duty in connection with the City Improvement Trust was to act as "Superintendent of Factors, Collector of Rents, and to take the charge of all Property". Marwick, as has been noted, served as Secretary to the Trust. The sore point between the two men was who should have been

responsible for keeping an up-to-date Register of feuing transactions.

101. Much is made of the affair in the biographical profiles of Marwick and Nicol appearing in Fairplay respectively on 15th January and 5th February 1886.

102. 46 and 47 Victoria, cap. 106, [1883], "An Act to make further provision respecting borrowing Money by the Corporation of Glasgow, and for other purposes".

103. Walls's precise accusations are listed in Glasgow Town Council, "Interim Report by the Special Committee ... to Investigate ... the Office of City Chamberlain", loc. cit., page 250.

104. For the City Chamberlain's job description, as approved by councillors in 1875, see Glasgow Town Council, Regulations as to the Office and Duties of the City Chamberlain, City Accountant, and Cashier, the Examination and Payment of Accounts, &c., and the Operations on the Bank Accounts of the Corporation and Trusts, SRA 16/1/1.2.

105. North British Daily Mail, 15th March 1884.

106. Ibid., 17th March 1884.

107. Ibid. As it happened, the Town Council did agree to sanction an independent inquiry, which reported in September 1884.

108. The Bailie, 1st October 1884.

109. The issue had been previously raised in 1881, but the General Committee of the City Improvement Trust had decided not to make a detailed investigation. See Nicols's explanation of events at this time in Glasgow Town Council, "Interim Report by the Special Committee ...", loc. cit., pages 281-284.

110. Glasgow Herald, 26th September 1884. At the same meeting, Michael Simons - who had co-ordinated the second investigation into the City Chamberlain's activities - virtually came to blows with Walls over his refusal to support moves for Nicol's dismissal.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid. The motion was narrowly carried by nineteen votes to seventeen. There appears to have been no significant party split over the matter. Uncharacteristically - in view of his

antipathy to the municipal bureaucracy - James Martin was a staunch supporter of Nicol, claiming that he had been "pounced upon in an unjust way".

113. The Bailie, 1st October 1884.

114. For the background to Nicol's career, see his obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 1st November 1911. He survived unscathed as City Chamberlain until he died in harness, aged seventy-eight. Over the years, he had come to be regarded as an enduring link with the pre-Loch Katrine era, when municipal enterprise was as yet in embryo. As his obituary said of him: "He possessed in large measure that urbanity which is associated with the manners of an earlier period, and which perhaps is not easily developed in these more bustling times". As a point of interest, his annual salary in 1884 was £1,200.

115. This observation was made in The Bailie as early as 15th July 1874.

116. "Fairplay", Clydeside Cameos, op. cit., page 211.

117. See pages 628-632

118. For the effects of the Bank crash on the Glasgow property market, see Cairncross, "Fluctuations in the Glasgow Building Industry, 1856-1914", loc. cit., especially page 20.

119. For the statements of Jackson's allies, see the Glasgow Herald, 26th September 1884.

120. See page 158.

121. For Marwick's letter of resignation as a law agent, see Glasgow Town Council, Glasgow Corporation and Police Bill, 1895, op. cit., page 669.

122. See Glasgow Corporation, List of Acts of Parliament Relating to the Corporation of Glasgow from 1855 to 1904, (Glasgow 1904), in SRA General Notes, no. 80.

123. See pages 416-417.

124. The English Town Clerks had been active in the formation of the influential Association of Municipal Corporations in 1872, although Scotland remained outwith the Association's sphere of operations. Nevertheless, this did not prevent Marwick from maintaining close links south of the border, or Glasgow's councillors from keeping an interest in the administrative arrangements of other local authorities.

125. McKendrick, *op. cit.*, page 24.

126. See page 187.

127. For the background to these publications, see McKendrick, *op. cit.*, pages 37-38.

128. 58 and 59 Victoria, cap. 143, [1895], "An Act to transfer and vest in the Corporation of Glasgow the powers of the Glasgow Police Commissioners and of the several Municipal Trusts of the City; to make provision for the regulation of the Office of Town Clerk, and for the appointment of Stipendiary Magistrates; to amend and extend Police powers within the City; and for other purposes".

129. *Ibid.*, Part III, Section 17.

130. *Ibid.*, Part II, Sections 4-16.

131. For Marwick's views, see Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, *op. cit.*, pages 296-298, in connection with the "Report to the Special Committee on the Amalgamation of the Police Clerk's Office with that of the Town Clerk", dated 12th February 1892.

132. Waller, *op. cit.*, page 285.

133. McKendrick, *op. cit.*, page 22. However, Marwick provoked ill-feeling from councillors in the 1890s when he decided - on his own initiative - to pass on some of the Corporation's lucrative law agency work to a firm of Edinburgh solicitors, where his son was a partner. See the North British Daily Mail, 27th and 31st January 1890, and 8th October 1890.

134. See pages 653-661.

135. For details of Marwick's involvement with Gibson, see the Glasgow Herald, 3rd October 1902.

136. McKendrick, *op. cit.*, page 44.

137. See Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, *op. cit.*, pages 64-66 and 79-80.

138. Briggs, History of Birmingham, Volume II, *op. cit.*, page 126.

139. Glasgow Town Council, Office of Town Clerk, *op. cit.*, pages 32-324.

140. Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, *op. cit.*

page 143.

141. Notably The Bailie, 10th February 1892. This "Men You Know" portrait is a shrewd assessment of Marwick.

142. Ibid.

143. See Glasgow Corporation Minutes, 6th October 1903, pages 100-102, SRA C1.3.31, for "Office of Town Clerk: Memorandum by Sir James Marwick", which explains the terms of the Town Clerk's pension arrangements.

144. James Reddie was, of course, a noted example. Part of the problems in the City Chamberlain's office during the 1870s had arisen from the "feeble health" of William West Watson, who despite debility, continued to act as head of department until his death in 1882. See Watson's obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 14th March 1882.

145. Indeed, the pensions issue was a major catalyst towards the formation of the National and Local Government Officers' Association in 1905. NALGO had evolved from local organisations like the Liverpool Municipal Officers' Guild, where staff from the Town Clerk's department had been to the fore in organising fellow local government workers. Liverpool, incidentally, had operated a superannuation scheme since 1882. See Alec Spoor, White Collar Union: Sixty Years of NALGO, (London, 1967), pages 11-17. A superannuation scheme for Glasgow staff was under active consideration from 1893, although agreement could not be reached until after 1918.

146. Glasgow Corporation, "Office of Town Clerk: Memorandum ...", loc. cit., page 101.

147. It was believed that Marwick's knighthood had been secured by Lord Provost James King in 1888 as a result of political pressure on the Salisbury Government.

148. Glasgow Corporation, "Office of Town Clerk: Memorandum ...", loc. cit., page 101.

149. Robert Crawford, "The Principles of Municipal Reform", in the Evening News, 22nd and 28th March 1893.

150. Atkinson, op. cit., page 51.

151. Ibid., page 56.

152. William Harbutt Dawson, Municipal Life and Government in Germany, (London, 1914), page 101.

153. Kay's enthusiasm is displayed in his contribution to the series of Glasgow Herald articles, "Should there be a Municipal Manager?", 18th May 1908.
154. Leonard D. White, The City Manager, (Chicago, 1927), pages x-xi.
155. Ibid., page x.
156. See *ibid.*, 16th May 1908.
157. For Stevenson's personal background, see the Glasgow Echo, 24th March 1894, and his obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 12th July 1944.
158. Glasgow Echo, *ibid.* The Echo was, of course, strongly supportive of the Chisholmite Progressives on Glasgow Town Council.
159. For his United States Connections, see Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, *op. cit.*, pages 154-155. An interesting personal assessment of Stevenson appears in Samuel, *op. cit.*, page 12. Samuel was Lord Provost's Secretary from 1896, and had much personal admiration for Stevenson.
160. Samuel, *ibid.*
161. See Glasgow Town Council, Reorganisation of Lord Provost: Minutes as to Altering Term of Office, 1892 -97, appearing in SRA D-TC 14.1.26, MP14-123.
162. See Stevenson's preface to Glasgow Corporation, Municipal Glasgow, *op. cit.*, pages 6-7.
163. As remarked by councillor John Connel King in the Glasgow Herald, 19th May 1908.
164. Glasgow Corporation Minutes, 27th November 1903, print 3, page 71.
165. By this time it was generally felt that any legal challenge to the Town Clerk's traditional security of tenure would be successful, should it reach the House of Lords.
166. Monro's letter, dated 27th December 1904, is contained in Glasgow Town Council, The Office of Town Clerk, a collection of loose documents, SRA D-TC 6/1/1.2.
167. Quoted in *ibid.*
168. Biographical details for Bowers can be found in The

Bailie, 3rd May 1905; Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., page 24; and his Glasgow Herald obituary, 11th June 1914.

169. The Bailie, 25th January 1905.

170. The advertisement, dated 6th January 1905, appears on the first page of Memorial for the Corporation of the City of Glasgow for the Opinion of Counsel, 28th February 1905, in SRA D-TC 6/1/1.2.

171. The applications still survive, and can be found in *ibid.* The faux pas about the Lord Mayor of Glasgow was made by the Clerk to the Metropolitan Water Board.

172. Glasgow Corporation Minutes of the Special Committee on the Town Clerkship, 9th February 1905, print 21, pages 1324-1325, SRA C1.3.32.

173. See Application and Testimonials of R. Melling Prescott, Town Clerk of Fulham, (One of the Selected Candidates for Town Clerkship of the City of London), in SRA D-TC 6/1/1.2.

One of his references came from Sir Albert Rollitt, MP, the influential President of the Association of Municipal Corporations.

174. Glasgow Corporation Minutes of the Special Committee on the Town Clerkship, 17th March 1905, print 21, page 1326, op. cit. John Ferguson moved John Bowers as Town Clerk at the same meeting and was defeated by fourteen votes to four, with four abstentions.

175. For Gibson's accusations of "wire-pulling", see the Glasgow Herald, 31st March 1905.

176. See page 2 of the Memorial for the Corporation of the City of Glasgow ..., op. cit.

177. *Ibid.*, page 3.

178. The Bailie, 8th March 1905.

179. Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow: Resolutions as to Proposed Appointment of Unqualified Person as Town Clerk of the City of Glasgow, 28th March 1905, in SRA D-TC 6/1/1.2.

180. Glasgow Herald, 31st March 1905.

181. The letter is reproduced in Glasgow Corporation Minutes of the Special Committee on the Town Clerkship, 30th March 1905, print 21, page 1330, op. cit. Whether Prescott stayed on at

Fulham or went on to greater things remains - as yet - a mystery. Certainly, his name does not appear in Who Was Who, while Sir John Lindsay, later Glasgow Town Clerk, is cited.

182. Glasgow Herald, 31st March 1905. Bowers' portrait is reproduced in The Bailie, 3rd May 1905. Marwick was famous for his "Viking" appearance, and was described thus: "Tall, buirdly, with an abundance of silver hair which provides a frame for a strongly-marked handsome face, SIR JAMES, once seen, is not likely to be forgotten". See The Bailie, 10th February 1892.

183. Glasgow Herald, 14th September 1905. See the letter from an aggrieved correspondent about the Town Clerkship.

184. Abstract of Applications for the Town Clerkship of Glasgow, and Relative Testimonials, opened at a Meeting of the Special Committee, held 1st September 1905, in SRA D-TC 14.1.40, MP14-88.

185. The Bailie, 20th September 1905.

186. Ibid.

187. For biographical details, see The Bailie, 31st January 1906; Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit.; and his Glasgow Herald obituary, 17th February 1912.

188. Glasgow Herald, ibid.

189. The Bailie, 31st January 1906.

190. Glasgow Corporation, Municipal Glasgow, op. cit., page 6.

191. Ibid.

192. For Geddes. see Gordon E. Cherry, Cities and Plans: the Shaping of Urban Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, (London, 1988), page 73.

193. For the background to Horsfall and his ideas, see Michael Harrison, "Art and Philanthropy: T.C. Horsfall and the Manchester Art Museum", in Alan J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts (ed.), City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Mid-Victorian Manchester, (Manchester, 1985), pages 120-147, and Anthony Sutcliffe, Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914, (Oxford, 1981), pages 69-72.

194. Another disciple of Horsfall was John Sutton Nettlefold, a Birmingham industrialist and Unionist councillor, who did much to introduce German-style planning ideas into his native city.

195. See the Glasgow Herald, 6th, 16th, 18th, 19th and 20th May 1908.
196. Ibid., 6th May 1908.
197. Ibid., 16th May 1908.
198. The respective comments of Chisholm and Kay appear in ibid., 16th and 18th May 1908.
199. Ibid, 8th March 1912.
200. Glasgow Corporation, Municipal Glasgow, op. cit. See also page 364 of this thesis.
201. Biographical information about Lindsay can be found in The Bailie, 8th August 1900; Ord, The Story of the Barony of Gorbals, op. cit., pages 89-91 (as an example of the local man made good); and his Glasgow Herald obituary, 24th September 1927.
202. The Bailie, ibid. For Lindsay's admiration of Burnet, see his Review of Municipal Government in Glasgow: a Lecture delivered under the Auspices of the Old Glasgow Club on 15th December 1909, (Glasgow, 1909), especially pages 18-19. Lindsay was intrigued about the circumstances of Burnet's appointment as Clerk to the Police Commissioners in 1842, but admits to having no knowledge of the facts. Clearly, over time, the memory of the confrontation between the Town Council and Police Commissioners had all but disappeared.
203. His popularity is reflected in the Glasgow Herald, 8th March 1912.
204. I.V. Paterson was the County Clerk of Lanarkshire. See The New Scottish Local Authorities - Organisation and Management Structures: A Working Group Appointed by the Scottish Local Authority Associations, (Edinburgh, 1973).
205. Strathclyde Regional Council, Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1988-89, page 13.
206. James G. Kellas, The Scottish Political System, (Cambridge, 1975; second edition), page 149; George Monies, Local Government in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1975), page 31.
209. Like Marwick, Sir Lawrence Boyle originally came from Leith. Joining Glasgow Corporation in 1962 as Depute City Chamberlain, he succeeded to the prime Chamberlain's post in 1970. In 1974 he became Strathclyde Region's Chief Executive and retired - aged sixty - in 1980.

PART SIX - "THE SPIRIT ABOVE AND THE SPIRIT BELOW":
GLASGOW TOWN COUNCIL AND THE TEMPERANCE CRUSADE

- I. The Early Temperance Movement and Municipal Licensing Policy, 1833-62.
- II. The Consolidation of Militant Temperance Activity, 1862-88.
- III. The Rise of Samuel Chisholm and the "Trade" Fightback, 1888-1912.

"There's a spirit above and a spirit below,
A spirit of weal and a spirit of woe;
The spirit above is the Spirit Divine,
The spirit below is the spirit of wine."

¹Quoted by Councillor James Leitch Lang, during a Town Council debate on licensing restrictions, December 1872.

I. The Early Temperance Movement and Municipal Licensing Policy, 1833-62

It was not coincidental that the temperance movement first rose to prominence in Glasgow during the 1830s, at a time of considerable upheaval in the city's social and political profile.² The accelerating pace of change was reflected in the switch of many town councillors from a generally positive to a much more negative perception of the effects of alcohol. For instance, during the immediate post-reform period, social drinking had played no small part in the campaign of the "Clique" group of Liberals to win a municipal power-base; indeed, much of their strategy was evolved in city-centre taverns like the Crow or the Vine.³ One erstwhile "Clique" supporter later wrote with nostalgia of the quantities of toddy and toasted cheese served up during the course of political discussions, commenting that, "These were the times when to drink was a constitutional duty, and water-consuming patriotism unknown...".⁴ Yet, in less than a decade, a number of the men who had enthusiastically shared in this convivial atmosphere

were endorsing the view that "drunkenness is increased by the temptations and inducements presented by the numerous places open for the sale of liquor", and that "places for tippling should be reduced".⁵ For them, the drink problem had become bound up with the other blighting effects of urbanisation which were taxing the energies of the civic authorities, particularly as it was one of the most visible symptoms of the lack of order and moral restraint in the community. This did not mean that Glasgow Town Council was suddenly won over to the cause of total abstinence, because at this time temperance and teetotalism were not mutually identified. Nevertheless, the hardening of attitudes was indicative that the old social values had generally come to be regarded as incompatible with the demands of modern society.

Despite the strong moral dimension, the absence of formal Church influence in the formation of temperance societies was to characterise the Scottish movement in the 1830s and early 1840s, with the ironic exception of the Roman Catholic Church, which had a thriving total abstinence association under Father James Enraght.⁶ Certainly, the first forays on Glasgow Town Council against the licensing laws were encouraged, on the whole, by Evangelicals, under the inspiration of the elder William Collins - publisher, pioneering temperance campaigner, and associate of Thomas Chalmers. Yet the Glasgow example was not typical, and the Established Church itself remained resolutely aloof from

such activities.⁷ Indeed, much of the initiative in promoting the early movement came from political radicals. The city's first total abstinence association was the Glasgow Radical Temperance Society, established in 1836 after a missionary visit from John Finch, an Owenite socialist.⁸ Although "radical" could simply mean a commitment to teetotalism, Edward Morris, one of the founding members, made no secret of his political views. He repeatedly referred to the self-discipline of the temperance advocates, in contrast with the grosser exploits of "... our nobility and gentry - the supposed conservatives [sic] of our laws, our religion, and our freedom", who had plied the people with strong drink at elections prior to 1832, in order to hold sway over a decadent political system.⁹ From this perspective, the reforms of 1832 were perceived as having purged some of the malpractices of the past, and the rejection of alcohol compounded this sense of moral cleansing generated by a new and more dynamic political outlook.

Politics in Glasgow were profoundly influenced by the desire for change arising from the Reform Act, and it has already been noted that the terms "Liberal" and "Conservative" were consciously used from the 1830s in preference to the anachronistic "Whig" or "Tory". Accordingly, Town Council representatives who embraced the temperance cause, of whatever ideological persuasion, were not hostile to the forward-looking attitude of the Glasgow Total Abstinence Society, which had

grown rapidly from the small beginnings of the 1836 Radical Temperance Society. Legislative action at the national level to curtail the liquor traffic had not yet become a priority of the total abstinence movement, but in Glasgow the local organisation directed its attention towards the burgh licensing court, which came under the jurisdiction of magistrates elected by the Town Council. In March and April 1838, the Glasgow Society made the first recorded appeals to the municipal authority for action to enforce stricter regulation of licensing arrangements.¹⁰ A number of councillors had already pre-empted this by pledging their support for "suppressing intemperance", and on the initiative of Bailie Henry Paul a motion was eventually endorsed by the Town Council to set up an ad hoc Committee on Intemperance and Sabbath Profanation.¹¹

A brief explanation of the licensing law as it stood at this time is necessary before the Report of the Committee can be considered in context. In Scotland, the 1828 Home-Drummond Act had established the first formal limitation on the opening hours of inns, alehouses and victualling houses.¹² However, the conditions attached to the granting of licences were sufficiently vague, specifying only that the licensee:¹³

... do not keep Open House or permit or suffer any drinking or tippling in any part of the Premises there unto belonging, during the hours of Divine Service on Sundays or other Days set aside for Public Worship by lawful Authority, nor keep the same open at unseasonable hours.

The definition of "unseasonable hours" was open to considerable interpretation, depending on local circumstances and the vigilance of the police and licensing authorities. Thus, Home-Drummond may have been appropriate for small towns and rural areas, but in Glasgow it was notoriously difficult for magistrates to enforce even the bare requirements of the Act, due to the sheer number of licensed premises.¹⁴ This was largely because the population flow to the city was encouraging brisk business, and aspiring publicans could obtain licences with relative ease. Applicants to the Glasgow magistrates were simply required to produce a certificate of moral fitness from their minister, or other responsible citizen.¹⁵ Moreover, the financial outlay necessary for setting up in business was minimal, with the result that the city's dram shops began to multiply disproportionately. During the 1830s, Glasgow's per capita spirit consumption reached unprecedented levels, with a larger number of licensed premises than all other food sellers put together.¹⁶ It was scarcely surprising that the Report of the Committee on Intemperance and Sabbath Desecration, which appeared in 1839, identified a basic need for the magistrates to keep more efficient tabs on the growing number of licensees, and liaise with the police in order to take effective action against contraventions.¹⁷

However, these practical considerations were combined in the Report with strong moral pronouncements as to the deteriorating

state of Glasgow's social fabric. Intemperance was the crucial contributory factor, attributed to individual weakness rather than any external pressures or influences. This notion was characteristic of the early temperance campaigners, who believed that greater self-control would alone bring about a reformation in drinking habits. Radicals and Chartists adhered to this argument to show that the working classes had as much moral fibre as anyone else; Glasgow town councillors, on the other hand, were anxious to encourage a sense of discipline within the community, and urged employers to set a better example to the workforce:¹⁸

... for the purpose of inducing them to abandon and discountenance a practice alike pernicious to their morals, their health and their comfort, besides being injurious to their masters' interests and offensive to society.

Public drunkenness was the most ostentatious display of personal indiscipline, and was equated in the Report with sinister and deviant behaviour. An incident in the early hours of 1st January 1839 was singled out as a particularly bacchanalian example of uncontrolled drinking, when a young man was stabbed to death during a brawl in the city's High Street.¹⁹ His assailants had been doing the rounds of the local public houses - which traditionally remained open throughout New Year's Day - and were thus heavily intoxicated. Most were in their teens, the youngest being sixteen years old,

and none had apparently been in trouble with the police before. The High Street stabbing was widely used by the authorities to illustrate the insidious effects of alcohol abuse, and especially its corrupting influence on innocent youth. It also marked the first stage in a lengthy campaign to reclaim one of Glasgow's main public holidays for more temperate recreation, by shutting all licensed premises on New Year's Day.

Apart from more rigorous application of the existing law, and offering cautionary advice about responsible behaviour, the 1839 Report made no meaningful commitment about tackling Glasgow's drink problem. Until the mid-1840s, councillors remained uncomfortably aware of the inadequacies of the existing licensing system, but tended to blame these on human error rather than on legislative shortcomings. Part of this failure to act decisively was due to a lack of direction within the broader temperance movement. What the word "temperance" actually meant could be confusing, as it conformed to a variety of definitions, ranging from support for moderate drinking to militant teetotalism. Accordingly, some temperance advocates abstained from spiritous liquor only, but accepted wine and fermented beverages; others disdained even to drink communion wine.²⁰ During the 1840s the total abstainers began to gain the initiative, principally because the moderate stance was perceived as being too compromising in its approach to alcohol. However, many of the early teetotalers differed from their

counterparts in the later nineteenth century because they continued to uphold the view that education and personal example should be the sole means of persuading people to be abstemious. Robert Smith - an avowed teetotaler elected to Glasgow Town Council in 1845 - argued strongly against any element of compulsion in prohibiting the drinks' trade.²¹ As a Liberal and United Presbyterian, Smith was a dedicated supporter of the Voluntary principle, believing it to be the foundation of all social and political activity. The notion of "moral suasion" to promote temperance was thus attractive to Smith's generation, and was a strong motivating influence in the formation of the Scottish Temperance League in November 1844.

Yet old drinking habits died hard, and the cosy image of Scots conviviality, fostered particularly in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, retained a grip on cultural mores.²² Bailie Nicol Jarvie, the gregarious, brandy-drinking Glasgow magistrate from Scott's Rob Roy, was regarded as something of a folk-hero among traditionalists in the city, throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.²³ The philosophy of teetotalism jarred with the ideals of those who cherished such values, and its activists were looked upon with a mixture of scepticism and alarm. In 1840 Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine - a bastion of old-style Toryism - ridiculed the total abstinence movement as eccentric, and went so far as to suggest that its radical connections made it unpatriotic and subversive.²⁴ The Irish

component of Father Enraght's following was used as particular proof of this contention. Despite the decline of Chartism during the 1840s, and the increasing penetration of the temperance movement by middle class elements, the inherently conservative attitude of Blackwood's persisted, to re-emerge with full force when teetotalism was in the ascendancy. As will be seen, the views of temperance opponents during the 1840s could have been applied equally in the 1870s or 1900s.

As far as Glasgow town councillors were concerned, attitudes towards promoting temperance began to alter significantly from around 1845. One reason, emphasised by Daniel Paton in his history of the Scottish temperance movement, was the growing public concern over local taxation, particularly in the wake of the 1845 Poor Law Amendment Act. The effect of the new legislation was, as Paton suggests, that the relationship between drink and poverty suddenly became a subject of more than academic interest.²⁵ The assessment of poor rates on the basis of rental value rather than the former "means and substance" system created much agitation among Glasgow's middle classes, who believed that they were bearing an undue financial burden.²⁶ While they used the Town Council as a vehicle for exerting pressure to alter the taxation system, they used the temperance movement as a vehicle for drawing attention to the rôle that drink was playing in the creation of pauperism, and thus draining ratepayers' resources. This, in turn, led to a

growing awareness that reform of the licensing system would be a practical method for eliminating drunkenness and reducing taxation. To reinforce local support for a licensing campaign, an 1846 House of Commons Select Committee - under William Forbes Mackenzie, MP for Peebleshire - recommended that a decrease in the number of public houses of an "inferior class" was highly desirable.²⁷

Another important development in 1845 which affected the direction of Town Council attitudes towards temperance was the emergence of the Evangelical Alliance - a forum of collaboration among the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, particularly the Free Church, the Secession and Relief Churches (later United Presbyterians), and non-seceding Evangelicals from the Established Church. The Alliance's main rationale was to oppose the Government's subsidy for the Royal College of St. Patrick in Maynooth, County Kildare, which was a training seminary for priests.²⁸ Accordingly, as the self-proclaimed protector of Protestantism in Scotland, the Alliance began to organise with ruthless precision to win political influence. One of its prime targets was Glasgow Town Council, and by the 1850s a sizeable number of pro-Alliance councillors had been elected. The extent of their influence was demonstrated when two prominent supporters, Alexander Hastie and James Anderson, became Lord Provost in 1846 and 1848 respectively, with Hastie elected as MP for Glasgow in 1847. Motivated by the Poor Law

debate and support for Sunday observance, Alliance councillors vigorously threw their weight behind the campaign in favour of licensing restrictions. A significant breakthrough was achieved in April 1850, when a new set of licensing regulations for magistrates was endorsed by the Town Council, after concerted pressure from evangelical agencies, notably the Glasgow Sabbath School Union.²⁹ Two of the city's eight magistrates at the time can be identified as leading lights in the Evangelical Alliance; John McDowall, a United Presbyterian, and James Playfair, of the Free Church. Almost certainly, they and their supporters inside the Council made most of the running towards the approval of the regulations, although it should be stressed that other magistrates - such as Andrew Orr and David Dreghorn - were not so zealous in their temperance commitment.³⁰

Nevertheless, the tough stance adopted by Glasgow's civic representatives in 1850 was an important precursor to the 1853 Forbes Mackenzie Act, which wholly changed the nature of Scotland's licensing law.³¹ Broadly, the Glasgow regulations recommended a reduction in licensing renewals granted to public houses "of an inferior class", with increased police powers to check on infringements; all new licensees to give an undertaking not to open their premises on the Sabbath, except inns or hotels for the accommodation of travellers; and hours of opening to be fixed on Saturdays and weekdays from six o'clock in the morning to eleven at night.³² The new regulations did not have the

force of law, and were instead an interpretation of existing provisions which allowed penalties for the "improper" supervision of licensed premises. Glasgow Town Council was by no means alone in its efforts to redirect licensing policy; a similar campaign was being conducted in Edinburgh under the leadership of Duncan McLaren - yet another adherent of the Evangelical Alliance - who became Lord Provost in 1851.³³ This flurry of activity coincided with the formation of the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness, which had impeccable middle-class credentials and considerable influence in Parliament.³⁴ It was Association members who organised the necessary support from MPs which resulted in the passing of Forbes Mackenzie's Bill; "moral suasionists" were not to the fore, nor necessarily were radicals, as Forbes Mackenzie was himself a Conservative.³⁵

Not surprisingly, members of the licensed trade in Glasgow began to view developments at local and national level with some alarm. The shadowy spectre of prohibition was beginning to loom, with profoundly damaging consequences for the livelihoods of publicans and others involved in the "trade". Immediately after the 1850 municipal regulations had been approved, the pro-drinks lobby began to rally its forces to counter what it saw as an insidious move towards suppressing the sale of alcohol. They had at least one ally on the Town Council who was prepared to take a stand against licensing restrictions; John

Bain, a representative of the Fifth Ward, and a local grain dealer and provision merchant. Bain was also treasurer of the Spirit Dealers' Defence Committee, an organisation formed in 1850 to challenge the legal interpretation of the Glasgow regulations and to expose what was felt to be the hypocrisy of the attack on a primarily working-class area of recreation.³⁶ In this latter connection, the spirit dealers and their friends liked to draw attention to the existence of private clubs and hotels frequented by the city's upper classes, all of which remained open on Sundays. One speaker at a meeting of "trade" supporters scathingly remarked that, "... it would be well for the authorities to shut them first, as that would be beginning at the top of the tree".³⁷ Indeed, the city's Western Club, with membership at thirty guineas a year, was often cited as a sort of superior tippling house, which was immune from the attacks of temperance campaigners.³⁸

Initially, the Spirit Dealers' Defence Committee could do little to dent the strength of the temperance crusade in the early 1850s. A variety of organisations had by this time appeared in Glasgow to agitate for control of the drinks' trade, including the Free Church of Scotland Abstainers' Society, formed in 1849 by William Collins, junior, and James Torrens - later to be prominent town councillors; the City of Glasgow United Total Abstinence Society, formed in 1851 as an amalgam of the existing societies in the city; the City of Glasgow

Temperance Mission, formed in 1852 as a voluntary social work agency, to identify and care for inebriates; and the Glasgow Abstainers' Union, formed in 1854.³⁹ This was the climate that fostered the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and gave legal substance to Glasgow's licensing regulations, which had been bitterly challenged by the spirit dealers. Their accusations that the Council was acting outwith the sacred principles of free trade, and were spoiling the pleasures of the poor, cut little ice with the electorate, and John Bain lost his seat in 1851. Yet the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act did not mean that the licensed trade abandoned its attempt to turn the tide against the temperance movement. Rather, it reinforced claims that the Act was damaging, because instead of limiting the sale of alcohol, it led to a flourishing underground trade in the form of "shebeens" and illicit drinking dens.⁴⁰ From being on the defensive, therefore, the drinks' trade switched to the attack, with the weight of a moral argument behind it.

The Forbes Mackenzie Act had a twofold effect on Glasgow's licensing policy, giving a clear definition as to the type of certificate issued and hours of opening.⁴¹ Certificates were divided into three groups - for hoteliers, publicans and grocers - with strict requirements as to the sale of food and drink. Licensed grocers were still permitted to sell alcohol, but only under the proviso that it was consumed "off" the premises. Hours of opening were fixed between eight o'clock in the morning

and eleven at night. Premises were required to shut throughout Sunday, although inns and hotels could provide drink for residents and bona fide travellers; the latter had to vouch for their status by signing a register. It should be pointed out that the Sabbatarian aspects of the legislation were not an innovation; the common law of Scotland had favoured Sunday closing for all aspects of trading, and it was not until the 1828 Home-Drummond Act that public houses were formally exempted from traditional custom and practice.⁴² The 1850s campaign to reintroduce Sunday closing must be seen from this perspective, in order to understand the basis of its success. Certainly, as far as Glasgow was concerned, the most prominent advocates of licensing restrictions tended to be Sabbatarian and evangelical groups, rather than temperance organisations. Indeed, the campaign had placed many stalwarts of the Scottish Temperance League in an awkward dilemma because of their "moral suasionist" principles, although most eventually came round to accepting the need for action. Nevertheless, the likes of Robert Smith remained uncomfortable about the deviation of the League from its original precepts, fearing that the legislative solution might be the thin edge of the prohibitionist wedge.⁴³

Although the Forbes Mackenzie Act became legally enforceable in 1854, it was not until the following year that criticisms of its operation were widely voiced in Glasgow. John McDowall, James Playfair, and their colleagues in the Evangelical Alliance

rose with characteristic vigour to protect the cause of temperance and Sabbath observation, which the Glasgow Herald stated was now "the vexed question at Municipal and Parliamentary elections".⁴⁴ The Herald was opposed to the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and made no secret of the fact.⁴⁵ This was in no small measure because the traditional drinking habits of the city's journalists had been seriously disrupted, but the newspaper also echoed the sentiments of a growing number of Glaswegians, who were wearying of the crusading zeal of the Evangelical Alliance and its associates.⁴⁶ In November 1855 the Herald claimed that the Act was being challenged:⁴⁷

... not by publicans alone ... but by cool and dispassionate people, who abhor intemperance, and yet aver that it is not to be eradicated by penal enactment. There is less drinking in public houses, but there may be more in private dens, where the stealthy carouse is attended with the most deadly accompaniments.

In response to the wavering opinion over Forbes Mackenzie, a Committee of prominent evangelicals was set up in defence of the Act.⁴⁸ Its convener was John McDowall, leader of Glasgow's evangelically-inclined town councillors, and - as has been seen - an aspirant for the office of Lord Provost. The Committee undertook to organise for the forthcoming municipal poll, "... to give assistance to the electors generally, and to assist ward committees".⁴⁹ It also planned to make careful scrutiny of the voters' roll, to ensure that there would be no instances of personation or other abuses which might tip the balance in

favour of the pro-drinks' lobby. An innovation introduced by the Committee was to list in the newspapers the eleven candidates "definitely and distinctly" favourable to the Act; a tactic of the temperance associations which was later to become commonplace at local elections.⁵⁰ Only three of the temperance candidates actually faced a contest in the municipal poll, including John McDowall, who had legal proceedings initiated against him for allegedly menacing an elector who refused to vote for him.⁵¹ Two out of the three won, which meant that Glasgow Town Council still seemed fairly safe for the temperance cause.

However, the appearance belied the reality, and in Glasgow there was a distinct move away from support for evangelicalism and the ardent Protestantism it espoused. This trend was not particularly apparent at municipal level, because so many councillors were returned unopposed, but in the 1857 General Election the indications were clear. During the campaign the Evangelical Alliance was strangely muted. At the poll, Alexander Hastie - the only sitting MP out of two - was defeated by a combination of old-fashioned Whiggery and radical Liberalism in the shape of Walter Buchanan and Robert Dalglish, junior.⁵² This was much to the satisfaction of the Glasgow Herald, which commented:⁵³

Glasgow has pronounced against the anti-Maynooth agitation, and in favour of an

inquiry into the revision of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, which we have not hesitated to say has done and is doing much mischief, mixed up with no small amount of good.

From this time the temperance movement in Glasgow changed direction and attempted, with startling success, to broaden its appeal. The campaign came to centre on the Permissive Bill agitation which, while seeking a legislative solution to intemperance and declaring prohibition to be a long term goal, was prepared to adopt a gradualist approach to these objectives.

Nor was the famous victory of 1857 as convincing as the pro-drinks' lobby initially thought. The "trade" had exerted considerable pressure for a Parliamentary inquiry into the Forbes Mackenzie Act, following the success of a similar campaign south of the border. Yet, although down, the supporters of the 1853 legislation were by no means out, and skilfully outmanoeuvred their opponents by ensuring that the inquiry took the form of a Royal Commission, with a wide-ranging remit and extensive powers of consultation.⁵⁴ In the ensuing propaganda battle, Forbes Mackenzie's defenders demonstrated the strength and unity of their organisation, built up over the years of active hostility to the temperance cause. On the other hand, the drinks' trade in Scotland did not have the political clout of its English counterpart, which was dominated by large brewers with vested interests in the control of public houses. In 1857 Glasgow's main "trade" Defence Association was alleged

to have only 450 members out of a potential 1,700, and most of these were the proprietors of small dram shops.⁵⁵ Even Robert Dalglish, who had pledged himself during the 1857 election campaign as a champion of the "trade", realised that he had made a tactical error in alienating influential, pro-temperance Liberal support, and speedily switched his stance.⁵⁶

The inevitable result was that the Royal Commission, reporting in 1860, recommended a tightening rather than a relaxation of the existing law.⁵⁷ The Public Houses Amendment Act, which followed in 1862, reinforced previous licensing regulations, and provided stiff penalties for infringements.⁵⁸ Under pressure from temperance organisations, the right of local objection to licensing applications was extended, and one outcome was that the temperance lobby began to make its presence felt in the licensing courts. Indeed, there was a significant shift of emphasis away from national activity, and although Parliament continued to be used as an important vehicle for promoting the temperance cause, the authorities which determined local licensing policy - notably Glasgow Town Council - came to be the arena where the movement felt it could make the most meaningful impact.

II. The Consolidation of Militant Temperance Activity, 1862-88

The campaign in defence of the Forbes Mackenzie Act undoubtedly generated a sense of purpose and commitment throughout the Scottish temperance movement. At a wider level, the British movement was also going through a revitalisation during the 1850s, largely due to influence from the United States. Like Britain - and especially Scotland - evangelicalism tinged with political radicalism had contributed to the growing support for temperance across the Atlantic, where "negro slavery and slavery to drink" were perceived as the main social evils.⁵⁹ However, the American movement had gone much further than its British counterpart. Prohibition, or the legal enforcement of measures to forbid the manufacture and sale of alcohol, was first seriously promoted in the United States as a practical remedy for the problem of intemperance. The extent of progress was apparent in 1846, at the World's Temperance Convention held in London, where delegates resolved to congratulate New York State electors for voting to limit the sale of intoxicating liquor.⁶⁰ By 1851, the decision of the Maine State legislature to introduce blanket prohibition had inspired British temperance campaigners with the idea that a similar enactment could be successfully applied at home. A bedazzled member of the Scottish Temperance League, after attending a meeting addressed by American prohibitionists in 1853, wrote of

the revivalist atmosphere generated by the speakers:⁶¹

To all appearances the entire audience was carried away by the resistless force of truth, eloquence and disinterested testimony. PROHIBITION stood out that day as the bright particular star of the temperance hosts.

The enthusiastic acceptance of prohibition by a sizeable section of the British temperance movement was to change the course of the alcohol debate until the First World War and beyond. The experience of Maine, which was followed over the next four years by restrictive legislation in twelve other states, tipped the balance towards a concerted campaign in pursuit of legal controls of the drinks' trade. One immediate response was the formation of the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic in 1853, which led to the establishment of the influential Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association in 1858.⁶² Prohibitionist tactics, with their emphasis on the legal solution, were to be directly relevant to local government during the second half of the nineteenth century. The idea of permissive prohibition through the "local veto", which was articulated in Britain from 1857, suggested that ratepayers should be empowered to ban drink shops from any locality on a two-thirds majority of votes.⁶³ Some prohibitionists argued that the local veto did not go far enough, as it was not wholly restrictive, but others argued that it was a useful first step in the right direction. On this basis, supporters of the veto

began to organise to make their presence felt among ratepayers and on town councils, in order to exert pressure for the Permissive Bill to be passed by Parliament.

Brian Harrison has pointed out that the Permissive Bill was "... born into a world where localism was temporarily supreme".⁶⁴ He has also suggested that hostility to London and the power of central Government spurred many activists in the voluntary sphere, notably temperance. Certainly, it was no coincidence that a number of Permissive Bill campaigners had sympathies for Scottish Home Rule; resentment against English MPs, who repeatedly blocked moves to introduce restrictive temperance legislation north of the border, had fired their nationalist ardour,⁶⁵ This identification with local needs and the immediate public interest meant that "... the most drastic interference with private freedom became tolerable".⁶⁶ Accordingly, the opportunity for ratepayers in specific areas to determine licensing policy was perceived as an extension of democracy, not the reverse. Of course, it was argued that such a decision of ratepayers did not necessarily reflect the will of the people as a whole, but this was an age when universal suffrage was as yet a distant prospect, and the notion of "responsible" citizens protecting the weak still prevailed. Some radicals did draw attention to the inherent paternalism of the Permissive Bill campaign, and on this basis the Glasgow Sentinel - Scotland's main working-class newspaper

during the 1860s and 1870s - expressed committed opposition.⁶⁷ Yet, many Permissive Bill supporters favoured extension of the suffrage, seeing the wide franchise of the United States as their ideal.⁶⁸

The 1860s was a crucial decade for the construction of the temperance base within Glasgow Town Council. This was because of external factors affecting the direction of the movement, plus the political transformation arising from the extended municipal franchise in 1868. To survive the rapidly changing climate of the times, the movement had to broaden its appeal, which in turn required formidable organisational resources. The formation of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association was a positive acknowledgement of shifting priorities, but it would be wrong to assume that thereafter SPBTA supporters made all the running towards redefining the temperance profile. In Glasgow, indications at the municipal level suggest that a "temperance party" of broadly-based allegiances was evolving in a co-ordinated effort to raise the public consciousness and promote further licensing restrictions. Thus, the famous victory of James Leitch Lang in the 1866 elections was partly due to his outspoken advocacy of teetotalism, compared with the equivocal stance of his opponent, Lord Provost Blackie.⁶⁹ Indeed, given the margin of Blackie's defeat by only two votes, it could be realistically argued that temperance turned the tide against him. James Watson, Blackie's

great collaborator on the Council, took a cautionary lesson from his friend's misfortune, and almost immediately declared his own commitment to the temperance cause. In 1867 he was actively involved in the formation of the Church of Scotland's Committee on Intemperance; a belated response from a denomination which had hitherto not been noted for pro-temperance activity.⁷⁰

Although dedicated teetotal councillors like Lang were elected prior to 1868, it was not until after the extension of the burgh franchise that the temperance movement managed to fully assert itself in Glasgow's municipal affairs. The polls of 1868 and 1869 secured the return of leading activists like William Collins, Hugh Lamberton and James Torrens, who combined strong views on the drink question with a policy of strict retrenchment in Council spending.⁷¹ The arguments linking temperance with lower taxation were revived from the 1840s, but used this time as an inducement to the "working man", who was perceived as the main beneficiary of electoral reform. Understandably, the drinks' trade was alerted to the dangers of this populist appeal. The avowed objective of Permissive Bill campaigners was to win over ratepayers to the advantages of the local veto; a baseline position, from which a national movement could later emerge to agitate for wholesale prohibition. It was consequently crucial for the "trade" to restrain local temperance zealotry, and above all ensure that the representative "working man" did not succumb to teetotal

propaganda. In Glasgow, this meant tackling temperance activists head-on in the municipal arena; a confrontationist tactic which would eventually prove to be counter-productive. Nevertheless, the opening forays in defence of the "trade" did yield one significant scalp. In 1869, standing for re-election as councillor to the Sixth Ward, James Leitch Lang was ousted by a prominent city publican; heavily backed - as Lang put it - by "the entire power of spiritdom".⁷²

Despite the temporary loss of Lang from the Town Council, temperance crusaders were by no means daunted in their efforts to influence the municipal licensing policy. The Scottish Temperance League fostered a new initiative in February 1870, when William Melvin - the League's full-time Secretary - launched an important series of public discussions on the licensing system, under the auspices of the Glasgow Philosophical Society.⁷³ Although he felt that the Permissive Bill was as yet a remote prospect, Melvin suggested a lengthy series of amendments to the existing law, which he believed could be meaningfully implemented in the short-term. These included granting licences only on the basis of one per 500 of the population; the principle of "one man - one licence"; the withdrawal of all grocers' certificates; abolition of the licensing appeals machinery, with burgh magistrates to have sole jurisdiction; ratepayers to have the right of "popular veto" on new or extended licences; a municipal tax of £30 per annum

levied on all certificates, to be used for the relief of rates; more stringent police enforcement of licensing regulations; the removal of concealed entrances, back-doors and "snugs" - ie. individual drinking compartments - from public houses; plus, night-time closing at nine o'clock.⁷⁴ For someone supposedly not advocating prohibition, Melvin's list seemed to represent the Permissive Bill in all but name, and indicated the extent to which the League's "moral suasionist" principles had been undermined by SPBTA militancy.⁷⁵ However, the tactical division between the two organisations was not one of the finer points likely to impress temperance antagonists, who simply saw a concerted attack on the licensed trade.

The Philosophical Society discussions extended over six weeks and attracted widespread attention. Undoubtedly, Melvin was testing public opinion as to what was acceptable in terms of licensing restrictions, in order to give direction to the magistrates and Town Council. The response from the community was predictably mixed. On the one hand - as expressed at a public meeting held in the Gorbals - all of Glasgow's social ills were firmly attributed to the drink problem, and prompt municipal action was demanded to reduce the city's 1,600 public houses to 1,000.⁷⁶ At the other extreme, the Glasgow Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association declared itself under a virtual state of siege against the machinations of unnamed "popular coteries", who were successfully "... creating a bias

in the public mind, and a prejudice of opinion against the trade, which it is considered fashionable to imitate".⁷⁷ The middle ground was best exemplified by the Glasgow Herald, which classified the Melvin proposals as "good, bad, and indifferent".⁷⁸ While bemused over Melvin's contradictory attitude to the Permissive Bill, the Herald enthusiastically welcomed moves to restore "good order" in public houses. Particular emphasis was placed on the need to open out the interiors of the city's more unsavoury drinking haunts:⁷⁹

A thorough clearing out of the drinking-boxes would render the shutting-up of back-doors unnecessary. Men and women take advantage of these secret entrances at present, and shut themselves into boxes where they can sit and fuddle for hours unseen; but a private entrance would be of little use if it merely led to an open counter or a public saloon.

For a newspaper that had led the campaign against the Forbes Mackenzie Act, endorsement of any regulatory measures by the Herald was progress indeed for the temperance cause.

Before describing the complex chain of events which followed on from the Philosophical Society discussions, it would be useful at this stage to clarify some of the inter-relationships between the personnel involved in promoting licensing restrictions in Glasgow. As will be seen, the "trade" was right to detect careful orchestration behind Melvin's statements, although some of its more feverish accusations of conspiracy were exaggerated, such as identifying the Independent Order of

Good Templars as a sort of sinister temperance freemasonry.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, it is important to understand some of the motivating influences behind temperance policy, in order to make sense of developments within Glasgow Town Council, over forty years and beyond.

Above all, the rôle of the United Presbyterian Church as a linch-pin of the movement has been previously hinted at, but never fully elucidated.⁸¹ This is not to suggest that other denominations were inactive; the Evangelical Union Church and the Baptists were comparatively far more militant in the temperance sphere. However, the United Presbyterians possessed the important resources of wealth, size and influence, and were anxious to establish a political base for the furtherance of the Voluntaryist ideology. As Daniel Paton has pointed out, critics of the Scottish Temperance League often categorised the organisation as a "United Presbyterian affair", due to the disproportionate number of ministers and laymen in high-ranking positions.⁸² There had never been formal connections between the Church and the League, but this was because the traditions of Voluntaryism eschewed any commitment which might unduly pressurise the individual to conform.⁸³ Yet, the number of United Presbyterian ministers belonging to the League was consistently higher than any other denomination throughout the nineteenth century; in 1870, a total of 100 were recorded as in membership, as opposed to thirty-six and sixteen respectively

for the Free and Established Churches.⁸⁴ Nor was this simply a paper commitment; the Church's missionary impulse applied to the cause of temperance as much as to any other where souls required redemption.

This was certainly the spirit which fostered the foundation of Kent Road United Presbyterian Church, near Glasgow's West End Park, during 1863.⁸⁵ Some years after the event, it was more bluntly stated that the Church had been "got up principally by the Temperance party"; or, more specifically, by the Scottish Temperance League.⁸⁶ The minister at Kent Road was the Rev. Joseph Brown, D.D., a fiery evangelical, whose "Nazaritic scorn of self-indulgence and luxurious habits" prompted comparisons with John the Baptist.⁸⁷ Brown had been regarded in his youth as daringly advanced in his views, adopting a latitudinarian approach to religious toleration, encouraging music at church services, and querying the strict Calvinist attitude towards atonement.⁸⁸ His political sympathies were similarly advanced; he had organised a public reception for Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian nationalist and hero of European liberalism, while visiting Scotland. Brown's devotion to the temperance movement was affirmed as far back as 1829, and he thereafter threw himself into the furtherance of its aims. By 1870 he was a Vice-President of the Scottish Temperance League, and a father figure to the younger generation of teetotal activists. William Melvin, needless to say, was a member of the Kent Road Kirk

Session. So, too, was William Brown, one of Glasgow's magistrates in 1870, who happened to be Joseph Brown's brother.⁸⁹ There was nothing furtive about this religious-temperance-municipal connection; Kent Road members were enormously proud of their commitment to the public service. As one prominent member later commented, "A man's parentage may give him a seat in the House of Lords ... but it is no passport to position in a radical congregation like Kent Road".⁹⁰

Supporters of the drinks' trade in Glasgow had a considerably more jaundiced attitude to the temperance activities of the Kent Road congregation, and were particularly worried about its influence at the municipal level. By 1870, a majority of Glasgow's magistrates were outspokenly in favour of licensing restrictions, while the temperance militants on the bench - William Brown, John Burt and William Miller - were determined to implement several of the Melvin proposals. The "trade" foresaw an impending reign of temperance terror, and hurriedly began to organise to confront its adversaries.⁹¹ Fortuitously, in the forthcoming municipal poll, Brown, Burt and Miller were all up for re-election, and so the logical strategy was to oppose their candidacy. A particular advantage to the "trade" was the working-class nature of the wards represented by the three magistrates, especially Brown and Burt, whose sphere of influence covered the slum areas of the Bridgegate and

Gallowgate. The Glasgow Sentinel was used to promote the working-class credentials of their opponents, notably James Steel, a sharp-tongued brewer and publican, with undoubted qualities of charisma. In his Address to the Electors of the Second Ward, published in the Sentinel, Steel tried to convince local "working men" of his sincerity:⁹²

I have been an apprentice, journeyman, foreman and master; and what I have to say is this, that even as I ever insisted on my individuality and my feelings being respected by my superiors when a working man, so in authority have I respected the feelings of those whom for the time fortune subordinated to me.

The Sentinel, for its part, ingenuously accepted Steel's claims that he was not part of an organised "whisky ring", but instead represented "all classes and trades in the city".⁹³

The removal of the three magistrates was the priority of the drinks' trade in the 1870 municipal elections, although other pro-temperance candidates did stand, such as William Bryce Garvie of the Good Templars and James Leitch Lang. The broad tactics used by the "trade" to oust the teetotal enemy are worth noting, because they were to be repeated in later years, especially during the 1900s. First of all, confrontation invariably took place in working-class wards, although this was understandable, given the high density of public houses in such areas. Secondly, efforts were concentrated on individual pro-temperance councillors, to make the election campaign as

personalised as possible. Thirdly, opposition candidates tended to be articulate and outspoken - often outrageously so - with a direct populist appeal to the voters. The aim was to contrast the fussy paternalism of temperance reformers with the sturdy individualism of "working men", who did not require to be told what was good for them. This crude class element was also extended to Glasgow's territorial divide, which had been exposed so glaringly during the City Improvement Trust controversy; in the East End wards, especially, resentment was fuelled at the intrusion of teetotal zealots, who often had comfortable homes in the more salubrious western districts of the city. As in the 1840s, it was persistently suggested that teetotalism was eccentric and somehow ridiculous; for instance, James Steel took a fierce delight in poking fun at Good Templarism and its elaborate regalia. In one noted outburst, he claimed that the movement "... stands no higher than a paltry raree show, created to provide fees to the operators and pickings for tailors in the manufacture of bibs and other trumpery".⁹⁴

Steel's strong personality and rhetorical ability secured his return against Bailie Burt, while his colleague, James Martin, succeeded in ousting Bailie Brown in the Fourth Ward. Immediately following his election, Steel publicly thanked his supporters - "rich and poor, gentle and simple, washed and unwashed, publican and sinner" - and gave a veiled warning to the Rev. Dr. Brown that the clergy "... should keep to their

pulpits, for never since the battle of Dunbar had it done them any good to interfere in civil and military affairs".⁹⁵ On the other hand, William Miller had managed to survive the "trade" onslaught in the Ninth Ward, while James Leitch Lang achieved victory in the Fifth Ward, after a campaign that had less to do with temperance than with Lang's continued obsession that there was "jobbery" among the higher echelons of the Town Council. Indeed, on this basis, the Glasgow Sentinel had urged support for him.⁹⁶ The mixed fortunes of both sides ensured, however, that in the immediate future Town Council proceedings were likely to be lively. Messrs. Steel and Martin - "our municipal Castor and Pollux", as the Glasgow Herald called them - made it deliberate policy to be as disruptive as possible during the course of controversial debates, without actually being ejected from the Council Chambers.⁹⁷ This challenge to order meant that the pro-temperance lobby only intensified pressure for licensing restrictions, so that over the next two years municipal elections became a battleground. In November 1872, one town councillor aptly summed up the position:⁹⁸

There is warfare at present outside. What has been the nature of that warfare? Has it not been whisky against water? Has it not been against the principle of putting men into the Magistracy who have avowed opinions, and express them on every occasion ...?

Who precisely were Messrs. Steel and Martin, and what was this amorphous "trade" they so vigorously represented? Norma

Logan has made a detailed investigation of Scottish "trade" interests between 1870 and 1914, identifying one of the main defence organisations throughout this time as the Glasgow Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association.⁹⁹ Founded in 1864, its first President was David Yuile, a former Glasgow Deacon Convener, who was later forced to withdraw from public life after a sensational bankruptcy case.¹⁰⁰ Initially, the majority of Association members were retailers, mainly publicans, although there was subsequently some success in encouraging participation from distillers, brewers and agents.¹⁰¹ Apart from benevolent work, the Association's early activities were directed at campaigning against the Permissive Bill, which was first introduced into Parliament by Sir Wilfred Lawson in 1864. However, when the debate in Glasgow over licensing restrictions began to intensify, the Association took the lead in co-ordinating opposition strategy at the municipal level. It consciously raised the "trade" profile within the Town Council, through active lobbying and by cultivating sympathetic councillors. In response to the disreputable image being fostered by teetotal propaganda, strenuous efforts were made to depict the city's licensees as respectable and responsible. Thus, comparatively few Association members were found guilty of breach of certificate, even during the most zealous purges of the 1870s.¹⁰² By this time, the Association had clarified its long-term policy in

relation to the temperance crusade, with the declaration that, "whatever trade Parliament licenses it recognises; and so long as the Trade is a source of public revenue it is entitled to public protection".¹⁰³

Although James Steel was initially coy about declaring his connection with the Glasgow Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association, over time the two became mutually identified. A striking-looking man, "bearded and buirdly", he had literary pretensions, and after leaving the Town Council in 1873 produced Steel Drops, an occasional and highly personal magazine on current Glasgow affairs.¹⁰⁴ He was comfortably off, living in Dennistoun and owning spirit shops in Glasgow's East End, while having an interest in the Windsor Brewery, Liverpool. Politically, Steel espoused a vague radicalism, and his religious allegiances - if any - seem to have been with the Established Church. He had an unrestrained loathing of evangelicalism and all that it stood for, and fulminated against the religious revival manifested in Glasgow during the early months of 1874, when the Americans Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey spread their gospel message to rapturous middle-class audiences, including not a few town councillors.¹⁰⁵ The boost given to the temperance cause by Moody and Sankey's visit only compounded their baneful influence in Steel's estimation; like teetotalism, they seemed to represent everything that was un-Scottish and affected. With heavy irony, Steel described the two evangelists

as "Nigger prophets from America", and their followers in Glasgow as "... chiefly ladies - a good many old maids, with a few girls following their aunties and making themselves useful".¹⁰⁶ Steel's language frequently verged on the defamatory; a characteristic which his enemies were able to exploit, as will be seen.

James Martin was an altogether different personality from the volatile other half of "the great twin brethren" on the Town Council. While Steel's motivations for standing as councillor had been trade defence, Martin used the temperance issue to fulfil a previously-held ambition for municipal office. He had already come to prominence as a fierce critic of the City Improvement Trust, following his election in 1865 as Chairman of the First Ward Committee.¹⁰⁷ Martin's political roots lay in Chartism, and so his subsequent career was to prove an important exception to the rule that Chartists were broadly sympathetic to temperance.¹⁰⁸ He retained a progressive attitude on many issues, notably women's rights, although this might have been in gratitude to Mrs. Martin, who ran the family draper's business in the Gallowgate while her husband devoted his energies to municipal affairs.¹⁰⁹ Martin was a great individualist, calling himself a Liberal, but resolutely non-aligned to any party machine. If anything, his sympathies were latterly with the Conservatives and Unionists on the Town Council, because of their more relaxed approach towards temperance. Martin had a

deep mistrust of municipal enterprise, believing that the profits were rarely used for the public good, but went into a "bottomless pit" of finance, guarded over by Council bureaucrats.¹¹⁰ Like James Steel, he had a detestation of evangelical zealotry, and was fond of quoting back Scriptures to annoy temperance activists on the Town Council. As he put it, in his inimitable use of the doric, "If ye wish to argue the teetotal question, I'll d'it wi' ony priest, clergyman, or teetotal spouter, on Scripture gruns!".¹¹¹

Despite strenuous efforts to remove him, Martin remained a councillor for twenty years, although his reputation as an East End "character" became increasingly a caricature. By the 1890s, with the rise of independent labour politics and the collectivist impulse, his old-style radicalism had become an anachronism. Nevertheless, he retained a useful nuisance value to the drinks' trade, which ably exploited the Martin maxim that, "I'm a pest to certain perties ...".¹¹² The couthy image of "Jeems" and his home-spun philosophy made good newspaper copy; he even had a following among exiled Scots, in far-flung corners of the Empire, who on one occasion demanded that the North British Daily Mail reproduce his portrait.¹¹³ Martin was unquestionably one of the most loyal and effective friends of the "trade", even though he was not himself a publican. He was a regular attender at soirées of the Glasgow Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association, where he made

forthright speeches in praise of whisky and against the water-drinking habits of some of his Council colleagues. Moreover, the taint of graft or scandal was never attached to him; if it had, his enemies would have certainly made an issue of it. All the evidence indicates that shrewd and manipulative he may have been; corrupt he was not. Even after his death in 1892, the "pest" in Martin still persisted. In a gesture of supreme irony, his friends on the Town Council and in the "trade" subscribed towards a handsome memorial drinking fountain in Glasgow Green.¹¹⁴ Hitherto, such tributes had been the preserve of temperance activists like Sir William Collins or James Torrens, as a symbolic acknowledgement of their crusade to cleanse the city of alcohol.¹¹⁵

Martin's longevity on the Town Council showed that he was able to steer clear of the pitfalls with which temperance opponents were anxious to entrap him. The same could not be said of James Steel, who made the fatal mistake in 1872 of letting his tongue get the better of him. The scene of his undoing was the seventh annual dinner of the Scottish Wine and Spirit Merchants' Benevolent Association, where he delivered what the North British Daily Mail described as "a long and somewhat extraordinary speech".¹¹⁶ Whether or not Steel had been over-indulging in the product he was aiming to defend, the tenor of his language to the assembled gathering was undeniably strident and abusive. His venom was especially directed at

Glasgow's magistrates, who - notwithstanding the loss of Brown and Burt - had been reinforced by committed temperance sympathisers, including James Hamilton, President of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association. The new régime was rigidly interpreting aspects of the existing regulations, under the direction of four legal assessors employed by the municipality in the Police Courts. In particular, they were taking a tough stance against the provision of liquor to children under fourteen, who supposedly acted as "messengers" for their parents. Steel claimed that such actions were contrary to the law, and that:¹¹⁷

... the assessors, or a majority of them, yielded to the pressure put upon them, and allowed, in the nineteenth century, the Kent Road UP Church to mount the Police Bench of Glasgow, and like a drunk ass trample the laws of the realm underfoot. The worst feature in this case was the fact that the assessors were entirely the creatures of the Magistracy, appointed by them, paid by them, and dependent upon them for increase of pay, notoriously only fifth or sixth rate lawyers, to whom £50 a year extra was a matter of importance and who, consequently, could not quarrel with their bread and butter.

Steel had hit upon the worst possible section of the community to defame; that of the legal profession.¹¹⁸ Understandably, proceedings were initiated against him, although he defiantly refused to retract a word. Instead, he argued that the speech had been delivered in the heat of the moment, "... at a time of great public excitement, and during violent attacks

directed against the spirit trade".¹¹⁹ His plea that the speech should not be taken seriously was scarcely credible; it had been widely reported in the press, even though most newspapers had exercised editorial judgment by deleting some of Steel's most vitriolic invective. At all events, the assessors won their case in the Court of Session on a unanimous verdict, with damages of £400 awarded.¹²⁰ Immediately after the Court hearing, in January 1873, representatives of the Glasgow Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association launched a public subscription to cover the costs of the litigation.¹²¹ However, Steel's reputation as a town councillor was ruined. Concern had already been expressed from friendly quarters over his outbursts, notably in the The Bailie, which was a consistent supporter of the "trade":¹²²

Why does a man of strong mind and strong will
- of dauntless courage, eager to do right,
and smite wrong and spare not - destroy his
usefulness, by either misdirecting his efforts
or nullifying them outright by a violence of
action from which people revolt - even those
who think well of, and with him, that there
are many abuses to reform.

In short, Steel had become a public embarrassment. Although he did not immediately resign as councillor, he bowed out at the 1873 municipal elections, where the temperance party triumphantly returned all its candidates in the contested seats.¹²³

The come-uppance of one particularly hot-headed Council

representative may seem at face value to be hardly a crucial development in the course of Glasgow's municipal affairs. Yet the Steel case had the effect of stopping the Glasgow Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association almost dead in its tracks as a political force, leaving the initiative - for the meantime - firmly in the hands of the temperance movement. While the Association was left licking its wounds over the blow to its "respectable" image, and James Steel vented frustrated ire through the medium of Steel Drops, militant teetotalers swiftly consolidated their position at the municipal level. Although careful to ensure that the magistracy was not wholly monopolised by the temperance party, noted activists remained prominent throughout the 1870s. By 1874, William Collins and James Hamilton - Presidents respectively of the Scottish Temperance League and SPBTA - had both become bailies, while John Burt was returned to the magisterial fold. In the same year, when James Watson relinquished the Lord Provostship, he was followed by the idiosyncratic Conservative, James Bain, who manifested strong support for the Permissive Bill. There were suggestions that Bain's burning ambition to be Lord Provost over-rode any political scruples he may have had about aligning himself with the temperance cause, and he was not a total abstainer.¹²⁴ However, the same could not be said of his successor in 1877, who was the formidable personality of William Collins - Glasgow's first teetotal civic head, and popularly known as

"Water Willie".¹²⁵

Like Joseph Brown, his close colleague in the Scottish Temperance League, Collins was undoubtedly another rôle-model for the rising generation of teetotal activists. Not only did he display gritty qualities in his business affairs, but he was a radical Liberal in politics, as well as an evangelical in religion, adhering to the Free Church.¹²⁶ During the 1870s, it was Collins who co-ordinated the concerted efforts within the Town Council to exert teetotal pressure on the magistracy to restrict the number of drinks' licences. His impact was such, that between 1876 and 1881 some 250 Glasgow licences were refused.¹²⁷ Collins's rôle in the success of the campaign led to accusations that he was a manipulator, attempting to buy his way into political power by supporting friends and relations as municipal candidates.¹²⁸ While it was true that Collins was rich enough to spend his money this way, he was not alone on the Town Council in possessing wealth, and managed to succeed where others had failed primarily because of his organising ability. Moreover, the temperance movement was noted for its disciplined way of working, and rallied under strong leadership. It is revealing, however, that in 1875 the Glasgow Herald said of Collins:¹²⁹

The municipal constituency is in the hands of this and perhaps one or two other gentlemen who have the same love of cold water and abomination of whisky ... Bailie Collins makes

the Ward Committees jump, and all the electors jump after them. Up goes the Bailie's stick, and like the poor idiotic sheep, the electors follow their leader ...

When Collins eventually became Lord Provost there was vocal opposition to his teetotal policies, particularly the ban on alcohol at civic functions. The thought of having to drink a loyal toast in aqua pura rather than aqua vitae was anathema to many Glaswegians, and the licensed trade - following past precedent - did its best to depict Collins as an eccentric, with peculiar notions of what constituted pleasure.¹³⁰ However, Collins was able to survive such hostility for a variety of reasons. Firstly, he had been instrumental in the formation of the Glasgow Liberal Association, which rapidly became a forum of advanced Liberal opinion at a time when the party was locally in the ascendancy. Collins thus had political clout, and was a leading figure in the influential circle surrounding Dr. Charles Cameron, the zealously pro-temperance proprietor of the North British Daily Mail, who was returned as one of Glasgow's three MPs from 1874.¹³¹ Secondly, temperance considerations within the Town Council had been abruptly set aside in 1878 following the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank, and Collins considerably boosted his image through his unstinting efforts for the victims' relief fund.¹³² Thirdly, Collins and his supporters had maintained a firm commitment to their original policy of retrenchment in Council spending, and were

consequently accused of lack of imagination in fostering municipal initiative.¹³³ Ironically, while such a situation prevailed, the likes of James Martin could not use the argument of extravagance as a weapon against the teetotalers. The combination of these circumstances meant that Collins successfully countered his opponents; indeed, after his term as Lord Provost was over in 1880, he was re-elected unopposed as an ordinary councillor.

Collin's fifteen year municipal career coincided with the spectacular rise of the temperance party within Glasgow Town Council. Towards the end of this period, the "trade" was endeavouring once again to flex its muscles, in order to challenge the seemingly invincible teetotal hegemony. Not only had a lesson been learned from the municipal intervention of the 1870s, but the "trade" itself was altering considerably in character. The trend in Glasgow was away from the small dram shops and consumption of fiery spirits, towards the large, well-regulated "liquor palaces", selling assorted brand-name beers and blended whiskies.¹³⁴ Although retailers and publicans still made up the bulk of trade defence activists, they were altogether better organised than previously, and attracted influential support.¹³⁵ This was in part due to the determination of temperance crusaders like Collins and Cameron to identify Liberalism wholly with the Permissive Bill. By the 1880s, long-standing Liberal adherents who also had "trade"

connections were becoming increasingly alarmed at the turn of political events. James Neilson - a former manager at Tennent's Brewery, an ex-Deacon Convener of Glasgow, and a devoted United Presbyterian - spoke out against the "Nihilists" in his party, who were anxious to destroy the licensed trade.¹³⁶ In the years prior to 1886, the desire for party unity was enough to submerge such smouldering differences, but after the Home Rule split there was a marked increase in trade defence activity. By 1890 a Scottish Trade Defence Association had been formed, with eighty-eight constituent societies.¹³⁷ Scottish brewers, in fear for the future of a growth industry, now heavily committed themselves towards defending the "trade", both with moral and financial support.

III. The Rise of Samuel Chisholm and the "Trade"
Fightback, 1888-1912.

When Samuel Chisholm was soundly beaten in the Glasgow Corporation election for the Woodside Ward in November 1902, many contemporaries considered the downfall of their erstwhile Lord Provost to be one of the most sensational events in the city's municipal history. The circumstances of the election were indeed highly dramatic - not to say theatrical - with public opinion assiduously fuelled by the local and national press. However, Chisholm's ultimate rejection was by no means unique, as precedents had been previously set in Glasgow on two separate occasions, when Lord Provosts seeking re-election had been defeated at the poll. In 1848 Alexander Hastie was deemed by the voters to have paid insufficient attention to his civic responsibilities during a period of severe social strain, and in 1866 John Blackie, junior, was thought to have taken the electorate too much for granted in his eagerness to press ahead with the contentious City Improvement Trust.¹³⁸

Yet, although feelings over Hastie and Blackie ran high, the levels of partisanship against them never reached the proportions so glaringly apparent in the months immediately prior to the 1902 elections. This was primarily because the intensity of the attack on Chisholm was generated not only by his politics and his policies, but by his strong personality, which was held by opponents to be autocratic, inflexible and

extreme. Above all, Chisholm's unswerving faith in the power of redemption through the prohibition of intoxicating liquor divided the community and rallied his enemies. There were teetotal Lord Provosts before and after Chisholm, but none had the same capacity to arouse such fierce and conflicting emotions. It is important to stress this personal dimension from the outset, as it underpinned Chisholm's career, reaching its extraordinary climax in the events of 1902.

Like many of his fellow town councillors, Samuel Chisholm was not a native-born Glaswegian, having been born in Dalkeith, Midlothian, in 1836.¹³⁹ John Chisholm, his father, was a comfortably-off tobacco manufacturer, and the family held a prominent place in the local community. The Dalkeith entry in the New Statistical Account for Scotland, written in 1844, gives a detailed and evocative description of the bustling market town, which accommodated a population of some 5,500.¹⁴⁰ Trade and industry appeared to be thriving, and it was said that, "Few town are better supplied with bread, butcher-meat, groceries, and garden produce".¹⁴¹ On leaving school, the young Chisholm was pointed firmly in the direction of this success, serving an apprenticeship with the local family business of Mitchell Brothers, grocers and provision merchants. His enduring interest in municipal politics can be dated from this period of his life, as the Mitchells were actively involved in Town Council affairs, and one of the brothers eventually became

Provost.¹⁴² The Mitchells and Chisholms had close personal connections through the Secession Church, which by 1844 had two congregations in Dalkeith, of over a thousand strong.¹⁴³ In 1847 the Secession Church became part of the United Presbyterian Church; a denomination which, for the next few decades, was characterised by its middle-class membership and political power-base. The Voluntaryist stance of the United Presbyterians, together with the radical traditions of sects like the Seceders, gave adherents a natural affinity with Liberalism, and the Chisholms were no exception to this rule. Throughout his long life Samuel Chisholm never deviated from this political grounding, nor did he lose his religious faith.

By 1861, at the age of twenty-five, Chisholm was sufficiently well-established to start his own wholesale grocery business in Dalkeith, along with his brother Robert. In 1866 he married his first wife, Charlotte Thomson, daughter of a United Presbyterian minister. After the success of the Dalkeith venture, the brothers were anxious to find a more lucrative outlet for the enterprise, and came to Glasgow in 1870, where the ambitious Samuel was very much the driving-force in building up the new firm. Following Robert's untimely death during the 1870s, Samuel continued the business alone, taking on extensive premises in the Broomielaw district, and acquiring another partner in 1882. He was by now prosperous enough to look towards a municipal career; an objective he had been pursuing

since the days of his apprenticeship with the Mitchells.

According to an 1891 biographical profile in The Bailie:¹⁴⁴

One of his early ambitions was to be a member of the Town Council of Glasgow, where, in his public capacity, he might be the means of leaving the world better than he found it. The idea so possessed him that it became a part of his existence. He carried it with him, everywhere, even in the street. His intent gaze, knit brows, and rapid locomotion indicated a man with a purpose - a man who always knew where he was going and went straight. Indeed, Mr CHISHOLM (or as his friends call him, Sammy) knew that he was foreordained a Councillor.

For a man with such a tenacious sense of self-mission, it was entirely appropriate that in 1870 Chisholm should have joined the United Presbyterian congregation at Kent Road, under the energetic spiritual direction of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Brown. Brown and Chisholm were close enough to be father and surrogate son, as Brown had commenced his ministry in Dalkeith in 1834, and remained nearly thirty years before being called to Glasgow. He knew Chisholm's family intimately, including his grandfather, whom he recollected as a dour Seceder of the old school, adhering tenaciously to the Covenanting traditions of the past.¹⁴⁵ As well as renewing former friendships at Kent Road, Chisholm came into contact with the rising generation of temperance activists, who were helping to make such an impact at the municipal level. In particular, the Kirk Session included James Landells Selkirk, an accountant who had been one of the founders of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance

Association, and who served as a Glasgow town councillor between 1875 and 1884.¹⁴⁶ With much in common as protégés of Brown, Selkirk and Chisholm became life-long friends; indeed, Selkirk acted as Chisholm's agent in the abortive 1902 election. Both men were encouraged to stand for municipal office by the ubiquitous William Collins, who was ever-anxious to create opportunities for capable temperance representatives. Chisholm's chance came in 1888, when a Town Council vacancy for the Eleventh, or Woodside, Ward became available. Temperance campaigners swung into activity, fearing that the Ward Committee was courting a publican's nominee, and Chisholm's candidature was speedily endorsed.¹⁴⁷ The opposition did not materialise, however, and he was returned unopposed.

In order to fully understand Chisholm's philosophy during his years as a town councillor, it is essential to realise that he emphatically believed that the temperance cause was the great hope for moral redemption. All other social issues were subordinate, because the key to their resolution lay in stemming the drinks' trade. Chisholm made his views quite clear in a speech to the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association in 1902:¹⁴⁸

Slumdom, which exists in all our cities, might be said to be the masterpiece of the drink traffic ... [and] if social and temperance reformers could settle the drink question on a total abstinence basis, then the necessity for [municipal] housing operations would be wholly removed.

Chisholm had been speaking in the context of the contemporary debate on the quality of urban life, and the desirability - or otherwise - of interventionist action to relieve the problem of poverty. Glasgow's Medical Officer of Health, James B. Russell, had made an earlier contribution to this debate in his 1888 pamphlet, Life in One Room, where he presented a disturbing picture of deprivation and overcrowding in the city's slum areas.¹⁴⁹ To many of his contemporaries, Russell seemed to be saying that the poor inhabited a nether-world, where social values had become grotesquely distorted. The religious implications of such a critique were bound to appeal to the likes of Chisholm, who strongly concurred with Russell's view that:¹⁵⁰

... if the Church neglects this field, then the devil and his ministers will not. The one and two roomed houses are filled with restless, uncomfortable souls, wakening up to the contrast between their misery and the luxury of their neighbours, ready to grasp at any project, however wild, which promises material relief. Nihilism, Communism, Socialism, Mr George, Bradlaugh, even Cunninghame Graham - any sort of "Morrison's Pill" will be eagerly swallowed.

In this context, drink was seen as the great contributor to moral degeneracy, as it blurred the line between commonsense and irrationality.

Russell's appeals were taken to heart by Chisholm when he embarked on his municipal career, and he immediately set to work on the housing question, via the City Improvement Trust.

Reference has been made elsewhere in this thesis to the famous temperance victory of 1890, when Chisholm was instrumental in securing a ban on the operation of drinks' licences in all municipally-owned premises.¹⁵¹ This had been a long-standing objective of the temperance movement; as far back as 1872 James Leitch Lang had urged such a prohibition, especially in relation to the newly acquired Improvement Trust properties.¹⁵² Thereafter, Chisholm steadily consolidated his position in the housing sphere, to the growing alarm of landlords and publicans alike, who believed that he was fostering a dangerously interventionist strategy in Glasgow's civic affairs.

Of course, Chisholm strenuously denied that his objectives were socialist, as The Times was to suggest in 1902, and firmly believed that he was acting in strict accordance with Liberal principles. There was no conundrum in Chisholm's apparent enthusiasm that the community should provide for the poor, while at the same time endorsing the virtues of individualism and independence. As Brian Harrison has put it in the particular context of the temperance movement, "Liberalism aimed to reduce the power of the state by reducing the citizen's claims upon it ...".¹⁵³ Accordingly, the Liberal qualities of thrift, abstinence and hard work could be encouraged by a preventionist rather than a remedial cure, allowing for the wholesale removal of the conditions that nurtured ignorance and anti-social behaviour. All this assumed the notion that truth was absolute,

but a man of Chisholm's strong religious conviction was unlikely to dispute such reasoning. To him the forces of moral destruction had to be rooted out at source, and the innocent protected, which was why he was active in the youth movement - especially the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society - and was an ardent campaigner for free education.¹⁵⁴ He was also supportive of anything that furthered working-class aspirations, including trade unions and the co-operative movement, seeing these as vehicles for class harmony rather than class confrontation. In this respect, he viewed with extreme distaste the emergence of the Independent Labour Party and other socialist organisations, which he thought to be divisive.

Understandably, with the strong continuities from the Collins era, Chisholm's philosophy was shared by a substantial number of Glasgow town councillors.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, when the annexation of the city's wealthy outlying districts took place in 1891, new blood was added to the municipality, so that after this time there was a solid body of Chisholmites on the Corporation - Liberal in politics and generally United Presbyterian in religion, though with strong sympathies for Church disestablishment and a merger with the Free Church.¹⁵⁶ Immediately after the 1891 elections, William Collins gave a rousing address to the annual soirée of the Scottish Temperance League, where Chisholm and other teetotal councillors were prominently in attendance. Still vigorous in his seventies, the

League's President sternly reminded activists in the audience of their civic responsibilities, and that the City Chambers must be won as the temperance citadel. He reported with satisfaction that out of forty-three candidates standing in the recent election, twenty-four had been abstainers, with fourteen in League membership; there were now twenty-nine teetotal councillors on the Corporation.¹⁵⁷ However, much more needed to be done to progress this movement:¹⁵⁸

The fact that there were already in the city of Glasgow no fewer than 1,450 licensed public houses, and that during the year 1890 there were 14,149 men and 6,461 women convicted before the Magistrates for being drunk and incapable, should stimulate all to increased exertions. This fact had no doubt opened to some extent the eyes of the ratepayers, who could not ignore the consequent cost to the city of this alarming amount of drunkenness, and should surely be a warning to the authorities who are responsible for the licensing of these public temptations.

Collins was giving a clear call to municipal action; indeed, he had suggested that plans for a co-ordinated temperance initiative were already in the process of being formulated.¹⁵⁹ His front-line troops were quick to respond, especially Samuel Chisholm. Chisholm immediately moved into the Convenership of the City Improvement Trust, and within five years - by dint of his "strong moral fibre" and constantly driving ambition - had become undisputed leader of the Corporation's temperance radicals.¹⁶⁰ He came to occupy the pivotal position held by Collins during the 1870s, and was

achieving similar results, with a slow but steady drop in the number of licensing registrations between 1891 and 1896.¹⁶¹ During this time, the closure of licensed premises on New Year's Day became operable in Glasgow, following on from a lead given by Edinburgh's magistrates.¹⁶² Chisholm and his associates were determined that Glasgow should not be seen to lag behind, and consequently raised the city's profile in terms of temperance activity. Thus, the Corporation played a leading rôle in the combined efforts of various town councils to extend the provisions of the 1887 Hours of Closing Act to burghs of over 50,000 inhabitants. The Act had excluded the likes of Glasgow from the opportunity for enforcing ten o'clock closing, much to the dismay of temperance campaigners.¹⁶³ Although not immediately successful, municipal pressure helped sow the seeds of the 1896-99 Royal Commission into the Liquor Licensing Laws, which in turn cleared the way for the important consolidating legislation of 1903.

This seemingly unstoppable progress did not, of course, meet with universal approbation in the city. There were many who viewed Chisholm's social and political stance with alarm, and, as speedily as he had built up his power base there began to be a fight-back. Reference has already been made to the superior organisation in support of trade defence, which had been evolving from the 1880s. There were also other factors likely to influence the success of any counter-campaign against the

temperance crusade. Most crucially, Liberalism was not the united force it had been prior to 1886, and there had even been defections by committed temperance activists to Unionism. Archibald Cameron Corbett - MP for Tradeston, and son of Thomas Corbett, a former town councillor - was probably Glasgow's most famous apostatic example.¹⁶⁴ The increasing intervention of Labour candidates in national and municipal elections was evidence - from a different angle - of Liberalism's internal fragmentation. As a result, the temperance movement was no longer the fashionable stepping-stone to political advancement that the drinks' trade had claimed it to be in the 1870s. Moreover, during that decade there had been an openness between antagonists in the temperance debate; the pronouncements of James Steel in 1872 was one obvious indicator of the forthright climate of the times. By the 1890s, however, allegiances had become blurred and unpredictable. This was illustrated by the presence of the so-called "men of mystery" on Glasgow Corporation, who - as has been seen - acted as a disturbing element within civic affairs.¹⁶⁵

This does not mean to imply that the image of Glasgow as a city "safe for temperance and respectability", according to prevailing civic attitudes, was fundamentally an illusion.¹⁶⁶ There can be no doubt that in the sphere of temperance reform, Chisholm and his allies had a substantial amount of electoral support.¹⁶⁷ However, municipal politics did not revolve

around a single issue, not could the Chisholmites claim a monopoly of wisdom over solutions to the drink problem. The steadily growing number of Labour candidates in Corporation elections usually stressed the necessity of temperance reform as part of their programme, although in a different direction from the Chisholmites. Most advocated direct municipal control of the drinks' trade, as a means of containing the worst abuses and redirecting profits for the benefit of the community.¹⁶⁷ Municipalisation could appeal to all sides, as it was a halfway position between prohibition and the preservation of the status quo.¹⁶⁹ It was also an important part of a comprehensive strategy towards the extension of local power in the hands of the community, contributing to the wider debate on public ownership, of which the Fabians were among the foremost propagandists.¹⁷⁰ The policies of Glasgow Corporation seemed to confirm that there was solid substance to these arguments, with the municipalisation of the electricity supply in 1890 and the tramways system in 1894. Yet however much prohibitionists like Chisholm could enthusiastically endorse these policies, the option of municipalising the drinks' traffic provoked a horrified reaction, as it was perceived as institutionalising sin.¹⁷¹

Nevertheless, the influence of the Labour programme gained ground in Glasgow, and Trades' Council backed candidates began to have some success in elections. Not that the Chisholmites

objected to this development, as the first victorious "Labour" candidate in 1889 - Henry Tait, of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants - was a man after their own heart, describing himself as a "true Radical Liberal and temperance reformer".¹⁷² "Labour" in the early days was by no means synonymous with "socialist", and it was quite compatible with Liberal policy for activists to stand on a Labour platform. Indeed, it was highly desirable, in order to maintain Liberal credibility among the working class, and to divert attention away from independent labour politics. Over time, however, there began to be increasing suspicions among temperance campaigners that some of Glasgow's Labour councillors were not quite what they declared themselves to be. Doubts first surfaced when James M. Jack - Secretary of the Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland - was elected to Third Ward in 1890, covering the Whitevale and Dennistoun district. The ward was the third largest in Glasgow, with an electorate of over 9,000, and had hitherto been a temperance stronghold.¹⁷³ Jack had apparently acted quickly to secure the progressive nomination, despite his municipal base being firmly in the neighbouring Second Ward.¹⁷⁴ He also had personal clout with the Secretary of the St. Rollox Liberal Association, who was able to set the party machine in motion, and secure his victory over a Conservative opponent.

The peculiar aspect of Jack's candidature - at least to the

temperance camp - was that he had thrust himself forward with no visible means of support, not even from the Trades' Council. The latter had retrospectively backed him, but only after the nominations had been confirmed. Why, therefore, was Jack prepared to take such a risk, in an area where he was unknown, and with his financial position insecure? The only plausible explanation was that funds had been channelled to him from a hidden source, which in 1893 the pro-Chisholmite Glasgow Echo had no hesitation in identifying as the publican interest.¹⁷⁵ Although Jack vehemently denied the accusation, other Labour councillors were less bashful about declaring their connections with the "trade". One in particular was Angus Campbell; an active Liberal, who had been elected to the Thirteenth Ward in 1890, under Trades' Council auspices. Campbell had established a formidable reputation as a solicitor, defending the accused in petty crime cases, but a more contentious aspect of his legal work was his expertise on the licensing laws. Campbell had won an unassailable position in the city as a defender of threatened licensees, and was known as the "trade" lawyer, able to name his own fees.¹⁷⁶ It should be added that the Trades' Council wholeheartedly welcomed the elections of Jack and Campbell in 1890, and said nothing of their alleged temperance shortcomings.¹⁷⁷ It may also be of some significance that Alexander Haddow, another Trades' Council candidate, narrowly failed to be elected against James Martin in the Second Ward,

where Jack was Ward Committee Secretary. Unlike Martin, who was effectively the "trade" nominee, Haddow was a committed socialist and strongly pro-temperance.

The Chisholmites began to detect a carefully orchestrated plot against them, which linked Labour and the publicans in an unholy alliance to gain control of the city. Resentment over the Labour stance was fuelled in 1895, when Chisholm embarked on his unsuccessful campaign in the Camlachie Parliamentary constituency, in an effort to unseat the Liberal Unionist, Alexander Cross. Much to Chisholm's disgust, Robert Smillie of the Scottish Miners was put forward as the Labour candidate, with hopes of building up the ILP base in this strongly working-class locality.¹⁷⁸ Chisholm took the ILP's intervention as a personal insult, believing that Labour was deliberately trying to undermine his position, and hand the seat to the Unionists. He was also involved in an open confrontation with Keir Hardie, over the widespread accusations that Chisholm's election funds were being provided by his great friend, Lord Overtoun.¹⁷⁹ The Camlachie defeat was to rankle ever-afterwards in Chisholm's memory as an example of Labour treachery, and from that time his tone towards socialists became increasingly strident. In 1898, when the Labour cause was on the upsurge in municipal elections, Chisholm made a bitter attack on their policies, in a speech that was to become notorious. He did not mince his words when he said of Labour

activists, "They call themselves socialists, but that party as a whole was engineered and financed by ... the publican trade".¹⁸⁰ Vengeful murmurings of "Camlachie" were reported as being heard among Chisholm's audience. True to his unyielding character, Chisholm never retracted the statement, even though it was to cost him valuable support.¹⁸¹ He resolutely believed that behind every Labour candidate lurked a publican wire-puller, and he refused to make any concessions to individual pro-temperance beliefs, as to him the entire Labour party was tainted by association.

Chisholm's suspicions intensified when the "Stalwart" group of Labour councillors, under the leadership of John Ferguson and P.G. Stewart, began to build up its municipal base after 1896.¹⁸² The Stalwarts relied heavily on support from the United Irish League, hence the connection with activists in the Nationalist movement like Patrick O'Hare, who was returned as a councillor for Springburn in 1897.¹⁸³ The circumstances of the Springburn election were such that two vacancies were being contested, and O'Hare zealously set to work with a fellow Stalwart - James Johnstone of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers - to defeat the Chisholmite opposition. The campaign aroused the worst fears of the temperance reformers because, like many Irish immigrants, O'Hare was a wine and spirit merchant to trade. He saw no contradiction between this and the Stalwart platform, and enunciated his belief in the

municipalisation remedy to resolve the drink problem.¹⁸⁴ Despite these explanations, O'Hare must have appeared to the more militant Chisholmites as the Devil incarnate. While not directly attributable to the opposition, smears and innuendo began to be used to undermine the credibility of O'Hare and Johnstone, including the intervention of one Springburn minister, who claimed that it would be disgraceful to allow "Papists and Atheists" to be returned for the ward.¹⁸⁵ The forthright manner of O'Hare and Johnstone were nevertheless attractive to Springburn voters, including a sizeable body of working-class Protestants, and ensured a "famous victory" over alleged Chisholmite machinations.¹⁸⁶ Henceforward, the Springburn connection was to be a crucial step in the direction of Samuel Chisholm's downfall.

The tangible rôle of the drinks' trade to help secure this victory is difficult to determine, although it is safe to assume that O'Hare could rely on "trade" support.¹⁸⁷ James Johnstone was a more shadowy figure than O'Hare, and although any "trade" connections at the time cannot be identified, after his defeat in the 1905 municipal elections he switched his stated occupation from "engineer" to that of traveller with James Murray and Sons, wholesale wine and spirit merchants, and proprietors of "The Killiecrankie" finest whisky.¹⁸⁸ Another feature worth noting about the 1897 election was that it took the form of a straight fight between Stalwarts and Chisholmites;

there was no intervention from Conservatives, Unionists or independents who might otherwise have split the vote. Of course, this begs a variety of questions, not least that the base of other likely opposition was negligible in the strongly working-class district of Springburn. However, given that there was a determination among the Stalwart camp to not only defeat the Chisholmite candidates, but break their power at Ward Committee level, it was undoubtedly worthwhile for others to stand aside and later home-in on any vacuum thus created.¹⁸⁹ Evidence of such opportunism was to grow stronger as the confrontation between Chisholmites and the "trade" intensified, particularly as Chisholm had set his target on the Lord Provostship, which was up for election following the retirement of David Richmond in 1899.

By 1899 concern was beginning to be expressed over the prospect of the teetotaler Chisholm in the civic chair. His sole rival for the position was John Ure Primrose, a Liberal Unionist, whose easy-going affability was in direct contrast with Chisholm's evangelical ardour. The pro-Unionist Glasgow Herald suggested that there was a serious dilemma facing the municipality over the nature of the Lord Provostship, and that the question to be asked of any proposed new incumbent was:¹⁹⁰

Will he walk in the old paths or will he try new ones? It is hardly necessary to ask the question of or in connection with Mr. Primrose. He is universally acknowledged

to be an adherent of use and wont. The case of Mr. Chisholm is different. He is an uncompromising total abstainer. He has strong views on liquor and licensing. He is so thorough-going an advocate of Local Veto that at least as many say in earnest as say in ridicule that he is the "Voice of Scotland" upon a question which is surrounded with difficulties.

The growing political dimension of the attack upon Chisholm was not lost upon fellow Liberals, who immediately rallied round him. Daniel Macaulay Stevenson - who had strong differences with Chisholm over the municipalisation of the drinks' trade - wrote in defence of Chisholm's right to hold prohibitionist opinions, thus provoking a lengthy newspaper correspondence.¹⁹¹ In the 1899 municipal elections, temperance considerations were to the fore. A particularly lively contest took place in the Broomielaw Ward, where there were two vacancies and four candidates evenly pledged for and against Chisholm. Among this quartet was Joseph P. Maclay; a zealous prohibitionist, who was to play a leading role in the Glasgow Citizens' Vigilance Association, formed in 1902 to pressurise for further licensing restrictions. In opposition was Alfred Wilson Buchanan, whom the Glasgow Herald categorised as "... a free lance, known mainly for his devotion to the interests of sport".¹⁹² The contradictory feelings of the electorate over the Lord Provostship debate was reflected by the fact that "Holy Joe" and the slightly raffish Buchanan were both returned for the ward. As far as Chisholm was concerned, he was

able to win enough support among town councillors to ensure that an election for the Provostship was unnecessary. Ironically, the Stalwarts - under vigorous prompting from John Ferguson - had declared in his favour, despite protests from the ILP.¹⁹³

Over the next three years, in face of sustained criticism from the pro-Unionist press, the Lord Provost was able to maintain his position. This was partly due to help from the Citizens' Union, which endorsed Chisholmite candidates in preference to the highly suspect Stalwarts.¹⁹⁴ Alfred Wilson Buchanan, who manifested a loathing for exangelicalism redolent of James Steel, went to the extent of forming his own Taxpayers' Defence League, out of exasperation at Citizens' Union support for pro-temperance candidates.¹⁹⁵ In spite of such disfavour, 1901 was a good year for the Citizens' Union; all its nominees, excepting one, achieved victory in the poll, while Buchanan lost his seat to Thomas Dunlop, a figure of exemplary respectability, though not a Chisholmite. The solitary "Stalwart" success, according to the Glasgow Herald, was in the Springburn Ward, where a young man - Andrew Scott Gibson - trounced the sitting councillor, Dr. William Dougan.¹⁹⁶ Dougan, who was a loyal supporter of the Lord Provost, seemed scarcely to know what was happening after the commencement of Gibson's whirlwind campaign. In retrospect, Gibson was probably one of the most bizarre individuals ever to hold municipal office in Glasgow, but at the time his popular appeal was infectious. Of

diminutive stature, but enormous self-regard, his success rested almost solely on his extraordinary speaking ability, which could sway large audiences and infuriate opponents. When he confronted Dougan in Springburn he was only twenty-three years old, and explained his ideological principles thus, "In politics I am a democrat, in economics I am a collectivist, in religion I am a Christian".¹⁹⁷

Chisholmites would doubtless have added, "I am the drinks' trade nominee", to this list of Gibson's attributes. Once on the Council, although frequently voting with the Stalwarts, Gibson came to be identified as an individualist, who spent most of his time hurling invective against the Lord Provost and his temperance associates. The scenario in the City Chambers soon bore striking similarities to the early 1870s, with Gibson cast in the rôle of Steel or Martin.¹⁹⁸ The Bailie went into literary raptures, albeit tongue-in-cheek, about Gibson's pugnacious exchanges with Chisholm:¹⁹⁹

Bolder than Ajax defying the lightning,
Councillor Scott Gibson defying the "Chair";
Blind to its dignity, deaf to its censure -
Still more determined to do and to dare!

During the early months of 1902, The Bailie remarked that Gibson was being seen frequently in the company of Alfred Wilson Buchanan, who had made no secret of his desire for re-election to the Corporation.²⁰⁰ Without actually naming the individuals concerned, it went on to report:²⁰¹

... that there is a coalition for capturing a certain seat in November, and that the present councillor [ie. Gibson] will use all his influence in a certain part of the city to get his newly-found friend [ie. Buchanan] back as a "downtrodden people's" candidate in room of a certain gentleman who at present holds an exalted position in the Council Chamber.

The "certain gentleman" was, of course, Chisholm, and the proposal for Buchanan's candidacy was in response to the widely-held rumour that the Lord Provost was intending to go against precedent and stand again in the Woodside Ward, and even seek a further term in the civic chair.

In April 1902 a development occurred which was to swiftly change the bantering tone adopted by The Bailie and other sections of the press in the Gibson versus Chisholm confrontation. A Corporation Report was issued on behalf of a deputation of magistrates and officials, which had recently visited Liverpool in order to investigate why drinking habits in the English city were so abstemious in comparison with Glasgow.²⁰² With a total of 2,155 licensed premises in Liverpool to Glasgow's 1,730, the number of convictions for drunkenness in 1901 had been respectively 4,133 and 13,233.²⁰³ Liverpool was perceived as one of the great jewels in the crown of the English temperance movement; it was there that the idea of a 'Citizens' Vigilance Committee, to watch over the actions of the local Licensing Court, had evolved in 1890.²⁰⁴ Impressed with what they found in 1902, the Glasgow

magistrates came to three broad conclusions about Liverpool's apparent state of sobriety.²⁰⁵ Firstly, there was better police supervision; secondly, the licensing authority interpreted the regulations much more stringently; thirdly, the public was encouraged to play a supportive rôle via the local Vigilance Committee. There was nothing new about these findings; however, the evidence from Liverpool gave practical substance to any similar campaign of action in Glasgow.

Following the publication of the Liverpool Report, rumours began to fly among "trade" circles that draconian measures to tighten Glasgow's licensing regulations were likely to be implemented at the forthcoming Licensing Court. In the event, the "trade's" most pessimistic predictions were amply confirmed. Strict guidelines were issued by Glasgow's magistrates as to the supervision and internal construction of public houses; no women were to be employed to serve drink in any licensed premises; ten o'clock closing was to apply in the Broomielaw and Cowcaddens districts, under the provisions of the 1862 Public Houses Amendment Act, which allowed for magistrates to use discretion as to the hours of closing in specified areas.²⁰⁶ Imperial measures over one half pint were to be adopted, which meant that the "schooner" - an American measure of two-thirds a pint - was prohibited.²⁰⁷ The National Guardian, organ of the Scottish "trade", reflected the widespread sense of outrage at the action of the Glasgow magistrates, especially Bailie John King, a

temperance activist, who was regarded as one of the Lord Provost's closest henchmen:²⁰⁸

... it is a matter of regret that men like Bailie King and his temperance friends, who, more by accident than anything else, rise for a brief period to the surface of the municipal life of a great city like Glasgow, should be permitted to harass establishments that flourished and prospered when they were mere children. Yet, after all, the mainspring of this persecution is not Bailie King. It is led by a more astute and cunning mind. Bailie King is simply carrying out to the letter a carefully devised plan which had its birth in the brain of one who has done more to wreck the Trade than any other man in Scotland.

Chisholm was once again identified as the great teetotal Magus, attempting to cast his sinister spell over the city. However, the 1902 Licensing Court was to be the turning point in his fortunes, after he had made the definite decision to put himself forward for the November elections. While it was certainly the case that he had already alienated taxpayers and influential property interests - notably over the controversial plan to borrow £750,000 for municipal housing - it was the licensing proposals that galvanised the opposition into activity, led by shock troops from the "trade". The National Guardian made a declaration of intent for the forthcoming municipal poll, stating purposefully, "Neither Chisholmite, Supporter of Magistrates, Puritan nor Faddist will get a single vote from us or anyone else we can influence".²⁰⁹ At the same time, the names of Andrew Scott Gibson and Alfred Wilson

Buchanan began to appear with mounting regularity in the Guardian's columns. Gibson was reported as conducting a surprisingly successful campaign in the City Chambers over the amount of public money spent on hospitality for councillors; alleged "gluttony, wine-bibbing and cigar-smoking" had gone on during the luncheon breaks of the infamous Licensing Court, where working women had been deprived of their livelihoods.²¹⁰ Buchanan, meanwhile, was in the course of launching yet another pressure group organisation - the Glasgow Unionist Municipal League - with the main rationale of exposing the connection between Liberalism and the temperance crusade. "Show me a rabid teetotaler and curtailer of the citizen's liberty", Buchanan claimed, "and I will tell you his politics".²¹¹ It should be added that the city's Conservative and Unionist Associations later repudiated any formal connection with the League, although this occurred only a few days before the municipal elections.²¹²

For several months Buchanan had seemed to be the likely candidate to oppose Chisholm, but the charisma of Gibson was such that it came to be realised that he had an outstanding chance of success in Woodside.²¹³ Accordingly, his campaign was launched in late October, with massively attended meetings which were given widespread press publicity. The Chisholmites, on the whole, reacted ineptly to Gibson's onslaught. At one level, they tried to exploit the Lord Provost's reputation as a

social reformer, but this only reaffirmed the more popularly-held perception of him as sanctimonious and self-righteous. When friends publicly presented Chisholm with a silver casket bearing the motto "I strike the fierce", the gushing tribute expressed by Lord Overtoun must have rankled with labour movement activists, bearing in mind Keir Hardie's exposé of working conditions in Overtoun's Rutherglen chrome works.²¹⁴ At a different level, some Chisholmites were not averse to using scurrilous tactics, in an effort to discredit the opposition. The appearance of one pamphlet provoked litigation from Gibson, with the result that several offending passages were deleted.²¹⁵ The flavour of the expurgated version can be gauged from the following extract:²¹⁶

Our A.S. Gibson's life is a puzzle, a bag of inconsistencies. He plays with the Teetotaller on the one hand and the Publican on the other, the Christian on the one and the Sceptic on the other; the Clergyman on the one and the Criminal on the other, and is it possible, the Tenant now and now the Landlord. We have heard of Mr. Facing-both-ways and we all know that he was not an honest man, but what on earth shall we say of this Mr. Facing-every-way?

Most Chisholmites also made the error of identifying Gibson as a socialist red in tooth and claw; so did the Citizens' Union, which had no hesitation in urging support for the Lord Provost, despite strong misgivings over the proposed housing plan.²¹⁷ However, in the prevailing municipal climate even this was counter-productive, as it only added to Gibson's self-promoted

swashbuckling image.

The eventual result in Woodside was that Gibson easily defeated Chisholm by 4,093 votes to 2,981, with an 83 per cent. turn out of electors. For all Chisholm's outwardly purposeful image, and the support of influential friends like Lord Overtoun, he had not really been in a position to withstand Gibson's assault. In many ways he was trapped by the internal contradictions of his own beliefs, which uneasily straddled the conflicting ideologies of individual enterprise and collectivism. Chisholm's philosophy - rooted in his religion - was based on the strong belief that class interests must be reconciled, to offset any cataclysmic class struggle, and that to achieve this the rich should be more sympathetic to the problems of the poor, and the poor should be given the opportunity to better their condition. The state, and particularly the municipality could help in this respect, by providing for the conditions that would allow the poor to become more self-reliant; hence his commitment to the City Improvement Trust and municipal housing.

Yet paradoxically, what Chisholm considered to be a conciliatory stance was not perceived as such by his opponents, particularly as he went on to argue that the drinks' trade was the major obstacle against winning this harmonious society. As a result, his ideas were often turned on their head; to some they were seen as paternalistic, to others as unduly

indulgent towards the fecklessness of the poor. In short, Chisholm represented a classic case of late nineteenth century Liberalism under attack. There were other councillors who faced a similar dilemma, but most were able to survive in the municipal sphere because they were prepared, willingly or reluctantly, to make some concessions. For instance, Daniel Macaulay Stevenson shared Chisholm's unswerving devotion to Liberalism, but was much less insular in his ideological commitment, and less dismissive of those who held views different from his own. Chisholm's inability to give an inch isolated him from all but his closest associates, and made it easy for his enemies to brand him as radical or reactionary, depending upon which section of the electorate they were anxious to impress.

Leaving aside the important implications for the future of Glasgow's municipal enterprise, which have been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, what was Chisholm's defeat to mean for the progress of the temperance crusade?²¹⁸ The National Guardian expressed uninhibited glee over the downfall of the "unco guid" and hoped that more sensible licensing policies would prevail.²¹⁹ Certainly, by 1903 the magistrates were showing some flexibility; for example, they were prepared to tolerate barmaids serving in restaurants, though not in public houses.²²⁰ However, the passing of the 1903 Licensing (Scotland) Act provided greater opportunity for magisterial

rigour.²²¹ The Act, which consolidated existing statutes and weeded out inconsistencies, also aimed to reduce the vexed problem of public drunkenness. It thus allowed for the general enforcement of ten o'clock closing, which was bitterly resented by the "trade". Moreover, the Act empowered magistrates to create local bye-laws as to the compulsory closure of public houses on statutory holidays. In 1905 Glasgow took advantage of this provision, with the result that there was a mass exodus during the spring and autumn holidays to less dry adjacent areas like Paisley and Cambuslang.²²² Many Glaswegians disgraced themselves through over-indulgence, and in 1906 the magistrates were compelled to pass another bye-law, allowing holiday opening for a few hours only.²²³

Chisholm's abrupt departure in 1902 did not mean that his remaining supporters relaxed their vigilance on the Corporation. There were still many loyal friends of the temperance movement, like James Alexander, William F. Anderson, John Battersby and Joseph P. Maclay, who were prepared to vigorously argue for Chisholmite policies. In 1905 the Corporation debated a Labour-inspired motion on the municipalisation of the drink traffic, and Anderson and Battersby successfully spoke out against adopting such a policy in Glasgow.²²⁴ Ironically, they were supported by James H. Martin - son of "Jeems", and a long-standing town councillor - who endorsed the view that municipalisation "... was just

another step towards socialism".²²⁵ This was an early indication that anti-socialism was drawing together hitherto disparate forces. Chisholmite morale was also boosted by the return of a Liberal Government in 1906, when the prospect of legislation to introduce the Local Veto became a tangible reality. Not that the progress of the Bill was easy; although drafted in 1907, the Temperance (Scotland) Act only became law in 1913, with its provisions enforceable from June 1920.²²⁶ The Act introduced the idea of the veto poll into Scotland, whereby electors could decide on the options of "no change", "limitation" or "no licence". Glasgow Corporation's support for the veto principle was demonstrated in January 1913, when it conducted its own post-card plebiscite on the licensing question. Of the 111,315 valid votes cast, 53 per cent. favoured reduction in the number of licences, 33 per cent. no change and 14 per cent. an increase.²²⁷

What became of the two great adversaries, Gibson and Chisholm? In 1906, finding that his base in Woodside was no longer secure, Gibson moved into the Dalmarnock Ward, where he ousted Hugh Alexander, a pro-temperance Liberal. By this time, rumours were circulating about Gibson's tangled financial affairs. He had been successively involved in the management of three abortive businesses; a boot and shoe shop, a painter and decorator's, and a partnership in the Tivoli Music Hall.²²⁸ Boxing promotions seem to have been a speciality in this last

venture. Despite huge losses, none of Gibson's creditors called him to question. He thus retained his reputation as the enfant terrible of the City Chambers until 1909, when his fellow town councillor, William F. Anderson, sued him for defamation. Among other accusations, Gibson had claimed that the professedly teetotal Anderson "indulged to excess in intoxicating liquor" while on a municipal deputation to Lyons in 1907.²²⁹ Anderson won the case, with £750 damages awarded. Unlike his municipal predecessor in litigation - James Steel - Gibson's creditworthiness was such that he was not baled out by the "trade" or anybody else, and he was forced to declare himself bankrupt. This was probably Anderson's intention, as undischarged bankrupts could not hold municipal office, and Gibson had no alternative but to resign from the Corporation.²³⁰

Sir Samuel Chisholm continued to be the figurehead of the temperance movement in Glasgow throughout the 1900s. Although he had apparently lost his municipal base, his opponents - like the ambitious young Conservative councillor, Fred A. Macquisten - identified him as the dominating influence behind Glasgow's licensing policies, both among the city's magistrates and Justices of the Peace.²³¹ In 1907, as part of a series of Glasgow Herald articles on the city's social and administrative problems, Chisholm expressed his views on the "trade" and its rôle in municipal politics.²³²

The licensed trade is wealthy and powerful. Am I wrong if I add that, like other trades perhaps, it has some members who are unscrupulous too? Behind many a poor license-holder there stands, unsuspected by his customers, by the public, or even by the Licensing Bench, a wealthy brewer, or distiller, or syndicate. The withdrawal of a license on the one hand, or the granting of a new one on the other, is to them a matter of hundreds, or it may be even thousands of pounds. What a temptation to make an effort to carry into the Town Council, and thereafter into the Magistracy, that is, on to the Licensing Bench, a creature of their own, a member who will be subservient to their will.

Chisholm was dubbed "The Old Man in a Hurry" by his opponents in 1902; a designation which had been previously applied to Gladstone by Lord Randolph Churchill. As it happened, Chisholm outlived Andrew Scott Gibson. Gibson had retained something of his charisma, despite his fall from municipal grace, and was re-elected as a councillor in 1912 and 1919. However, in 1920 he was found unconscious in an East End Model Lodging House with a cut throat and severe arm wounds.²³³ Although not directly stated in the press, the clear implication was that Gibson had made a botched attempt at suicide. His health never recovered from the incident, and within a year he was dead.

References

1. Glasgow Herald, 6th December 1872.
2. Copious literature exists about the first stirrings of temperance activity in the West of Scotland, under the direction of James Dunlop - a Greenock lawyer and philanthropist - and William Collins, senior. The assorted strands of information are drawn together in Daniel C. Paton, Drink and the Temperance Movement in Nineteenth Century Scotland, (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976), especially pages 125-155. For a brief, but useful, published history, see Elspeth King, Scotland Sober and Free: the Temperance Movement, 1829-1979, (Glasgow, 1979).
3. The Vine Tavern was situated near the famous Eagle Inn, Maxwell Street, while the Crow Tavern was in George Square. The latter took its name from the nearby rookery in the grounds of James Ewing's mansion, later the site of the North British [Queen Street] Railway Station. Ewing's nickname was consequently "Craw Jamie". See Strang, op. cit., pages 455-462. Also, Rudolph Kenna and Anthony Mooney, People's Palaces: Victorian and Edwardian Pubs of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1983), pages 17-19, for a general account of early tavern life in Glasgow.
4. Strang, op. cit., pages 455-456.
5. Quoted from the "Report as to the Observation of the Sabbath", in Glasgow Town Council Minutes, 19th September 1839, pages 183-184, SRA C1.1.62.
6. For an account of Father Enraght's activities, see James E. Handley, The Irish in Scotland, (Glasgow 1964 edition; first published in 1943 as The Irish in Scotland, 1798-1845), pages 116-118. See also page 792 of this thesis.
7. Paton, op. cit., page 339. However, there were individual exceptions, notably the Rev. Patrick Brewster, an Established Church minister who espoused causes such as Chartism, anti-slavery and Poor Law reform, as well as being an enthusiastic temperance campaigner.
8. Edward Morris, The History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies in Glasgow from their Origin to the Present Time, (Glasgow, 1855), pages 52-56.
9. Ibid., pages 101-102.
10. Callum Brown, Religion and the Development of an Urban

Society, op cit., volume II, page 224.

11. See pages 67-68 for the Committee's general relevance to Town Council activity in the 1830s and early 1840s.

12. 9 George IV, cap. 58 [1828], "An Act to regulate the Granting of Certificates by Justices of the Peace and Magistrates, authorizing Persons to keep Common Inns, Alehouses, and Victualling Houses in Scotland, in which Ale, Beer, Spirits, Wines, and other Exciseable Liquors may be sold by Retail under Excise Licences; and for the better Regulation of such Houses; and for the Prevention of such Houses being kept without such Certificate".

13. Ibid., Schedule B, "Form of Certificate".

14. Paton, op. cit., page 133.

15. Kenna and Mooney, op. cit., page 19.

16. Paton, op. cit., pages 133-135.

17. See Sections 4 to 6 of the "Report as to Observation of the Sabbath", Glasgow Town Council Minutes, op. cit.

18. Quoted in Section 1 of *ibid.*

19. The incident is described in detail in the Glasgow Herald, 4th January 1839.

20. The drinking of communion wine was a vexed question for early temperance reformers, and was often cited by opponents as proof that the Bible sanctioned alcohol consumption. The controversy was not resolved until the 1870s, when the main Scottish Presbyterian Churches authorised a permissive approach by ministers as to the use of unfermented wine. However, smaller sects, like the Evangelical Union Church, had always adhered to this practice. See Paton, op. cit., pages 353-361.

21. William Logan, Early Heroes of the Temperance Reformation, (Glasgow, 1873), page 238. Smith's family upheld the temperance tradition, and his grandson was James A. Allan, the wealthy shipowner, who stood unsuccessfully as a municipal candidate in Glasgow during the 1900s. Known as "Citizen Allan" or the "Socialist Millionaire", Allan was an enthusiastic member of the ILP, Fabian Society and Clarion Scouts, as well as being an uncompromising teetotaler and vegetarian.

22. One of the best evocations of the traditions of Scottish conviviality - with many literary references - is F. Marion McNeill's The Scots Cellar: its Traditions and Lore, (Glasgow,

1956).

23. The Bailie was a strong supporter of the drinks' trade, and quoted Jarvie's favourite saying, "My Conscience!", on its banner heading. Scott's Rob Roy is essentially a novel about conscience. However, Jarvie is not depicted as a toper, but as a canny Glaswegian businessman well able to enjoy a drink, but knowing when to stop. The hardened drinkers in the novel are the decadent Jacobite Osbaldistone family who, not surprisingly, come to a bad end. Indeed, one of the Osbaldistone brothers is made to die as the result of a drinking bout, in contest with a gentleman called "Brandy Swalewell".

24. "Tomkins", [alias John Warner], "Tea-totalism and Total Abstinence", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, volume XLVII, August 1840, pages 214-219.

25. Paton, *op. cit.*, page 163.

26. See pages 270 and 344.

27. See the Report from the Select Committee on the System of Granting Certificates for Public Houses in Scotland, PP, 1846, XV.

28. See Hutchison, A Political History of Scotland, *op. cit.*, pages 62-63, for the origins of the Evangelical Alliance, arising from the Maynooth controversy.

29. Glasgow Town Council Minutes, 25th April 1850, page 694, SRA C1.1.65. See also the Glasgow Herald, 26th April 1850, for a report of the Council meeting which approved the Council regulations. Callum Brown in Religion and the Development of an Urban Society, *op. cit.*, page 226, particularly identifies the rôle of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union. The use of this body to present the case for stricter licensing was sharp thinking on the part of the evangelical agencies, as teachers could graphically describe the effects of the alcohol problem on helpless youngsters, who were often abused or neglected by parents who had apparently sold their souls to the drink bottle.

30. The other magistrates, in addition to John McDowall and John Playfair, were Alexander Brown, Robert Bryson, David Dreghorn, John Gilmour, Andrew Orr and David Smith.

31. 16 and 17 Victoria, cap. 67, [1853], "An Act for the Better Regulation of Public Houses in Scotland".

32. The regulations are reproduced in the Glasgow Herald, 26th April 1850.

33. See J.B. Mackie, The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren, (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. I, pages 304-307. Despite the adulatory tone of the author towards McLaren, the book gives a useful account of municipal politics in Edinburgh from the 1830s to the 1850s.
34. Paton, op. cit., pages 192-193.
35. See *ibid.*, pages 202-204, for the key rôle of Lord Kinnaird in the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act.
36. See the Glasgow Herald, 24th May 1850, for the report of a public meeting of spirit dealers where John Bain took the chair; also 25th October 1850, for an advertisement informing spirit dealers of the progress of litigation against the Town Council.
37. Quoted in the Glasgow Herald, 24th May 1850. The speaker was Robert McIsaac, a Glasgow spirit merchant.
38. *Ibid.* The Western Club was located at the corner of St. Vincent Street and Buchanan Street, and its membership embraced "... the elite of the nobility and gentry in the West of Scotland". See John Tweed (publisher), Tweed's Guide to Glasgow and the Clyde, (Glasgow, 1872), pages 35-36.
39. Morris, op. cit., pages 232-233.
40. This view is summed up in James Stirling's pamphlet, The Failure of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, (Glasgow, 1859).
41. George B. Wilson, Alcohol and the Nation: a Contribution to the Study of the Liquor Problem in the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1935, pages 118-119.
42. *Ibid.*, page 119; also Paton, op. cit., page 200.
43. William Logan, op. cit., pages 238-240.
44. Glasgow Herald, 2nd November 1855.
45. The editor of both the Glasgow Herald and the Scotsman liaised closely with the spokesmen of the licensed trade in Parliament, in an effort to better publicise the case against the Forbes Mackenzie Act. See Paton, op. cit., pages 217-218.
46. Glasgow Herald, 2nd November 1855.
47. James Smart, Glasgow's Superintendent of Police, stated that "gentlemen connected with the Press" complained persistently about the 1853 Act, claiming that on publishing nights, "... they are denied necessary refreshment in

respectable Licensed houses, and are driven to seek it in Unlicensed Places". See James Smart, Report on the Working of the Act for the Better Regulation of Public Houses in Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1857), pages 6-7.

48. The names of the Committee members are listed in *ibid.*, 22nd October 1855.

49. Stated at a meeting of "gentlemen favourable to Forbes Mackenzie's Act", reported in *ibid.*, 17th October 1855.

50. The list is reproduced in *ibid.*, 5th November 1855.

51. See *ibid.* for details of the dispute. The aggressive behaviour of McDowall as described clearly meant to imply that there was a sort of evangelical "Mafia" operating in the Cowcaddens area of Glasgow, which McDowall represented. Given the Herald's antipathy to the Forbes Mackenzie Act, it seems likely - as McDowall himself claimed - that he was being provoked by the drinks' trade, in an effort to damage the reputation of the temperance cause.

52. See pages 286-288. Note that in 1848, Dalglish had been narrowly defeated for election to Glasgow Town Council.

53. *Ibid.*, 1st April 1857.

54. Paton, *op. cit.*, page 229.

55. *Ibid.*, page 212.

56. *Ibid.*, page 228.

57. Report from the Royal Commission on the Licensing System, PP, 1860, XXXII, XXXIII.

58. 25 and 26 Victoria, cap. 35, [1862], "An Act, to amend the Acts for the Regulation of Public Houses in Scotland".

59. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, *op. cit.*, page 109.

60. Morris, *op. cit.*, page 126.

61. Quoted in P.T. Winskill, The Temperance Movement and its Workers: A Record of Social, Moral, Religious and Political Progress, (London, 1892), vol. III, page 36. The impressive US revivalists were members of the famous evangelical Beecher Stowe family.

62. See *ibid.*, page 95. The inaugural meeting of the SPBTA took place on 1st October 1858. According to its fourteenth

Annual Report, covering the year 1872-73, the declared object of the SPBTA was, "The Suppression of the Liquor Traffic by the Power of the National Will, and through the form of a Legislative Enactment".

63. Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-72, (London, 1971), page 198.

64. Ibid.

65. See Paton, op. cit., pages 316-318, for the events surrounding the rejection of the Scottish Veto Bill in Parliament during the 1880s; also Aspinwall, op. cit., pages 107 and 133, for the Scottish nationalist dimension.

66. Harrison, op. cit., page 198.

67. W. Hamish Fraser, "'A Newspaper for its Generation": the Glasgow Sentinel, 1850-1877", in the Scottish Labour History Society Journal, no. 4, 1971, pages 18-31; also Ian Wood, "Drink, Temperance and the Labour Movement", in *ibid.*, no. 5, 1972, page 26, for an account of the Sentinel's vigorous opposition to the Forbes Mackenzie Act. South of the border, the Bee-Hive newspaper, organ of the London trade societies during the 1860s, shared a similar attitude towards temperance crusaders.

68. In this connection, Bernard Aspinwall has traced a direct link between ideas of American "civic morality" and pro-temperance zeal with the progressivism which was to characterise Glasgow Town Council prior to 1914. See Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, op. cit., page 139.

69. See pages 305-306. Both Lang and William Govan, junior, who stood against James Watson in 1866, were directors of the Abstainers' Union, founded in 1854. They were also long-standing activists in the Scottish Temperance League, and were latterly in membership of the SPBTA. Such an overlap in membership was by no means unusual from the 1860s. Govan was a zealous participant in the "Blue Ribbon" temperance movement towards the end of his life. For Lang's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 2nd June 1876; for Govan's see the North British Daily Mail, 27th September 1883, and the League Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, 6th October 1883. Although it has not been possible to conclusively identify Lang or Govan's religious convictions, they both seem to have been Free Church members.

70. Callum Brown, Religion and the Development of an Urban Society, op. cit., vol. II, page 157.

71. Glasgow Herald, 30th November 1868.
72. Ibid., 3rd November 1869. Lang's victorious opponent was Alexander McLaren.
73. Ibid., 5th, 17th February and 5th, 17th March 1870.
74. See *ibid.*, 5th February 1870. Melvin suggested that it was highly desirable to ban all grocers' licences, because "... in many ways drink was put down in pass-books as provisions, and that by this means drunkenness was greatly promoted, not only among wives but among servants, who were induced to purchase in these places, because they got drams".
75. See the editorial in *ibid.*, 8th February 1870.
76. Ibid., 30th March 1870. In the chair at the meeting was Councillor Hugh Lamberton, who stated to the audience that Glasgow's high death rate was due to drunkenness "almost entirely", and that the city's slum problem arose "... not through real poverty in the sense of a man being out of work, but it was attributable to the habits of such a large number of the working classes who would not and could not keep themselves in respectable houses ...".
77. Ibid., 24th March 1870. The speaker was William Smyth, an accountant, and recently elected Secretary to the Association.
78. Ibid., 8th February 1870.
79. Ibid.
80. For the widespread concern expressed at the time over the secret rituals of the Good Templars, see Lilian Lewis Shiman, Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England, (London, 1988), page 179. See also the Glasgow Sentinel, 15th October 1870, which boldly states the opinion that, "The Good Templars, it may be proper to explain, is a political agitation got up to ensure the return of Town Councillors and members of Parliament who will pledge themselves to vote a Permissive Bill of the most stringent character". Good Templary was introduced to Scotland from the United States in 1869, with the first Lodge established in Glasgow at a meeting of the United Working Men's Total Abstinence Society. The movement had enormous popular appeal; within a few months forty-three Lodges existed, and by 1876 there were 1,131 Lodges throughout Scotland, with a membership of 83,717. See King, *op. cit.*, page 16.
81. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, *op. cit.*, pages 118-119 and 138-139.

82. Paton, op. cit., page 340.

83. In May 1845, only six months after the formation of the Scottish Temperance League, a Personal Abstinence Society of the United Presbyterian Church was formed. Membership was not mutually exclusive; rather, it was seen to be mutually reinforcing. See Samuel Couling, History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland from the Earliest Date to the Present Time, (London, 1862), pages 194-195.

84. Paton, op. cit., page 348.

85. For the background to Kent Road Church, and some splendid Annan photographs, see J. Logan Aikman, Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Congregations in Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1875), pages 199 to 201.

86. The Bailie, 26th September 1877.

87. Kent Road United Presbyterian Church (Session and Managers), Celebration of the Ministerial Jubilee of the Rev. Joseph Brown, D.D., (Glasgow, 1884), page 9. For Brown's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 12th April 1897, and the League Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, 17th April 1897.

88. For the atonement debate in the Secession Church during the 1840s, see Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, op. cit., pages 139-141.

89. The Kent Road Kirk Session between 1864 and 1873 is listed in Aikman, op. cit., page 201. For William Brown's obituary, see the League Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, 22nd April 1882.

90. Quoted in Kent Road United Presbyterian Church (Session and Managers), op. cit., page 48. The speaker was Samuel Chisholm.

91. See the Glasgow Herald, 10th July 1872. The "Statement of Facts for the Defender" in the case of the City Assessors versus Councillor Steel is reproduced in full. In the text, Steel openly admits, "In November 1870 a movement was begun for controlling the municipal elections so as to obtain fair play for the spirit trade, and accordingly they put up candidates at the elections in said month to contest the seats with their more violent opponents in the Town Council".

92. Glasgow Sentinel, 22nd October 1870.

93. Ibid., 15th October 1870.

94. Quoted in the North British Daily Mail, 26th April 1872.
95. Glasgow Herald, 2nd November 1870.
96. Glasgow Sentinel, 15th October 1870.
97. Glasgow Herald, 20th July 1872. In an editorial, the Herald deprecated the obstructive tactics of Messrs. Steel and Martin, especially during recent Town Council debates on the expenses of municipal delegations to London and support for proposed pro-temperance legislation in Parliament. The Herald commented, "... the frequent recurrence of scenes like these brings our civic authorities into contempt, and if the Town Council becomes much liker [sic] a bear garden respectable citizens will be unwilling to seek an entrance".
98. Quoted in *ibid.*, 9th November 1872. The speaker was Malcolm McEwen, who was supportive of the "trade".
99. Norma D. Logan, Drink and Society: Scotland, 1870-1914, (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Glasgow, 1983), pages 373-407.
100. For details of the Yuile bankruptcy case, see the Glasgow Herald, 6th, 13th and 25th January 1865. Members of the temperance movement were also not immune to financial misfortunes. James Leitch Lang faced a bankruptcy court in 1874, although he seems to have rapidly recovered from his difficulties. See *ibid.*, 18th April 1874.
101. Norma Logan, *op. cit.*, page 394.
102. *Ibid.*, page 396.
103. Quoted in *ibid.*, page 394.
104. For Steel's obituary, see the North British Daily Mail, 11th November 1891.
105. William Govan, junior, was one of the driving forces behind the visit of Moody and Sankey, as was the youthful John Campbell White - later Lord Overtoun, and close friend of Samuel Chisholm.
106. Steel Drops, March 1874. Steel was metaphorically using the word "Nigger" to indicate his dislike of fashions emanating from the northern states of America. His outraged attitude gives a strong clue to his leanings during the recent Civil War. Many pro-temperance activists in Glasgow had publicly supported the North at the time of the conflict, notably William Govan, junior.

107. See pages 304-305.

108. See Martin's obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 19th November 1892. For further biographical information, see the anonymous pamphlet, The Life of the Late Bailie James Martin, ("Oor Jeems"), (Glasgow, n.d., but c.1892). According to the latter source, Martin had helped to float Fergus O'Connor's newspaper, The Northern Star, during his Chartist days.

109. See pages 740-741. The supportive rôle of Martin's wife is referred to in the pamphlet by James Colquhoun, My Reminiscences of Glasgow Town Council: Behind the Scenes in George Square, (Glasgow, 1904), page 4.

110. Anonymous, The Life of Bailie James Martin, op. cit., page 24.

111. Quoted in *ibid.*, page 26.

112. Quoted in *ibid.*, page 25.

113. *Ibid.*, pages 11-12.

114. The official ceremony, formally handing over the fountain to the Corporation on behalf of the subscribers, is detailed in the Glasgow Herald, 28th May 1894.

115. Sir William Collins' drinking fountain was inaugurated during his lifetime in Glasgow Green, while James Torrens' fountain was erected four years after his death at the corner of Shamrock Street and New City Road, Cowcaddens. See David Keir, The House of Collins: the Story of a Scottish Family of Publishers from 1789 to the Present Day, (London, 1952), page 196, and the Glasgow Herald, 23rd January 1888.

116. North British Daily Mail, 26th April 1872.

117. Quoted in *ibid.*

118. It should be stressed that there is no distinction between libel and slander under Scots law; "defamation" is the general term applied to spoken and written calumny.

119. See the Glasgow Herald, 10th July 1872, "Statement of Facts for the Defender".

120. *Ibid.*, 23rd January 1873.

121. *Ibid.*

122. The Bailie, 20th November 1872.

123. Even James Martin lost his seat, but he bounced back as a representative for the Second Ward in 1874.

124. For a shrewd assessment of Bain, see Fairplay, ("Clydeside Cameos"), 21st March 1884. As Fairplay bluntly put it, "He has an easy conscience, and is willing to be all things to all men". For an even blunter appraisal, see Steel Drops, February 1876 and December 1877.

125. Glasgow was by no means the first Scottish city to have a teetotal Provost. Dundee held that distinction, with the election of George Rough in 1854.

126. For biographical information on Collins, see Keir, *op. cit.*, and also his obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 21st February 1895, and the League Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, 23rd February 1895.

127. Norma Logan, *op. cit.*, page 353.

128. In addition to his associates in the Scottish Temperance League and SPBTA, Collins' brother-in-law - John L.K. Jamieson - served as a town councillor.

129. Glasgow Herald, 3rd November 1875.

130. See Keir, *op. cit.*, page 187, for an account of Collins' first teetotal municipal conversazione. Also Fairplay, ("Clydeside Cameos"), 13th June 1884, for retrospective reactions to the Collins' regime.

131. Hutchison, A Political History of Scotland, *op. cit.*, pages 142-143.

132. Gowans and Gray, (publishers), The Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1902, *op. cit.*, page 343.

133. See the Glasgow Herald, 21st September 1880, and Fairplay, ("Clydeside Cameos"), 13th June 1884, for reflections of the view that Collins' municipal reign "... should be famous for moderate Budgets".

134. See Kenna and Mooney, *op. cit.*, pages 42-60 for an account of the changes in Scottish drinking habits during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

135. Norma Logan, *op. cit.*, page 398.

136. *Ibid.*

137. *Ibid.*, page 399.

138. See pages 122-124 and 320-323.
139. Detailed biographical material about Chisholm appears in the Glasgow Echo, 26th August 1893; Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit.; Gowans and Gray, (publishers), The Lord Provosts of Glasgow, 1833 to 1902, op. cit., pages 560-568; Glasgow Herald, 28th September 1923 (obituary); and Who Was Who, 1916-28, (London, 4th edition, 1967). See also The Bailie, 29th April 1891 and 15th November 1899.
140. New Statistical Account of Scotland: Vol. I - Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1845), pages 451-533. The Rev. Norman Macleod, who wrote the Dalkeith section, regretfully noted the presence of sixty-two spirit dealers in the town. This "moral nuisance" must have made an early impression on the young Chisholm, especially during Dalkeith's lively market days.
141. Ibid., page 509.
142. Kent Road United Presbyterian Church (Session and Managers), op. cit., page 61.
143. New Statistical Account of Scotland: Vol. I, op. cit., pages 527-528.
144. The Bailie, 29th April 1891.
145. Kent Road United Presbyterian Church (Session and Managers), op. cit., page 71.
146. Biographical information about Selkirk appears in his obituary, Glasgow Herald, 7th May 1904, and also Winskill, op. cit., volume 3, page 98.
147. Glasgow Echo, 26th August 1893.
148. Quoted in the Glasgow Herald, 9th October 1902.
149. James B. Russell, Life in One Room: or, Some Serious Considerations for the Citizens of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1888).
150. Ibid., page 30.
151. Glasgow Town Council, Public Houses in Corporation and Trust Property: Minutes of Town Council and Committee with Reference Thereto, March 1890 and April 1890, SRA D-TC 6/26.
152. See the Glasgow Herald, 6th November 1872, for the debate on Lang's motion.
153. Harrison, op. cit., page 295.

154. Kent Road United Presbyterian Church (Session and managers), *op. cit.*, page 37.

155. The rationale behind the evangelical impulse in municipal affairs is expressed in an influential pamphlet by Alfred T. Davies, The Relation of Municipal Action to Morals, (London, 1899).

156. See pages 779-780.

157. Glasgow Herald, 11th November 1891.

158. Quoted in *ibid.*

159. The movement had been initiated in May 1891, in order to prepare the ground for the November municipal elections. See *ibid.*

160. For an impression of contemporary attitudes to Chisholm, see The Bailie, 29th April 1891, and the Glasgow Echo, 26th August 1893.

161. Glasgow Corporation, Municipal Glasgow, *op. cit.*, page 332.

162. Glasgow Town Council, Public Houses, Closing on New Year's Day: Recommendations of the Edinburgh Magistrates, 12th December 1889, SRA D-TC 6/26.

163. Glasgow Corporation, Minutes [1894]: Licensing Acts, Early Closing of Licensed Premises, SRA D-TC 6/26.

164. For the background to the Corbett family, see Lord Rowallan, [Thomas Godfrey Polson Corbett], Rowallan: the Autobiography of Lord Rowallan, (Edinburgh, 1976). The Corbett's married into the Polson family, the other half of the Paisley cornflour business of Brown and Polson. The Browns were the family of Joseph Brown.

165. A particular "man of mystery" on the Corporation was James Colquhoun, a former SPBTA activist and leading Liberal, who later helped to form the Chamberlainite Glasgow Radical Union. His pro-temperance enthusiasm seems to have been held in abeyance, once he began to associate himself with Unionism. See the Glasgow Echo, 24th December 1894, for comments on Colquhoun's shifting stance on temperance.

166. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, *op. cit.*, page 142.

167. Glasgow ratepayers had indicated support for prohibition in a plebiscite conducted in the "Old City" during 1887. The

plebiscite was organised by a broad section of religious and temperance groups, with the Roman Catholic Church conspicuously absent. There were 57,704 votes cast in favour of prohibition and 19,411 against, out of 135,000 papers sent out. See SRA D-TC 14.1.16, MP-261.

168. Regrettably, there is not the space here to give the background to the arguments in favour of municipalisation. However, see Joseph Chamberlain, "Municipal Public-Houses", in the Fortnightly Review, vol. CXXII, February 1877, pages 147-159, for an early view of the subject. For the Scottish dimension, see John Mann, junior, "Reformed Public Houses: Notes upon the Scandinavian Licensing System and the Bishop of Chester's Recent Proposals", in Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, vol. XXIV, 1892-93, pages 9-28, and Alexander A. Cuthbert, "Municipal Control of the Liquor Trade", in the Glasgow Herald, 25th March 1898.

169. Municipalisation was also seen as a way of squeezing out landlords; the great bogey of "Stalwart" candidates, most of whom favoured Georgite policies on the taxation of land values. Landlords could charge licensees excessive rentals because of the nature of their property, and so it was the landlords rather than the publicans who made the most profit out of drink. For this argument, see John Ferguson, Glasgow, the City of Progress: an Address to the Electors for the Municipal Election of November, 1900, (Glasgow, 1900), page 5, SRA TD 326.

170. Fabian Tract No. 86, Municipalisation of the Drink Traffic, (London, 1898).

171. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, op. cit., page 140.

172. Glasgow Herald, 6th November 1889.

173. The pro-temperance Liberals, Hugh Brechin and John Davidson, were Third Ward councillors, although Brechin latterly came to be categorised as a "wobler" over his temperance commitment.

174. Glasgow Echo, 9th December 1893.

175. Ibid. John Battersby was one of the driving forces behind the Glasgow Echo, which had been established in 1893 as a strike bulletin of compositors in dispute with the Glasgow Evening Citizen. Its almost adulatory tone towards Chisholm leads one to suspect that he had a personal interest in the newspaper, and that his éminence grise, Lord Overtoun, may also have been involved.

176. Ibid., 7th April 1894. Campbell was the author of a legal

text on the Scottish licensing laws, The Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1903, with Introduction and Commentary, (Glasgow, 1903).

177. Glasgow United Trades' Council, Annual Report, 1889-90, page 11.

178. See page 442. For the ILP view of the campaign, see Robert Smillie, My Life for Labour, (London, 1924), pages 112-114.

179. Glasgow Echo, 15th July 1895.

180. Quoted in the North British Daily Mail, 25th October 1898.

181. The ILP asked him to retract the statement in 1899, but Chisholm's response to this request was highly ambiguous. See the Glasgow Herald, 9th November 1899.

182. See pages 783-785.

183. For biographical details about O'Hare, see the National Guardian, 15th October 1902. Also, Tom Gallacher, Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace: Religious Tensions in Modern Scotland, (Manchester, 1987), pages 70 and 76-77, for O'Hare's rôle in the Irish community.

184. In 1896 O'Hare stood for the Corporation as a "Local Veto" candidate.

185. Glasgow Observer, 6th November 1897.

186. Ibid.

187. The fact that O'Hare's name appeared regularly in the National Guardian, organ of the Scottish licensing trade, and that a full biographical profile appeared in August 1902, shows that he was considered very much an ally.

188. See Johnstone's entry in the Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1905-06. He had hitherto not been listed.

189. Glasgow Observer, 6th November 1897.

190. Glasgow Herald, 7th October 1899.

191. Ibid., 9th October 1899.

192. Ibid., 8th November 1899.

193. Ibid., 9th November 1899.

194. See pages 451-452.
195. Glasgow Herald, 5th October 1901.
196. Ibid., 6th November 1901.
197. Quoted in The Bailie, 30th June 1902; paraphrased in Andrew Scott Gibson, An Address to the Electors of the Springburn Ward, Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1901), page 20. The Address is a most impressive document in terms of quality, with a studio portrait of the author reproduced on the cover. In terms of content, much of the text bears a striking resemblance - almost plagiaristic - to John Ferguson's election address of the previous year. See Ferguson, op. cit.
198. This observation was made at the time. See The Bailie, 11th June 1902.
199. Ibid., 29th January 1902.
200. Ibid., 19th February 1902.
201. Ibid.
202. Glasgow Corporation, Licensing Print No. 13/1901-02: Report of the Sub-Committee of the Magistrates who Visited Liverpool in March, 1902, to Enquire as to the Administration of the Licensing Acts in that City, 2nd April 1902, SRA D-TC 6/26. (The loose working papers relating to the visit also come under this general heading.)
203. Ibid., page 3.
204. Shiman, op. cit., pages 197-198. For Citizens' Vigilance Committees, see the Licensing Laws Information Bureau, Vigilance Associations: their Justification and Function and Vigilance Associations: their Constitution and Methods, (Nottingham, n.d., but c.1900).
205. Glasgow Corporation, Report of the Sub-Committee of the Magistrates who Visited Liverpool ..., op. cit., page 23.
206. National Guardian, 11th, 18th and 25th April 1902.
207. Kenna and Mooney, op. cit., page 58. The "schooner" was restored under the terms of the 1903 Licensing (Scotland) Act, which excepted measures of less than a pint from the imperial standard.
208. National Guardian, 2nd May 1902.

209. Ibid., 18th July 1902.
210. Ibid., 13th June 1902.
211. Ibid., 18th July 1902.
212. A disclaimer appeared in the Glasgow Herald, 27th October 1902.
213. There are indications that Gibson and Buchanan may have temporarily fallen out over who was intending to stand in Woodside. See Buchanan's curious letter in the Glasgow Herald, 21st October 1902, where he promotes himself as a likely Conservative candidate, while commenting that the politics of Gibson and the Lord Provost have too much in common. Within a week, Buchanan was speaking in support of Gibson, while conducting his own unsuccessful candidacy in the Hutchesontown Ward. See *ibid.*, 28th October 1902.
214. Glasgow Herald, 28th October 1902. For the Hardie attack on Overtoun, see the Labour Leader pamphlet, The Overtoun Horror, (Glasgow, 1899).
215. Glasgow Herald, 4th November 1902.
216. "Truth Stands", Scathing Exposure of Scott Gibson, (Glasgow, 1902), page 11.
217. Glasgow Herald, 31st October 1902.
218. See pages 460-462.
219. National Guardian, 7th November 1902.
220. Ibid., 20th February 1903.
221. 3 Edward VII, cap. 25, [1903], "An Act to Consolidate with Amendments the Laws Relating to Licensing in Scotland".
222. Glasgow Corporation, Bye-laws by the Licensing Court for the County of the City of Glasgow Under Section 41 of the Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1903, 30th December 1904, SRA D-TC 6/26.
223. Kenna and Mooney, *op. cit.*, page 79.
224. Glasgow Herald, 15th August 1905.
225. Ibid.
226. 3 and 4 George V, cap. 33, [1913], "An Act to Promote

Temperance in Scotland by Conferring on the Electors in Prescribed Areas Control over the Grant and Renewal of Certificates; by Securing a Later Hour of Opening for Licensed Premises; by Amending the Laws Relating to Clubs; and by Other Provisions Incidental Thereto".

227. Glasgow Herald, 20th January 1913.

228. Gibson's business disasters are described in the anonymous pamphlet, The Real Gibson!, (Glasgow, n.d., but c.1906). The allegations made in this context were subsequently confirmed to be true. See the Glasgow Herald, 16th October 1912, for details of the Sheriff Court hearing to discharge Gibson as a bankrupt. When he was declared bankrupt in 1909, Gibson was in debt to the amount of £3,870.

229. *Ibid.*, 24th March 1909.

230. *Ibid.*, 16th September 1909.

231. See F.A. Macquisten, Thoughts on the Licensing Question: an Address to the Electors of Townhead by Councillor Macquisten, (Glasgow, 1907). Macquisten was a lawyer who was frequently used by the "trade", along with Angus Campbell and Michael J. Connell. All three served as town councillors.

232. Glasgow Herald, 20th November 1907.

233. Daily Record, 15th and 17th July 1920. For the report of Gibson's death, see *ibid.*, 18th July 1921.

PART SEVEN - THE CITY FATHERS, 1833-1912: CIVIC
PATERNALISM OR COMMUNITY SELF-RELIANCE?

- I. Economic Profile: the Distribution of Occupation and Wealth.
- II. Social Profile: the Personal and Cultural Background.
- III. Ideological Profile: Political and Religious Allegiances.

"That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."

¹John Ruskin, Unto this Last, (1862).

I. Economic Profile: the Distribution of Occupation and Wealth

Throughout the preceding chapters of this thesis, much of the emphasis has been on the individual rather than collective rôle of town councillors, focusing on representatives who were able to dominate and direct Glasgow's civic affairs at given periods between 1833 and 1912. Thus, James Campbell, the two James Lumsdens, Andrew Orr, James Watson, William Collins and Samuel Chisholm were Lord Provosts who indelibly stamped their formidable personalities on the course of municipal events. There were also others, who attained less elevated positions in the civic hierarchy, and yet had an intricate understanding of the nuances of power politics; Archibald McLellan, James Moir, John McDowall, William Walls, George Jackson and Robert Crawford would all fall into this category. Such men were familiar figures to their contemporaries, well-known for their forthright opinions and declared political partisanship. After they died, fulsome tribute was paid to their services to Glasgow, even

though - as has been seen - some of their endeavours had met with a much more jaundiced reception during their lifetime. Notwithstanding any lingering sentiments of cynicism among the city populace, the purposeful image deliberately projected by the civic leadership came to reflect on the calibre of all town councillors, so that Albert Shaw had no hesitation in collectively categorising them as "upright, respected, and successful citizens".² If the character of the municipal authority constituted the sum part of its total representation, then according to conventional wisdom by the 1890s, Glasgow had little to fear for the future.

Yet it is dangerously presumptive to assume that the efforts of a few prominent and long-serving individuals were typical of the Council as a whole. Much more must be ascertained about the general municipal profile, before Shaw's assertion about the quality of Glasgow's councillors can be confirmed or repudiated. Between 1833 and 1912 a total of 577 representatives held municipal office in Glasgow; a good deal is known about some, but very little about others. Even information which is verifiable for all men ought to be treated with caution; for instance, the average length of municipal service worked out at eight years, but the individual experience covered a wide spectrum of from four days to forty-five years. A third of all civic representatives served for three years or less, while almost half did not achieve magisterial position

during their civic careers. Some were not even elected representatives at all; the Deans of Guild and Deacon Conveners were appointed by the Merchants' and Trades' Houses respectively, but had the same rights as ordinary councillors, and could participate fully in municipal debate. Above all, rapid economic, social and political developments meant that the collective profile of Glasgow's councillors was subject to change over time. Of course, many continuities persisted throughout the entire period, but what was typical in 1841 was - understandably - not necessarily the norm some fifty years later.

However, before going on to attempt a constructive analysis of the personal background to Glasgow's civic representatives, it is first of all necessary to examine what was actually expected of them, in order to identify how far they conformed to any fixed preconceptions. Consciously or otherwise, Albert Shaw had expressed the belief in an ideal underpinning the public service ethos in the United Kingdom for most of the nineteenth century. E.P. Hennock has shown that during the 1830s - when the local government machinery was under exhaustive scrutiny - a general consensus had emerged about the most desirable characteristics to be possessed by town councillors.³ In words that were to be as relevant in the 1890s as in the 1830s, the ideal qualities of civic representatives were paraphrased thus by Hennock:⁴

They were men of station or respectability, they were men of substance or property or wealth, and they were men of intelligence or education. They were never merely intelligent without being also men of station or substance. It was station or respectability that appeared on all occasions as the indispensable criterion, and it was substance or property that was most commonly linked with it.

At the time, there was no fundamental disagreement between Liberals and Peelite Conservatives over the need for councillors to manifest such characteristics, even though reasons initially differed. For their part, Liberals were determined to show that they were not inferior in terms of status to their predecessors under the unreformed régime, while Peelites remained preoccupied with the public order issue, and the maintenance of responsible leadership within the municipal authority.⁵ Gradually, these two perspectives came to coalesce into a single civic "ideal", persisting beyond Albert Shaw's day and into the twentieth century.

That councillors should be above the ordinary, even within the context of the limited franchise, was undoubtedly perceived as one of the prime requirements of office. For evangelicals, a strong streak of paternalism underlay this attitude, as can be gauged from the following advice (circa 1899) relating to the fundamental civic duties:⁶

The Town Councillor is as much concerned with the salvation of men as the minister of religion. He is not set simply to drive a municipal machine, but to develop

human beings, to train character, to make men, and to help them fulfil some of the purposes of the Divine Father who gave them being.

Even from the secular viewpoint, the fatherly metaphor pervaded ideas of public service. The influence of John Ruskin's Unto This Last has already been mentioned in this thesis, and Ruskin's passionate appeal that justice should form the touchstone of all human interaction fell on the receptive ears of a good many radicals, Progressives and pioneer socialists.⁷ Yet Ruskin was at pains to point out his belief in the "impossibility of Equality", arguing that enlightened élitism was the most effective way of directing social affairs:⁸

My continual aim has been to show the eternal superiority of some men to all others; and to show also the advisability of appointing such persons or person to guide, to lead, or on occasion even to compel and subdue, their inferiors, according to their own better knowledge and wiser will.

"Better knowledge and wiser will" were virtues readily appreciated by the likes of Albert Shaw, who shared the Chamberlainite notion that municipal office was a trust on behalf of all citizens, and that only the best was good enough to represent the community's interests.⁹ In this context, much emphasis was placed on the voluntary nature of British local government service, which accommodated both moral and material considerations as the criteria of what constituted

fitness for office. Thus, because no financial inducements were attached to becoming a town councillor, "unworthy men" were generally deterred from seeking election, (unlike the United States experience), while the voluntary principle ensured the absence of the worst excesses of bureaucratic tyranny, (unlike the continental experience).¹⁰ The British system made for stability and order, while retaining the advantages of accountability and incorruptibility. Even when baser motives initially did prevail, it was argued that public service could often have an "ennobling" effect. As Mabel Atkinson put it in 1904:¹¹

... it yet remains certain that the more important feature of our self-government is, - not necessarily that it produces better results than might be attained by a more centralised bureaucratic system, but that it trains up citizens in public spirit and in self-reliance.

Atkinson even argued that the responsibility of office could have a healthily restraining influence on the wilder notions of "the man whose moral ideas have outrun his mental grasp".¹² Impetuous, self-proclaimed radicals could thus be "tamed" by the salutary experience of having to translate their ideals into civic practice.

Self-reliance was, of course, a cornerstone of the nineteenth century Liberal ethos, and the oft-repeated reference to "local self-government" in connection with the municipalities reflected the prevailing ideal of a decentralised authority,

where the citizen would have greater opportunity for direct participation. The Police Burghs which came to proliferate around Glasgow during the mid-Victorian period may have owed something of their origins to political expediency, but at the time they were held up as great exemplars of the spirit of self-determination.¹³ While Glasgow's town councillors generally looked askance at the civic pretensions of their smaller neighbours, they were certainly not unsympathetic to the principle of local autonomy; opinions differed over what constituted a viable municipal unit and how this might relate to "imperial" interests, but there was no real questioning of the substantive argument. The ability of a community to metaphorically stand on its own two feet depended on the character of the civic leadership, who - echoing the Ruskinite definition - were expected to take the strong and single-minded approach. Paradoxically, the ostensibly non-political nature of Glasgow's municipal elections from 1843 had the effect of reinforcing this ideal.¹⁴ "Public spirit" combined with sound business sense was perceived as the prime municipal requirement, rather than any party political attachment. In a demonstration of true individualism, councillors were best able to serve the community by eschewing overt partisanship.

Yet quantifying standards of municipal excellence was an exercise fraught with problems of interpretation, as Albert Shaw remarked to his American readership.¹⁵ Accordingly, in the

context of the British class system, town councillors did not tend to come from the ranks of the true, blue-blooded élites, but were generally from a business background, "men of intelligence and character, and in practical conversance with affairs".¹⁶ For Americans, success in business rather than any crude class factor underpinned definitions of superior social status, which was why transatlantic commentators remained fascinated by Glasgow's civic progress under its business-orientated leadership.¹⁷ Indeed, the business dimension was considered the key factor in explaining why the municipal machinery was able to operate so smoothly. Councillors had applied the practices of their own experience in industry and commerce, acting - as Joseph Chamberlain stated in an American magazine - like the directors of "a joint stock or co-operative enterprise in which every citizen is a share-holder".¹⁸ Within the Town Council itself, such an analogy was generally welcomed as a fitting tribute to the practical abilities of civic representatives. In an important 1896 publication, Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, Lord Provost James Bell made the official position quite clear:¹⁹

The qualities which make a good Town Councillor are simply those which belong to the successful business man: method, precision, accurate judgment, and prompt decision, and with these characteristics the elected Councils have been well endowed.

The occupational profile of Glasgow's civic representatives is obviously crucial towards understanding precisely what this business experience entailed, and whether the much-vaunted claims about "upright, respected, and successful citizens" were exaggerated.²⁰ It is also a useful starting point for the general biographical profile, as information about occupation is readily available for all town councillors, and can thus be interpreted with a fair degree of accuracy. However, it is immediately necessary to state the methodology used to classify occupational distribution, in order that a meaningful comparative analysis could be made. While the Central Statistical Office's Standard Industrial Classification has been available in various forms since 1948, it was thought to be too modern and sophisticated for application to Glasgow's town councillors in the pre-1914 era.²¹ Yet although there is no other consistent official classification, a system does exist which specifically serves the purposes of historical analysis, even though it proved not to be wholly satisfactory in the range of occupations covered. This classification was adapted by W.A. Armstrong from the system devised by Charles Booth during the 1880s, and bears similarities to the modern industrial classification.²² The broad categories identified are Agriculture, Mining, Building, Manufacturing, Transport, Dealing, Industrial Service, Public Service and Professional, Domestic Service, and (not used in this thesis) Property Owning

and Independent. (See Table 7.1.)

The Booth-Armstrong classification has the advantage of catering for the vaguer occupational descriptions used particularly in Census returns during the nineteenth century - eg. "merchant" or "manufacturer" - yet also allows for more detailed designations, which take account of the type of work and the industry involved. For Glasgow's 577 councillors, whose occupations were primarily ascertained from the annual Post Office Directories, it was fortunate that only a handful persisted in using the vague criteria - although how far they managed to use this reticence to further business interests remains a mystery. Because of various complicating factors, it should be added that for the purposes of this thesis, no allowance was made for councillors who had retired by the time they achieved civic office; in such cases the former occupation was treated as current. E.P. Hennock, in his comparative analysis of Leeds and Birmingham councillors, adopted the same approach.²³ Surprisingly few of Glasgow's councillors switched stated occupations in the midst of their civic careers, the most glaring example of the man with many professions being Andrew Scott Gibson, for reasons that have already been explained.²⁴ Another example was Hugh John Miller - a Gibsonite supporter - who entered the Town Council as a dentist but later left under a cloud in the guise of "engineer".²⁵ As the firm of H.J. Miller and Co. folded spectacularly in 1912

Table 7.1: Total Occupational Distribution of Glasgow
Town Councillors, 1833-1912

Category	Total	%
1. Agriculture	1	0.1
2. Mining	14	2.4
3. Building	34	5.8
4. Manufacturing	212	36.7
5. Transport	17	2.9
6. Dealing	208	36.0
7. Industrial Service	33	5.7
8. Public Serv. / Professional	48	8.3
9. Domestic Service	10	1.7
Total	577	

Note: Information about individual councillors can - of course - be found in the biographical appendix to this thesis, which contains a note on sources. From this, selected data were extracted and entered into a microcomputer, using the program dBase III+. Unless otherwise specified, the biographical appendix forms the immediate source for the various tables and comparisons used in this profile, derived from computer analysis. In the majority of cases, percentage figures will not precisely total 100, as they have been rounded down to the nearest decimal point.

after only two years, and the bankrupted proprietor had been better known as a councillor under his former occupational designation, he was duly listed under the Public Service and Professional category.

Although there are various sub-sections within the nine categories under the Booth-Armstrong classification, for all but Manufacturing and Dealing there was not an extensive distribution of councillors' occupations. Indeed, only one entry was relevant to the Agricultural category; this was for Andrew Fowler, seedsman, nurseryman and florist, who served intermittently on the Council between 1842 and 1865.²⁶ Fowler's nurseries were located in the grounds of his home - Cessnock House, near Govan - at a time when the area was still rural, and attracted many councillors anxious to escape the polluted city atmosphere.

Going through each of the other categories in turn, Mining accounted for the coal and ironmasters who served on the Council, including such famous names as Alexander Baird of Urie, William Dixon of Govanhill and John Wilson of Dundyvan.²⁷ Although most of these men commanded a considerable personal fortune, and were enormously influential in west of Scotland society, their total numbers were small in relation to the Council as a whole. However, two ironmasters - John Bain and Robert Stewart of Murdstoun and Omoa - became Lord Provosts, while John Houldsworth would probably have achieved this

distinction had he lived longer.

More significant in terms of total numbers - if not influence - was the Building category, which included architects, builders, railway contractors and various tradesmen, such as painters, plasterers and plumbers. Many councillors who called themselves tradesmen were in fact master craftsmen, who ran extensive businesses. For instance, Charles Carlton - who served between 1911 and 1920 - was listed in the Corporation Diary simply as a "decorator", but his firm had an enviable reputation for fine decorative work, while Carlton himself was a Fellow of the Incorporated British Institute of Decorators, ex-President of the Master Painters of Scotland, a member of the Worshipful Company of Painter Stainers, and a director of the Glasgow Master Painters' Association.²⁸

Because they accounted for over seventy per cent. of the total occupational profile, the Manufacturing and Dealing categories will be analysed separately. Thus, leading immediately on to the Transport category, similarities can be detected between this group and Mining, both in terms of size and the social position of the councillors involved. Shipowners, such as William Burrell, Francis Henderson, Joseph P. Maclay and Robert Smith, overwhelmingly made up the total, the majority active in municipal affairs after 1880.²⁹ Again, two Lord Provosts - James Bell and Thomas Dunlop - came from a wealthy, shipowning background.

On the other hand, Industrial Service resembled Building in the percentage of councillors serving between 1833 and 1912; accountants, bankers and stockbrokers predominated in this category, including such well-known names as Lord Provost James Watson, David Dreghorn, James Gourlay and Henry Paul. Insurance and benefit societies were also accommodated under Industrial Service, which is why Robert Stewart of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd. can be found here.³⁰ Trade unions could have been treated as a form of benefit society, and full-time officials so designated; however, the criterion in the original classification system was not specific, and it was thought desirable to keep them separate from the financial sector, listed under Domestic Service.

The Public Service and Professional category included all the Council's doctors, dentists, and lawyers. This last group was made up of twenty-four "writers", making a total of 4.1 per cent. of the 577 civic representatives serving between 1833 and 1912. Also included were one registrar, one retired policeman, one retired naval officer, three councillors with newspaper connections, plus two colourful "persons engaged about theatres". Edward H. Bostock was an Englishman whose parents had run Bostock and Wombwell's Travelling Menagerie. He eventually became proprietor of the Glasgow Zoo and Hippodrome, and was instrumental in launching the Corporation's famous Kelvin Hall Circus, which - albeit at a different venue -

remains a popular feature of the city's festive season.³¹ The Council's other showman was Andrew Scott Gibson; although he pursued a motley assortment of occupations throughout his civic career, it was thought - in light of his Music Hall connections - that such a classification was appropriate.³²

The final category, Domestic Service, almost wholly comprised full-time trade union officials, plus the likes of John Battersby - who was Secretary to the Disestablishment Council for Scotland - and hairdresser James Stewart.³³ As a broad category, Domestic Service made allowances for individuals involved in administrative and welfare work outwith the public sector, which was why it was chosen for the trade unionists. Its other advantage was in listing all such councillors separately, as this gave a much clearer idea of their position within the general occupational profile.

As has already been mentioned, Manufacturing and Dealing turned out to be huge categories, requiring a detailed breakdown into sub-divisions. (See Tables 7.2 and 7.3.) What becomes immediately apparent from the figures was the wide range of occupations covered, and the numerical concentration of councillors in relatively few areas, notably textiles for Manufacturing and foodstuffs for Dealing. Above all, the division designated "general merchants" was the largest of any single grouping within the entire occupational profile. Reasons for this predominance were not due to uncertainty while

Table 7.2: Occupational Distribution of Councillors Involved in the Manufacturing Sector, 1833-1912

Category	Total	% of Sector	% of Council
1. Machinery	16	7.5	2.7
2. Tools	2	0.9	0.3
3. Shipbuilding	7	3.3	1.2
4. Iron & Steel	14	6.6	2.4
5. Copper, Tin & Lead	2	0.9	0.3
6. Gold & Silver	-	-	-
7. Glass & Earthenware	7	3.3	1.2
8. Coals & Gas	-	-	-
9. Chemicals (incl. paint)	14	6.6	2.4
10. Furs & Leather	4	1.8	0.6
11. Glue, Soap & Tallow	8	3.7	1.3
12. Hair, Brushes & Bones	2	0.9	0.3
13. Wood (incl. coopering)	3	1.4	0.5
14. Furniture	8	3.7	1.3
15. Coaches & Carriages	4	1.8	0.6
16. Paper	1	0.4	0.1
17. Floorcloth & Oilskin	1	0.4	0.1
18. Woollens	1	0.4	0.1
19. Cotton & Silk	36	17.0	6.2
20. Flax, Hemp & Linen	2	0.9	0.3
21. Lace & Thread	2	0.9	0.3
22. Dyeing & Finishing	18	8.5	3.1
23. Clothing	20	9.4	3.4
24. Smallwares	1	0.4	0.4
25. Food Preparation	1	0.4	0.1
26. Baking & Confectionery	17	8.0	2.9
27. Brewing & Distilling	5	2.3	0.8
28. Tobacco & Snuff	5	2.3	0.8
29. Fine Instruments	1	0.4	0.1
30. Printing & Engraving	6	3.2	1.0
31. Unspecified "Manufacturing"	4	1.8	0.6
Total	212		

Table 7.3: Occupational Distribution of Councillors Involved in the Dealing Sector, 1833-1912

Category	Total	% of Sector	% of Council
1. Coal	6	2.8	1.0
2. Raw Materials (eg. timber)	28	13.3	4.8
3. Clothing, Fabrics & Yarns	17	8.1	2.9
4. Dress (eg. drapers)	8	3.8	1.3
5. Food (eg. grocers, fleshers)	34	16.2	5.8
6. Tobacco	-	-	-
7. Wines & Spirits	14	6.7	2.4
8. Lodging Houses & Tea Rooms	4	1.9	0.6
9. Furniture (incl. pawnbrokers)	5	2.3	0.8
10. Stationers & Publishers	16	7.6	2.7
11. Household Goods	7	3.3	1.2
12. General Warehousemen	16	7.6	2.7
13. General Merchants (incl. commission agents)	53	25.3	9.1
Total	208		

initially classifying the fifty-three individuals; on the contrary, the careers of the majority are well-known, with two Lord Provosts - Alexander Hastie and John Muir - placed firmly within the "general" category. What these councillors shared in common was an involvement with buying, broking, importing and exporting, particularly as commission agents on behalf of other merchants. They had direct connections with foreign trade, often running establishments abroad, as did Hastie & Co. in the United States and Finlay, Muir & Co. in India.³⁴ The range of goods they handled could be extensive, but specialisms did develop: for example, Thomson Aikman was Scotland's leading broker for Chilean and Peruvian guano; Richard Kidston - born in Nova Scotia - dealt extensively with Canadian timber; and Thomas Corbett's fort  was the Australian produce trade.³⁵

As Stana Nenadic has pointed out, in Glasgow there had long been considerable prestige attached to the designation "merchant", which came to be employed as "a catch-all title for middle-class respectability".³⁶ Overseas merchants were even more highly regarded in the community, because of the legacy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century "burgher aristocracy", which was credited with laying the foundations of Glasgow's economic prosperity through colonial trade.³⁷ Moreover, the mercantile  lite had been able to reinforce its position via Merchants' House domination of the Town Council up to 1833. Even after this time - as has been seen - the presence

could never be wholly eradicated, because of the perpetual representation of the Dean of Guild. Indeed, the category of general merchants accounted for 18.7 per cent. of total representation in 1841, although this figure totalled only six men out of thirty-two, including Dean of Guild William Gray. Nor was it collectively the biggest municipal grouping, as the cotton-spinners had been able to go one man better, with 21.8 per cent. Yet unlike the cotton-spinners, the general merchants remained a consistent force in municipal affairs throughout the nineteenth century, after which time their importance diminished drastically. By 1911 there was only one civic representative from this category out of eighty councillors; ironically, he was Deacon Convener Andrew Graham Service, whose family had been traditionally connected with the Incorporation of Gardeners, even though he was better-known in business as a successful iron broker.³⁸

Although Deacon Convener Service followed a career wholly different from his burgess affiliations, Andrew Fowler had been one Gardener who actively pursued the trade of his Incorporation, achieving the prime Trades' House position in 1842. Yet even when burgess privileges were legally abolished four years later, the "trade" connection retained a municipal influence disproportionate to many other occupational groupings. Old traditions died hard, especially as there was often a proud family heritage, which could span generations.

Thus, Robert Lochore - who served on the Council between 1869 and 1873 - came from a shoemaking dynasty; his father and uncle had built up a thriving business during the 1780s, and lived up to the cordiners' "cultured" image by producing a famous Glasgow poet in Robert Lochore, senior.³⁹ Over time, there was a significant municipal profile of occupational groupings specifically represented by the Incorporated Trades. While the likes of teachers, academics and clergymen were conspicuous by their absence from the Council between 1833 and 1912, no fewer than seventeen bakers, nine fleshers, ten cordiners and ten wrights were represented. Unlike Deacon Convener Service, most of these councillors had been duly elected, and were not Trades' House appointees. An eminent few, such as Walter Bannerman and James Graham, junior, served in both capacities, while Thomas Mason uniquely achieved the full flush of civic honours by serving as an elected councillor, Dean of Guild and Deacon Convener.⁴⁰

The differing occupational profile of the Council over the period 1833 to 1912 can be more clearly illustrated by means of a decennial analysis. (See Table 7.4.) Individual factors must, of course, explain some of the fluctuations in certain occupations between one decade and the next. Voters did not necessarily favour "Jeems" Martin because he was a draper or James Moir because he was a tea dealer, and it therefore cannot be assumed that work status had any significant bearing on the

Table 7.4: Decennial Occupational Distribution of Glasgow Town Councillors, 1841-1911

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Agriculture	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
2. Mining	9.3	4.0	-	2.0	2.0	1.2	-	1.2
3. Building	3.1	6.0	14.0	8.0	2.0	6.4	5.1	7.5
4. Manufacturing	37.5	44.0	30.0	42.0	46.0	24.6	33.7	31.2
5. Transport	3.1	-	4.0	2.0	-	2.5	5.1	6.2
6. Dealing	43.7	36.0	40.0	30.0	40.0	41.5	41.5	31.2
7. Industrial Service	3.1	4.0	6.0	8.0	8.0	7.7	3.8	6.2
8. Public Serv. / Professional	-	6.0	4.0	8.0	2.0	10.3	6.4	10.0
9. Domestic Service	-	-	-	-	-	5.1	3.8	6.2
<hr/>								
Cotton Manufacturers	21.8	10.0	14.0	4.0	4.0	-	1.2	-
General Merchants	18.7	10.0	10.0	6.0	4.0	10.3	5.1	1.2
<hr/>								
Total number of councillors	32	50	50	50	50	77	77	80

election of councillors, apart from controversial occupations like spirit dealing, pawnbroking or house factoring. Yet the presence or absence of certain categories obviously reflected prevailing economic circumstances, as the declining municipal fortunes of cotton manufacturers would suggest. Building was another case in point, reaching a peak during the 1860s - when the City Improvement Trust was implemented during the midst of a construction boom - and plummeting during the 1880s, after the City of Glasgow Bank crash. Uniquely municipal factors can also explain the predominance of a particular category at a given time. In 1891 the rise in the number of councillors coming from the professional services was directly attributable to the boundary expansion of that year. The suburbs thus contributed significantly towards more doctors and lawyers sitting on the enlarged Town Council, although after this time the momentum could not be consistently sustained.

Given the small number of town councillors in relation to Glasgow's total civic electorate - thirty-two as opposed to 4,821 voters in 1833, and eighty as opposed to 149,476 in 1911 - there are obvious limitations about making broad comparisons in terms of occupational profile.⁴¹ If anything, the numerical contrast goes to show how far councillors were untypical of the social stratum which possessed the municipal vote, and which prior to 1868 conformed to certain definitions of what constituted middle-class membership.⁴² On the other hand, it

would seem that for the mid-Victorian period at least, there was a tentative correlation between occupational patterns within the Town Council and the most socially privileged sectors of the community. In an analysis which focused on the Census year 1861, Stana Nenadic created a record linked sample which reflected the occupational profile of Glasgow's male middle-classes.⁴³ Conveniently, she used the Booth-Armstrong classification to categorise occupational distribution. The results (in Table 7.5) show that like the Town Council - but unlike the total male working population - Dealing and Manufacturing overwhelmingly predominated, with the former having the numerical edge over the latter. There were even similarities between other categories, although it is more difficult to generalise about these; for instance, the Council's four per cent. for Transport comprised only two men, which scarcely represents a viable grouping. Thus, the presence of Andrew Fowler under Agriculture skewed the Council's representation untypically for this category.

From the foregoing occupational classification, it can be positively stated that Glasgow's town councillors came from a commercial, trade or industrial background, with Dealing and Manufacturing forming by far the largest categories. However, this only goes a little way towards explaining whether they were predominantly self-employed, whether they were involved in large or small-scale businesses, and - most crucially - whether they

Table 7.5: Comparative Occupational Distribution of Glasgow's Male Population (from Census), Male Middle-Class Population (from Sample), and Town Councillors, 1861

	Census	Sample	Council
Total Numbers	132,034	821	50
	%	%	%
1. Agriculture	1.1	0.5	2.0
2. Mining	1.5	0.1	-
3. Building	9.3	10.5	14.0
4. Manufacturing	52.3	26.4	30.0
5. Transport	11.1	4.5	4.0
6. Dealing	11.5	37.3	40.0
7. Industrial Service	7.2	5.0	6.0
8. Public Serv. / Professional	5.0	12.3	4.0
9. Domestic Service	0.9	1.6	-
10. Property Owner / Independent	0.1	1.8	-

Source: (for first two columns only), Stana Nenadic, The Structure, Values and Influence of the Scottish Urban Middle Class: Glasgow, 1800 to 1870, (Ph.D Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986), page 64.

were rich or poor according to the standards of their time. As far as the first point is concerned, it can be succinctly answered that from the accumulated evidence almost all civic representatives had either self-employed status or independent financial means.⁴⁴ Even those councillors who worked in a management capacity - such as William Bankier of John Dennistoun and Co., or George Brown of Charles Tennant and Co. - could not be classed as wage-earners, and often had personal or family interests in the firms concerned.⁴⁵ Moreover, Council duties demanded a heavy commitment in time, with many weekday meetings, so that it was virtually impossible for municipal aspirants who worked for an ordinary employer to obtain the necessary leave of absence. This meant that non-trade unionists who stood on a pro-labour platform - such as George Jackson, Patrick O'Hare or the Stewart brothers - tended not to be members of the "labouring" classes, and invariably ran their own businesses. Ironically, even the union full-timers could experience difficulties from their employers, as Hugh Lyon of the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association was initially denied the opportunity to stand for municipal office during the 1900s.⁴⁶

The question of whether a business was large or small-scale is difficult to determine accurately, without reference to company records. While these still exist for substantial enterprises like Baird's or Dixon's collieries, there is understandably a dearth of material for the smaller concerns,

such as the Martin family draper's shop in the Gallowgate, or John Craig's "little and dingy" grocer's shop in Stockwell Street.⁴⁷ Thus, only vague criteria exist for categorising the size of councillors' businesses, which is an easy enough exercise for the likes of the Bairds or Martins, but much more complex for the less well-known figures. Nevertheless, Glasgow does seem to share some of the characteristics identified by E.P. Hennock for Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham and, more specifically, Leeds.⁴⁸ All of these were cities with a long-established municipal corporation, which experienced no great shift in the occupational profile of town councillors after the reforms of 1835. Even though political and religious preferences could undergo significant changes, representatives of the leading economic sectors within the community continued to dominate civic affairs. However, by the 1850s there was more of an input from small shopkeepers and manufacturers, partly due - in the Leeds experience - to the radicalisation of politics during the 1840s.⁴⁹ In Glasgow the effects of boundary expansion brought in more radicals, and several ex-Police Commissioners entered the Town Council after 1846, particularly from East End wards. By 1851, eight out of the fifty councillors had formerly served on Glasgow Police Board; their occupations were respectively, baker, calenderer, doctor, engraver, grocer, shawl warehouseman, spirit dealer and tea dealer.⁵⁰

Yet can it be assumed that a councillor who designated himself a grocer or a tea-dealer was necessarily small-fry in comparison with the "captains of industry" from textiles, mining, engineering or shipowning? After Sir Thomas Lipton, Samuel Chisholm was arguably Glasgow's most famous grocer, and it has already been seen how far he was able to rise among the ranks of Glasgow's influential social élites.⁵¹ Of course, it helped that Chisholm happened to be extremely rich, having first made his fortune in the grocery business, and then by marrying a wealthy widow.⁵² When he died in 1923, his personal estate was valued at £112,643, an amount which at the time put him easily among Scotland's larger wealth-holders.⁵³ However, Chisholm was by no means Glasgow's richest town councillor, if the value of estate at death is taken as the criterion for calculating accumulated wealth. Appropriately enough, that distinction fell to his great friend and fellow activist in the temperance crusade - Joseph P. Maclay, later Lord Maclay. A shipowner, who died in 1951, his estate was valued at £1,179,544; an unusually large sum for the period of post-war austerity, and which distinguished Maclay even more as one of Britain's richest men.⁵⁴ In terms of comparison, therefore, Maclay's wealth as a shipowner won out substantially over Chisholm's as a grocer, but by any standards both men were miles above the average for the population as a whole.

If Joseph P. Maclay headed the list of wealthy town councillors, who was at the bottom, and what of the 575 persons falling in between? The drawbacks of using estate confirmations as indicators of wealth are well-known, particularly because they tend to relate to an elderly population, and consequently do not reflect personal peaks of fortune.⁵⁵ This was certainly an important factor for several Glasgow town councillors, as can be graphically illustrated by the career of James Dunlop of Tollcross. Dunlop died in 1893, over fifty years after he had served as a young man on Glasgow Town Council.⁵⁶ During the 1830s he had been a partner in the thriving concern of the Clyde Iron Works, founded by his uncle Colin Dunlop; however, in 1857 he suffered a serious financial setback when the Western Bank collapsed, and he was obliged to withdraw from business activity. Accordingly, although his estate in 1893 was valued at only £634, this did not reflect Dunlop's economic standing when he was a town councillor. Similar circumstances applied to the William Dixon of Govanhill, who left an estate of only £597, and George Moir, who left the lowest confirmation of any councillor, valued at £1.⁵⁷ Other councillors, who are known to have suffered personal financial crises during or after their civic careers, left no estate at all. The most notorious examples were undoubtedly John Stewart and William Taylor, who as former Directors of the City of

Glasgow Bank served jail sentences for fraud.⁵⁸

Another important feature of estate confirmations is that they relate to moveable property only, including house contents, stock-in-trade, bank accounts, insurance policies, stocks and shares, and rental due from property. Because no fixed assets are included, such valuations tend to err on the side of caution, especially for the very wealthy. For instance, John Muir's estate was recorded as being worth £862,802 after his death in 1903, but this figure made no allowance for his landed estate at Deanston, Perthshire, nor did it accurately reflect his total investment in the firm of James Finlay and Co., of which he was sole partner.⁵⁹ Thus, notwithstanding the confirmed figure for his declared moveable assets, Muir verged on millionaire status. Such a crucial consideration must be borne in mind for other wealthy councillors, many of whom were substantial landed proprietors. The property factor was also relevant to a few councillors who left relatively small sums in their estates, such as John Boyle Gray and Henry Paul. Both men ended up as farm owners after leaving the Town Council, and so their prime asset would probably have been the land.⁶⁰ Similarly, James Dunlop's prize possession was latterly the mansion house and grounds at Tollcross, which had been custom-designed during more prosperous days according to "the old Scotch style".⁶¹

Given these major qualifications, the aggregated figures for

councillors' estates are highly revealing, even though 124 or 21.4 per cent. could not be accounted for. (See Table 7.6.) Reasons varied for the failure to trace all confirmations: there was a genuine mystery about the fate of certain councillors; the likes of Archibald McLellan died amidst tangled financial transactions, and his estate seems never to have been confirmed; the likes of Robert Grahame was latterly domiciled in Weymouth, and so his estate was probably registered south of the border.⁶² Nor are figures available for all Scottish confirmations up to 1876, after which time it became a legal requirement for abstracts to be listed annually. Yet with figures available for 453 out of 577 councillors, there can be no question but that the overwhelming majority were wealthy according to the standards of their time, and that degrees of wealth ranged from the comfortably off to the extremely prosperous. Although a councillor was more likely to leave a sum below £25,000 - and half of the total 577 fell into this category - there was a sizeable minority whose estates were considerably in excess of this amount. Thus, 288 councillors left estates below £25,000, at an aggregate value of £2,137,450, while 165 councillors left estates above this figure, at a massive aggregate value of £21,878,005. The effect of such large personal fortunes was to produce an average estate valuation of £41,621 for all town councillors, or £53,014 if the "unknown" category is excluded. Clearly, if leaving any kind of

Table 7.6: Number of Councillors' Estates by Size and Aggregate Amount*

£	Number	Total %	Total Value £
Unknown	124	21.4	-
1 - 99	6	1.0	272
100 - 999	46	7.9	22,057
1,000 - 4,999	99	17.1	276,745
5,000 - 9,999	52	9.0	374,396
10,000 - 24,999	85	14.7	1,463,980
25,000 - 49,000	56	9.7	2,068,964
50,000 - 74,999	32	5.5	2,031,495
75,000 - 99,999	19	3.2	1,661,664
100,000 - 149,999	23	3.9	2,816,240
150,000 - 199,999	11	1.9	1,841,966
200,000 - 499,999	16	2.7	4,691,215
500,000 - 1 million	5	0.8	3,481,537
over 1 million	3	0.5	3,284,924
Totals	577		24,015,455

* The first traced estate (for James Beith) was registered in 1840, and the last (for Sir William Burrell) in 1958.

estate was deemed to be an indicator of superior economic standing, then Glasgow's civic representatives went well beyond the baseline.

It is, of course, possible to compare occupations with estate confirmations to identify work categories which generated most wealth, although conclusions must be tentative due to the small numbers of individuals in many of the classified groups. (See Table 7.7.) Accordingly, the amount of £1,474 in Andrew Fowler's estate represented the average for Agriculture, but as this relates to one man only, it is hardly meaningful in a comparative context. All the other categories were numerically much more substantial, and so in order to give a detailed occupational breakdown, the sub-divisions which included five or more councillors have been separately listed. Transport and Mining were identified as by far the most lucrative categories, and two of the Council's three millionaires - Joseph P. Maclay and Thomas Holt Hutchison - happened to be shipowners.⁶³ Archibald Orr Ewing was the other millionaire, but as a Turkey-red dyer he came under the third most lucrative category, Manufacturing.⁶⁴ The manufacturers seem to have had the edge over the merchants and shopkeepers because of the money to be made in heavy industry, notably engineering, shipbuilding and chemical production. Yet even the success of the dyeing sector did not just depend on the unique circumstances of one wealthy man; within this group, William McLean, Thomas Reid and James

Table 7.7: Average Value of Councillors' Estates According to Occupational Grouping

Category	Number	Average £
1. Agriculture	1	1,474
2. Mining	14	167,099
3. Building	34	14,280
(1) Builders, etc.	22	15,158
(2) Tradesmen	12	12,672
4. Manufacturing	212	42,226
(1) Machinery	16	91,614
(3) Shipbuilding	7	82,147
(4) Iron & Steel	14	45,098
(7) Glass, etc.	7	4,758
(9) Chemicals	14	98,092
(11) Glue, etc.	8	6,739
(14) Furniture	8	26,196
(19) Cotton, etc.	36	28,412
(22) Dyeing, etc.	18	97,634
(23) Clothing	20	14,697
(26) Baking, etc.	17	24,392
(27) Brewing, etc.	5	40,960
(28) Tobacco	5	1,548
(30) Printing, etc.	6	21,108
5. Transport	17	248,051
6. Dealing	208	32,266
(1) Coal	6	59,512
(2) Raw Materials	28	23,297
(3) Clothing	17	14,784
(4) Dress	8	21,195
(5) Food	34	17,512
(7) Wines & Spirits	14	21,488
(9) Furniture	16	26,688
(10) Publishers, etc.	16	48,892
(11) Household Goods	7	6,607
(12) Warehousemen	16	60,412
(13) General Merchants	53	45,685
7. Industrial Service	33	26,901
8. Public Serv. / Professional	48	8,595
(7) Lawyers	24	6,357
(8) Doctors, etc.	16	10,490
9. Domestic Service	10	871

Scott of Kelly were all among the wealthiest of Glasgow's civic representatives.⁶⁵ On the other hand, cotton manufacturers proved to be well below the average, with the notable exception of Alexander Dennistoun, who left £343,378 when he died in 1874.⁶⁶

As far as the Dealing category was concerned, the warehousemen were to the fore, including such famous names as the Campbell brothers, John and Simon Dallas, and Walter Wilson.⁶⁷ Coal seems to have been similarly lucrative, but this figure was skewed because of the presence of Daniel Macaulay Stevenson, whose estate was valued at £273,510. Stationers and publishers were next most successful, due to the affluence of such civic luminaries as the Blackie brothers and William Collins. Not surprisingly, the general merchants were placed above the average for the Dealing category as a whole, helped considerably by the fortune of John Muir, who was the fourth richest councillor according estate valuation. As can be seen by the average of £17,512 for the food dealers, Samuel Chisholm's £112,643 was by no means typical of his colleagues in the provision trade, and he was by far the wealthiest councillor in this group. Chisholm might have been vexed that the spirit dealers showed a higher average than the grocers, but this was largely due to the fortune amassed by his old adversary, James McLennan, who left an estate worth £207,798 when he died in 1899.⁶⁸ Accordingly, McLennan was one of the Council's

richest representatives; a factor which explains his key rôle in organising drinks' trade interests within the municipality. Indeed, he became such a prominent figure that it was at one point suggested he should stand for the Lord Provostship, while he had sufficient political influence to be seriously considered as a prospective Conservative Parliamentary candidate.⁶⁹

Councillors occupied in the Industrial Service were generally not as well-off as their colleagues from the other categories, even though the likes of James Watson left an estate worth £125,926. Nor were wrights, architects, slaters and others involved in the building trade so successful, with the exception of Thomas Mason, whose estate was worth £138,129. The professions were particularly unremunerative compared with the other occupations; doctors were slightly better-off than lawyers, although this superior average can be attributed to Dr. Joshua Paterson, who left the unusually large estate of £101,717 when he died in 1892.⁷⁰ The low average for lawyers seems surprising, given their rôle and influence in municipal affairs. Fred Macquisten - King's Counsel, and Conservative MP for Argyll until his death in 1940 - left by far the largest estate, valued at £51,627, while J.B. Fleming was the next largest, with £24,138.⁷¹ One lawyer who seemed destined for high municipal honours was James Colquhoun, but his rise to stardom was abruptly terminated in 1899, when he was found guilty of embezzling over £50,000 from the family law firm.⁷²

On the other hand, there was no contradiction for the Domestic Service category, which understandably yielded the lowest total average. The best-off trade unionist turned out to be Hugh Lyon; when he died in 1940, after a controversial career in the labour movement, his estate was valued at £3,526.⁷³

A comfortable source of income was a crucial requirement when it came to fulfilling the often onerous commitment to the public service, and so it helped enormously that many Glasgow businesses prior to 1912 were still family-run. Under such circumstances, the time-off factor was not called into question, and even when the call of civic duty did become too great, the day-to-day management could be passed on to assorted male and female relatives.⁷⁴ Yet to what extent could degrees of wealth have a direct bearing on the most senior municipal positions, which were socially very desirable, but demanded proportionately more time and energy from councillors? In a wry series of reminiscences - written after his release from Peterhead Jail - James Colquhoun suggested that for the magistracy at least, money had formerly been the prime consideration:⁷⁵

I should here mention that prior to 1883 the Magistrates had been almost invariably selected on account of their wealth and social position, the plea of seniority or of mere municipal fitness and capacity being ignored, and the office given to the man who could give the best dinner parties, and make himself agreeable to the ruling powers in the Council.

Judging from the strenuous efforts of the teetotalers to elect their men to the magistracy from at least the 1860s, Colquhoun's claim was clearly exaggerated. James Torrens of the SPBTA was by no means wealthy, but he had served as a bailie throughout most of the 1870s. Nor, for that matter, had Colquhoun's uncle Hugh been particularly well-off, but this noted Good Templar managed to secure a bailiership in 1879. In both cases, personal ability overrode financial standing, helped considerably by the superior organisation of the temperance lobby within the Town Council.

However, the younger Colquhoun's identification of 1883 as heralding a more democratic spirit within the Council Chambers definitely does ring true. It has already been mentioned that municipal affairs were never quite the same after the City of Glasgow Bank crash, and that during the 1880s a new sense of realism emerged, which was in turn to lead to less élitism and more professionalism within the civic administration.⁷⁶ This trend went so far as for some reformers to promote the idea of endowing the Lord Provostship, to ensure that there would be no financial barrier against any councillor ultimately achieving the prime municipal honour.⁷⁷ It had long been understood in Glasgow that the Lord Provost should generously provide for the office out of his own resources, effectively making a personal contribution to the Common Good.⁷⁸ Traditionally, therefore, the civic chair had been occupied by better-off councillors, who

could afford to maintain themselves according to the dignity which citizens expected. The relative prosperity of Lord Provosts can be gauged from their estate valuations, which clearly show that the majority were able to build up substantial personal fortunes. (See Table 7.8.) Thus, for the twenty-eight Lord Provosts serving between 1833 and 1912, the average estate valuation worked out at £160,894.⁷⁹ The glaring exception to this general success story was William Rae Arthur, who had been obliged to resign the civic chair in 1871, because his calico printing business had floundered irredeemably.⁸⁰

Indeed, the need for men of substance to fill the Lord Provostship latterly became a profound embarrassment to Glaswegians because of the enormous difficulty in persuading any councillor to accept the office, no matter what inducements were attached. This had nothing to do with lack of personal ambition, but a good deal to do with the reluctance of many to make the financial commitment which would guarantee the civic chair. Matters came to a head in 1883, when the spectre of the notorious Bank crash still haunted the city, and the future seemed uncertain.⁸¹ Several prominent councillors were approached to stand for the vacant Provostship, but - as one contemporary commentator put it - all "fought shy of the Civic throne".⁸² It was only after concerted pressure that the wealthy William McOnie was persuaded to take up the offer, much against his better judgment and painful self-awareness that he

Table 7.8: Lord Provosts, 1833-1912: Estate Valuations

	Date of Election	Estate £	Date of Death
1. Robert Grahame	1833	d. England	1851
2. William Mills	1834	27,631	1857
3. Henry Dunlop	1837	28,158	1867
4. Sir James Campbell	1840	282,582	1876
5. James Lumsden	1843	34,950	1856
6. Alexander Hastie	1846	96,941	1864
7. Sir James Anderson	1848	25,788	1864
8. Robert Stewart	1851	99,010	1866
9. Sir Andrew Orr	1854	172,045	1874
10. Andrew Galbraith	1857	12,954	1885
11. Peter Clouston	1860	180,171	1888
12. John Blackie, jun.	1863	84,683	1873
13. Sir James Lumsden	1866	90,348	1879
14. William Rae Arthur	1869	237	1897
15. Sir James Watson	1871	125,926	1889
16. Sir James Bain	1874	285,473	1898
17. Sir William Collins	1877	163,985	1895
18. John Ure	1880	134,636	1901
19. Sir William McOnie	1883	110,966	1894
20. Sir James King	1886	705,496	1911
21. Sir John Muir	1889	862,802	1903
22. Sir James Bell	1892	291,551	1929
23. Sir David Richmond	1896	158,718	1908
24. Sir Samuel Chisholm	1899	110,966	1923
25. Sir John Ure Primrose	1902	68,989	1924
26. Sir William Bilsland	1905	50,000	1921
27. Sir Archibald McInnes Shaw	1908	24,799	1931
28. Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson	1911	273,570	1944

lacked the necessary qualities for the job. Indeed, he so distinguished himself that one retrospective assessment of his performance rated him as, "... perhaps, just about the worst Lord Provost the City has ever had within living memory - and that is saying a great deal".⁸³ In an effort to ensure that such a mistake would not be repeated, councillors were forced to go outside the civic representation altogether, and approached the able, personable, popular, and extremely prosperous James King to stand as the next Lord Provost.⁸⁴ Of course, first of all King had to be allocated a ward to represent, but fortuitously there was a vacancy in the Seventh Ward, and he was duly returned unopposed. As reward for his services to the city at a critical time, King became the first Lord Provost to receive a Baronetcy; an honour which was thereafter to crown the civic careers of his successors up to 1912 and beyond.⁸⁵

The general Glasgow experience of the Lord Provostship draws some intriguing parallels with other municipalities, as well as showing the extent to which the Scottish city manifested unique characteristics. There can be little doubt that Glasgow's Lord Provosts conformed to the characteristics manifested by English mayors, who in the nineteenth century were expected to act as "the ultimate urban squire".⁸⁶ As John Garrard has pointed out, the office of mayor was pivotal in the community, representing "... the point at which the social, philanthropic, economic and political worlds met and melded".⁸⁷ Yet Glasgow

was also dissimilar, because the Lord Provostship was so demanding that it did not represent any great incentive for municipal participation, as Garrard suggests was the experience south of the border. As early as 1866 James Lumsden declared his unease at the "badgering and annoyance of office", while twenty years later a frantic appeal had to be made for worthy men to come forward and help councillors out of a potentially embarrassing situation.⁸⁸ The subsequent talk of an endowed Lord Provostship was one practical solution to the problem, although the idea was ultimately never implemented. Significantly, the scheme's main promoter was Robert Crawford - an ambitious and influential man, who was precluded from achieving the civic chair because he was only moderately well-off.⁸⁹

In analysing the pattern of wealth-holding among town councillors, derived from estate confirmations, it is possible to make various calculations relating to specific municipal groupings, outwith occupational classification. For instance, the average estate valuation for the 294 representatives who also served as magistrates worked out at £40,183. As the global average for all councillors was slightly higher at £41,621, such evidence would seem to refute James Colquhoun's contention that the magistracy was the preserve of the more affluent among the civic hierarchy. On the other hand, if the non-elected Deans of Guild and Deacon Conveners are left out of the global reckoning,

the average estate for the remaining 527 councillors drops to £36,395.⁹⁰ The Deacon Conveners averaged out at £50,032, while the Deans of Guild were even wealthier in relative terms than the Lord Provosts, with an average estate valuation of £161,656.⁹¹ This would suggest that the Merchants' House was the domain of an even more socially privileged élite than the Town Council, although it is difficult to draw conclusions from the Deans of Guild alone. Nevertheless, whatever the number of permutations arising from the available figures, the general conclusion is not in doubt. From the material perspective, Albert Shaw was not wrong in categorising Glasgow's civic representatives as "successful" exemplars of the business community, even though some were manifestly more successful than others. How far he was accurate in assessing less easily quantifiable personal characteristics is a matter which will be examined in the concluding sections of this thesis.

II. Social Profile: the Personal and Cultural Background

While professional and economic status went a long way towards shaping the personal characteristics which prompted individuals to become town councillors, this was by no means the only contributory factor. The Glasgow sense of civic identity depended on a variety of formative influences, determined by such crucial considerations as birthplace, family connections, and education. Indeed, the personal dimension probably mattered more than in most British cities prior to 1914, because of the reluctance of Glasgow's municipal aspirants to formally adopt political designations. It has already been pointed out that individualism was a trait much admired among Glasgow's councillors, to the extent that the most eccentric characteristics were appreciated as being healthily nonconformist, so long as excesses of ego did not overwhelm commitment to the public service.⁹² Accordingly, councillors were acutely conscious of the importance of image to boost their public profile, and carefully nurtured the individualist approach. In this context, the temperance debate represented much more than a clash between two powerful interest groups; ideals and moral attitudes came to be reflected in the personalities of the main protagonists, exemplified by the likes of Messrs. Collins and Chisholm on the one hand, and Messrs. Martin and Gibson on the other.

The fact that the latter two men shared a positive identification with the East End of Glasgow, and were able to exploit this adroitly throughout their municipal careers, shows how far popular perceptions of town councillors could be influenced by non-ideological factors. Roots mattered, as they were often the most immediate point of contact between a candidate and the electorate, especially in those wards where household ratepayers predominated. Moreover, in a period when boundary expansion caused definitions of municipal Glasgow to periodically shift and change, local identity could have much more meaning within a district or suburban context than the city as a whole. That a prospective councillor happened to be a Gorbalonian or a Kelvinsider might make all the difference to his chances of success, while neglect of the local dimension could be seriously damaging to personal credibility, as Alexander Hastie found to his cost in 1848.⁹³

Of course, some of the most successful civic representatives - such as James Moir or James McLennan - were incomers to Glasgow, even though they managed to build up a strong local following.⁹⁴ It was understandable that in the developing city there should be a solid core of councillors who had become Glaswegians by adoption, although many continued to maintain close links with their place of origin.⁹⁵ Indeed, it is possible to quantify information about birthplace for the overwhelming majority of councillors who served between 1833 and

1912, showing that from the available figures those who came from outwith the city (according to 1912 boundaries) had the edge over the natives by a margin of 46.7 per cent. to 45.2 per cent.⁹⁶ (See Table 7.9.)

If Glasgow's town councillors were not typically city-born, what other conclusions can be drawn from the bare facts relating to their place of origin? The evidence indicates that 507 out of 577 - or 87.8 per cent. - were native Scots, while it is known that several of those born elsewhere were of Scots parentage. This would place their identity firmly in the national, if not the Glasgow context, although it should be stressed that several Scots-born councillors had non-Scots parents, and the likes of John Houldsworth and William Dixon were noted sons of "southron" fathers.⁹⁷ Whatever the origins of their antecedents, the native Scots on the Council represented a broad geographic spread, from the Orcadian William Walls to Borderers such as Archibald Jeffrey Hunter or William Renny Watson.⁹⁸ Yet numerically it was the counties closest to Glasgow which yielded the majority of councillors coming from outwith the city. Ayrshire headed the list with 7.4 per cent., followed by Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire with 6.0 and 5.1 per cent. respectively. If Dunbartonshire and Argyllshire are added to make up the former county areas within present-day Strathclyde Region, this gives a figure of 131 or 22.7 per cent. of the total 577. Including Glasgow, the global percentage

Table 7.9: Birthplace of Glasgow Town Councillors, 1833-1912
(whether in Glasgow, other Scottish County, or
Elsewhere)

Birthplace	Number	%
<u>Glasgow*</u>	261	45.2
<u>Other Scottish County</u>	246	42.6
1. Ayr	43	7.4
2. Renfrew	35	6.0
3. Lanark	30	5.1
4. Perth	23	3.9
5. Stirling	19	3.2
6. Midlothian	15	2.5
7. Dunbarton	12	2.0
8. Argyll	11	1.9
9. Dumfries	8	1.3
10. Fife	6	1.0
11. Aberdeen	4	0.6
14. Angus	4	0.6
15. Bute	4	0.6
16. Wigtown	4	0.6
17. Kinross	3	0.5
18. Caithness	2	0.3
19. Clackmannan	2	0.3
20. East Lothian	2	0.3
21. Roxburgh	2	0.3
22. West Lothian	2	0.3
23. Berwick	1	0.1
24. Inverness	1	0.1
25. Kirkcudbright	1	0.1
26. Orkney	1	0.1
27. Ross & Cromarty	1	0.1
28. Selkirk	1	0.1
29. Sutherland	1	0.1
30. Scotland, outwith Glasgow	8	1.3
<u>Outside Scotland</u>	24	4.1
1. England	9	1.5
2. Ireland	7	1.2
3. Guernsey	1	0.1
4. Abroad	7	1.2
<u>Unknown</u>	46	7.9

*Glasgow is defined according to the 1912 boundaries.

figure works out at 392 councillors or 67.9 per cent., making the "Strathclyde" profile roughly two thirds representative of civic numbers between 1833 and 1912.

Perthshire, Stirlingshire and Midlothian were also numerically significant, and in the last named county a total of eight out of fifteen councillors were Edinburgh-born.⁹⁹ However, Scotland's larger urban areas yielded comparatively few of the non-Glaswegians; Aberdeen and Dundee contributed only one councillor apiece - John Mowat and William C. Martin - giving a grand total of ten, or 1.7 per cent., representing the other Scottish cities. Such a low percentage figure should scarcely seem surprising, for although the rate of urbanisation in Scotland increased steadily between 1831 and 1911, the pace was less brisk than south of the border and a larger proportion of the population continued to live in rural communities or smaller burgh towns.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, six Glasgow councillors were Greenock-born and three came from Port Glasgow, while Airdrie, Campbeltown, Kilmarnock, Perth and Stirling each contributed five future civic representatives. No fewer than sixteen councillors, or 2.7 per cent., were entitled to call themselves Paisley "buddies" - the term used for natives of the Renfrewshire mill-town in close proximity to Glasgow.¹⁰¹ Moreover, an important feature of Scottish society during the nineteenth century was the proliferation of industrial villages, which combined agricultural pursuits with occupations such as

mining or textile production.¹⁰² This was reflected in the recurrence of communities like Blantyre, Deanston, Catrine, Lochwinnoch, New Lanark and Rothesay among councillors' birthplaces; significantly, these tended to be located within the counties which constituted the largest percentages of non-Glaswegians.

It would, of course, be erroneous to assume that all councillors born outside Glasgow had no early connections with a city which served as the economic and social focal point for the West of Scotland. For instance, the Council's Bute-born Robertson brothers were the sons of a Glasgow cotton-spinner who divided his time between his Rothesay factory and mills at Newhall, Bridgeton.¹⁰³ James Leitch Lang was often assumed to have been a native Glaswegian because of his family's long-established legal connections with the city; in fact, he was born in Kirkintilloch.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, from the evidence contained in the biographical appendix to this thesis, it can be seen that many councillors had settled in Glasgow at an early age, brought by migrant parents or arriving under their own steam, often to serve apprenticeships. Thus, in 1805 the entire Campbell family - including fifteen year-old James and twelve year-old William - moved to Glasgow from a farm in Port of Menteith, Perthshire.¹⁰⁵ Once established in the city, the family's Perthshire roots stood them in good stead, as a close friend from the old days was able to take on young James as an

apprentice in his warehousing firm. In 1817 Campbell's aptitude for the business prompted him to enter into partnership with his younger brother, to the extent that J. & W. Campbell and Co. became one of the most successful enterprises of its kind in the United Kingdom. Yet the brothers never forgot their early upbringing, retaining a Romantic nostalgia for rural Scotland which came to be reflected spiritually, in their devotion to evangelicalism, and materially, in their ownership of substantial landed estates.¹⁰⁶

Before examining the personal background to the Glaswegian councillors, some attention should be briefly directed to the twenty-four known to have been born outside Scotland, as their circumstances were particularly unusual. Indeed, given the comparatively small number of non-Scots involved on the Town Council between 1833 and 1912 - far less than constituted the population profile of the city as a whole - the Glasgow municipal identity appears to have been generally exclusive of incomers who originated from beyond the national boundaries.¹⁰⁷ This was especially so when it is appreciated that two categories of incomers can be identified as having served as councillors; individuals who were born of Scottish parents, and various bona fide Englishmen and Irishmen who chose to migrate to Glasgow. Among the twenty-four incomers both groups were evenly distributed, showing that the Scottish connection was more deeply ingrained than the bald evidence

would indicate.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, of the seven councillors born outside the British Isles, all had Scottish parents who were temporarily based abroad. Edward Guest and Richard Kidston came from Canada, while the birthplaces of the five others covered countries as diverse as Australia, Chile, Italy, Portugal and the United States.¹⁰⁹

Moving closer to home, the origins of the English and Irish-born councillors represented an intriguing mixture. As far as can be ascertained, all the Irish were genuine immigrants with apparently no Scots blood-ties - unless, of course, they happened to be Ulstermen whose distant roots were Scottish. Indeed, six of the seven can be positively identified as Ulster-born, and so probably was David Carson, whose precise birthplace in Ireland remains unknown.¹¹⁰ It should be added that only one of the seven - Patrick O'Hare, from Tullygillen, County Monaghan - was a Roman Catholic; as will be seen, the remainder adhered to assorted Protestant denominations.¹¹¹ Of the nine English-born councillors, four shared the experience of their Irish colleagues as immigrants to Glasgow. Edward H. Bostock, Joseph Burgess, John W. Pratt and Michael Simons seem to have had no Scottish connections whatsoever, and were drawn north of the border for various family, business or political reasons. Out of the four, Burgess and Pratt eventually returned to England to pursue political careers.¹¹² On the other hand, the remaining five English-born councillors had Scottish

parents, while it is likely that the solitary Guernsey-born councillor - William York - originally had Lanarkshire connections.¹¹³

What can be made of the evidence relating to the Glasgow-born councillors, which at face value would appear to yield little quantifiable information, apart from the obvious fact of their city origins? In the first instance, it should be stressed that for the sake of consistency "Glasgow" has been defined according to the extensive 1912 municipal boundaries, with the result that Govan and Partick-born representatives - such as David Dreghorn or Anthony Inglis - have been categorised as city men.¹¹⁴ Bearing this important point in mind, it is possible to distinguish Glaswegians from non-Glaswegians according to their birthdate, to show precisely when city-born councillors would have acquired formative impressions of their surroundings. (See Table 7.10.) As the birthdates of 511 - or 88.5 per cent. - are identifiable, a fairly accurate picture can be gauged of the young Glaswegians, who ranged from Robert Grahame (born 1759) to Alexander Jamieson and Alex Turner (both born 1880). What becomes clear from the figures is that up to 1801, the majority of future Glasgow councillors were born outside the city, which was at that time contained within the royalty boundaries. However, from 1801 to 1851 the Glaswegians began to steadily gain ground, although still remaining within the minority. Between 1751 and 1851, a total of 183

Table 7.10: Glasgow-born Councillors and Others serving between 1833 and 1912, according to Birthdate

Birthdate	Glaswegians	Others*	Total	Total %
1751 - 60	1	0	1	0.1
1761 - 70	2	2	4	0.6
1771 - 80	3	8	11	1.9
1781 - 90	9	20	29	5.0
1791 - 1800	17	28	45	7.7
1801 - 10	35	33	68	11.7
1811 - 20	37	34	71	12.3
1821 - 30	27	32	59	10.2
1831 - 40	20	28	48	8.3
1841 - 50	32	42	74	12.8
1851 - 60	36	25	61	10.5
1861 - 70	22	9	31	5.3
1871 - 80	7	2	9	1.5
Unknown birthdate	13	53	66	11.4

*Incl. Scots-born councillors, those with birthplace outside Scotland, and those with unknown birthplace.

councillors or 31.7 per cent. can therefore be categorised as Glasgow-born while 227 or 39.3 per cent. were either incomers or of unknown origin. After 1851 the Glaswegians overwhelmingly predominated; there were sixty-five city-born councillors as opposed to thirty-six others, giving comparative percentage figures of 11.2 and 6.2.

If the evidence of birthdate and birthplace is combined, what does this indicate about ideas and attitudes on the Town Council between 1833 and 1912? As far as the Glaswegian councillors were concerned, the weight of numbers born prior to 1851 would indicate familiarity with the early phases of industrial change which began to overwhelm the city. Between 1760 and 1830 Scottish urbanisation proceeded at a faster pace than probably anywhere else in Western Europe, while during the 1820s Glasgow added approximately 5,000 to its population every year.¹¹⁴ Growing up in such a socially destabilising environment, where the townscape was visibly altering under the strains of urbanisation, must have made a profound impression on the minds of alert and intelligent youngsters. Moreover, although the evidence is insufficient to draw firm conclusions, it would seem that prior to 1851 the majority of Glaswegian councillors were born in the city centre or East End - precisely those areas which experienced the most profound urban pressures. This is not surprising, given that middle-class residential districts outwith the royalty - such as Blythswood

or Laurieston were not fully developed until after 1820, and the West End and South Side suburbs were largely post-1851 products.¹¹⁶ Thus, John Blackie, junior, was a native of the East End district known as "The Ark", where his father had worked as a handloom weaver during the time of his birth in 1805.¹¹⁷ After the successful publishing firm was subsequently established, the family moved to a more salubrious residence in Monteith Row, overlooking Glasgow Green. Latterly the Blackies, senior and junior, were based in the West End - to the disdain of loyal East Enders like "Jeems" Martin, who had also come from a handloom weaving background.

The switch from a rural or semi-rural environment to the tainted urban atmosphere of pre-1851 Glasgow must have been even more of a shock to many future town councillors who settled in the city. The experience of the Campbell brothers and the nostalgia for their Perthshire roots has already been mentioned; significantly, the Campbells shared the same evangelical impulse as the Blackie family, deriving enduring inspiration from the philosophy of Thomas Chalmers. As John McCaffrey has succinctly put it, the underlying theme of the Chalmersian ethos was:¹¹⁸

... the constant emphasis in his own troubled times on the need to transmit a coherent philosophy of life which would be drawn from the best in the old, so as to provide a society in confusion with the means of survival in the future.

Even beyond the obviously religious dimension, and the early

Evangelical identification with Conservative paternalism, reconciling the old with the new seems to have been a recurring preoccupation of Glasgow's town councillors. Notwithstanding some of the more questionable features of its origins, the West End Park was a potent symbol of the municipal desire to partly redress nature's balance within the urban context. The tradition of Scottish Romanticism, fuelled so adroitly by the works of Sir Walter Scott, played no small part here. As one literary critic has pointed out, "... Scott tends to lavish most of his affection on the middle figures, those who manage to make themselves at home in the new world without altogether repudiating the old".¹¹⁹ The supreme example of such characterisation remains Bailie Nicol Jarvie in Rob Roy, and it has already been shown the extent to which Jarvie became something of a folk-hero in Glasgow, well into the twentieth century.¹²⁰

The images evoked by the Scottish literary tradition - particularly according to Scott and Burns - were enormously influential in shaping Glasgow's civic identity. In this context, a trait appears throughout the personal histories of councillors serving between 1833 and 1912, which has already been identified as a feature of Scottish literature from the eighteenth century.¹²¹ In her analysis of the Glasgow novel, Moira Burgess refers to the recurrence of the "strong Glasgow woman", who was generally portrayed as a maternal figure,

supporting an ineffectual husband or difficult family.¹²² It should scarcely be added that women have not so far featured prominently in this thesis, as Glasgow Corporation's first female councillors were not elected until 1920.¹²³ Yet the number of civic representatives prior to 1912 who paid effusive tribute to their mother's influence is more than coincidental; so too is the depiction of these real-life women as purposeful and strong-willed, in contrast to what Eleanor Gordon has identified as the essentially English stereotype of the "Angel in the house".¹²⁴ Thus, the Baird brothers - who were friends and contemporaries of James and William Campbell - had a formidable mother, described as "... a fine specimen of that higher type of old Scotch matron".¹²⁵ Devoutly religious, Jean Baird trained her boys according to "the best principles ... of industry and economy", which they later acknowledged as the key to their phenomenal financial success.¹²⁶

The Bairds were not Glaswegians, but came originally from a farm in Old Monkland, Lanarkshire. Accordingly, Jean Baird conformed to the comfortable image of the down-to-earth countrywoman, capable and robust. Yet there were Glasgow-born councillors who regarded their mothers with the same mixture of awe and admiration as the Bairds. The evidence can be found in personal reminiscences, such as David Willox's autobiographical sketch of his Parkhead childhood during the 1840s and 1850s.¹²⁷ Willox was another councillor who came from a

handloom weaving background, and he recalled his father as being a particularly demoralised specimen of that dying trade, whose prime interest lay latterly in the drink bottle. His mother, on the other hand, was the backbone of the family, known affectionately as "Oor Bel". While superficially the Conservative Bairds and radical Willox thus seemed ideologically poles apart, they shared the same filial regard for their mother's strength of character. Nor was this trait confined to councillors who had made their way in life from humble beginnings; Walter Wilson was the son of a tea merchant who suffered from bouts of ill-health, and whose wife, Jane, consequently took a much more active rôle in bringing up the family.¹²⁸ Of course, this is not to suggest that Glasgow Town Council was full of men who had a mother fixation; however, it does seem to indicate that there was something deep-rooted in the Scottish psyche which identified with maternal qualities. Perhaps this was connected with the pace of social change, and the instinctive need to hold on to the reassuring old values. Significantly, the works of Sir Walter Scott abound with strong women characters, who represent - in their different ways - metaphors for an idealised Scotland.¹²⁹

Yet despite the influence of their mothers, Glasgow town councillors also had sympathy for the pre-Enlightenment image of the patriarchal Scotsman, and were not generally supportive of women's rights. There were some exceptions, and "Jeems" Martin

in particular campaigned vigorously for a progressive municipal approach to the emancipation issue. In 1882, one year after the civic franchise had been granted to certain categories of women ratepayers, Martin urged that the Council should petition Parliament for a similar extension of the Parliamentary vote.¹³⁰ The motion was defeated by twenty-one votes to nine, with Liberal activists such as George Jackson to the fore in opposing the move. Five years later Martin appalled his fellow councillors during the course of a debate as to whether the "lash" should be introduced for wife-beaters.¹³¹ Expressing revulsion at such a proposal, Martin suggested - without success - that easier divorce would be a far more practical solution. Martin might have been resorting to the tried and tested technique of baiting his Council colleagues with provocative remarks, but there can be no doubt that he was genuine in his libertarian approach to women's rights. The extent to which such views ran against the municipal grain has been already shown by the controversial decision to phase out Glasgow's barmaids in 1902; a policy which was generally welcomed by Progressives as protecting women from corrupting influences, but which was also perceived as anti-progressive, as it undermined the principle of free choice.¹³²

Councillors relationships with women, notably wives and daughters, is a subject which will be briefly returned to, but for the meantime it is worth examining the rôle of fathers as

the other great formative influence in their lives. Fathers were not placed on the same kind of pedestal as mothers, although there were many who made an indelible impression on the character of their sons. John Blackie, senior, was one, and a strikingly similar personality was William Collins, senior, who was yet another successful businessman who started working-life as a handloom weaver.¹³³ The elder Collins had qualities of charisma, which he channelled into a teaching career after leaving his home in Pollokshaws for Glasgow. His close friendship with Thomas Chalmers later directed him into publishing, and in 1819 the two men were responsible for producing Chalmers's famous indictment of Scotland's growing urban crisis, The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.¹³⁴ Young William, who was born in 1817, inherited his father's indomitable energy and unswerving faith in the evangelical solution to society's ills. His ideological perspective, even in old age, was dominated by the Chalmersian values which his father had instilled during the 1820s and 1830s.¹³⁵ Most crucially, Collins, junior, followed his father's example as a fervent advocate of the temperance cause, and went even further by embracing teetotalism, which the elder Collins - like so many of the early temperance crusaders - found difficulty in coming to terms with.¹³⁶

Because there is insufficiently detailed evidence, it has not been possible to meaningfully analyse the occupational

profile of town councillors' fathers. Nevertheless, without following any consistent pattern, information has been collected relating to the fathers of 218, or 37.7 per cent., of civic representatives.¹³⁷ A good deal of this is vague and unspecific; for instance, forty-five of the fathers have been generally identified as "merchants", although precisely what most of them dealt with remains unknown. On the other hand, it can be shown conclusively that the occupational emphasis for a number of the fathers was significantly different from that of their sons. Among those identified were sixteen farmers, thirteen ministers and seven teachers; all of them occupations conspicuously unrepresented on the Town Council between 1833 and 1912.¹³⁸ Yet there were also many councillors who consciously followed in their father's footsteps, notably in trades associated with the burgess institutions, such as the Bakers, Cordiners, Coopers, Fleshers, Masons and Wrights.¹³⁹ Similarly, five future councillors became lawyers like their fathers, including James Colquhoun, J.B. Fleming and James Leitch Lang.¹⁴⁰ The fathers of no fewer than twenty-one councillors were occupied in textile manufacture, predominantly cotton-spinning, and sons such as Alexander Dennistoun, Robert Gilkison, junior, William Govan, junior, George Grant, junior, and the Robertson brothers followed the family tradition. Incidentally, four councillors were the sons of weavers; a figure which included Messrs. Martin and Willox but not Messrs.

Blackie and Collins, whose fathers were only briefly involved with the trade.¹⁴¹

Several councillors between 1833 and 1912 emulated the example of their fathers by pursuing a civic career. The most famous such father and son combination was undoubtedly the two James Lumsdens, who both achieved the unique municipal distinction of serving as Lord Provost. Although not always the rule, father and son often shared the same occupational profile, generally as partners within the family business.¹⁴² In the case of the Lumsdens this was a thriving wholesale stationery concern, but other examples included Simon and John Dallas (warehousemen); James Graham, senior and junior (wrights and builders); Peter and Thomas Holt Hutchison (shipowners); the ubiquitous "Jeems" and James H. Martin (drapers); Thomas Adam and James Harper Mathieson (edge tool manufacturers); and James and Andrew McLennan (wholesale wine and spirit merchants). As has already been explained, the tradition of family involvement in Glasgow's burgh institutions was one reason why sons followed fathers - and grandfathers - onto the Town Council. Thus, the Grahams and McLennans, senior and junior, all served as Deacon Conveners. On the other hand, John Dallas stepped in to fill a municipal vacancy caused by the death of his father in 1904, while James H. Martin seems to have traded-in on the popularity of his enfant terrible parent when he joined him as representative for the Second Ward in 1883. Messrs. Hutchison

and Mathieson were less immediately affected by parental example, because they became town councillors long after their fathers had withdrawn from municipal activity.

Of course, the family connections of town councillors covered more than just fathers and sons; sets of brothers, cousins, uncles and nephews, and various combinations of in-laws were well-represented among the 577 civic representatives.¹⁴³ The Baird, Blackie and Campbell brothers have already been mentioned as prominent municipal activists, all of them sons of determined parents who were anxious for their boys to make the most of Glasgow's growing commercial opportunities. Similarly, the King brothers - James and Robert - made a spectacular success of their business careers as partners with their father in the Hurler and Campsie Alum Co.¹⁴⁴ The King family's civic connection was forged long before the brothers actually entered the Town Council, as their sister, Isabella, had married Lord Provost Robert Stewart in 1852. Other fraternal combinations on the Town Council included John and George Brodie Breeze, John and Peter Hutchison, William and John Ure Primrose, and James and Joseph C. Robertson. The "Stalwarts" contributed the formidable family duo of John and P.G. Stewart, who jointly ran a successful brushmaking business.¹⁴⁵ Both brothers joined the ILP in 1893, and remained Labour Party activists for the rest of their lives. The municipal endeavours of the Stewarts were crowned in 1935, when John achieved the distinction of

being elected the first Labour Lord Provost of Glasgow.

The intricate family network existing among Glasgow's town councillors is a subject which would inspire lengthy discussion, and it is hoped that the biographical appendix to this thesis has shown something of these personal connections. Indeed, several writers have generally commented on the labyrinthine relationship structure which prevailed among Glasgow's middle-classes from the eighteenth century, when some of the great mercantile families were united through a judicious series of marriages.¹⁴⁶ Although commercial opportunities in Glasgow were no longer dependent on burgh membership after 1846, the traditions which had previously applied within the old royalty still tended to encourage marriages of business convenience.¹⁴⁷ In his analysis of mid-Victorian businessmen in Glasgow, Christopher Lee has pointed out that as long as the partnership continued to be the preferred form of business organisation, much could depend on the amount of money settled on a husband in the form of a marriage contract.¹⁴⁸ An appropriate choice of wife could thus be a considerable boon to business prospects, as Emile L'Angelier recognised when he attempted to cultivate his ill-fated association with the Smith family during the 1850s. Such a factor was also relevant to the personal circumstances of Glasgow's town councillors, whose occupational profile was overwhelmingly business-orientated. Even in the 1900s, as has been shown by Samuel Chisholm's second

marriage, a wealthy wife could be the means of consolidating an already substantial fortune.

The history of the Blackie family has been particularly well-documented, with the result that municipal interconnections through marriage are not so difficult to unravel.¹⁴⁹ The complexities of the Blackie family tree may not have been typical, but they were by no means unique in the context of Glasgow's closely-knit business community. As far as John, junior, was concerned, his wife, Agnes, was the sister of William Gourlie, calico printer and town councillor from 1852 until his premature death in 1856.¹⁵⁰ In turn, Gourlie's father-in-law was William P. Paton, an East India merchant who served briefly in a civic capacity between 1849 and 1851.¹⁵¹ Walter Graham Blackie, as younger brother of John, junior, had similar connections through his wife, Marion. Her father was William Brodie of Endrickbank, a textile manufacturer and long-serving town councillor from 1839 to 1854.¹⁵² Brodie's business partner was yet another municipal activist, William McLean of Plantation, whose stockbroker grandson - also William - was both Deacon Convener and town councillor between 1885 and 1890.¹⁵³ For their part, the Brodies were related by marriage to the Lochores of literary and shoemaking fame, and Robert Lochore, tertius, served on the Council between 1869 and 1873.¹⁵⁴ In the twentieth century, W.G. Blackie's daughter, Marion, attempted to continue the family's distinguished

tradition of public service when she stood as one of the first female candidates for the Town Council in 1911.¹⁵⁵ Although defeated, she gave a creditable performance in the Anderston Ward, where she endorsed the Progressive platform.

The overwhelming majority of councillors were married, although a few - like Daniel Macaulay Stevenson and the Baird brothers - remained confirmed bachelors. Whether they had relationships with women is a matter which understandably does not feature in their obituaries; however, it is known that one councillor of reputedly single status - the unconventional James Douglas of Barloch - was secretly married to his housekeeper shortly before his death.¹⁵⁶ There were several councillors who became widowers and subsequently remarried; Samuel Chisholm did so, and his colleague and close friend, William Fleming Anderson, was married three times.¹⁵⁷ Anderson's first wife was a daughter of the famous Glasgow architect, Alexander "Greek" Thomson, and other councillors married into distinguished non-municipal families. Alexander Hastie's father-in-law was Robert Napier, the pioneer of steam navigation, while Robert Gilkison, junior, was married to Harriet Hogg, talented daughter of James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd".¹⁵⁸ The children of councillors could also be famous in their own right, usually in the sphere of national politics. James Campbell, Thomas Corbett, Robert Dalglish, Joseph P. Maclay and Archibald McInnes Shaw all had sons who

served as MPs, and Henry Campbell-Bannerman achieved the ultimate accolade for the Campbell family when he became Liberal Prime Minister in 1905.¹⁵⁹ The daughter of James Alston - one of Glasgow's pioneer Labour councillors - married into the Maxton family of ILP fame, and her son, John Alston Maxton, became MP for Cathcart in 1979.¹⁶⁰

James Alston had nine children, although bearing in mind the size of families prior to 1914 this was by no means unusual.¹⁶¹ The municipal database compiled for the purposes of this thesis reveals that at least 105, or 18.1 per cent. of all councillors, had five children or more. The representative holding the record as the most prolific known progenitor on the Town Council was Alexander Birrell, who sired thirteen children, while William Govan, junior, was the runner-up as father of twelve. On the other hand, it was the great personal tragedy of several councillors that they could not have children, or that their offspring died before they reached maturity. Samuel Chisholm, James Moir and Andrew Orr all fell into this category.¹⁶² A particularly grim example of the fragility of young lives during the nineteenth century can be shown by the experience of Duncan McPhail, a cotton-spinner and civic representative who was the father of at least ten children. Of this number it has been ascertained that two died in infancy, one died in adolescence, and two others died as young men.¹⁶³ As will shortly be explained, the McPhails lived next to their

cotton-mills at Greenhead, which was one of the most unhealthy areas in the East End of Glasgow during the 1840s. Incidentally, one of the surviving children - Jane McPhail - maintained the family's municipal connection as the wife of Dean of Guild Robert Gourlay.¹⁶⁴

Notwithstanding the evidence relating to their families, Glasgow's town councillors were generally long-lived, and the database reveals that of the 480, or 83.1 per cent., whose life-span is known, the average age at death was seventy-one years. Indeed, 270 - or 56.2 per cent. of the 480 - lived beyond seventy years. None of this number achieved centenarian status, but William Burrell came the nearest, dying in 1958 at the age of ninety-six.¹⁶⁵ The next most elderly councillor was John Mitchell, one of Scotland's leading cork importers, who died in 1881 at the age of ninety-five.¹⁶⁶ Incredibly, Mitchell was still a sitting councillor at the time of his death, and had long been regarded among his peers as the nostalgic embodiment of easy-going, pre-Victorian values.¹⁶⁷ The nonagenarian Mitchell seems to have retained sharp faculties to the end, and he never lost the confidence of the civic electorate, which had loyally returned him - more or less - since 1833. Of course, at the other end of the spectrum there were several councillors who were never able to fulfil their potential, and died at a premature age. Malcolm McEwen had already withdrawn from municipal activity when he died aged

thirty-six in 1878.¹⁶⁸ An East Ender of outstanding abilities, he had originally been encouraged by James Moir to take an interest in civic affairs. Moir seems to have been unlucky in his choice of youthful protégés; George Jackson was another councillor of enormous talents, destined for a Parliamentary career, but he died after a debilitating illness at the age of forty-four.¹⁶⁹

The examples of McEwen and Jackson were uncomfortable reminders to their colleagues of the transience of life, and although the majority of councillors seem to have been unusually resilient in the face of Glasgow's assorted health hazards, there can be little doubt that up to the 1900s they remained preoccupied with the question of mortality. Personal experience of family and friends was crucial in shaping civic attitudes, and the recurring incidence of death - which often seemed so random and arbitrary - could arouse powerful emotions. This was graphically brought home to councillors in the winter of 1848-49, when cholera struck Glasgow. There was an unusually large number of civic deaths over this period, two of which - John Anderson and Robert Fleming - are known to have been cholera victims.¹⁷⁰ Fleming lived well outside the city, in a house set in rural surroundings on the road to the village of Govan.¹⁷¹ Yet he succumbed to a disease that was generally associated with the corrosive heart of Glasgow's slum quarters, and his sudden death caused "a deep sensation throughout the

city".¹⁷² Anderson was a recently-elected civic representative, who lived very near to the McPhail family in Greenhead, Bridgeton. Indeed, Duncan McPhail alluded to his neighbour's grim demise in January 1849, when he commented on the intolerable conditions prevailing in the district at the time of the epidemic.¹⁷³ The reaction of the civic authorities to the cholera crisis has been described elsewhere in this thesis, and in this context it seems singularly appropriate that Jane McPhail should have married Robert Gourlay, whose father was one of the leading advocates of the Loch Katrine project.¹⁷⁴

For Glaswegians, Loch Katrine - with its Romantic literary overtones - was yet another reassuring symbol of the old Scottish values. As has already been related, the general attitude of councillors towards Scotland tended to be coloured by perceptions of an idealised pre-industrial society.¹⁷⁵ Inextricably bound up with the concept of national identity was the Scottish education system, which was generally regarded as being much more egalitarian and progressive than its equivalent south of the border.¹⁷⁶ Accordingly, councillors liked to identify with the image of the "lad o' pairts", whose talent alone was sufficient to ensure easy access to opportunities for learning. Most of Glasgow's councillors were of school age long before the passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, and the evidence would indicate that virtually all had some form of

elementary education, whether in the traditional parochial schools or in church or adventure schools. However, this should not be surprising, given their social background and the determination of parents like the Bairds and the Campbells that their sons should succeed. Many Glasgow-born councillors were pupils at the prestigious city Grammar School, which became the High School in 1834, and went on to attend classes at the University.¹⁷⁷ John Blackie, junior, followed this pattern, although W.G. Blackie's education was more unusual. After attending elementary school in Glasgow, he was sent to Kincardine to be personally tutored by the Rev. Andrew Gray.¹⁷⁸ On his return to the city he took the classical course at the University, and then travelled to Germany where he studied at Leipzig and Jena Universities. He thus shared with Karl Marx the distinction of graduating with a Ph.D from the latter University - the only civic representative to be distinguished with such a doctorate.

Virtually all town councillors were products of the Scottish education system, apart - of course - from the few who were born and brought up elsewhere. There were only two who were known to have been educated at English public schools; Donald Graham, who attended Harrow and the London-born Edward J. Scott, who went to Eton.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, "Jeems" Martin was true to form as one of the few councillors to consistently play down his educational background, claiming that in terms of learning he

scarcely knew "a B fra' a bull's fit", and was content ot keep things that way.¹⁸⁰ With such pronouncements Martin was once again attempting to infuriate his evangelical colleagues on the Council, who liked to emphasise the moral importance of a sound education. To Martin, the paternalistic impulse behind evangelical attitudes to learning smacked too much of social control, and undermined individuality.¹⁸¹ Yet he was not dismissive of the need for learning in its own right, and even sat for three years on Glasgow School Board, although he did not find this forum as congenial as the Town Council. Nor were his children denied opportunities for higher education, as one of his sons - Matthew - did well at Glasgow University, qualifying as a doctor in 1882.

Glasgow councillors were generally keen advocates of self-improvement, but this did not always relate to the use of language, and many of them consciously used "the doric" as their preferred form of speech.¹⁸² Indeed, the evidence would seem to indicate that anyone who spoke with an artificially anglicised accent was regarded as somewhat eccentric. There is a well-known story of Lord Provost James Lumsden who, after visiting King Louis-Phillipe in Paris during the 1840s, was asked whether he had conversed with the monarch in French or in English. Lumsden bluntly retorted, "I spoke gude braid Scotch".¹⁸³ Alexander, or "Sandy", Baird was one of Scotland's richest men, yet he was famous for his refusal to

make concessions in his use of homely dialect.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, one councillor who was anxious to cultivate a "gentlemanly" image was the publican, Alexander McLaren. As The Bailie said of him in 1885 as a double-edged compliment, "His accent is almost English ...".¹⁸⁵ The language used by Burns, in particular, seemed to strike a chord with many civic representatives, and a number became activists in local Burns Clubs, particularly after the celebration of his centenary in 1859. The most eminent Burns scholar on the Town Council was probably James Jeffrey Hunter, whose father, Archibald, had also served in a civic capacity. As President of the National Federation of Burns Clubs, founder of the National Burns Club, and long-time Secretary to the Tam O'Shanter Club in Glasgow, Hunter was one of the first to press for the introduction of school children's recitation competitions and was enthusiastic to promote the use of the vernacular.¹⁸⁶

The Burnsian influence upon Glasgow's town councillors was important in relation to the uniquely Scottish brand of freemasonry which many of them practised.¹⁸⁷ The "Star o' Rabbie Burns" was much more than just a symbol of convivial fraternity; it represented deeply-ingrained ideological values, bound up with the tradition of Scottish democracy stretching back to Covenanting days and beyond. Again, perceptions tended to be blurred by a misty nostalgia for the past, but it scarcely mattered whether the reality was viewed through a distorting

mirror. The ideal of an harmoniously integrated society, based on egalitarian principles, seemed especially appropriate in the context of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when dislocating pressures - such as industrialisation - had undermined the old social fabric. Someone who experienced this at first hand was David Willox, the former handloom weaver, and he was probably the most ardent of the Council's freemasons, achieving high standing in the "Craft".¹⁸⁸ Willox was also a prolific writer of poetry, who based his style on that great masonic hero, Burns. Masonic precepts were to the fore in much of his verse, particularly the themes of truth, friendship and harmony. They even pervaded a poem with the seemingly straightforward title of "A Game at the Bools", which was a celebration of bowling as Willox's favourite recreational pastime.¹⁸⁹ As a sport, bowling was thought to exemplify the true spirit of brotherhood, particularly as it was not tainted with some of the unsavoury characteristics of rougher sports, such as gambling.

As W. Hamish Fraser has recently pointed out in relation to leisure developments in nineteenth century Scotland, recreational activities became increasingly a middle-class preoccupation, as they were perceived as a rational and orderly way of encouraging the populace to expend excess energy.¹⁹⁰ It has already been seen that Glasgow councillors were generally concerned about the moral welfare of the city's youth, and the

corrupting effects of more traditional leisure pursuits, notably those connected with drinking.¹⁹¹ Accordingly, some temperance crusaders were active sportsmen, physically promoting a more healthy way of life; for instance, Richard Browne was long connected with Queen's Park Football Club, and served as President of the Scottish Football Association in 1886, while Hamilton Brown had distinguished himself playing for the Clyde Club in his youth.¹⁹² Not to be outdone, "Jeems" Martin was a life-long swimming enthusiast, while his friend and fellow East Ender - David Willox - was one of many bowlers on the Council.¹⁹³ Bowling was equally popular among teetotalers and non-abstainers; indeed, in 1902 there were accusations about the allegedly sinister rôle of the Titwood Bowling Club in controlling the Pollokshields Ward Committee, and ensuring that the district remained the preserve of pro-temperance Liberals.¹⁹⁴ Other sports which featured prominently among the hobbies of councillors included curling, golf and riding, with the likes of James Bell and George Moir well-known for their yachting expertise.¹⁹⁵

However, of all the leisure pastimes practised by Glasgow's civic representatives, Volunteering stands out as one of the most popular and prestigious. Hugh Cunningham - historian of Britain's Volunteer Force - has shown that Scotland consistently returned the highest percentage of Volunteers per head of population; an enthusiasm which could have been attributable to

the military tradition of the Highlands, but which Cunningham generally finds unfathomable.¹⁹⁶ Yet in the context of this analysis of the personal background to Glasgow's councillors, Cunningham's comments on the rationale behind the Force are revealing:¹⁹⁷

The Volunteer Force was the embodiment of many of the canonised values of Victorian Britain. Patriotism, self-help, local initiative, discipline, order, health-giving recreation, and class-mixing in an approved manner were all promoted by the existence of the Force.

As far as patriotism was concerned, one of the first public displays of Volunteer strength in Scotland took place at the inauguration of the Loch Katrine water supply; an occasion which was to be of enduring municipal significance, and which manifested all the characteristics of the Scottish Romantic ethos so beloved by civic representatives.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the creation of the Volunteer Force in 1859 was at a time when the exploits of Garibaldi and other swashbuckling heroes of European nationalism had enormous popular appeal in Glasgow.¹⁹⁹ Liberalism was the prevailing political orthodoxy in the city, and the voluntary principle behind the new military movement accorded precisely with the climate of the times. Many of the most enthusiastic Volunteers on the Town Council were active Liberals, such as William Clark, David Dreghorn and James Merry Forrester.²⁰⁰ It is noticeable, too, that the level of recruitment to the Force dropped significantly in Scotland after

the 1886 Unionist split, even though the total percentage of Scots Volunteers continued to be well above the national average.²⁰¹

It has been previously shown in this thesis that, according to the standards of their time, councillors were generally wealthy men. They could therefore afford the best that was on offer in Glasgow; indeed, they were often themselves arbiters of taste, either in their professional capacity as merchants and manufacturers, or as art connoisseurs. Archibald McLellan was only one of many councillors who amassed a substantial art collection, and William Burrell's magpie-like hoard of treasures - seemingly from all periods and cultures - came to form the basis of one of the most acclaimed civic art galleries in the United Kingdom.²⁰² Burrell's home at Hutton Castle, Berwickshire, reflected the continuing obsession of Glasgow's city fathers with the past, and he deliberately reconstructed his residence as a showpiece for his numerous Medieval and Renaissance objets d'art. Many of his municipal predecessors owned similarly baronial residences; for instance, Andrew Orr lived for most of his time at Harvieston Castle, Clackmannanshire, while his great friend, Archibald McLellan, was the proud possessor of Mugdock Castle, Dunbartonshire. William Campbell owned the Dunbartonshire estate of Tullichewan, noted for its spectacular scenery, where he was able to indulge his passion for flowers and gardening. As a landed proprietor,

he took particular pleasure in going for invigorating walks through the grounds at Tullichewan, accompanied by his dog. The animal, needless to say, was a Scotch terrier.²⁰³

Looking at town houses rather than country estates, it has been possible to analyse the location of councillors' residences, to ascertain where they were most likely to live. (See Table 7.11.) Over ten-yearly intervals between 1841 and 1911 it would appear that the most popular residential areas shifted westwards from Blythswood to the Park and Kelvingrove districts, then south of the river to Pollokshields, and finally to Kelvinside and Hillhead in the west. How this pattern reflected middle-class trends in the city is as yet unknown, but it seems clear that councillors were happier living in newly-developed residential areas, often outside the city boundary. The attraction of rural Govan and environs was a marked feature of the mid-nineteenth century, as was the sudden popularity of Pollokshields during the 1880s, after Govan became more industrialised. At the other end of the city, Dennistoun was a district much favoured by East End councillors, although a few doggedly remained in older areas like Parkhead or Camlachie. Some city residences could be very grand, and John Houldsworth's plans for his home in Park Terrace prompted the remark - reputedly from Queen Victoria - that his name should be changed to "Goldsworth".²⁰⁴ Intriguingly, a few detailed descriptions of councillors' house interiors survive through the

Table 7.11: Decennial Distribution of Town Councillors' Residences, 1841-1911

Postal District*	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
City Centre	18.7	20.0	6.0	2.0	2.0	1.2	-	2.5
Blythswood	37.5	24.0	12.0	8.0	26.0	3.8	-	7.5
Park/Garnethill/Kelvingrove	9.3	16.0	28.0	2.0	-	11.6	11.6	2.5
Port Dundas/Townhead	12.5	8.0	4.0	2.0	-	1.2	2.5	1.2
Hutchesontown/Gorbals	3.1	12.0	6.0	4.0	4.0	16.8	14.2	18.7
G11: Partick	3.1	2.0	2.0	8.0	2.0	5.1	6.4	3.0
G12: Hillhead/Kelvinside	-	-	4.0	2.0	2.0	1.2	1.2	3.7
G20: Maryhill/North Woodside	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G21: Springburn	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G22: Possilpark	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G31: Parkhead/Dennistoun	-	8.0	6.0	14.0	4.0	5.1	10.3	11.2
G32: Shettleston/Tollcross	-	-	-	-	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
G40: Bridgeton/Dalmarnock	3.1	6.0	6.0	12.0	6.0	1.2	1.2	1.2
G41: Pollokshields/Strathbungo	-	-	2.0	2.0	20.0	20.7	14.2	16.2
G42: Crosshill/Govanhill/Langside	-	-	-	2.0	-	15.5	12.9	3.7
G43: Newlands/Pollokshaws	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	1.2	-
G44: Cathcart	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G45: Camarnock	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2
G46: Giffnock/Thornliebank	-	-	-	2.0	-	-	1.2	5.0
G51: Govan/Ibrox/Cessnock	6.2	4.0	16.0	8.0	4.0	-	1.2	2.5
G53: Pollok/Nitshill	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G61: Bearsden	-	-	-	-	2.0	-	-	1.2
G62: Milngavie	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G64: Bishopbriggs	-	-	2.0	2.0	-	-	-	-
G66: Lenzie	-	-	-	2.0	-	1.2	1.2	1.2
G71: Uddingston/Bothwell	-	-	-	-	2.0	1.2	6.4	1.2
G72: Cambuslang	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-	-
G73: Rutherglen	-	-	-	-	2.0	1.2	3.8	2.5
G77: Newton Mearns	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
G78: Barnhead/Neilston	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G84: Helensburgh	-	-	2.0	-	2.0	-	-	-
Outside the Glasgow area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.7
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	-
Number of councillors	32	50	50	50	50	77	77	80

* Classified according to Post Office, Postcodes: Glasgow & District (Glasgow, 1987).

inventories made at the time of their death. Thus, in 1864 the Bankier family home at Clarendon Place, Blythswood, was shown to have been well-stocked with silver plate, mahogany furniture, stuff-bottomed chairs, Brussels carpets and a gallery of twenty-eight pictures.²⁰⁵ In addition to a rosewood cottage piano, the number of bagatelle, backgammon and loo tables indicate how the Bankiers spent much of their leisure time; similarly, the amount of crystal decanters, toddy ladles and wine funnels reveal that it was not a teetotal household.

Copious information exists about the background to Glasgow's civic representatives between 1833 and 1912, but it would be impossible to reflect all aspects of their lifestyles in the limited space afforded by this thesis. However, it is hoped that the preceding analysis has drawn out some of the personal influences which determined their attitudes as councillors. Above all, the Scottish cultural dimension has been identified as important, not because it engendered an aggressive spirit of nationalism, but because it provided a focus for the kind of idealised society which many councillors sought. This was especially so because Glasgow was a rapidly growing city, attracting many incomers with roots in a rural or semi-rural environment. Scotland - or rather, a nostalgic perception of Scottish society, much influenced by literary tradition - represented a comforting symbol of reassurance in an otherwise uncertain era. Indeed, the notion of a pre-industrial "Golden

"Age" was a pervasive theme in Scotland throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contributing to the rise of evangelicalism as well as shaping the philosophy of future labour leaders, like Keir Hardie. As will be elaborated in the last section of this thesis, Scottish cultural values underpinned ideology, both at the spiritual level of religion and the material level of politics - matters in which Glasgow's town councillors had long held particularly forthright views.

III. Ideological Profile: Political and Religious Allegiances

The personal convictions of councillors, whether in terms of their politics or religion, have already been shown in this thesis to have guided many of their actions in the civic arena. Samuel Chisholm was the classic example of the ideologically-motivated man, who identified his deep-rooted religious beliefs with the more material political philosophy of Liberalism, and attempted to use the latter as a vehicle for furthering the former.²⁰⁶ However, the intention behind this analysis is not to re-examine the precise interaction between policy and ideology on Glasgow Town Council, as in the "municipal socialism" debate; instead, the aim will be to determine whether - over time - there was any organisational base for directing policy into the Town Council, and the extent to which various ideological influences could be significant. Such an objective is by no means straightforward, because of the difficulty in identifying the political and religious allegiances of councillors after 1843. Even a forthright man like Andrew Orr did not stress his Church affiliation, despite the fact that it was an important personal aspect of his life. Perhaps he wanted to play down religious antagonisms, at a time when militant evangelicalism was on the rise, or perhaps he wanted to cultivate allies from as broad a range of opinion as possible. Whatever his motivations, the warm relationship

existing between the Liberal Orr and his Conservative friends, Alexander Baird and Archibald McLellan, becomes all the more explicable once their mutual commitment to the Established Church is positively identified.²⁰⁷

The problems arising from the lack of comprehensive information about politics and religion are revealed by the global figures for declared allegiances between 1833 and 1912. (See Tables 7.12 and 7.13.) Out of 577 civic representatives, the politics of 69.3 per cent. have been ascertained, while the religion of only 47.8 per cent. is conclusively known. It is understandable that - in the context of Glasgow's supposedly "non-partisan" municipal affairs - comparatively less can be deduced from these areas of personal activity than from more easily quantifiable data, such as occupation, age or birthplace. This is especially so because ideological definitions can have subtle nuances, and are also subject to change over time. Nor can it be assumed that the available figures represent a meaningful cross-section of municipal opinion, as they tend to reflect the views of the most zealous activists, who were often outspoken about their party or Church commitment. As will be seen, time-scale is also an important qualifying factor, because ideological differences tended to be more pronounced prior to 1843 and after 1886, with the result that proportionately more is known about the predilections of civic representatives during the earlier and later periods than

Table 7.12: Declared Political Allegiances of Glasgow Town Councillors, 1833-1912

Affiliation	Number	% of 577	% of 400
Liberal	260	45.0	65.0
Liberal Unionist	33	5.7	8.2
Conservative	66	11.4	16.5
Conservative-Evangelical*	21	3.6	5.2
ILP	18	3.1	4.5
Irish Nationalist	2	0.5	0.5
	400	69.3	
Unknown	177	30.6	
Total	577		

*Comprises councillors who supported the Conservative-Evangelical alliance on the Town Council up to 1843, but whose allegiances thereafter remain unknown.

Table 7.13: Declared Religious Allegiances of Glasgow Town Councillors, 1833-1912

Church Affiliation	Number	% of 577	% of 276
Established	88	15.2	31.8
United Presbyterian	82	14.2	29.7
Free	71	12.3	25.7
Congregational	10	1.7	3.6
Episcopal	5	0.8	1.8
Wesleyan Methodist	5	0.8	1.8
Roman Catholic	4	0.6	1.4
Baptist	2	0.3	0.7
Catholic Apostolic	2	0.3	0.7
Jewish	2	0.3	0.7
Church of Christ	1	0.1	0.3
Evangelical Union	1	0.1	0.3
Separatist	1	0.1	0.3
No Religion	2	0.3	0.7
	<hr/>		
	276	47.8	
Unknown	301	52.3	
Total	577		

in mid-century.

Given these provisos, can any significant conclusions be drawn from the global figures relating to the political and religious affiliations of councillors between 1833 and 1912? The most striking feature about the breakdown of party loyalties is the overwhelming Liberal presence, which is four times greater than the Conservatives. Of course, it has already been explained at length in this thesis that Conservative fortunes suffered a serious blow in Glasgow after 1843, which debilitated party fortunes for at least two decades.²⁰⁸ Moreover, Liberalism was a particularly flexible ideology, representing different things to different people during the course of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those great municipal antagonists - William Collins and "Jeems" Martin - would not have hesitated in categorising themselves as Liberals, and it has been seen that despite their differences, both men occasionally did share common policies, such as their opposition to Glasgow's gas municipalisation in 1869.²⁰⁹ Thus, Messrs. Collins and Martin have been firmly placed in the "Liberal" category for the purposes of this analysis, although declared Liberal Unionists - like Robert Crawford - are listed separately, in order to identify the precise scale of their influence. If the Liberals and their erstwhile colleagues in the Unionist camp are totalled together, the sum figure represents almost three-quarters of the known political

allegiances on the Town Council, giving credence to the conventional wisdom that Liberal hegemony prevailed at the municipal level in Glasgow, at least after 1843.

With reference to the religious loyalties of councillors, the Established Church proved to be marginally the most popular denomination between 1833 and 1912, claiming 31.8 per cent. of declared allegiances. The United Presbyterians followed close behind with 29.7 per cent., while the Free Churchmen totalled 25.7 per cent. Between them, the three major Scottish denominations accounted for the lion's share of municipal loyalties, with over eighty-seven per cent. of the known figures, and there is little reason to doubt that a similar pattern would emerge if further details about affiliations became available. On the other hand, the missing data might reveal quantitative differences within this general framework; for instance, non-evangelicals belonging to the Established Church tended to be less outspoken about their religious beliefs, and may have been better represented on the Town Council than the figures would suggest. At all events, the evidence would indicate that Presbyterianism was the norm among Glasgow's civic representatives, and that they were more likely to be dissenters than adherents to the Establishment. Given their overwhelmingly Scottish profile, and the predominance of Presbyterian dissent among Glasgow's churchgoers up to the late nineteenth century, this should not seem surprising.²¹⁰ Moreover, the link

between dissent and the voluntarist ethos helps to explain the overwhelming Liberal commitment of councillors, as can be shown if the figures for politics and religion are combined. (See Table 7.14.)

From this data, the known Liberal councillors are shown to have represented a much broader range of religious opinion than the Conservatives, whose allegiance to the Established Church was overwhelming. Liberals predominated among the United Presbyterians and most of the smaller denominations, notably the Congregationalists, of whom there were seven Liberals and one Liberal Unionist out of ten councillors. Yet although Liberals formed a sizeable grouping among the Free Churchmen, claiming almost a third of declared political allegiances, they were not in the majority, and were proportionately less significant in membership of the Established Church. As has already been mentioned, too much should not be read into these data, as they are incomplete, and at best represent a tentative indication of politico-religious allegiances among Glasgow's civic representatives. Thus, a mystery remains about the religious affiliations of over fifty per cent. of the Council's known Liberals, while the Free Churchmen seem to have been curiously circumspect about their politics in comparison with colleagues from other denominations. On the other hand, the evidence for the Established Churchmen and United Presbyterians definitely does suggest that within these denominations there was a degree

Table 7.14: Combined Political and Religious Allegiances Glasgow Town Councillors, 1833-1912

Church Affiliation	Total on Council	Con; (66)	Lib; (261)	Lib U; (33)	ILP (18)
Established	88	45 / 68.1%	19 / 7.3%	6 / 18.1%	-
United Presbyterian	82	1 / 1.5%	59 / 22.6%	12 / 36.0%	1 / 5.5%
Free	71	4 / 6.0%	32 / 12.3%	5 / 15.1%	-
Congregational	10	-	7 / 2.6%	1 / 3.0%	-
Episcopal	5	-	1 / 0.3%	1 / 3.0%	-
Wesleyan Methodist	5	-	-	-	1 / 5.5%
Roman Catholic	4	-	1 / 0.3%	-	1 / 5.5%
Baptist	2	-	2 / 0.7%	-	-
Catholic Apostolic	2	-	1 / 0.3%	1 / 3.0%	-
Jewish	2	-	1 / 0.3%	-	-
Church of Christ	1	-	-	-	-
Evangelical Union	1	-	1 / 0.3%	-	-
Separatist	1	-	1 / 0.3%	-	-
No Religion	2	-	1 / 0.3%	-	1 / 5.5%
Total	276	50 / 75.7%	126 / 48.4%	26 / 78.7%	4 / 22.2%
Unknown	301	16 / 24.2%	134 / 51.5%	7 / 21.2%	14 / 77.7%

of organisation on the part of Conservatives and Liberals respectively. Consequently, religion was a significant factor in explaining ideological attitudes on Glasgow Town Council, although - as has been seen - the intensity of the religious debate could vary over time.

In this context, it would be worthwhile to focus some attention on the religious affiliations of Glasgow's thirty-three declared Liberal Unionist councillors after 1886. Although there were six Established Churchmen among this number, including such influential figures as James Bell, Robert Crawford and David Richmond, Unionists were more likely to adhere to the dissenting denominations. As erstwhile Liberals, this should not seem unusual, although it might have been expected that more Established Churchmen would have defected to the Unionist cause. However, the dissenting presence reinforces some of the paradoxes about Unionism, which can be particularly illustrated by the relatively high number of United Presbyterians who became supporters. As has been seen, the Church was the religious mainstay of many Liberal councillors, and the influence of congregations like Kent Road reflected a consciously political dimension.²¹¹ Yet despite the sharp political break with the past, Unionism did not represent a wholesale rejection of the old moral values, because the ties of religion were too strong to be completely severed. Roots ran deep in nineteenth century Glasgow, and although there may have

been common ground over issues like temperance, Home Rule and even disestablishment, the more strident identification of Conservatives with the precepts of Church, Crown and Constitution must have been unsettling to Unionists brought up in the voluntaryist tradition. Accordingly, until the emergence of the "Moderate" alliance during the 1900s, Unionists on Glasgow Town Council maintained a separate profile from the Conservatives, despite the taunts of loyal Liberals that both groups were "reactionaries", with little to distinguish them in terms of municipal policy.

The decennial distribution of declared political and religious allegiances presents a different picture from the general civic profile between 1833 and 1912, and indicates when ideological differences tended to be most marked on the Town Council. (See Table 7.15.) As can be seen from the political data, precise allegiances can be identified for all councillors in 1841 and 1891. Significantly, both were years when the balance of power among the competing interest groups was tenuous, and it has already been explained how far the apparent Liberal invincibility in 1891 was something of an illusion, due to the unpredictable behaviour of the "Men of Mystery".²¹² Conversely, the decades between 1851 and 1881 are notable for the number of councillors who were coy about declaring their political commitment, while in 1911 some thirty-seven per cent. fell into the "unknown" category. The two periods are not

Table 7.15: Decennial Distribution of Political and Religious Allegiances on Glasgow Town Council, 1841-1911

Politics	1841 (32)	1851 (50)	1861 (50)	1871 (50)	1881 (50)	1891 (77)	1901 (77)	1911 (80)
Liberal	15	28	31	31	28	48	38	23
Conservative*	17*	3	4	8	7	13	15	15
Liberal Unionist	-	-	-	-	-	16	8	1
Stalwart / Labour	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	11
Unknown	-	19	15	11	15	-	8	30
Religion								
Established	12	6	7	9	8	18	11	8
United Presbyterian*	5	8	7	6	9	26	17 }	{ 10
Free*	-	3	8	6	13	17	11 }	{ 5
Congregational	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	2
Episcopal	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Wesleyan Methodist	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Roman Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Catholic Apostolic	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Jewish	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Church of Christ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Evangelical Union*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unknown	15	33	28	29	17	12	30	51

*"Conservatives" in 1841 are taken to be adherents on the Council to the Conservative-Evangelical alliance. Note too that in 1843 the Free Church came into being; prior to 1847 the United Presbyterians were split into the separate Secession and Relief Churches; in 1896 the Evangelical Union merged with the Congregationalists; in 1900 the UP and Free Churches merged to become the United Free Church.

comparable, in that mid-century the Liberals maintained a clear-cut municipal majority, while in 1911 they were less obviously in a controlling position, if at all. Moreover, by the early twentieth century Liberals, Conservatives and Unionists were growing closer together in an attempt to thwart the growing Labour challenge. While councillors like Edward Guest and Thomas J. Irwin were therefore outspoken in their opposition to socialism - before and after the First World War - they made no firm declaration of their actual political commitment.²¹³

Nevertheless, religion - in relation to the political profile of councillors - does provide a clearer insight into some of the influences at work at the municipal level, although the paucity of available information must be borne in mind before drawing definite conclusions. For instance, it can be seen that the strength of support for the Established Church was at a peak before 1843, and thereafter never reached comparative levels. It should also be noted that despite the sharp ideological divide in Glasgow during 1841, the seventeen adherents to the Conservative-Evangelical alliance did not automatically translate into seventeen Established Churchmen. This is not to suggest that the seventeen were adherents to different Churches; rather, they tended to categorise themselves according to political rather than religious loyalties. Thus, Robert Fleming - the 1848 cholera victim - was unquestionably an

adherent to the Conservative-Evangelical alliance, but it was not possible to conclusively determine his Church commitment. Yet as the basis of alliance support was rooted firmly within the Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland, this would suggest that Fleming and his colleagues were adherents to the Establishment. It can therefore be reasonably assumed that, along with co-religionists from the Liberal ranks such as James Lumsden, the Established Church made up the majority among town councillors prior to the Disruption. There is equally good reason to believe that dissenters from the Relief and Secession Churches - later the United Presbyterians - were Liberals to a man, and that until the 1886 Unionist split they solidly maintained this commitment, even though they could often have differences with Liberal colleagues over issues such as temperance.

The dissenters steadily gained ground on the Council from 1851, and although 1871 seems to indicate a slight reversal in their fortunes, the overwhelming number of Liberals represented on the Town Council would suggest that they were present among the "unknown" ranks. They had certainly regained the initiative by 1881, with Free Churchmen becoming unusually prominent; out of fifty councillors, there was a total of thirteen adherents, representing over thirty-five per cent. of declared religious allegiances. Two of the this number were Conservatives, while the political affiliations of four remain unknown. The

remaining seven were active Liberals, the most famous among them being the formidable figure of Sir William Collins, who had served as Lord Provost between 1877 and 1880. It is a matter of speculation as to how far the organisational skills of Collins and his temperance supporters were instrumental in boosting the Free Church presence on the Town Council, although the likes of James Hunter Dickson, John Filshill and James Torrens were zealous adherents to the cause.²¹⁴ However, it has already been seen that the Collins régime had made significant strides during the 1870s, and that the position was to be consolidated up to 1886.²¹⁵ Even Alexander Osborne - one of the Conservative Free Churchmen - was noted for his pro-temperance sympathies, and had such a good working relationship with Liberals at Ward Committee level that he was consistently returned unopposed as a councillor.²¹⁶

The data for 1891 is worth examining in detail, because the political affiliations of all councillors have been identified, while the religion of only twelve remains unknown. (See Table 7.16.) It was by no means a typical year, because of the circumstances of boundary expansion; on the other hand, these unique factors led to a lively campaign, where councillors were unusually outspoken about their ideological commitment.²¹⁷ The most striking feature of the Council's composition in 1891 was the presence of twenty-one Liberal United Presbyterians, eight of whom had been returned for the newly-added wards. This

Table 7.16: Combined Political and Religious Allegiances of Glasgow Town Councillors, 1891

Church	Cons.	Lib.	Lib. U.	Total
Established	7	6	5	18
United Presbyterian	1	21	4	26
Free	3	9	5	17
Congregationalist	-	2	1	3
Jewish	-	1	-	1
Unknown	2	9	1	12
Total	13	48	16	77

period of United Presbyterian strength corresponded with the rise of Samuel Chisholm, showing how far the example of his great mentor from the Free Church - William Collins - continued to influence municipal affairs. The strength of Liberal organisation among the United Presbyterians can be shown by the presence of only one "wobbler" or "Man of Mystery" out of the twenty-one; he was John Cassells of Pollokshields, who was summed up thus by the pro-Chisholmite Glasgow Echo:²¹⁸

We are not sure that he goes in for a "broom" of any kind, either new or old. He is enthusiastic over the pleasantries of life, but in other respects is of the Conservative school that is content to believe that the affairs of the city have been well-managed in the past ...

Notwithstanding Cassell's wavering commitment to the Chisholmite brand of "new broom" Liberalism, Pollokshields was an important area of party strength in "Greater Glasgow". This was because members of the Pollokshields United Presbyterian Church had emulated their brethren in the Kent Road congregation by becoming particularly active in municipal affairs.²¹⁹ Like Kent Road, Pollokshields had a zealous temperance minister - the Rev. Alexander Brown - who was said in 1894 to have lost "... no suitable opportunity of influencing in the right direction those of his flock who are in responsible public positions".²²⁰ Certainly, by the 1900s the district of Pollokshields had built up a reputation as being a stronghold of the temperance "mafia", with its unlikely headquarters - in addition to Pollokshields

Church - being Titwood Bowling Club.²²¹ Of course, Free Church members also backed Chisholm's policies, with seven out of nine Liberals identified in 1891 as solid party loyalists. As plans were underway for denominational merger with the United Presbyterians, there were obvious areas of common ground, and Chisholm's warm relationship with Free Church activists like Collins and Lord Overtoun was testimony to this spirit of co-operation. Out of the six Liberal Established Churchmen, there were two Chisholmites - John Garey and John P. McPhun - although this should not seem surprising, as the "Auld Kirk" always had a radical wing, and the voluntaryist ethos was by no means incompatible with Church membership.²²² McPhun was one councillor who endeavoured to maintain the radical profile within the Church, and had made a principled stand in favour of disestablishment by resigning from his local Kirk Session.²²³

If Garey and McPhun were exceptions among anti-disestablishment supporters in the Church of Scotland, then Edward Langlands was the exception among disestablishment supporters in the United Presbyterian Church. Indeed, the Chisholmites were perplexed as to why he was in membership of the Church at all:²²⁴

... he is a strong supporter of the "Auld Kirk", whether from his association with Toryism or otherwise we cannot tell, but so strong that he might more appropriately be set down as an Established Church man.

Langlands was unique as being the only known Conservative United Presbyterian among the 577 Glasgow town councillors serving between 1833 and 1912. Given that the Free Church had stronger affinities with the Establishment, there were slightly more Conservatives among the Free Church ranks, with three represented on the Council in 1891 - Charles Cleland, J.B. Fleming and Alexander Osborne.²²⁵ Unlike Langlands, who seems to have been regarded as a pariah by his co-religionists, there was little conflict between the politics and religion of the Conservative Free Kirkers. All were respected by Liberal opponents, although Fleming's ostentatious admiration for his hero - Lord Beaconsfield - was a source of irritation to the easily-goaded Chisholmites. However, it should be reiterated that Fleming's Conservative sympathies did not prevent him from rallying a broad range of support over the boundaries question prior to 1891. It is also worth pointing out that some of his most prominent Liberal allies in the campaign - such as W.G. Blackie and James Merry Forrester - happened to be fellow members of the Kelvinside Free Church.²²⁶

The seven Conservative councillors from the Established Church had a much less cordial relationship with the Liberals in 1891, although this can be partly explained by the personal antipathy existing between James McLennan - the most prominent of their number - and Samuel Chisholm.²²⁷ As one of the leading figures in the West of Scotland licensed trade, McLennan

had stamped his group with a consciously pro-drinks' character, which did nothing to endear him to Liberal loyalists. Of course, this did not mean that McLennan remained aloof from cultivating individual Liberals outwith the Chisholmite circle, and he had intimate connections with the Martin family, who were themselves enormously influential in the East End.²²⁸ McLennan's wealth placed him in a far better position than most in the "trade" to fend off the Chisholmite onslaught, and there can be no doubt that he used his political and Church connections as part of the campaign. The combined identification of Conservatism and the "Auld Kirk" with organised whisky interests was yet another reason why the Council's Unionists remained reluctant from making too much common cause, particularly as adherents like James Colquhoun and James Hunter Dickson continued to maintain connections with the temperance movement.²²⁹ Yet these distinctions dissolved over time, especially after 1896 when Progressives and Stalwarts temporarily joined together in an uneasy radical alliance, and opponents came to feel that there was more than just the licensed trade to defend from municipal interventionism.

The presence of a Jewish representative in 1891 is significant, in that Michael Simons was elected ten years before the first Roman Catholic took his seat in the City Chambers. This matter will be returned to shortly, in order to explain the striking absence of Catholic councillors in a city with a

sizeable Catholic population, whether Scots or Irish-born. For the meantime, the decennial analysis should be rounded-off by examining the figures for 1901 and 1911, particularly in relation to Stalwart-Labour representation. Although the bald figures of eight as opposed to eleven councillors would indicate some progress during the course of this decade, Labour fortunes had actually taken several twists and turns, and there were marked differences between the men of 1901 and 1911. Only one of the Stalwarts maintained his position in the later period; he was P.G. Stewart from the Hutchesontown Ward, who had first entered the Council as early as 1895.²³⁰ The Irish community formed the basis of Stalwart support in Hutchesontown, and Stewart was personally close to John Ferguson - Irish nationalist and acknowledged "Stalwart" leader until his death in 1906. However, Stewart's ILP commitment differentiated him from Ferguson, who believed that social change could best be achieved through the Liberal party, by exerting pressure from below.²³¹ Ferguson shared much in common in terms of ideology with his great friend, Michael Davitt, whose politics have been briefly categorised thus: "He took an advanced labour position, without committing himself to socialism, and combined this with advocacy of home rule".²³²

The Ferguson approach is reflected in the fact that in 1901 only five out of the eight Stalwarts were ILP members, not including himself. This is a crucial point which certain

historians have failed to identify, assuming "Stalwart" to be synonymous with "ILP".²³³ That Ferguson was able to hold the diverse Stalwart alliance together is testimony to his abilities and undoubted charisma, and after his death there was no-one who could replace such a pivotal figure in the municipal sphere. By 1908 the Stalwart presence had diminished drastically on the Council, where there was only one representative who consciously advocated the interests of organised labour. Even P.G. Stewart had lost his Hutchesontown seat, although he regained it after a by-election early in 1909. Stewart's victory - in the wake of a serious recession and unemployment crisis in Glasgow - did much to restore flagging Labour fortunes, although by this time the political initiative had passed unequivocally to the ILP.²³⁴ All the Labour councillors serving in 1911 were ILP members, and they steadily began to build upon this organisational base, using housing rather than the single-tax question as their central campaigning platform.²³⁵ Moreover, the boundary expansion of 1912 had the effect of increasing the ILP presence in the City Chambers, with the appearance of such notable figures as John S. Taylor from Govan and John Wheatley from Shettleston and Tollcross.

The Belfast-born John Ferguson was brought up as an adherent to the Church of Ireland, and retained affinities with the Episcopal Church after he came to Scotland.²³⁶ In 1901 his Stalwart colleagues on the Council included two Roman Catholics,

one United Presbyterian, one Wesleyan Methodist and three "unknowns".²³⁷ On the other hand, it has been possible to trace the religious allegiances of only one Labour councillor in 1911; he was Dr. James Erskine, a United Presbyterian - or, rather, a United Free Churchman, as denominational union with the Free Church had taken place in 1900.²³⁸ The dearth of information about the religious commitment of ILP councillors does not mean to suggest that they regarded spiritual matters as inconsequential, or that they conformed to certain popular preconceptions of socialists as being godless and atheistic. Only one of this number - the idiosyncratic James Shaw Maxwell - positively declared that he had no religion, although it might be assumed that there were a few others who more quietly shared this view.²³⁹ Yet as William Knox has recently pointed out in relation to the background of Scottish labour leaders during the inter-war period, developments within the Scottish Churches from the 1880s helped to foster the notion of a "social gospel", which tended towards collectivist solutions to society's ills.²⁴⁰ From "social gospel" it was an easy enough step to preach the "civic gospel", and the tenor of some ILP material certainly reflected a millenarian quality, as the election addresses of one of Glasgow's most ardent Christian socialists - James A. Allan - would eloquently testify.²⁴¹

So far, this discussion about the religious allegiances of councillors has generally referred to the three main Scottish

Presbyterian Churches during the 1833-1912 period. Only a little has been said about the smaller denominations, such as the Congregationalists, whose radical tradition - dating from the late eighteenth century - contributed much to their Liberal commitment.²⁴² The two Jewish councillors serving between 1833 and 1912 have barely been mentioned, but Michael Simons and Frank Israel Cohen were "well-kent" faces in Glasgow, who had - in their different ways - considerable popular following.²⁴³ Both men came from prosperous backgrounds, the fruit and tobacco trades having provided the basis for successful family businesses. Simons was a Liberal, although the Chisholmites latterly detected "wobbling" tendencies; Cohen was much more of a populist, initially aligning himself with the fiery Andrew Scott Gibson, but thereafter adopting a mellow approach to municipal affairs. Apart from their religion and family background, there seems to have been few personal similarities between Messrs. Simons and Cohen. Simons was particularly influential among business circles in Glasgow, and was a noted art connoisseur. Indeed, he was regarded with such respect that he could easily have become Lord Provost in 1886, but - like most of his Council colleagues - was simply not prepared to make the enormous financial commitment to ensure such lasting fame.²⁴⁴

As Callum Brown has pointed out in his social history of religion in Scotland, the size of Glasgow's Jewish community was

around 1,000-strong in 1879, growing to approximately 5,000 by 1900.²⁴⁵ From this perspective, the community was well-represented in civic affairs, bearing in mind that the city's population - according to municipal boundaries - ranged from 511,415 in 1881 to 784,496 in 1911.²⁴⁶ Over the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Glasgow's Roman Catholic population increased by some 100,000, yet only four representatives from the Catholic community were elected prior to 1912.²⁴⁷ In comparison with the later twentieth century, when Catholics steadily consolidated their municipal position, why should they have been so conspicuously absent from the Town Council, and what precisely were the influences that stimulated the movement towards Catholic representation? Was Catholic interest in civic affairs a phenomenon which developed during the last decade of the nineteenth century, or were there earlier manifestations of activity in this direction? Above all, did conscious anti-Catholicism have any bearing on the behaviour of councillors between 1833 and 1912, which might have created obstacles to the election of Catholics?

It is necessary to go much further back in history to consider attitudes on the Town Council towards Catholicism, and the extent to which these altered over time. In the wake of the Reformation, an Oath was introduced in Glasgow as a prerequisite for the admission of burgesses and guild brethren. As well as making a declaration to adhere to the "trew religioun presentlie

profest within the realme", there was also a requirement to renounce "the Romane religioun callit papistrie".²⁴⁸ Whatever the value of the Burgess Oath in fending off predatory Romanist tendencies, it was not until after the traumatic experience of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion that its implications were fully appreciated.²⁴⁹ Thus, it became a useful device for reinforcing the position of the Established Church and ensuring loyalty to the Hanoverian succession. Notwithstanding the feelings of Glasgow's small Catholic population, this was much to the discomfiture of certain Presbyterian dissenters, who refused to submit to the Burgess Oath.²⁵⁰ They began a campaign to effect its repeal, and in 1819 - following a request from the four Seceding congregations in Glasgow - councillors agreed that the Oath was an anachronism, and replaced it with a briefer, non-sectarian version.²⁵¹ The result was satisfactory to the Seceders, who had long been divided over the precise interpretation of the Oath; however, another result was that the Council's proscription of Roman Catholics was theoretically removed.

The driving force behind the repeal of the Burgess Oath was James Ewing, who has featured elsewhere in this thesis as a committed Peelite, Church of Scotland Evangelical, and one of the most influential figures in the pre-Reform Council.²⁵² Ewing's personal connection with Thomas Chalmers was indicative of the changing influences at work at the municipal level, which

were to have an important bearing on attitudes in the post-Reform period. Thus, although the Town Council petitioned Parliament against Catholic emancipation in 1829, the debate was keen and the vote was narrow, with Evangelicals to the fore in opposing the decision.²⁵³ This may seem surprising, in that Evangelicals claimed to be staunch defenders of the constitutional status quo; however, Chalmers had rationalised the need for emancipation on the grounds that the dangers of Roman Catholicism were political rather than religious, and that the State was now in a strong enough position to withstand such threats.²⁵⁴ Chalmers also believed that Protestantism, as a dynamic force, would inevitably triumph over the decadent faith of Catholicism.²⁵⁵ His view was expressed in an oft-quoted statement, where he urged Protestants to be positive about the emancipation issue:²⁵⁶

It is not by our fears and false alarms that we do honour to Protestantism. A far more befitting honour to the great cause is the homage of our confidence; for what Sheridan said of the liberty of the Press admits of most emphatic application to this religion of truth and liberty ... In like manner, give the Catholics of Ireland their emancipation; give them a seat in the Parliament of their country ... and give me the circulation of the Bible, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the tyranny of Antichrist, and establish the fair and original forms of Christianity on its ruins.

This, essentially, was the evangelical response to Catholicism in Glasgow, not only within the Chalmersian wing of

the Established Church, but among the voluntaryists. Its pervasive influence can be detected in the proceedings of the great banquet held in 1837 to celebrate Sir Robert Peel's installation as Lord Rector to Glasgow University, where numerous past, present and future town councillors were in attendance, including the Blackie and Campbell brothers, and James Watson.²⁵⁷ In one of the toasts - "The maintenance and diffusion of the Protestant religion in the British dominions" - the evangelical attitude was clearly expressed by the Rev. Dr. Patrick McFarlane of Greenock: "My principle would be perfect toleration, but no encouragement to error, - perfect toleration to all, but positive encouragement to the truth - and to the truth only".²⁵⁸ Nearly sixty years after these words were spoken, the obituary of Sir William Collins explained his refusal to support the Unionist cause on precisely these grounds.²⁵⁹ According to Collins, self-government in Ireland would bring about the most favourable circumstances for encouraging Catholics to discern the "truth", leading to the evangelisation of their country. As has been seen, the policies of Collins's great protégé on the Town Council - Samuel Chisholm - reflected this ethos, with the belief that social improvement would create the best conditions for the evangelical revival in Glasgow.

The survival of Chalmersian influence on evangelicals into the twentieth century partly explains why they were not the

same obvious tensions in Glasgow between Catholics and Protestants as there were in a city like Liverpool. Joan Smith has attributed this difference to the "commonsense" beliefs of Glasgow's working-classes, which were rooted in the radical, Liberal tradition.²⁶⁰ While not disputing that there is some validity in Smith's argument, it might be more appropriate to say that the "commonsense" view was rooted in the Conservative-Evangelical tradition, which developed gradually into support for Gladstonian Liberalism. The political ideas of Sir Robert Peel were a formative influence on the young Gladstone, much as they had been on a generation of Scottish Evangelicals, including the Collins and Blackie families. The Gladstonian brand of Liberalism was very much an ideological hybrid; as one recent biographer has put it, "A radical conservatism, which fused at times with an advanced liberalism".²⁶¹ Like Peel, Gladstone was a staunch defender of the Protestant faith, but was ultimately prepared to make concessions in his bid to pacify Ireland. This example was not lost Glasgow's councillors, many of whom were imbued with the Chalmersian notion that truth must prevail over adversity.

Yet how were such ideas translated into practice at the municipal level, and how did Glasgow's Catholics react to the principle of "perfect toleration to all, but positive encouragement to the truth"? The example of Glasgow Police Board offers some answers to these questions, because at least

one Catholic Commissioner had been elected by city voters prior to 1846. He was John O'Neil, an Irishman born in 1795, who had come to Scotland as a young man.²⁶² O'Neil was listed in the 1821 Post Office Directory as a clothes broker, based in the Saltmarket, giving an indication - at an early stage - that he was prosperous in his business.²⁶³ He was later listed as a pawnbroker; a trade which was not likely to endear him to evangelicals, who - it has been seen - regarded pawnbrokers in much the same baleful light as publicans. Yet the respectable O'Neil did not conform to evangelical preconceptions of pawnbrokers as semi-criminals, and he even had temperance connections with the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, founded in 1839 by his friend, Charles Bryson.²⁶⁴ In 1840 Bryson stated the reasons why Catholics should support his temperance organisation, claiming that, "above all ... it will show to our Protestant Brethren that Catholics are not the degraded class of beings which Protestants are taught to believe them to be".²⁶⁵

Notwithstanding O'Neil's social position and temperance connections, there can be little doubt that his devout Catholicism and Irish origins added to the growing sense of unease within the municipal leadership over Glasgow's policing arrangements. Supporters of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance had initially been the most concerned about Police Board restructuring, but even the Liberals came to recognise that this was necessary. As several were mill-owners, employing

a sizeable number of Catholic-Irish workers, their fears about the Police Board becoming a focal point for Catholic aspirations can perhaps be understood.²⁶⁶ Not that O'Neil was a second O'Connell, but he did share similarities with those two Police Board Chartists - James Moir and George Ross - who had worked steadily in the background to build up their local base.²⁶⁷ Indeed, O'Neil and Ross seem to have had a good working relationship, and in 1846 the two ex-Police Commissioners stood together as municipal candidates for the Fourth Ward. The poll was significant in two respects; it was probably the first time since the Reformation that a Roman Catholic had openly attempted to seek entry to the Town Council, and O'Neil - as the Catholic candidate - narrowly failed in this objective by six votes.

The circumstances of the Fourth Ward election are highly revealing about civic attitudes to Catholicism, because the main opposition to Messrs. O'Neil and Ross were the prominent Liberal evangelicals, William Campbell of the Free Church - who had switched from his pre-1843 Conservative stance - and Robert Smith, founder member of the Scottish Temperance League.²⁶⁸ The ward covered virtually the whole of the Saltmarket, plus Hutchesontown south of the river; both were areas with a substantial Irish population, and some of the worst housing and sanitary conditions in Glasgow. According to the sentiments expressed at the Fourth Ward meeting, held almost a month prior to the municipal poll, O'Neil was the most popular candidate;

indeed, his son-in-law - Michael Jeffray - had taken the chair at the meeting, indicating the extent of the Catholic profile at ward level.²⁶⁹ It remains unclear whether the strength of support for O'Neil alerted the evangelicals to the danger that he would be returned as a councillor; nevertheless, they immediately swung into action to secure victory in the Fourth Ward, adding George Ord - a Protestant Ulsterman - to their slate of three candidates.²⁷⁰ Campbell and Smith were noted for their philanthropic interest in housing and temperance respectively, and in true Chalmersite tradition they emphasised this positive aspect of their identity, rather than indulge in any strident attack on Catholicism per se.²⁷¹

Campbell easily topped the poll with 191 votes, while Smith and Ord followed some way behind with 165 and 146 respectively. O'Neil mustered the support of 140 electors, while Ross polled 106; both respectable figures, bearing in mind the limited scope of the municipal franchise. It might have been thought that O'Neil would have attempted to build upon this support in future years, but the traumatic effects of the potato famine on the Irish community seem to have diverted his energies elsewhere, and it was not until the 1870s that Catholics made renewed efforts to stake their claim for municipal representation. Yet the importance of O'Neil and his circle during the 1840s must be emphasised, as it shows how far Catholics were making a conscious effort to present themselves

as respectable and responsible, while taking as positive an approach to their religion as the evangelicals. Their influence on the younger, Scots-born generation is exemplified by the figure of John Burns Bryson, the son of Charles Bryson, and first President of Glasgow's St. Vincent de Paul Society, founded in 1848 as a Catholic philanthropic agency.²⁷² Most intriguingly, Bryson was a lawyer, who happened to be in partnership with John Burnet, erstwhile Clerk to Glasgow's Police Board, although whether O'Neil acted as the linking factor has not so far been ascertained. At all events, Bryson and his philanthropic involvement showed the extent of Catholic assertiveness at a time when militant evangelicalism was on the rise, and when proselytisation to the Protestant faith often lay behind charitable intentions.

As John McCaffrey has demonstrated, Glasgow's Catholic hierarchy was initially ambivalent to the efforts of co-religionists to carve out a place for themselves in public life.²⁷³ There was a suspicion of movements which tended to be lay-initiated, like the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, and which - in the context of the time - presented a dangerously radical profile. However, developments like the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act later stimulated the Church into organisational activity to defend its interests, especially against the possibility that public schools could be used as a vehicle for proselytisation.²⁷⁴ The extension of the municipal franchise

after the Second Reform Act created further opportunities for Catholics to become involved at the local level, although the Church tended to concentrate its energies on issues like education and social welfare via the School and Parochial Boards. As far as the Town Council was concerned, the need for representation was not so vital, although prestige was undoubtedly an important factor in the Catholic drive for civic recognition. Thus, if Catholics constituted a sizeable proportion of Glasgow's total population - estimated by contemporaries as between a fifth and a quarter - then it was reasonable that they should now serve as councillors. Such was the reason given in 1872 for the candidacy of the Catholic James Lynch, when he attempted to win Lord Provost Blackie's old Sixth Ward stamping ground.

Lynch shared one feature in common with fellow-Irishman John O'Neil in that both men ran pawnbroking businesses.²⁷⁵ This was as discomfoting to evangelicals in the 1870s as it had been in the 1840s, but what was even more alarming about Lynch's candidacy was his heavy backing from Glasgow's Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Association.²⁷⁶ Indeed, Catholic interests notwithstanding, Lynch's electoral campaign was conducted very much in the pugnacious fashion of other pro-drinks' candidates, with forthright attacks on the insidious nature of the temperance machine within the municipality. The fact that Lynch was being keenly promoted by Alexander McLaren - ex-councillor,

publican and active Conservative - would also suggest that curious alliances had been formed against the teetotal caucus. Not that this united front was successful, as Lynch lost the election by 831 votes to 1,256 against the stridently pro-temperance John Neil. As a gesture of solidarity, a "complimentary soirée" was afterwards held for Lynch; McLaren took the chair, in the company of four priests and numerous other representatives of the Catholic community.²⁷⁷ Councillors Martin and Steel were also in attendance, and the latter favoured the assembled gathering with one of his rousing after-dinner speeches. He was much-applauded when he launched a diatribe against the sectarian tendencies so-called "men of principle" on the Town Council, meaning - of course - the pro-temperance evangelicals.²⁷⁸

Steel's sentiments were admirable, but in wholly the wrong context for them to have advanced Catholic representation in the municipal sphere. By aligning themselves so emphatically with the drinks' trade, Lynch and his fellow Catholics had driven a wedge between their community and the increasingly powerful temperance lobby within the Town Council. Of course, there were many Catholic temperance campaigners, and John Ferguson and others made conscious efforts to build bridges, but much damage was done as a result of the acrimony generated by the temperance issue during the early 1870s. The fact that Catholics were seen to be fraternising with influential Conservatives from the

"Auld Kirk" was particularly disturbing to the teetotalers, who tended to be Liberal dissenters. Indeed, the notion developed that certain Catholics were acting according to the maxim that "my enemy's enemy is my friend", and a climate of mutual mistrust developed, which was to survive into the twentieth century. Conservatives - and later Unionists - played upon this uneasy relationship, as in 1897, when Patrick O'Hare and James Johnstone so emphatically defeated the Chisholmites in Springburn.²⁷⁹ The temperance dimension cannot be overstressed in explaining Catholic-Protestant attitudes in Glasgow at this time, because for men like O'Hare, the true sectarians were the teetotal zealots, who had no hesitation in accusing publicans of lacking moral integrity.

The Irish dimension was another complicating factor in the municipal scenario, and it has been seen that the first two Catholic attempts to enter the Town Council emanated from the Irish section of the community. However, "Irish" and "Catholic" must be distinguished, because over time sufficient second and third generation Irish in Glasgow had distanced themselves from their ethnic roots. Moreover, as the examples of George Ord and John Ferguson indicated, Glasgow had a sizeable Protestant Irish community. Scottish Catholics - many with origins in the Highlands and Islands - were another significant segment of the population, and it was from this group that the city's first Catholic town councillor eventually emerged. He was James

Mackenzie, a young iron merchant, who was nominated - rather than elected - to a Sixth Ward vacancy in 1893.²⁸⁰ Mackenzie subsequently won the seat after a municipal contest, fending off a challenge from Hugh Caldwell, an Ulster-born ex-councillor of aggressively pro-Orange views.²⁸¹ The range of support for Mackenzie was broad; one Conservative civic representative - Alexander Osborne - was outspoken in his favour, while Mackenzie's pro-temperance commitment endeared him to the Chisholmites.²⁸² Indeed, the evidence suggests that Mackenzie was deliberately promoted by the Chisholmites, in order to demonstrate that they genuinely did have Catholic interests at heart.²⁸³

Nevertheless, Mackenzie's entry into Glasgow's civic affairs was short-lived, and he did not stand for re-election after his famous 1893 victory over Orangeism. He redirected his energies to the Parochial Board, with the backing of the Catholic Union, which had been founded in 1885 for the specific purpose of winning Catholic representation on public bodies.²⁸⁴ It is unclear whether there was any deterioration in Mackenzie's relationship with the Chisholmites, or whether the Church authorities felt that he could more usefully serve his co-religionists elsewhere. At all events, Mackenzie's departure abruptly signalled the end of the Chisholmite-Catholic alliance, and the Catholic councillors elected after this time did not align themselves with the Chisholmite camp. In 1896

John Cronin, Secretary of the Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, won a Stalwart victory in the Dalmarnock Ward, while Patrick O'Hare had similar success in Springburn the following year.²⁸⁵ Cronin was the only Catholic councillor to have ILP affiliations, until the return of John Wheatley in 1912. Yet another Catholic was elected in 1902 - Michael Joseph Connell - who had close connections with that municipal bête noire, Andrew Scott Gibson. Indeed, as a solicitor Connell formed part of a legal triumverate with the Liberal Angus Campbell and Conservative Fred Macquisten in defence of drinks' trade interests at Licensing Appeals Courts, where there were often stormy scenes during the 1900s.²⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Connell went the way of more than one Gibsonite councillor, by ending his public career in ignominy. In 1910 he was found guilty of embezzling £1,200 from the Rory Oge O'More Funeral District of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and thereafter suffered a mental breakdown.²⁸⁷

It can be seen from the foregoing analysis that temperance was the issue which latterly did most to dictate the pace of Catholic representation on the Town Council, and whatever the claims of the pro-temperance lobby for religious toleration, they remained highly suspicious of the powerful drinks' trade presence within the Catholic community. At one level, this had the effect of alienating Catholics like Patrick O'Hare, who came to believe that Chisholmite supporters within the Liberal

party were squeezing him out of any position of political influence in Glasgow. At another level, adventurers like Connell ostentatiously threw in their lot with drinks' trade efforts to undermine the temperance cause, thus confirming the worst fears of the Chisholmites about Catholic morality. Conceivably, if John O'Neil had been returned as a councillor in 1846, then the temperance dimension in relation to Catholic civic representation might have been more muted. However, such a scenario begs several important questions, not least that the evangelicals were also wary of O'Neil's connections with radicals like George Ross, and were resolutely hostile to his chosen trade as a pawnbroker. As good Liberals, many evangelical councillors seem to have been prepared to admit anything rather than say they were anti-Catholic, but underlying their high-sounding moral scruples about drink and pawnbroking, hostility to Catholicism as the "Antichrist" can be detected. This subtle approach was initially advantageous to evangelical interests, but in the context of the post-1886 period - after the former politico-religious alignments had been broken - it became an important contributory factor to the waning of Liberal strength on Glasgow Town Council, and in the city generally.

Yet according to the evidence collected for this thesis, Glasgow's councillors between 1833 and 1912 most typically represented a brand of Liberal paternalism, which owed as much to religion as political ideology. The crucial influence of

Thomas Chalmers has already been mentioned in this respect, and his ideas transcended Church and party loyalties, indelibly shaping the character of men as different as James Campbell and William Collins. Nor should the radical traditions behind the seceding congregations of the eighteenth century be forgotten in understanding the religious dimension to municipal affairs. Samuel Chisholm's roots lay here, and he resolutely refused to shake off past associations, despite sustained pressure to do so. The "headship of Christ" was the old Covenanting watchword against the spiritual pretensions of the Crown, and for a man of Chisholm's upbringing this must have had meaning, particularly in relation to the Roman Catholic faith, where papal authority prevailed. Religion thus formed a cultural context which helped councillors to rationalise their experience, and translate ideas into civic action. Again, this was very much part of the Chalmersian ethos, which sought to bring about greater social cohesion by consciously restoring old values to the community. However, if the old values happened to be Scottish, Presbyterian and paternalistic, then it is understandable that in an increasingly cosmopolitan and secular city like Glasgow, tensions would inevitably develop.

References

1. Ruskin's Unto this Last appears in the collection, Unto this Last: The Political Economy of Art: Essays on Political Economy, op. cit. See page 185 for the quoted extract.
2. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, op. cit., page 77.
3. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons, op. cit., pages 308-312.
4. Ibid., page 308. The 1833-35 Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations and the Parliamentary debates on the 1835 Municipal Corporations Bill are particularly cited by Hennock as initiating ideas on the "ideal" characteristics of councillors.
5. Ibid., pages 309 and 311. See also pages 47-52 and pages 95-99 of this thesis for the relevance to Glasgow of the Liberal and Conservative approaches to local government representation in the post-reform era.
6. Alfred T. Davies, op. cit., page 5. See also A.W. Jephson, Municipal Work from a Christian Standpoint, (London, 1912), for a similar perspective.
7. See pages 429-430 and 565 of this thesis. Ruskin also stated, "... in his office as governor of the men employed by him, the merchant or manufacturer is invested with a distinctly paternal authority and responsibility ... so that the only means which the master has of doing justice to the men employed by him is to ask himself sternly whether he is dealing with such subordinate as he would with his own son ...". See Ruskin, loc. cit., page 130. Ruskin, it should be added, was brought up in a Scottish evangelical household, although he later lost his religious faith.
8. Ibid., page 160.
9. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, op. cit., page 56. The Chamberlainite strategy had developed in Birmingham during the Mayoralty years, 1873-76; see Briggs, Victorian Cities, op. cit., pages 222-224.
10. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, op. cit., page 55; Atkinson, op. cit., pages 13-14.
11. Ibid., page 14.
12. Ibid.

13. See pages 175-177.

14. See the Glasgow Herald, 4th November 1891, where it is stated in the editorial: "We are not at one with Mr. Chamberlain in commending the political element in municipal affairs. It is socially a mistake and tactically an error. The contention of political parties have nothing to do with the welfare of a burgh, and a municipal representative is, or can be, neither a better nor a worse man of business for being a Radical of the Radicals or a Conservative of the Conservatives".

15. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, op. cit., page 53.

16. Ibid.

17. As explained at length by Bernard Aspinwall in Portable Utopia, op. cit., especially Chapter Five, "The Civic Ideal: Efficiency and Morality in Local Government", pages 151-184.

18. Quoted in Briggs, Victorian Cities, op. cit., page 205.

19. Bell and Paton, op. cit., page xxii.

20. As Stana Nenadic has stated: "... occupation is an important indicator of class mainly because it determined wealth which in turn conveyed status and power". See her essay, "The Rise of the Urban Middle Class", in T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), People and Society in Scotland: Volume I, 1760-1830, (Edinburgh, 1988), page 114.

21. The most up-to-date version [1990] is the Central Statistical Office, Standard Industrial Classification, (London, 1980). Although not used in this thesis, the SIC was useful for defining certain occupational groups which recurred among the civic fraternity, notably commission agents. They are categorised thus: "Units primarily engaged in acting as intermediaries between buyer and seller and in carrying out transactions for the principal's account".

22. See W.A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information about Occupation", in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data, (Cambridge, 1972), pages 191-310.

23. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons, op. cit., page 362.

24. See pages 662-663.

25. Details of Miller's bankruptcy can be found in the Glasgow Herald, 30th May 1912.

26. Although Fowler's obituary was not traced, a good deal can be ascertained from the 1861 Census entry for Cessnock House, and the Post Office Directory. Accordingly, Fowler lived with his unmarried daughter and son, and was in partnership with the latter. He employed eight men who had lodgings in the grounds at Cessnock, and he also had offices in Argyle Street - hence his entitlement to the municipal vote.
27. Alexander Baird was, of course, one of the phenomenally wealthy Bairds of Gartsherrie.
28. See Carlton's obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 29th December 1933.
29. Burrell, Henderson and Maclay were all active in civic affairs during the 1900s, while Smith made his municipal commitment much earlier in the 1840s, when shipowners were not such a significant municipal force.
30. For Stewart's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 10th May 1937. He started off working life as a joiner.
31. Information about Bostock and the Glasgow Zoo and Hippodrome appears in The Bailie, 5th January 1898, 12th July 1905 and 12th August 1908. See also Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., pages 22-25. For his obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 18th September 1940.
32. Again, see pages 662-663 of this thesis.
33. Although Battersby had been Secretary of the Scottish Typographical Association between 1874 and 1886, by the time he served on the Town Council he was full-time in his commitment to the Disestablishment Council for Scotland, and was therefore not a trade union official.
34. Information about the business careers of Hastie and Muir can be found in the biographical profiles appearing in Gowans and Gray (publishers), The Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1902, op. cit, pages 102-106 and 461-466. See also Muir's entry in Anthony Slaven and Sidney Checkland (ed.), Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1, The Staple Industries, (Aberdeen, 1986), pages 373-377.
35. For Aikman, see The Bailie, 17th February 1892, and his obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 17th January 1893; for Kidston, see ibid., 28th February 1865; and for Corbett, see J.S. Jeans, Western Worthies: A Gallery of Biographical and Critical Sketches of West of Scotland Celebrities, (Glasgow, 1872), pages 184-190. Corbett's obituary appears in the Glasgow Herald, 3rd April 1880. His grandson, Lord Rowallan (Thomas Godfrey Polson

Corbett), wrote about him in Rowallan: the Autobiography of Lord Rowallan, K.T., op. cit., pages 4-8.

36. Nenadic, "The Rise of the Urban Middle Class", loc. cit., page 114.

37. For the classic account of Glasgow's rise to prominence in colonial trade, see T.M. Devine, The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, 1740-90, (Edinburgh, 1975). For the later period, see Devine, "An Eighteenth Century Business Elite: Glasgow West India Merchants, c. 1750-1815", in the Scottish Historical Review, vol. LVII, 1978, pages 41-67.

38. For Service's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 8th January 1925.

39. For Lochore, senior, see George Eyre-Todd (ed.), The Glasgow Poets: their Lives and Poems, (Paisley, 1906), pages 108-115. The Lochores married into the Brodies of Endrickbank, who in turn married into the Blackie family; but see pages 747-748 of this thesis.

40. Along with his partner, John Morrison, Mason was responsible for the construction of Glasgow's City Chambers, (while Carlton and Son carried out the fine decorative work). For Mason, see The Bailie, 10th October 1883 and 7th November 1906; Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., page 143; the Glasgow Herald, 28th April 1924.

41. The 1833 figures are cited in the Glasgow Herald, 2nd September 1833, while those for 1911 appear in the Corporation Diary, 1911-12, SRA D-TC 14.5.

42. Stana Nenadic, "Record Linkage and the Exploration of Nineteenth Century Social Groups: A Methodological Perspective on the Glasgow Middle Class in 1861", in Urban History Yearbook, (Leicester, 1987), page 34.

43. See *ibid.*, and - in more detail - Nenadic, The Structure, Values and Influence of the Scottish Urban Middle Class: Glasgow 1800 to 1870, op. cit.

44. Indeed, it soon became clear that it was not worthwhile to list occupational status separately, as so many councillors conformed to the self-employed criterion.

45. Bankier's wife was Margaret Dennistoun, and so it can be assumed that Bankier had a family connection with John Dennistoun and Co., of the Bridgeton Cotton Works.

46. Angela Tuckett, The Scottish Carter: the History of the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association, 1898-1964, (London, 1967), page 85.
47. For the idiosyncratic John Craig, see The Bailie, 19th May 1875, and the Glasgow Herald, 26th April 1887.
48. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons, op. cit., pages 28-29.
49. Ibid., pages 197-198.
50. The eight were respectively John Forrester, William Cochran, John Aitken, Hugh Wilson, Peter McAra, Alexander Kellar, James Steel and James Moir. There were others serving on the Council at this time who had been Police Commissioners in Anderston, Calton and Gorbals, eg. Angus McAlpine, William Bankier and Andrew Gemmill.
51. See pages 633-637.
52. Chisholm's second wife, Agnes Gibson, was the widow of Thomas Henderson, founder of the Anchor Line of Steamers. She merits her own entry in Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., page 38. See also Samuel, Personal Recollections, op. cit., "Teetotal Tales", pages 5-6, for a singularly uncharitable account of the marriage, including the revelation that Lady Chisholm removed her well-stocked wine cellar to her new husband's home, which thereafter became famous for its sumptuous dinner-parties.
53. W.D. Rubenstein, Men of Property: the Very Wealthy in Britain Since the Industrial Revolution, (London, 1981), page 42.
54. Ibid., page 48.
55. Nicholas Morgan and Richard Trainor, "The Dominant Classes", in W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (eds.), People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914, (Edinburgh, 1990), page 113.
56. For biographical information about Dunlop, see The Bailie, 8th June 1881. His obituary appears in the Glasgow Herald, 23rd January 1893, and was later reprinted in J.O. Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays, (Glasgow, 1905), pages 338-339.
57. For the fluctuating financial fortunes of the Dixon family, see Slaven and Checkland, op. cit., pages 33-35. Note, however, that some Glasgow councillors successfully recovered from personal financial crises; E.H. Bostock and Andrew Blackwood Stewart were two such examples.

58. For the exploits of Messrs. Stewart and Taylor, see William Wallace (ed.), The Trial of the City of Glasgow Bank Directors, (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1905).
59. Slaven and Checkland, op. cit., page 376.
60. Neither man seems to have had an obituary, but see the appropriate confirmation and inventory, SRO SC 36/48/50 (for Gray), and SC 70/1/104 (for Paul).
61. Glasgow Herald, 23rd January 1893.
62. For Grahame, see Gowans and Gray (publishers), The Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1902, op. cit., pages 12-21.
63. For Maclay's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 25th April 1951; for Hutchison's, *ibid.*, 24th June 1918.
64. Biographical details about Ewing appear in Slaven and Checkland, op. cit., pages 353-356. See also The Bailie, 6th May 1874, and the Glasgow Herald, 29th November 1893.
65. For McLean, see *ibid.*, 25th February 1867, and also John Buchanan, The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, (Glasgow, 1878, second edition), pages 202-204. Reid has an entry in Slaven and Checkland, op. cit., pages 395-398. For Scott, see Maclehose (ed.), Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, vol. II, op. cit., pages 279-280.
66. For Dennistoun, see *ibid.*, vol. I, pages 99-102. His obituary appears in the Glasgow Herald, 17th July 1874.
67. Information about the Campbell brothers abounds, but see Maclehose, op. cit., vol. I, pages 69-78; the obituaries for John and Simon Dallas appear respectively in the Glasgow Herald, 6th February 1950 and 9th February 1904; Wilson is similarly well-served for biographical material, but see the book by his son, Arthur, Walter Wilson: Merchant, Justice of the Peace, and Magistrate of the City of Glasgow, 1849-1917, (Glasgow, 1920).
68. For McLennan, see the Glasgow Echo, 22nd July 1893; The Bailie, 18th October 1893; and the Glasgow Herald, 8th February 1899.
69. McLennan was mentioned as a possible candidate for the Lord Provostship in The Bailie, 4th September 1889. See the Glasgow Echo, 22nd July 1893, for his Parliamentary aspirations.
70. For Paterson's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 16th May 1892.

71. For Macquisten, see The Bailie, 8th May 1907, and his Glasgow Herald obituary, 2nd March 1940.
72. For Colquhoun, see The Bailie, 10th May 1895, and the Glasgow Echo, 24th February 1894.
73. Lyon's stormy career is described in Tuckett, op. cit., pages 60-63 and passim. See also William Knox (ed.), Scottish Labour Leaders, 1918-39: A Biographical Dictionary, (Edinburgh, 1984), pages 164-168.
74. See page 623 of this thesis, for the crucial rôle of "Jeems" Martin's wife in running the family business while her husband and eldest son devoted their time to municipal activities.
75. James Colquhoun, My Reminiscences of Glasgow Town Council: Behind the Scenes in George Square, (Glasgow, 1904), page 1.
76. See pages 540-542.
77. See Robert Crawford's article in the Glasgow Evening News, 28th March 1893, calling for an endowed Lord Provostship.
78. This was apparently not the case in other large cities - specifically Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin and London - where hospitality allowances were available for the Lord Provost or Lord Mayor. See the Glasgow Herald, 26th August 1889.
79. Thirty-four of the 577 councillors were eventually to become Lord Provost, six of them after 1912. The average estate for the thirty-four was £145,446.
80. For Arthur, see Gowans and Gray, op. cit., pages 277-279. His obituary appears in the North British Daily Mail, 6th September 1897.
81. Colquhoun, op. cit., pages 1-2.
82. See Fairplay, 1st January 1886, for McOnie's profile under "Clydeside Cameos - Lord Provost MacScone".
83. Ibid. See also Slaven and Checkland, op. cit., pages 174-175.
84. Gowans and Gray, op. cit., pages 428-437.
85. The first Lord Provost not to be honoured with a title was John M. Biggar, who served from 1941 to 1944.

86. John Garrard, "The Middle Classes and Nineteenth century National and Local Politics", in John Garrard, David Jary, Michael Goldsmith and Adam Oldfield (eds.), The Middle-Class in Politics, (Farnborough, 1978), page 59.

87. Ibid.

88. Quoted in Hutchison, Politics and Society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-1886, op. cit., page 151.

89. Glasgow Evening News, 28th March 1893; also, The Bailie, 13th May 1896, for a report of the Corporation debate on the matter.

90. Of course, several Deans of Guild and Deacon Conveners also served as elected representatives, and have thus been included among the 527 ordinary councillors.

91. This figure includes burgess representatives who sat on the Corporation after 1912. Accordingly, the figure of £145,446 for Lord Provosts serving beyond 1912 is a more appropriate comparison.

92. See pages 689-690.

93. See pages 122-125.

94. Moir originally came from Stenhousemuir, Stirlingshire, while McLennan was proud of his Ayrshire roots, hailing from the village of Coylton.

95. James McLennan retained a second home in Ardrrossan, within his home county, while James Alexander divided his time between Glasgow and Leadhills, Lanarkshire, where he had been born. It should be noted, too, that councillors were often prominent activists in the numerous county associations which sprang up in the city during the nineteenth century, as a forum for non-Glaswegians to meet convivially. Thus, James Hunter was a director of the Glasgow-Dumfriesshire Society, and Donald Stewart was Vice-President of the Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan Society.

96. The reasons for defining Glasgow according to the 1912 boundaries are explained on page 734 of this thesis.

97. Houldsworth's father, Henry, came from Nottingham, and William Dixon, senior, came from Northumberland.

98. To be more specific, Hunter came from Greenlaw, Berwickshire, and Watson from Hawick, Roxburghshire.

99. The eight Edinburgh-born councillors were Hugh Blair, James Cairns, George Coventry Dick, William P. Paton, Henry Paul, Richard Greenshields Ross, James Torrens, and Joseph A. Wright.

100. R.J. Morris, "Urbanisation in Scotland", in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *op. cit.*, pages 73-75.

101. The term "buddy" is derived from the Scots term "body", simply meaning "a person". Players for St. Mirren Football team are known locally in Paisley as "the Buddies". See Sylvia Clark, Paisley, a History, (Edinburgh, 1988), page 206.

102. T.C. Smout, A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950, (London, 1986), page 9, and T.M. Devine, "Urbanisation", in Devine and Mitchison (eds.), *op. cit.*, page 35.

103. The Robertson cotton factory was at Ladeside, Rothesay. For the brothers' obituaries, see the Glasgow Herald, 7th January 1901 (James) and 12th October 1918 (Joseph).

104. See Lang's obituary in *ibid.*, 2nd June 1876; his Kirkintilloch birthplace is revealed in the 1861 Census return, when he was living at 5 Provanside.

105. Maclehose (publisher), Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pages 69-74 (James) and 75-78 (William).

106. *Ibid.*, but especially the biographical profile of William Campbell. See also H.J. Hanham, "Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism: Romantic and Radical", in Robert Robson (ed.), Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark, (London, 1967), pages 143-179. Along with other prominent evangelicals, Campbell was associated with the broadly-based National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, the origins of which are described in detail by Hanham.

107. M. Anderson and D.J. Morse, "The People", in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *op. cit.*, pages 17-19, and Devine, "Urbanisation", *loc. cit.*, pages 41-44.

108. The twenty-four were John Breeze, Donald Graham, Edward Guest, Richard Kidston, James Watson Stewart, George Taggart and Harry Carvick Webster (born abroad); Thomas Blyth, Edward H. Bostock, Joseph Burgess, Andrew Fergus, David Hope, Edward Rosslyn Mitchell, John W. Pratt, Edward J. Scott and Michael Simons (born England); James Boyd, Hugh Caldwell, David Carson, John Ferguson, Edward McConnell, Patrick O'Hare and George Ord (born Ireland); and William York (born Guernsey).

109. The birthplaces of the remaining five councillors were as follows: Webster (Australia); Breeze (Chile); Watson (Italy); Graham (Portugal); Taggart (USA).

110. Carson's Irish origins were traced via the Census returns, but not his precise birthplace, as this point of detail was only recorded for the Scots-born population.

111. See pages 786-802 for a discussion of Irish-born councillors and the Catholic-Protestant dimension to municipal affairs.

112. Like Carson, York's Guernsey roots emerged via the Census returns, but his obituaries stressed the Lanarkshire connection. See the Glasgow Herald, 23rd August 1865, and John Cruikshank, Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons, (Glasgow, 1879), pages 92-93.

113. Dreghorn's obituary, in the Glasgow Herald, 22nd November 1875, made the assumption that he was a Glasgow man; yet again, the Census confirmed that he was born in Govan.

114. Devine, "Urbanisation", loc. cit., pages 48-49.

115. Andrew Gibb, Glasgow: the Making of a City, (London, 1983), pages 99-100 and 121.

116. Agnes A.C. Blackie, Blackie and Son, 1809-1959: A Short History of the Firm, (London & Glasgow, 1959), page 3.

117. John F. McCaffrey, "Thomas Chalmers and Social Change", in the Scottish Historical Review, vol. LX, April 1981, page 33.

118. Raleigh, loc. cit., pages 7-34.

119. David Daiches, "Scott's Achievement as a Novelist", in A. Norman Jeffares, Scott's Mind and Art, (Edinburgh, 1969), page 45.

120. See page 595.

121. Moira Burgess, The Glasgow Novel: A Survey and Bibliography, (Motherwell and Glasgow, 1986), page 22-23.

122. The first Glasgow novel to feature such a strong female character was John Galt's The Entail, published in 1822. Burgess has traced the recurrence of the Glasgow matron through to contemporary works of Scottish fiction.

123. Sixteen women stood for the Town Council in 1920, seven for Labour. Five were elected, viz. Mary Barbour and Eleanor

Stewart (Labour), and Mary Bell, Jessica Baird Smith and Mary A. Snodgrass (Moderate).

124. Eleanor Gordon, "Women's Spheres", in Fraser and Morris, op. cit., page 206.

125 Maclehose (publisher), Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, op. cit., vol. I, page 13. Mrs. Baird was called "Jean" according to this profile; however, her proper name would appear to have been Janet.

126. Ibid.

127. David Willox, Random Rhymes of Leisure Hours, with Autobiographical Sketch of the Author, (unpublished typescript, n.d., but c.1910), pages 2-8.

128. Wilson, op. cit., pages 3-8.

129. Raleigh, loc. cit., page 19. Examples include Ellen Douglas, from The Lady of the Lake; Jeanie Deans, from the Heart of Midlothian; Flora McIvor, from Waverley; and Di Vernon, from Rob Roy (although she was half-English, her family roots were - ambiguously - in the disputed Border region). In the last novel, Rob Roy is himself overshadowed by the formidable figure of his Amazonian wife.

130. Glasgow Town Council, Minutes, 4th October 1882, print 184, page 3320, and 21st October 1882, print 185, page 3349, SRA C1.1.72.

131. Glasgow Herald, 18th March 1887.

132. See page 655.

133. Keir, op. cit., page 22.

134. Ibid., pages 41-42.

135. In particular, see Collins's obituary in the League Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, 23rd February 1895.

136. Keir, op. cit., page 123.

137. Merchants formed the largest occupational grouping, numbering forty-five. Next were the cotton manufacturers, with twenty-one, followed by farmers, with sixteen. There were thirteen ministers; ten shipowners; seven (each) bakers, writers, wrights and teachers; six provision merchants; five (each) fleshers, shoemakers and warehousemen; four (each) engineers, ironfounders, publishers and weavers; three (each)

accountants, colliery owners, drapers, flour millers, cork manufacturers and spirit merchants. The remaining thirty were in assorted occupations; apart from Alexander Waddel's soldier father, and Archibald Gilchrist's inn-keeping parent, none followed careers which differed significantly from the pattern identified for their sons.

138. The detailed occupational profile of Glasgow's town councillors appears on pages 692-706 of this thesis.

139. See pages 702-703, from above.

140. The other two lawyers who followed in their fathers' footsteps were Robert Grahame and George Burn Young.

141. William Brodie and James Hunter Dickson were the two other weavers' sons; the indications would suggest that like the senior Collins and Blackie, several fathers started working life as weavers, but later diversified.

142. For instance, Archibald Jeffrey Hunter - Secretary to Glasgow Trades' Council - was a baker to trade, while his son, James, was a lawyer.

143. As other examples, James Browne and Peter Clouston were cousins; Hugh Colquhoun was the uncle of James Colquhoun; Samuel McCulloch and John Morison were brothers-in-law; Robert McGavin was the father-in-law of James Moir, meaning that Moir and McGavin, junior, were brothers-in-law.

144. Maclehose (publisher), Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, vol. I, op. cit., pages 169-170, and Slaven & Checkland (eds.), op. cit., vol. I, pages 111-113.

145. See the Glasgow Herald, 23rd October 1918, for P.G. Stewart's obituary, and 30th May 1948, for Sir John Stewart's.

146. See especially T.M. Devine, The Tobacco Lords, op. cit., page 12, and Christopher C. Lee, The Victorian Business Community in Glasgow, c.1840-70, (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1985), pages 59-63.

147. Burgess-ship could be attained through marriage, if the wife's father was already an entered burgess. Thus, in 1814 Robert McGavin, senior, gained his status as "burgess and guild brethren" via his wife, Barbara, who was the daughter of James Roxburgh, of the Incorporation of Skinners. See James R. Anderson, The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846, (Edinburgh, 1931-1933), for numerous such examples.

148. Lee, op. cit., pages 61-62.

149. See pages 295-296.
150. For Gourlie's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 5th June 1856.
151. Paton's obituary appears in *ibid.*, 11th January 1867.
152. For Brodie, see *ibid.*, 22nd September 1858.
153. For the McLeans, senior and junior, see *ibid.*, 25th February 1867, and 16th September 1898.
154. Eyre-Todd (ed.), The Glasgow Poets, *op. cit.*, page 109. Agnes Brodie and Robert Lochore, *tertius*, were cousins.
155. For a feature article on Marion Blackie and her municipal endeavours, see the Glasgow Herald, 1st November 1911.
156. Alistair Lindsay, The Lairds of Barloch, 1631-1984, (Milngavie, 1984), page 30. Archibald McLellan reputedly had two illegitimate children.
157. For Anderson and his wives, see Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, *op. cit.*, page 6.
158. While it has not been possible to trace an obituary for Gilkison himself, one appears for his wife, Harriet, in the presscutting collection known as Grieve's Scrapbooks, located in the Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library. See volume 3, page 25. Like her father, Harriet Gilkison wrote poetry, and was the possessor of a beautiful singing voice. Living up to the "matronly" image of Scotswomen, she had nine children.
159. Henry Campbell-Bannerman was the son of James Campbell, born in 1836.
160. Gordon Brown, Maxton, (Fontana edition, 1988; first published 1986), pages 35-36.
161. For Alston's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 23rd November 1915. He had five daughters and four sons.
162. Samuel Chisholm appears never to have had children. However, James Moir and his wife, Martha Roxburgh McGavin, had three children - two girls and a boy - who died young, while the only child of Andrew and Patricia Orr died in infancy.
163. This information is gleaned from references in the Glasgow Herald obituary columns. The children were Alexander, Dugald, Duncan, junior, Flora, and William. Flora died aged four years and William aged eighteen months; both may have succumbed to

cholera, as their dates of death were respectively November and December 1848. McPhail, senior, was aged sixty-six at this time, and it is possible - though unlikely - that Flora and William may have been his grandchildren.

164. Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., page 79. Jane Gourlay was the youngest daughter of Duncan McPhail, and married her husband in 1899. She was Gourlay's second wife.

165. Richard Marks, Burrell: Portrait of a Collector, (Glasgow, 1983), page 185.

166. See Mitchell's obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 6th December 1881; also, The Bailie, 10th December 1873.

167. See the entry for Mitchell's home - Moore Park, Govan - in Buchanan, op. cit., pages 181-182. Mitchell sold the mansion and grounds to the Glasgow & South Western Railway at the very lucrative price of £38,000. When the second edition of The Old Country Houses of the Old Country Gentry appeared in 1878, Mitchell was still living there as a tenant.

168. For McEwen's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 18th February 1878.

169. Jackson's lengthy obituary appears in *ibid.*, 31st August 1885.

170. The number of known civic deaths from 1833 to 1848 totalled ten. In the two years 1848 and 1849 there was a total of twelve civic deaths, some of which were sudden and premature, eg. Peter Johnston and John Young, junior.

171. His home was Wallacegrove, which seems to have been in the modern Kinning Park area.

172. See the Glasgow Herald, 22nd December 1848.

173. *Ibid.*, 6th January 1849.

174. See pages 245-247.

175. See pages 737-740.

176. Helen Corr, "An Exploration into Scottish Education", in Fraser and Morris (eds.), op. cit., page 290.

177. This is a feature which has been generally identified for Glasgow's nineteenth century business community. See Lee, op. cit., pages 30-31.

178. See Blackie's obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 6th June 1906.

179. For Graham, see *ibid.*, 24th January 1901; for Scott, see *ibid.*, 19th April 1887, and The Bailie, 19th April 1876.

180. Quoted in Joseph D. Hendry, A Social History of Branch Library Development, with Special Reference to the City of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1974), page 101.

181. Hence Martin's vehement opposition to the campaign for free libraries, described in *ibid.*, pages 101-102.

182. See William Donaldson, Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction and the Press, (Aberdeen, 1986), pages 35-38, where he claims that the use of "the doric" was much more widespread than has generally been admitted.

183. W.D. Macleod Malloch, The Book of Glasgow Anecdote, (London and Edinburgh, 1913), pages 161-162.

184. Urie, *op. cit.*, page 138.

185. The Bailie, 18th March 1885.

186. See Hunter's obituary in the Glasgow Herald, 30th November 1925.

187. The most authoritative account of the origins of freemasonry in Scotland is David Stevenson's, The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710, (Cambridge, 1988). In his introduction - pages 6-7 - Stevenson sums up the diverse nature of freemasonry: "Medieval, Renaissance and Enlightenment influences had blended together to create an institution that seemed to reflect the progressive spirit of the age, with ideals of brotherhood, equality, toleration and reason. Yet even as freemasonry emerged and spread as a world-wide movement, it deversified in the most bewildering way. It seems a protean institution that changes shape and content according to circumstances and membership. It could provide an institutional framework for almost any religious or political belief ...". With reference to Glasgow's town councillors between 1833 and 1912, their freemasonry derived from the early radical tradition, with the likes of Burns and Garibaldi regarded as the great heroes of the "Craft". Freemasonry was certainly not the preserve of Conservatism in Glasgow at this time, nor was it a secret organisation, as many councillors were forthright about their masonic commitment.

188. See David Willox, Poems and Sketches, (Glasgow, 1903), pages 22-24, for an account of his masonic career. He wrote for

the Scottish Freemason under the pseudonym of "Tam McPhail".

189. Willox, Random Rhymes of Leisure Hours, op. cit., pages 154-155. The first verse is as follows:

"You may talk o' your crickets,
Your bats an' your wickets,
Your shinty as weel, an' fitba'
You may venture your purse
On the chance o' a horse:
Man, I wadna gie that -- for them a'.
Gie me a guid green,
Wi' a leal-hearted frien',
When the summer sun gladdens the sky,
An' a game at the bools,
Whaur frien'ship aye rules,
Be it either a "rink" or a "tie"."

190. W. Hamish Fraser, "Developments in Leisure", in Fraser and Morris (eds.), op. cit., page 245.

191. See pages 593-594.

192. For Richard Browne, see the Glasgow Herald, 8th February 1937, and for Hamilton Brown, see *ibid.*, 3rd April 1925.

193. Anonymous, The Life of the Late Bailie James Martin ("Oor Jeems"), op. cit., page 26. Martin was still "diving like a duck" well into his sixties.

194. See the Glasgow Herald, 15th October 1902, for the text of a letter making the sinister allegations about the Titwood Bowling Club.

195. For Bell's yachting exploits, see the Glasgow Echo, 12th August 1893, and for Moir's see The Bailie, 1st July 1908.

196. Hugh Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859-1914, (Hamden, Connecticut, 1975), pages 46-47.

197. *Ibid.*, page 98.

198. 400 Volunteers took part in the ceremony, largely because the Yeomanry - which had been originally scheduled to act as the military escort to Queen Victoria - was required to obtain a warrant from the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and this could not be obtained in time. See Tweed (publisher), Biographical Sketches of the Lord Provosts of Glasgow, op. cit., page 184.

199. For Garibaldi's popularity in Glasgow, see Janet Fyfe (ed.), Autobiography of John McAdam, (1806-1883), (Edinburgh, 1980), especially pages 66-79. McAdam was the brother of councillor William McAdam.
200. For Clark, see the Glasgow Herald, 15th September 1930; for Dreghorn, see *ibid.*, 22nd November 1875; for Forrester, see *ibid.*, 27th July 1914. Also, see Forrester's "Clydeside Cameo" portrait as "Jay Enme Effe" in Fairplay, 11th June 1886.
201. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, page 48. Between 1881 and 1899 Scottish Volunteer recruitment figures dropped from 5.5 to 4.3 per cent. of the male population aged 15-49. Elsewhere there was a general drop in recruitment, but this was much less marked than in Scotland.
202. See Marks, *op. cit.*, especially pages 58-64.
203. Maclehose (publisher), Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, *op. cit.*, vol. I, page 77.
204. *Ibid.*, page 166.
205. SRA T-MS/14, William Bankier's Estate: Trust, Disposition and Deed of Settlement, pages 10-13.
206. See pages 634-637.
207. After sustained delving, Orr's membership of the Dollar congregation of the Established Church was unearthed in the Stirling section of Hew Scott (ed.), Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae: the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation - Vol. IV, Synods of Argyll, and of Perth and Stirling, (Edinburgh, 1923), page 307.
208. See pages 65-66.
209. See pages 404-405.
210. See Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, *op. cit.*, pages 61-65. However, Brown stresses that the Established Church was a much more vigorous force than the bald figures would suggest.
211. See pages 616-617.
212. See pages 434-438.
213. Intriguingly, Guest and Irwin were both Wesleyan Methodists, which might perhaps indicate sympathies for Liberalism. For their respective, obituaries, see the Glasgow

Herald, 28th February 1927 and 18th September 1930.

214. For Dickson see The Bailie, 23rd April 1884, the Glasgow Echo, 23rd December 1893 and the Glasgow Herald, 3rd July 1917; for Filshill, see The Bailie, 10th April 1889 and the Glasgow Herald, 15th December 1897; and for Torrens, see The Bailie, 16th April 1873 and the Glasgow Herald, 23rd January 1888.

215. See pages 629-631.

216. For Osborne see The Bailie, 24th June 1874 and 10th June 1896, the Glasgow Echo, 14th October 1893 and the Glasgow Herald, 24th February 1900. It was said of Osborne in the second Bailie "Men You Know" profile: "He allies himself with no Municipal party, and while a Conservative in his political leanings, he may be said to be a Radical of the right sort as regards the Corporation and its affairs".

217. The issue of temperance was especially to the fore; see pages 640-641.

218. Glasgow Echo, 28th July 1894. For Cassell's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 17th July 1909.

219. Three Chisholmites have been identified as belonging to the Pollokshields congregation - Robert Anderson, William Pettigrew and Robert Steele. Anderson and Steele represented newly added wards in 1891.

220. Glasgow Echo, 16th June 1894. For a profile of Brown, see Rae (ed.), op. cit., pages 186-196.

221. See page 757.

222. The Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley was an Established Church minister of pro-Chartist sympathies. See also Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, op. cit., pages 189-190 for an account of Christian socialist ideas within the Church from the 1880s.

223. Glasgow Echo, 6th January 1894.

224. Ibid., 9th June 1894.

225. For Cleland, see *ibid.*, 21st July 1894; The Bailie, 21st November 1900; Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., page 42; the Glasgow Herald, 21st January 1941.

226. For the history of the Church and the contribution of luminaries such as the Blackies, see Robert Maclehose (publisher), Kelvinside United Free Church, Glasgow: A Record of

Fifty Years, 1859-1909, (Glasgow, 1909).

227. See pages 717-718.

228. McLennan was one of the driving forces behind the erection of the Martin memorial fountain on Glasgow Green. See page 625.

229. For a Chisholmite assessment of Colquhoun, see the Glasgow Echo, 24th February 1894.

230. For Stewart's obituary, see the Glasgow Herald, 23rd October 1918.

231. For Ferguson, see the Glasgow Echo, 1st September 1894; The Bailie, 22nd November 1899; the Evening Times, 24th April 1906. In the last newspaper, Ferguson's obituary describes him as an "advanced Liberal, with latterly pronounced leanings towards Labourism". Ferguson also features in Gallagher, op. cit., pages 62-63.

232. T.W. Moody, "Michael Davitt", in J.W. Boyle (ed.), Leaders and Workers, (Cork, 1969), page 54.

233. Especially Middlemass, op. cit., page 24, where the distinct impression is given that all Glasgow's Stalwarts were ILPers. More recent writers, such as Sean Damer in Glasgow: Going for a Song, (London, 1990), page 118, have made this categorical assumption, based on Middlemass's work.

234. For detailed background to the social and economic climate in Glasgow at this time, see James H. Treble, "Unemployment in Glasgow, 1903-1910: Anatomy of a Crisis", in the Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society, no. 25, 1990, pages 8-37.

235. This has been previously examined in Irene Sweeney, Municipal Politics and the Labour Party: Glasgow, 1909-1914, (unpublished BA dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1986), especially pages 35-48.

236. See especially the Glasgow Echo, 1st September 1894, for details of Ferguson's religious affiliations.

237. The two Roman Catholics were Patrick O'Hare and John Cronin, Archibald Jeffrey Hunter was the United Presbyterian, and William Forsyth was the Wesleyan Methodist.

238. For Erskine, see The Bailie, 24th March 1897 and the Glasgow Herald, 6th March 1922.

239. For Maxwell see The Bailie, 15th September 1897; Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, op. cit., page 144; the

Glasgow Herald, 7th January 1929. See also Laurence Thomson, The Enthusiasts: A Biography of John and Katharine Bruce Glasier, (London, 1971), pages 25, 32 and 98 for Maxwell's early interest in the land issue. He retained close links with Glasgow's Irish community, but his lack of religious faith occasionally caused problems in the relationship.

240. The introduction to Knox (ed.), op. cit., page 29.

241. See Forward, 5th June 1912, for the text of Allan's electoral address to the Dennistoun Ward.

242. Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, op. cit., pages 43-44.

243. For Simons see The Bailie, 8th October 1884 and 8th May 1901, and the Glasgow Herald, 21st November 1925. For Cohen see The Bailie, 5th August 1903 and the Glasgow Herald, 23rd July, 21st and 23rd August 1912. Both men feature prominently in Arnold Levy, The Origins of Glasgow Jewry, 1812-1895, (Glasgow, 1949), pages 35 and 55-56.

244. See pages 720-723.

245. Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, op. cit., page 53.

246. For the municipal population figures, see Cunnison and Gilfillan, op. cit., page 799.

247. Gallagher, op. cit., page 47.

248. See Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, Vol. X, 1809-1822, op. cit., pages 482-483, for the text of the Oath.

249. Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, op. cit., pages 35-36.

250. Ibid.

251. Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, Vol. X, 1809-1822, op. cit., pages 481-483.

252. See pages 27-28.

253. Ian A. Muirhead, "Catholic Emancipation in Scotland: Scottish Reactions in 1929", in the Innes Review, vol. XXIV,1, 1973, page 39. The Trades' Incorporations were especially hostile to the idea of Catholic emancipation.

254. Ian A. Muirhead, "Catholic Emancipation in Scotland: Debate and Aftermath", in *ibid.*, vol. XXIV, 2, 1973, pages 112-113.

255. *Ibid.*

256. Quoted in Keir, *op. cit.*, pages 28-29.

257. Cleland, Description of the Banquet in Honour of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel ..., *op. cit.*. See the list of diners between pages 113 and 139.

258. Quoted in *ibid.*, page 90.

259. League Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, 23rd February 1895.

260. Joan Smith, "Labour Tradition in Liverpool and Glasgow", in History Workshop, no. 17, 1984, pages 34-39. Smith's argument is expounded at greater length in Commonsense Thought and Working Class Consciousness: Some Aspects of the Glasgow and Liverpool Labour Movements in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century, (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1980).

261. H.G.C. Matthew, Gladstone, 1809-1874, (Oxford, 1986), page 1.

262. O'Neil seems to have left no obituary, but his personal circumstances have been traced via the Census Enumerators' Returns for 1841 and 1851, the Post Office Directories, and - most crucially, to confirm his Catholic faith - the Baptismal and Marriage Registers in the Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives, PR 1/1/1, 1/1/2, 1/1/5 and 1/1/6.

263. Indeed, when he died in 1856, he left an estate valued at £1,697. This was not a vast amount compared with the average for Glasgow's town councillors, but a comfortable amount by general standards. See SRO SC/36/48/43, page 201.

264. See McCaffrey, "Irish Immigrants and Radical Movements in the West of Scotland in the Early Nineteenth Century", *loc. cit.*, pages 51-54, for the background to Charles Bryson and his Total Abstinence Society. Bryson and O'Neil were possibly related; at all events, they were part of a closely-knit Catholic community - mostly originating from Ulster - which became relatively prosperous in Glasgow after the Napoleonic Wars. Bryson, it should be noted, was a hardware merchant to trade.

265. Quoted in *ibid.*, page 53. The context of Bryson's

statement was a letter he wrote to Bishop Andrew Scott, dated 30th January 1840, which seeks to give reassurance about the temperance activities of Catholics.

266. See Handley, *op. cit.*, pages 56-58.

267. See pages 116-117.

268. For Simpson, see page 595. William Campbell has frequently appeared in this thesis, but for reference to his philanthropic commitment, see James A. Wylie, Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843, (Edinburgh and London, n.d, but c.1893), vol. I, page 235.

269. Glasgow Herald, 9th October 1846. Jeffray had served as a resident Commissioner to the Police Board prior to 1846. This was a non-elected position, but Jeffray's presence shows - nevertheless - that the Catholic community did have more than one voice at Police Board level. Jeffray was married to O'Neil's daughter, Sarah.

270. *Ibid.*, 19th October 1846.

271. Campbell and Smith were, of course, anxious to cultivate Catholic votes. See Wylie, *op. cit.*, for a highly apocryphal account of why Catholics gave their support to Campbell.

272. See Society of St. Vincent de Paul (Province of Glasgow), Centenary Celebrations, 1848-1948, (Glasgow, 1948), for the origins of the Society in Glasgow.

273. McCaffrey, "Irish Immigrants and Radical Movements in the West of Scotland in the Early Nineteenth Century", *loc. cit.*, pages 51-52.

274. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, pages 57-58.

275. According to the 1872 Glasgow Post Office Directory, Lynch's primary business was as an undertaker and coach-hirer, but he also ran a pawnbroking concern.

276. This is explicitly stated in the Glasgow Herald, 5th November 1872.

277. Reported in *ibid.*, 28th November 1872.

278. *Ibid.*

279. See pages 648-650.

280. For Mackenzie, see the Glasgow Herald, 7th April 1893 and

the Glasgow Echo, 4th November 1893. Mackenzie had been Secretary to the Sixth Ward Committee for six years. When he was originally nominated to fill the vacancy created by the bankruptcy of John Neil - the victorious candidate of 1872 - thirty-nine as opposed to nineteen councillors voted in his favour. The unsuccessful candidate was Hugh Caldwell.

281. Ian Wood has erroneously described the "True Blue" Caldwell as an Irish Catholic. See his essay, "Irish Immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880-1906", in Ian MacDougall (ed.), Essays in Scottish Labour History, (Edinburgh, 1979), page 85. It is difficult to assess whether Caldwell would have been amused or irritated. Wood also wrongly suggests that Mackenzie was defeated in the 1893 municipal elections.

282. See *ibid.* Osborne's remarks that any Protestant elector voting for Caldwell would be "a traitor to the cause of freedom" are thus placed in context.

283. See the Glasgow Echo, 4th November 1893, for the enthusiastic reaction of the Chisholmites to Mackenzie's election.

284. See the Catholic Union, Report of the Central Committee of the Catholic Union of Glasgow and Neighbourhood for the Year 1895, Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives CU 6/2

285. For Cronin, see the Glasgow News, 26th September 1906.

286. See the Glasgow Herald, 2nd May 1907, for one particularly stormy occasion when the "triumverate" was in evidence.

287. *Ibid.*, 19th October 1910.

CONCLUSION: GLASGOW AND THE SCOTTISH
CIVIC IDENTITY

Within this thesis, it has not been possible to pull together the many diverse strands which ran through Glasgow's municipal history between 1833 and 1912, and the result has been a selective rather than a comprehensive approach to the subject. Accordingly, only a little appears in these chronicles about vital issues - such as policing, public health or finance - which merit detailed investigation in their own right, while there is no systematic analysis of the copious information available about voters and civic elections in Glasgow. Nor has the municipal bureaucracy featured particularly prominently, apart from the sometimes controversial careers of the Town Clerks and City Chamberlains. Instead, the focus has been on the councillors themselves, to ascertain the extent of their influence - individually or collectively - in shaping the city's civic reputation, and whether the common good was necessarily their foremost consideration once established in office.

Attributing motives for municipal policy can be a difficult task, especially when dealing with the complex personalities who came to govern Glasgow after the 1833 Burgh Reform Act. Yet the city's councillors were by no means unique in their civic attitudes, and it has been shown how far they were able to assimilate ideas from English cities such as Manchester and Birmingham. Moreover, as the municipalities steadily acquired undertakings and created new services, the problems associated with public administration encouraged local authorities to learn

from mutual experience and share their expertise. Above all, they became concerned to collectively defend their interests, not so much to promote any "municipal socialist" ideal, but to protect public assets, which had been painstakingly accumulated over time. This feeling of common cause was not confined to the British Isles, and developments in local government abroad - especially France, Germany and the United States - made a profound impression upon the municipal consciousness. In this context, it would be erroneous to echo John Stuart Mill's observations about the "imperfection" of local government during the nineteenth century, and categorise Glasgow's councillors as parochial or introverted.¹ In terms of their business activities and ideological influences they looked well beyond local needs and interests, and their degree of wealth revealed their high standing in the city's social hierarchy.

Indeed, throughout the entire period from 1833 to 1912, Glasgow Town Council comprised numerous leading representatives of commerce and industry in the West of Scotland. This broad experience differs significantly from the trend identified by historians like E.P. Hennock and M.J. Daunton, who suggest that from the mid-nineteenth century the participation of social élites in boroughs south of the border was substantially scaled down, allowing for periods when the lower middle classes were able to dominate civic affairs.² Not that the so-called "shopocrats" were wholly absent from Glasgow's Council Chambers,

and "Jeems" Martin can be cited as a classic example of the economist-orientated, petty-bourgeois type of civic representative. Yet an "Economist" party never gained the initiative in Glasgow, unless within the short-lived Liberal-controlled administration immediately after 1833. Indeed, despite William Collins's vocal claims to favour stricter financial management from the 1870s, the reasons for retrenchment under the Collins régime were not to do with any positive redirection of policy, but the much more practical problem of territorial consolidation and the inability of the Council to physically expand its sphere of influence. Moreover, Glasgow's civic representatives did not neglect existing services up to the 1890s, as it was during this time that a firm base was established upon which the massive gas and tramways undertakings could be developed.

Why should the Town Council have manifested such different characteristics from elsewhere? In the first instance, the 1833 Burgh Reform Act did not immediately project Glasgow into a new civic era, with the result that many continuities from the past persisted well into the nineteenth century. Thus, there was no fundamental change in the social composition of town councillors, and the influence of the bourgeois institutions remained pervasive. Above all, the municipal administration was slow to respond to change, with the Town Clerks acting as the physical embodiment of the old order. The Town Council was not

the most appropriate forum for challenges to be made to the ruling authority, because there were too many institutional obstacles in the way. Glasgow's mercantile, manufacturing and industrial élites came to use this situation to their advantage, with the abolition of Glasgow's Police Board in 1846 as a notable example of how they were able to collectively assert themselves against the challenge from the lower middle classes. Until the rise of Labour in the 1890s, they were remarkably successful in muting complaints about the expansionist direction of municipal policy, either by consciously cultivating the "shopocracy", (as did that astute operator, Sir Andrew Orr, during the 1850s), or by adopting the "economist" approach themselves, (as did another astute operator, Sir William Collins, during the 1870s).

In their endeavours to hold on to the reigns of power, Glasgow's civic rulers were responding to what T.M. Devine has described as "the uniqueness of the Scottish route to an industrial society".³ From the mid-eighteenth century Scotland was industrialising at a comparatively brisker pace than south of the border, with the result that the process of economic change had a profoundly dislocating effect on existing social structures. In terms of urban development, this was reflected in the recognition that by the 1820s Glasgow had some of the worst living conditions in the United Kingdom, and that the mechanism for servicing the city's needs had become

unmanageable. It was no coincidence that even before 1833 many Glasgow councillors had zealously embraced the Evangelical solution to society's ills, which attempted to reimpose the old community values and heal the dangerous divisions that were leading to class polarisation. As has been explained during the course of this thesis, such attitudes were to survive into the twentieth century, finding a political voice in that evangelical brand of Liberalism which used temperance as its prime focus.

Of course, material interests also played a part in ensuring the civic predominance of Glasgow's élites, and the story of Loch Katrine shows how far social needs and industrial interests were harnessed in the crusade to introduce pure water. Despite suspicions about the motives of the municipal leadership, the "shopocracy" could mount no meaningful challenge, largely because the case for an improved water supply was unanswerable. The deteriorating state of Glasgow's urban fabric was such that existing arrangements were no longer adequate, while private enterprise was not in a position to provide the massive resources required for a major new undertaking. The subsequent success of Loch Katrine set the standards for the future, because civic enterprise and community well-being became mutually identified. Whatever the sometimes questionable reality behind municipal interventionism, as in the 1866 City Improvement Trust, the urgent need for improvement was generally recognised in Glasgow, not least to restore a sense of order to

the decaying urban heartland. In this respect, Glasgow's civic rulers showed remarkable adroitness at making a loudly-proclaimed virtue out of social necessity; an ability which reflected their shrewd understanding of power politics, despite their claims about being "non-partisan" in the municipal sphere.

Glasgow's "non-partisan" tradition from 1843 was largely illusory, even though overt party considerations were seldom to the fore in civic elections up to the 1890s. While the predominance of Liberalism undoubtedly contributed to this lack of political rivalry, it must be reiterated how far politics and power were not synonymous when it came to governing Glasgow, as the basis of authority rested on factors far more complex than a simple division of party allegiances. Again, this experience differs from the prevailing trend south of the border, where it has been claimed that "... the bigger the city, the tighter the party domination was the rule".⁴ P.J. Waller suggests that the political dimension to southern affairs was intended to mute the power of local élites, who tended to remain aloof from municipal activity, but who used their position to influence Council policy from outside.⁵ Politics acted as a check to patronage in local government, but as Glasgow's élites did not share the English and Welsh propensity to shed their civic responsibilities, they did not resort to patronage in order to make their opinions known. Accordingly, Glasgow Town Council continued to rank alongside the Chamber of Commerce, trade

associations, professional societies and voluntary organisations as an integral part of the élite social structure. Power, not politics, was the central focus of all these institutions, and the Town Council was no exception.

The concern to maintain authority within the locality also explains why relatively few Glasgow councillors pursued a Parliamentary career, although it should not be construed that this signified any adherence to parochial attitudes. Power can mean much more than a seat in the House of Commons, and it should have become apparent from this thesis how far certain civic representatives were able to remain in the background, yet still wield considerable political influence. Moreover, Glasgow's civic leaders often acted as a channel for local views to be fed into central government, and vice-versa. Thus, Sir James Campbell called upon Parliamentary support in his attempt to impose the Peelite strategy for policing Glasgow during the 1840s, while Sir James Watson exploited his close friendship with Gladstone to overcome pressing municipal problems in 1872. Such men used Glasgow rather than Westminster as their sphere of operations, but not because they were boxed into a corner of parochialism: they could have easily afforded to enter Parliament, they had far more ability than many MPs, and they exercised the necessary political clout. Indeed, it can be argued that this very ability was more suited to the delicate task of governing Glasgow, with all its attendant social

problems. Councillors may have had different interests and expertise from MPs, but this does not mean to say that they were lesser men.

Yet if Glasgow manifested different characteristics from south of the border, can it be claimed that this constituted a distinctively Scottish civic identity? Scottish local government has not been so well-served as the English municipalities in terms of comparative analysis, nor are the existing studies sufficiently detailed to draw meaningful conclusions about the typicality of Glasgow in the Scottish context.⁶ On the other hand, the national dimension is important, if only because there was a degree of Scottishness inherent within municipalities like Glasgow, arising from the burghal legacy which had long pre-dated the 1707 Act of Union. Councillors had therefore little choice but to work within an institutional framework which was far more constrained than in most of the English municipalities, and which conformed to the different patterns of Scottish law. The importance of the law was symbolised by the dominating presence of Glasgow's Town Clerk, who until the 1900s retained a unique position not just in Scotland, but in the United Kingdom. The Town Clerk's status was deemed to be commensurate with the skills required for effective civic administration, once again demonstrating how far extraordinary conditions prevailed in Glasgow during the nineteenth century.

Financial considerations also helped to shape the civic identity in Scotland, where access to common good funds underpinned the viability of burghs, and local taxation was generally not such a contentious issue as in England. Significantly, the more equitable rating system north of the border meant that occupiers were expected to take responsibility for payment of rates, while in England the onus was firmly on the owners.⁷ Because of the less burdensome conditions prevailing in Scotland, there were not the same pressures from landlord-dominated ratepayers' associations to peg levels of public expenditure. Accordingly, it was not until the 1890s that any meaningful campaign against local taxation was able to get off the ground in Glasgow, with the most vociferous protesters being large commercial ratepayers rather than small rentiers. It was no coincidence that this was the group which formed the backbone of Arthur Kay's Ratepayers' Federation, latterly a tenacious opponent of municipal expansionism. After its formation in 1903, the Federation increasingly turned its attention towards the monolithic structure of Glasgow Corporation, which was growing at such a rate that it seemed to be drifting away from its urban base and in the direction of large-scale organisation. For Federation supporters, civic identity and national identity were drawing dangerously close together, as municipal enterprise continued inexorably to expand.

However much this process may have been reversed after the First World War, the national dimension never wholly disappeared from the local government agenda, and later re-emerged as a crucial consideration for the organisation of Scotland's administrative structures. Glasgow's civic history is directly relevant to current preoccupations about the government of Scotland, because between 1833 and 1912 the main rationale behind municipal policy was centralisation and territorial consolidation. While Glasgow Corporation ceased to exist in 1975, its direct heirs - Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council - came to represent the continuation of this long-held expansionist strategy. Indeed, the massive administrative entity of Strathclyde may be said to more truly reflect the spirit of the old Corporation, because of its guardianship of that most symbolic of all public utilities - the water supply. The future reorganisation of Scottish local government may reverse the process originally set in motion during the nineteenth century, with Strathclyde Regional Council succumbing to the fate of Greater London Council, and being dismantled. Alternatively, Arthur Kay's predictions during the 1900s may come to fruition, with further consolidation of local government services under the control of a Scottish Parliament.

References

1. For a discussion of Mill's views on the nature of local government, as enunciated in Representative Government, (1861), see Hennock, op. cit., pages 318-319, and Waller, op. cit., pages 288-289.
2. Hennock, op. cit., especially pages 312-316, and M.J. Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff, 1870-1914, (Leicester, 1977), especially pages 149-177. Daunton criticises Hennock's "essentially conservative analysis" because of his assumptions about élites forming "natural leadership" in local government. Daunton suggests that there was nothing inherently "natural" about élite control, and that the municipal abilities of the "shopocracy" have been underrated. However, as far as Glasgow is concerned, the "shopocracy" was consistently excluded from power, and so no comparisons can be made.
3. See the Introduction to Devine and Mitchison (eds.), op. cit., page 1.
4. Waller, op. cit., page 293.
5. Ibid., pages 292-293.
6. See David McCrone and Brian Elliott, Property and Power in a City: the Sociological Significance of Landlordism, (Basingstoke, 1989), which analyses the composition of Edinburgh Corporation between 1875 and 1975, with particular reference to the representation of property interests. However, English and Welsh patterns - as identified by historians like Hennock and Daunton - have been uncritically accepted by the authors as applying to Scottish municipal government, and there are no meaningful comparisons with Glasgow.
7. See the article, "The Rating System in Scotland", (no author credited), in London, 3rd October 1895.

GLASGOW TOWN COUNCILLORS, 1833-1912:
BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The following appendix was compiled from a variety of sources, and includes many snippets of information, gathered by chance during the course of research for this thesis. Because the material is so wide-ranging, it would have been burdensome to attach references to each biographical entry. However, a number of key sources were consulted to ascertain standard data, common to all of Glasgow's town councillors, in order to provide a meaningful framework for analysis. These, along with the other main collective sources, are cited below. The general bibliography contains other, less specific sources, plus numerous published biographies relating to individuals who served on the Council between 1833 and 1912, (eg. Sir William Burrell, Sir William Collins, "Jeems" Martin).

From the basic "core" of information, it was possible to construct a more solid profile for many of the councillors, although there was an elusive minority, who remained difficult to track down in terms of personal information. Factors - such as the removal of work and residence outwith the city, emigration abroad, or personal financial crises - undoubtedly contributed to the paucity of information about erstwhile municipal representatives. The search for these shadowy figures was not helped by the preponderance of plain Scots names among the civic fraternity; for instance, it took some time to

identify Robert McGavin, senior and junior, as two separate people. Yet, while every effort was made to disentangle the various personae, confusion persisted for the likes of William Craig and John Robertson, whose careers could not be followed through after their departure from municipal office. This does not mean to suggest that information about several William Craigs and John Robertsons was lacking, but none could be conclusively identified as the same men who were - at one point in their lives - Glasgow town councillors.

It should be stressed that not all of the available sources were consulted. Such an exercise could have easily become a life-time quest, involving much effort for minimal return, and it was felt that a halt had to be called somewhere. Given more time and opportunity, many of the gaps could have been filled in, but for the meantime, it is hoped that the existing profile - albeit incomplete - will be sufficient to give some indication of the personal circumstances surrounding all 577 Glasgow councillors serving between 1833 and 1912.

Sources 1: Civic Career

Details about the civic careers of all town councillors, ie. dates of election, length of service, positions held in the municipal hierarchy, were taken from (i) Glasgow Town Council Minutes, 1833-60, (SRA D-TC C1.1.59-68, manuscript volumes); and (ii) Glasgow Town Council & Corporation Diaries, 1860-1912, (SRA

D-TC 14.5). Among much other invaluable material, the Diaries contain the official lists of councillors, magistrates and Committees, but this information is only consistently available from 1860. Prior to this time, the Minutes were consulted for the record of elections. The Minutes were also a useful source for identifying councillors who resigned or died mid-term, and the circumstances surrounding the appointment or election of replacements.

In addition to the Council Minutes, the Glasgow Herald between 1833 and 1912 was consulted for details of the annual municipal election results. Notwithstanding the changing political bias of the newspaper, the Herald turned out to be an important source, because it had the advantage of being continuously published from 1833 to the present. As it was the only Glasgow newspaper to fall into this category, and microfilm copies are readily available on the open shelves at Glasgow University Library, it was used as a key source for accumulating much personal information about councillors. Moreover, from 1906 an index was available, although - as will be explained - this was not always a satisfactory aid in the search for biographical material.

Sources 2: Occupation and Residence

Information about the occupation, home and work addresses of town councillors was initially derived from the Minutes and

Diaries, although these sources - particularly the former - could be often unilluminating. Many councillors designated themselves simply as "merchant" or "manufacturer", giving no details of their actual line of business. To throw some light on the occupational profile, the annual Glasgow Post Office Directories were consulted for all town councillors. (Complete copies can be found in the Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library; Strathclyde Regional Archives; and Glasgow University Library.) The Directories give full addresses, a street directory, and detailed work designations. Moreover, because of the vital importance of an accurate address in the pre-telecommunications era, the Directories seem to have been kept consistently up-to-date in the information they provided.

The Directories were also used to trace the careers of councillors after they left municipal office, in order to find out if there were any changes to their occupational status; for retired councillors, they were traced back to identify the previous occupation. In the case of other councillors, whose dates of death were unknown, the final Directory listing could give an important indication of what might have happened to them. For instance, the last entry for Robert Fleming appeared in 1848, although the following year his wife, Grace, was listed as in residence at 8 India Street. The obvious inference was that Fleming had died. Subsequent checking with the list of Confirmations and Inventories at the Scottish Record Office

proved this to be the case, and the Glasgow Herald was able to reveal that Fleming was a cholera victim, his demise causing "a deep sensation throughout the city".

Sources 3: Personal Information

Personal information about the councillors - ie. birth-date, birthplace, politics, religion and date of death - was ascertained in the first instance from obituaries. Obviously, this source could not be as consistent as the Minutes, Diaries or Directories. Nevertheless, the Town Council did keep a record of obituaries between 1863 and 1891, which are listed in the Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow, although this was by no means a definitive source. Thereafter, much more detailed information was kept, and one collection proved to be invaluable; this was The Domesday Book of Glasgow: being Biographical Notes and Obituaries of Glasgow Councillors, 1890-1875, which is a scrapbook of mostly Herald obituaries, copies available in both the Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, and Strathclyde Regional Archives (SRA D-TC C8.3). Some retrospective information is contained in the Domesday Book, but on the other hand, not all councillors who died after 1890 are included, and there are some errors in recording dates of death.

To fill in the gaps, the Herald index was methodically sifted to identify individuals who slipped past the Domesday Book's various compilers. Unfortunately, the index stopped

including obituaries after the outbreak of war in 1914; the recording of death had become such a grim day-to-day event, and the index itself had become so large, that it was not until 1930 that the practice was resumed with any consistency. The list of Confirmations and Inventories was subsequently able to rectify something of the balance, but there was nevertheless still some difficulty in tracing the last whereabouts of councillors who were assumed to have died between 1914 and 1930. This was especially the case for a few pioneer Labour councillors, who did not seem to leave an estate.

An attempt was made to ascertain the value of each councillor's estate (ie. moveable property) via the Confirmations and Inventories. Up to 1876 these were listed in Sheriff Court records, located in the Scottish Record Office; after this time, annual abstracts were printed, and these can be found in both the SRO and Glasgow University's Business Records Centre. (For precise references, see the main bibliography.) Again, it should be cautioned that not all of the confirmations are lodged in the SRO, and so it cannot be assumed that failure to find an estate means that none exists. Moreover, a few councillors died outside Scotland, and so the value of their estate may be recorded elsewhere.

The list of Confirmations and Inventories was invaluable for tracing the dates of death for the early period, although by the time this source was consulted, only a minority of councillors

fell into the "unknown" category. Glasgow's great Victorian cemetery - the Necropolis - was the preferred burial place for a substantial number of town councillors, and by systematically going through Necropolis records, it was possible to find out much about the fate of certain civic leaders. Microfilm copies of the Interment Books for the Necropolis are available in the Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, while Strathclyde Regional Archives holds the Necropolis Interment Notice Books, (SRA T-MH 52/5). The Necropolis was itself visited, and the gravestone of William Taylor - ex-town councillor and jailed City of Glasgow Bank director - revealed much that was otherwise untraceable, as the unfortunate Taylor left no obituary and no estate.

As can be seen, obituaries were not available for everyone, and even those that were could be woefully inadequate in the information provided. The Herald obituary for David Dreghorn - an important town councillor - was a notable case in point, and it is not an immodest claim to suggest that a more detailed profile of Dreghorn could be written from the text of this thesis. The great heyday of the Herald obituary was between roughly 1870 and 1914; before that time, obituaries tended to dwell on the upright character of the individual, without actually saying a lot about him, while the problem after 1914 has already been explained. To fill in some of the gaps, alternative biographical sources were consulted, including other newspapers. However, the standard of obituaries tended to be no

better than those in the Herald, and often worse. (One intriguing exception was the death of the flamboyant Andrew Scott Gibson, which was treated with much sensation in the Daily Record, and not mentioned at all in the Herald.)

A more consistent source of personal information was the Census, and the Enumerators' Returns for Glasgow and environs between 1841 and 1881 are available on microfilm in the Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library. (Because of the time factor, it was not possible to consult the original sources at New Register House, Edinburgh.) As the home address for the census years had already been ascertained from the Glasgow Post Office Directories, it was simply a case of matching the two addresses, to find out the date and place of birth of the appropriate councillor. However, the Returns proved to have certain limitations; some councillors had more than one address, usually a city and a country residence, and were either not at home when the enumerator called, or had rented out their town house to a different family altogether. Even when a councillor's family was in residence, the head of household could be elsewhere; one infuriating example was the shadowy John Laughland, about whom a good deal is known about his young wife (Agnes) and children (Maggie, Emma and Alfred), but very little about the man himself. He was absent when the census was taken in 1861 and 1871, and nothing can be traced about him after 1872.

Of course, a good deal was written about certain councillors

during their lifetime, and a number of biographical collections exist, which can be consulted in the Mitchell Library. Particularly useful were the weekly "Men You Know" profiles in The Bailie, which dated from 1872 and ran through to the 1920s. (The very first "Man You Know" was Lord Provost James Watson.) Indeed, The Bailie's perceptive comments about Glasgow's civic leaders were often repeated verbatim - many years later - in Herald obituaries. The Glasgow Echo's "Our Corporation Gallery" was featured in the newspaper from January 1893 to August 1895, and gave detailed municipal profiles, very much from the Progressive, pro-temperance perspective. (The Journal of the Scottish Temperance League, in Glasgow University Library, was also useful for personal background to pro-temperance activists). The "Clydeside Cameos" column, appearing in Fairplay between 1884 and 1886, diplomatically did not name the individuals who were discussed in the magazine's sometimes withering character analysis. Fortunately, the identities are listed in a collected copy of the "Cameos", available in the Glasgow Room.

Below are listed some other useful collective sources, not previously mentioned:

- James R. Anderson, The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846, (published in six parts for the Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, between 1931 and 1933).
- Adam and Charles Black (publishers), Who Was Who, 1897-1980, six volumes, plus cumulative index, (London, 1966-81).

- George Blair, Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis, (Glasgow, 1857).
- John Buchanan, The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, (Glasgow, 1878; second edition).
- George Eyre-Todd (ed.), Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909, (Glasgow, 1909).
- Ernest Gaskell, Lanarkshire Leaders: Social and Political, (London, n.d., but c.1909).
- J. Grieve, A Series of Scrapbooks Containing Obituary Notices, six volumes, (available in the Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library).
- Historical Publishing Co., (publishers), Glasgow of Today - the Metropolis of the North: An Epitome of Results and Manual of Commerce; Businessmen and Mercantile Interests; Wealth and Growth; Historical, Statistical and Biographical, (London, 1888).
- J. Stephen Jeans, Western Worthies: A Gallery of Biographical and Critical Sketches of West of Scotland Celebrities, (Glasgow, 1872).
- William Knox (ed.), Scottish Labour Leaders, 1918-1939: A Biographical Dictionary, (Edinburgh, 1984).
- James Maclehose (publishers), Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, two volumes, (Glasgow, 1886).
- William S. Murphy, Captains of Industry, (Glasgow, 1901).
- C.A. Oakley, Our Illustrious Forbears, (Glasgow, 1980).
- Anthony Slaven & Sydney Checkland, Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960, two volumes, (Aberdeen, 1986 & 1990).
- Stratten & Stratten (publishers), Glasgow and its Environs, (London, 1891).
- John Tweed (publisher), Biographical Sketches of the Hon. the Lord Provosts of Glasgow, 1833-1883: with Appendix, (Glasgow, 1883); plus an updated version, Gowans & Gray, (publishers) The Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1902: Biographical Sketches, with a Chronological Record of the Chief Events of the City's History during that Period, (Glasgow, 1902). (It should be stressed that the biographical profiles are, by and large, verbatim

reprints of Herald obituaries, and much of the other information in these volumes is derived from the same source.)

It should also be noted that Strathclyde Regional Archives holds a number of Sederunt (or Trust) Books for individual councillors and their families, forming part of deposited records from legal firms. Sederunt Books can sometimes list minutiae like house contents; for instance, from one such Book, something was gauged of the Bankier household's predeliction for toddy drinking, piano playing and card games during the 1860s.

Note: Slightly more information appears in this biographical appendix than was used in Part 7 on the "City Fathers", although the additions are not sufficient to make any significant changes to the broad conclusions reached about councillors' circumstances and life-styles. It is safe to assume that even with the completion of this thesis, data will continue to emerge about Glasgow's 577 representatives between 1833 and 1912.

1. ADAMS, James - 16th Ward, 1873-80 (retired); Bailie, 1876-79. Born 1815, Dalkeith, Midlothian. Came to Glasgow in his early twenties, and set up business as a timber merchant under the firm of James Adams & Co., Tradeston Saw Mills. A Congregationalist, he belonged to the Elgin Place and latterly Hillhead congregations. Died 25/8/1889; his estate has not been traced.

2. AIKMAN, Thomson - 8th Ward, 1856-58; Depute River Bailie, 1857-58 (resigned). Born 1816, Clackmannan. Came to Glasgow in 1830, and fifteen years later founded the firm which latterly became Thomson Aikman & Co., commission merchants. He had extensive trading links with Peru and Chile, and was the leading broker in Scotland for nitrate of soda (guano). A United Presbyterian, and elder of Dowanhill Church, he was initially a strong Liberal supporter, but switched to support for Unionism. Died 16/1/1893; estate, £634.

3. AITKEN, John - 13th Ward, 1847-56 (defeated). Born 1790, Glasgow. A medical practitioner, he was the first doctor to be elected to Glasgow Town Council. Prior to 1846 he had been a prominent member of Glasgow Police Board. A Liberal, he latterly manifested strong pro-temperance sentiments. Died 27/12/1861; estate, £414.

4. ALEXANDER, Edward, jun. - 13th Ward, 1862-65 (retired). Born 1823, Glasgow. A Latin American merchant & agent, dealing in metals and nitrates. The firm was latterly designated Edward Alexander & Sons. In politics Alexander was a Liberal. Neither he nor his family can be traced in Glasgow after 1883.

5. ALEXANDER, Hugh - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1898-1906 (defeated); 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1912-15 (retired); Deacon Convener, 1915-17; Bailie, 1902-03. Born 1855, Mauchline, Ayrshire. Settled in Glasgow in 1884, and established the firm of H. & A.G. Alexander & Co. Ltd, Rutherglen, specialising in the manufacture of light folding chairs. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Dalmarnock congregation, and was an active Liberal, identified with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. As such, he was defeated by Andrew Scott Gibson (q.v.) in 1906. He represented the Incorporation of Wrights as Deacon Convener. Died 10/7/1917; estate, £41,176.

6. ALEXANDER, James - 12th Ward, 1888-96 & 14th/Sandyford Ward, 1896-1912 (retired); Bailie, 1892-96; Master of Works, 1907-08. Born 1837, Leadhills, Lanarkshire, where he had life-long family

and business connections. Came to Glasgow in 1860, and eventually became head of the long-established firm of J. Buchanan & Co., coach and motor car builders, North Street, Anderston. Understandably, his business experience was of considerable practical use on the Tramways Committee during the 1890s. An elder of Anderston Free Church, he was an active Liberal, identified with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 16/3/1924; estate, £119,758.

7. ALGIE, Matthew - 19th Ward, 1891-92 (retired). Born 1814, Cathcart, Renfrewshire. Head of the highly successful firm of Matthew Algie & Co, wholesale tea merchants, established in 1864. He was involved for some years in Renfrew County Council affairs, prior to his election to Glasgow Corporation. An active Liberal. Died 5/4/1906; estate, £17,571.

8. ALLAN, William - 2nd Ward, 1842-46 & 10th Ward, 1846-50 (resigned); 16th Ward, 1854-57 & 8th Ward 1857-60 (defeated); re-elected to the 8th Ward, 1861-67 (retired). Born 1801, Glasgow. Initially with his father's firm of William Allan & Sons, ham curers and purveyors of preserved provisions, he established Allan & Poynter's, bonded and free warehousekeepers and customs agents in 1845. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he was an elder of the John Street congregation. Died 9/8/1867; estate, £4,149.

9. ALSTON, James - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1904-15 (died); River Bailie, 1909-10; Bailie, 1910-13. Born 1856, Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire. Came to Glasgow in 1879, where he worked for some years in the catering trade before becoming proprietor of Alston's Tea Rooms, Ingram Street and Main Street, Bridgeton. He was active in the movement for land reform during the 1880s, and a consistent supporter of the taxation of land values. An ILP member, Alston had been selected as prospective Labour candidate for the Camlachie Parliamentary constituency shortly before his death. His grandson, John Alston Maxton, was elected Labour MP for Cathcart in 1979. Died 22/11/1915; estate, £363.

10. ANDERSON, George - 1st Ward, 1842-45 (retired); 15th Ward, 1848 (retired). Born 1801, Forgan, Fife. Head of the firm of George Anderson & Co, whitelead, colour and cement manufacturers, Gallowgate. A Liberal, he was active in the anti-Corn Law campaign. His date of death, sometime after 1872, has not been traced.

11. ANDERSON, Sir James [of Blairvadie] - 2nd Ward, 1841-46 &

6th Ward, 1846-54 (retired); Bailie, 1842-45; Master of Works, 1845-46; Lord Provost, 1848-51. Born 1800, Stirling. Came to Glasgow in 1815, and eventually set up business with his younger brother under the firm of J. & A. Anderson, gingham and pullicate manufacturers. A member of the United Secession / United Presbyterian Church, and elder of the Grayfriars Street congregation, he was strongly identified with the Evangelical Alliance. An active Liberal, he sat as MP for Stirling Burghs between 1852 and 1859. While on the Town Council Anderson was a leading figure in the campaign to bring Loch Katrine water to the city, under municipal control. He was knighted in 1849, on the occasion of the Queen's first visit to Glasgow. Died 8/5/1864; estate, £25,788.

12. ANDERSON, James Wallace - 7th Ward, 1860-69 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1864-65; River Bailie, 1865-66; Bailie, 1866-69. Born 1821, Airdrie, Lanarkshire. A partner in the firm of Anderson & Gray, muslin manufacturers, Queen Street. In politics he was a Liberal supporter. He seems to have left Glasgow in 1869, and his subsequent whereabouts have not been traced.

13. ANDERSON, John - 1st Ward, 1848-49 (died). Born 1796, Glasgow. Anderson was a retired paymaster and purser with the Royal Navy. He succumbed to cholera and died on 5/1/1849, at the height of the epidemic, after serving only a few weeks as town councillor. Estate, £3,211.

14. ANDERSON, Robert - 18th Ward, 1891-96 & 11th/Blythswood Ward, 1896-1911 (defeated); Bailie, 1896-1900; Master of Works, 1906-07. Born 1846, Glasgow. Commenced business with his brother in 1870, under the firm of J. & R. Anderson, painters and decorators. He served as a Commissioner for the Police Burgh of Crosshill, prior to the district's annexation to Glasgow in 1891. A United Presbyterian, and member of the Pollokshields congregation, he was a Liberal of strong pro-temperance views, allied with the Council's Progressive group. Died 22/5/1916; estate, £3,709.

15. ANDERSON, William Fleming - 15th Ward, 1892-96 & 19th/Gorbals Ward, 1896-1913 (retired); River Bailie, 1896-97; Bailie, 1897-1901. Born 1855, Glasgow. In 1870 he entered his father's business of James B. Anderson, hat and cap manufacturer, which later became W.F. Anderson & Bros., Ltd. A United Presbyterian, connected with the Caledonia Road and Thornliebank congregations, he was an active Liberal, zealous temperance campaigner, and leading member of the Council's

Progressive group. In 1909 Anderson was awarded damages against councillor Andrew Scott Gibson (q.v.), after the latter had impugned his character by accusing him of drunkenness. Died 22/1/1915; estate, £2,270.

16. ARTHUR, William Rae - 1st Ward, 1857-71 (resigned): Depute River Bailie, 1858-59; River Bailie, 1859-60; Bailie, 1860-63; Treasurer, 1866-69; Lord Provost, 1869-71. Born 1818, Glasgow. In 1838 he joined the firm of Muir, Brown & Co., manufacturers, turkey-red dyers and calico printers, Dalmarnock, becoming a partner and eventually its head. He was a member of the Established Church and a Conservative. In 1871 Arthur was forced to give up office as Lord Provost due to his firm's financial difficulties. Died 3/9/1897; estate, £237.

17. BAIN, Sir James - 12th Ward, 1863-77 (retired); Bailie, 1870-74; Lord Provost, 1874-77. Born 1817, Glasgow. In 1835 he became a clerk with William Baird & Co., coal and iron masters, and rose to become the firm's general manager. He left Baird's in 1863, and acquired the Harrington Iron Works, near Whitehaven, Cumberland, also leasing the Whitehaven Colliery. Despite his business base being south of the border, Bain continued to live in Glasgow. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Sandyford congregation. Although a life-long Conservative, his idiosyncratic views - eg. support for female suffrage and temperance reform - often placed him at odds with the party leadership. After standing unsuccessfully for the Glasgow Parliamentary constituency in 1880, he was returned as MP for Whitehaven from 1891-92. Knighted in 1877, he died 25/4/1898. Estate, £285,473.

18. BAIN, John [of Morriston] - 2nd Ward, 1836-39 (defeated); 4th Ward, 1840-43 (retired); re-elected to 6th Ward, 1854-59 (retired). Bailie, 1836-37 and 1840-43. Born 1797, Glasgow. Involved in numerous business interests - eg. he was one of the original partners in the Cunard Company - but appears to have invested particularly heavily in the Clydesdale Chemical Company, Cambuslang. This concern hit financial difficulties after 1857, and he withdrew from public life, living in retirement in Bridge of Allan. A zealous Church of Scotland Evangelical up to 1843, he thereafter committed himself to the Free Church. Died 20/12/1869; his estate has not been traced.

19. BAIN, John - 5th Ward, 1848-51 (defeated). Born 1796, Perth. A grain dealer and provision merchant, of John Bain & Sons, Stockwell Street. He was active in the Spirit Dealers' Defence Committee, formed in 1850 to counter Town Council

stringency over public house licensing. His date of death, sometime after 1856, has not been traced.

20. BAIRD, Alexander [of Urie] - 3rd Ward, 1841-43 (resigned); River Bailie, 1841-43. Born 1799, at his father's farm of High Cross and Kirkwood, Old Monkland, Lanarkshire. The third of the seven Baird brothers who established the firm of William Baird & Co., coal and iron merchants, Gartsherrie Iron Works, near Coatbridge. Baird's began its phenomenal expansion during the 1820s, extending its sphere of operations into Ayrshire from the 1840s. Alexander Baird was based in Glasgow, dealing directly with the distributive side of business, although he had numerous other financial interests. He also had the reputation of being a Glasgow "character", noted for his down-to-earth sense of humour. A staunch Conservative and stalwart of the Established Church, he died on 24/2/1862, bequeathing a settlement of £20,000 for charitable and religious purposes. Estate, £631,723.

21. BAIRD, Robert [of Auchmeddon] - Dean of Guild, 1854-56. Born 1806, like his brother Alexander (q.v.), at the farm of High Cross and Kirkwood, Old Monkland, Lanarkshire. The fifth of the Baird brothers, he trained as a lawyer, but devoted his energies to the administrative management of William Baird's Glasgow office. He shared his family's strong ideological commitment to Conservatism and the Established Church. Again like Alexander, he remained a life-long bachelor, and died 7/8/1856. Estate, £189,465.

22. BANKIER, William - 2nd Ward, 1833-46 & 9th Ward, 1846-54 (retired); Bailie, 1835-36 & 1851-52; Treasurer, 1847-50. Born 1793, Campsie, Stirlingshire. After settling in Glasgow, he entered into partnership with John Ure of Croy Ure (q.v.), under the firm of Ure & Bankier, calenderers, Montrose Street. From 1837 he took over the management of John Dennistoun & Co.'s Bridgeton Cotton Works. Indeed, he seems to have been related by marriage to the Dennistouns, his wife being Margaret Dennistoun. As well as being a Glasgow town councillor, he was the Chief Magistrate in Calton immediately prior to the burgh's annexation by the city in 1846. A dedicated Liberal, he was a member of the Relief / United Presbyterian Church. Bankier was an early advocate of bringing Glasgow's water and gas supplies under municipal control. Died 24/2/1864; estate, £4,535.

23. BANNERMAN, Walter - Deacon Convener, 1867-69; 5th Ward, 1869-75; Bailie, 1872-75 (retired). Born 1806, Glasgow. He was originally a partner in the firm of Miller & Bannerman, wrights,

builders and packing box makers, but from the 1870s was extensively engaged as a land and property valuator. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Wrights. Died 7/8/1879; estate, £21,965.

24. BARRIE, James - 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1906-20 & 7th/Dennistoun Ward, 1920-26 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1911-12; Bailie, 1912-15; Treasurer, 1917-20; Master of Works, 1923-24. Born 1862, Glasgow. Qualified as a solicitor in 1885, and became senior partner in the Glasgow law firm of Martin & Barrie. His main claim to fame was his involvement with the savings movement in Scotland, for which he was awarded the CBE. Died 31/7/1932; estate, £9,758.

25. BATTERSBY, John - 14th Ward, 1891-96 & 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1896-1920 (retired); Bailie, 1896-99; Master of Works, 1909-1910. Born 1839, Glasgow. Started his working life as a printer and compositor, employed for many years with the Glasgow Courier and Evening Citizen. In due course he became active in the Scottish Typographical Association, of which he was Secretary between 1874 and 1886. He was also Chairman of the Glasgow Trades' Council, and presided over the TUC when it met in Glasgow in 1875. A dedicated United Presbyterian, belonging to the London Street congregation, he was full-time Secretary of the Disestablishment Council for Scotland from 1886. A prominent Liberal, and zealously pro-temperance, Battersby was a leading figure in the Council's Progressive group. Died 7/3/1922; estate, £949.

26. BEITH, James - 3rd Ward, 1833-34 (defeated). Date & place of birth unknown. Listed simply as a "manufacturer", with the firm of Thorburn, Beith & Co., his interest was probably textiles. Beith was a dedicated Liberal. Died 11/10/1840; estate, £1,995.

27. BELL, David [of Blackhall] - 1st Ward, 1840-45 (retired); Master of Works, 1842-45. Born 1792, Glasgow. He was head of his own business as a gingham and pullicate manufacturer, but retired at a relatively early age. However, he retained other financial interests, and was actively involved as one of the promoters of Glasgow's Stock Exchange, which opened in 1844. Bell took a keen interest in West End Park during the 1850s, and contributed financially towards the development of the Kelvingrove site. A radical Liberal, he was a friend of William Cobbett, and greatly admired Cobbett's philosophy. Died 21/6/1863; estate, £1,595.

28. BELL, Sir James - 8th Ward, 1890-96 (retired); Lord Provost, 1892-96; Dean of Guild, 1898-1900. Born 1850, Glasgow. His father, John Bell, was a successful city merchant, and Bell, junior, consolidated the family fortunes with his brother, Henry, as partners in the firm of Bell Brothers & McLelland, steamship owners, brokers and coal exporters. Bell's rise to municipal honours was rapid, becoming Lord Provost after only two years service as an ordinary councillor. He helped steer the Town Council through a period of major administrative reorganisation prior to 1896, and was re-elected to the Lord Provostship during this time, for the sake of continuity. He was the only occupant of the civic chair to achieve this distinction between 1833 and 1912. Bell did not stress his political allegiances while on the Council, but he was a Unionist, latterly identifying with Conservatism. His religious affiliations were to the Established Church. He received a Baronetcy in 1895. Died 13/12/1929; estate, £291,551.

29. BERTRAM, Peter - 9th Ward, 1879-88 (retired); Bailie, 1882-85. Born 1823, Glasgow. Head of his own extensive business as a manufacturing, export and wholesale stationer. An active Liberal, and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Dowanhill congregation. Died 21/11/1891; estate, £15,562.

30. BILSLAND, Sir William - 13th Ward, 1886-96 & 13th/Anderston Ward, 1896-1908 (retired); Bailie, 1891-94; Lord Provost, 1905-08. Born 1847, Ballat, Stirlingshire, although he lived for much of his youth in the Vale of Leven. On leaving school, he came to Glasgow, where he was apprenticed to the grocery and provision trade. After nine years, he started a bakery business on his own, assuming his three brothers as partners. The enterprise eventually developed into the highly successful bread-making firm of Bilsland Brothers, Hyde Park Bakery, Anderston. He later also became a partner in Gray, Dunn & Co., biscuit manufacturers, of Kinning Park. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Woodlands Road congregation. Of strong pro-temperance views, he was allied with the Council's Progressive group. Died 27/8/1921; estate, £50,000.

31. BINNIE, John - 16th Ward, 1856-62 (retired). Born 1812, Glasgow. Following in his father's footsteps, he became a wright, timber merchant and - ultimately - a property valuator, based in the Laurieston and Tradeston district. Although for many years active in Gorbals affairs, he was latterly based in the Ibrox district, near Govan. Politically he was a strong Liberal supporter. Died 17/3/1868; estate, £8,239.

32. BIRRELL, Alexander - 9th Ward, 1866-69 (resigned). Born 1812, Kennoway, Fife. Initially with the firm of Walter Birrell & Co., textile manufacturers, Mile-End, he was later associated with Crawford, Easton & Co., calenderers and packers, Buchanan Street. Died 21/9/1880; his estate has not been traced.

33. BLACK, James - 2nd Ward, 1850-52 (resigned). Born 1811, Calton, then outside Glasgow. Belonged to the family firm of J. & H. Black, bakers, Gallowgate. A radical Liberal. Died 26/8/1857; estate, £2,718.

34. BLACKIE, John, jun. - 7th Ward, 1857-60 & 6th Ward, 1860-66 (defeated); Bailie, 1859-63; Lord Provost, 1863-66. Born 1805, Glasgow. On leaving school he joined the bookselling and publishing business commenced by his father in 1809, and in 1826 was admitted as a partner. Five years later the firm became solely a family affair, under the designation of Blackie & Son. Like his father, Blackie was an Evangelical in religion, and allied himself with the Free Church in 1843. His politics evolved from youthful support for Peelite Conservatism into Gladstonian Liberalism. Throughout his life he was fired with a determination to open out the slum areas of Glasgow's city centre, hence his instrumental rôle in the creation of the City Improvement Trust. Controversy surrounded the project from its inception, and he was defeated by James Leitch Lang (q.v.) in the highly publicised municipal election of 1866. Brother of W.G. Blackie (q.v.), he was married to Agnes Gourlie, sister of William (q.v.). Died 12/2/1873; estate, £84,683.

35. BLACKIE, Walter Graham - Dean of Guild, 1885-87. Born 1816, Glasgow. He was given an academic training, first at Glasgow University, then at the Universities of Leipzig and Jena; like Karl Marx, he took his Doctorate at the latter University. After his studies, he joined his father and elder brother John (q.v.) in the family publishing firm of Blackie & Son, taking a particular interest in topographical and educational publications. A founding member of Kelvinside Free Church, Blackie was a staunch Liberal. Active in numerous public bodies, he was a keen promoter of higher education, serving as clerk to Glasgow University's Council for some years. Married to Marion Brodie, daughter of William (q.v.); in 1911 his daughter, also Marion, was one of the first women to stand for municipal office in Glasgow. Died 5/6/1906; estate, £128,882.

36. BLAIR, Hugh - 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1900-03 (defeated). Born 1858, Edinburgh. He came to Glasgow as a young man, and for

many years carried out his own business in the Spoutmouth as a boot and shoe manufacturer. Died 26/10/1925; estate £412.

37. BLYTH, Thomas - Deacon Convener, 1865-67. Born 1808, Shoreham, Sussex, of Scottish parents. Head of a substantial boot and shoe making business; hence his Trades' House involvement with the Incorporation of Cordiners. Died 15/5/1875; estate, £29,638.

38. BOGLE, James - 5th Ward, 1838-44 (retired); Dean of Guild, 1846-48; 14th Ward, 1849-52 (retired); River Bailie, 1840-41; Bailie, 1841-44 & 1850-52. Born 1804 at Gilmorehill, near Glasgow. Came from a well-established Glasgow mercantile family, which had made its fortune in the West India trade. Following a University education, and some time touring the Continent, he became a partner in the firm which eventually became Bogle, Douglas & Co., East India merchants. A staunch Conservative and Evangelical, Bogle remained with the Established Church in 1843. Died 3/5/1855; estate, £14,177.

39. BOGUE, Robert Alexander - Deacon Convener, 1877-79. Born 1821, Glasgow. Starting his working life as an apprentice to Robert Paterson, tailor and clothier, he became a partner and ultimately sole proprietor of the firm, which latterly traded under the name of R.A. Bogue & Co. Bogue's specialised in military, naval, hunting and livery suits. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, Bogue belonged to the John Street congregation. As Deacon Convener, he represented the Incorporation of Tailors. Died 7/10/1888; estate, £4,882.

40. BORLAND, William - 22nd/Langside Ward, 1903-10 (retired); Bailie, 1907-10. Born 1839, Ochiltree, Ayrshire. Of a farming family, he came to Glasgow as a boy, and entered the long-established firm of Moses McCulloch & Co., ironfounders, Gallowgate. He later launched his own business, under the name of William Borland & Co., City Iron Foundry, specialising in the manufacture of hearths, grates, and fire ranges. Initially a member of John Street United Presbyterian Church, he was latterly connected with the Queen's Park congregation. Died 4/2/1922; estate, £18,158.

41. BOSTOCK, Edward Henry - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1908-11 (resigned). Born 1858, Stoney Stratford, Buckinghamshire. His parents toured the country as proprietors of Bostock & Wombwell's Travelling Menagerie, and from the age of eleven Bostock accompanied them. Acquiring the business in 1889, he

became interested in establishing a permanent Zoo and Circus in Scotland, and consequently moved north in 1897 where he opened the Glasgow Hippodrome. Although he abruptly left city in 1911, due to the failure of his "Great American Jungle" enterprise, he returned to Glasgow in 1917. Along with his son he was responsible for launching the Corporation's famous Kelvin Hall Circus, and he latterly became known as one of Glasgow's leading showmen. A member of the Episcopal Church, Bostock died 17/9/1940; estate, £58,257.

42. BOW, William - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1898-1903 (retired). Born 1851, Govan, then outside Glasgow. Founded the firm of Bow's Emporium, complete house furnishers, High Street, in 1873. The company was incorporated in 1908, with Bow as chairman; he was also chairman of R. Wylie Hill & Co., Ltd, and the two firms merged in 1947. A Liberal, Bow identified with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. He was a member of Chalmers Free Church, Uddingston, where he lived for most of his life. Died 27/8/1942; estate, £28,267.

43. BOWMAN, David - 15th Ward, 1884-92 (defeated); River Bailie, 1889-90; Bailie, 1890-92. Born 1827, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. A house painter and decorator to trade, he incurred the wrath of the pro-temperance lobby in 1892, and was defeated by them in the municipal poll. A Liberal Unionist, he was a member of the Free Church. Died 17/5/1903; estate, £1,160.

44. BOYD, James - 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1902-05, 1902-05 (died). Born 1853, Belfast. Apprenticed as a cork-cutter in Glasgow, Boyd became active in trade union affairs. He was connected for many years with the Trades' Council, and latterly served as President. From 1880 he was involved full-time with the British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners Friendly Society, becoming its "Grand Secretary" three years later. Died 13/9/1905; estate £296.

45. BOYD, Thomas - 14th Ward, 1854-58 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1856-57; River Bailie, 1856-58. Born 1796, Eastwood, Renfrewshire. A calico printer, his firm latterly traded under the name of T. Boyd, Sons & Hamel. He was a committed Liberal, who openly stated that he belonged to no religious denomination. Died 9/1/1883; estate, £23,512.

46. BRAND, Robert - 2nd Ward, 1837-42 (resigned). Born 1801, Milnathort, Kinross-shire. A silk, gauze and crêpe manufacturer, he was head of the firm of Robert Brand & Co.,

Ingram Street. A Liberal, and free trade activist, Brand disappeared from trace in Glasgow after 1846.

47. BRECHIN, Hugh - 3rd Ward, 1886-96 & 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1896-1910 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1890-91; Bailie, 1891-94; Master of Works, 1891-92. Born 1846, Kilsyth, Stirlingshire, now Dunbartonshire. Came to Glasgow in 1862, joining his elder brothers in the family business of Brechin Brothers, fleshers, which grew into one of the largest suppliers of butchers' meat in the city. His trade knowledge was particularly useful on the Committees dealing with the Town Council's marketing and slaughtering arrangements. A staunch member of the Established Church, he belonged to the Townhead and Titwood congregations. Although a Liberal supporter, he showed some sympathy for Unionism, and was accused by the pro-temperance lobby of "wobbling" over his teetotal commitment. Died 25/7/1915; estate, £15,467.

48. BREEZE, George Brodie - 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1903-06 (retired). Born 1858, Maryhill, then outside Glasgow. Son of James Breeze, who had made his fortune as a Latin American merchant, and was colloquially known in Glasgow as "Santie Jim" or "Santiago Jim". The family home was Balgray Tower, Springburn; one of the city's most unusual villas, of considerable architectural character. The younger Breeze had his own business as a wholesale hardware merchant and shipper, based in the Trongate. Brother of John Breeze (q.v.), he shared the same Liberal, pro-temperance views. His date of death, sometime after 1925, has not been traced.

49. BREEZE, John - 25th Ward, 1891-93 (died). Born 1852, Copiapó, Chile; brother of George Brodie Breeze (q.v.). Coming to Glasgow as a child, he was always in delicate health, and spent some years in Australia and the United States in an effort to build up his strength. Back in Scotland, he trained as a lawyer, becoming a partner in the firm of Breeze & Paterson, writers. A Liberal, and active temperance campaigner, Breeze died suddenly, 21/10/1893. Estate, £539.

50. BROCK, Henry - 3rd Ward, 1833-39 (resigned); Treasurer, 1836-39. Born 1796, Glasgow. Son of Walter Brock, a prominent city merchant and activist in the political reform movement of the 1780s and 1790s. Brock continued the family tradition - albeit in a more moderate capacity - as a leading member of the "Clique" group of Whiggishly inclined councillors. An accountant to trade, with a formidable financial reputation, he was one of the founders of the Glasgow Savings Bank in 1836,

becoming manager of the newly inaugurated Clydesdale Bank in 1839. He was a committed member of the Established Church. Died 8/11/1852; estate, £9,582.

51. BRODIE, William [of Endrickbank] - 3rd Ward, 1839-41 (defeated) & 1842-46; 16th Ward, 1846-49 (defeated) & 1851-54 (retired); Bailie, 1844-46. Born 1784, Glasgow. Head of the firm of William Brodie & Co., merchants and textile manufacturers, he was a close business associate of William McLean of Plantation (q.v.), sharing the same Liberal politics. Father-in-law of W.G. Blackie (q.v.), Brodie was related by marriage to Robert Lochore (q.v.). Died 20/9/1858; estate, £13,080.

52. BROWN, Alexander - 12th Ward, 1846-50 (resigned); Bailie, 1847-50. Born 1791, birthplace unknown, although outside Glasgow. Head of the firm of Alexander Brown & Co., merchants and cotton manufacturers, based in Hutchesontown and Port Dundas. Died 17/1/1851; estate, £11,673.

53. BROWN, Alexander - 15th/Park Ward, 1896-1904 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1899-1900; Bailie, 1901-04. Born 1836, Stranraer, Wigtownshire. Came to Glasgow as a youth, where he worked for the North British Railway Co. as superintendent of the Grain Department. After twenty-five years he set up his own business of Alexander Brown & Sons, property agents, valuers and factors; he was also an agent for the Commercial Bank. Brown was an active Conservative, and a long-standing member of the St. John's Wesleyan Methodist Church, Sauchiehall Street. Died 4/9/1906; estate, £7,897.

54. BROWN, Boyd Stewart - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1896-1900 (defeated). Date & place of birth unknown. A tobacconist, stationer and newsagent, allied with the "Stalwart" group of pro-labour councillors, he was a mysterious figure, who tried to resign from the Corporation in 1897. He seems to have left Glasgow after 1900, and his subsequent career cannot be traced.

55. BROWN, George - 10th Ward, 1851-53 (resigned). Born 1800, Glasgow. A manufacturing chemist, working for Charles Tennant & Co. of St. Rollox, Brown had lived for some years in England before returning north of the border during the 1840s. He seems to have retired from Tennant's in 1853, and disappears from trace in Glasgow after 1857.

56. BROWN, Hamilton - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1909-20 & 2nd/Parkhead Ward, 1920-25 (died); Bailie, 1915-18. Date of birth unknown, although a Glaswegian. A zealous temperance campaigner, he was employed as a Branch Secretary of the Rechabites Temperance Friendly Society. Entered the Corporation in 1909 by default, replacing the recently bankrupted Andrew Scott Gibson, (q.v.). Initially allying himself with the Progressive group, Brown became quickly disenchanted, and thereafter was a Labour supporter. A keen amateur footballer in his youth, he played for the Clyde Club, and was serving as a Club director at the time of his death on 2/4/1925. Estate, £3,216.

57. BROWN, Hugh - Dean of Guild, 1894-96. Born 1832, Millport, Buteshire. He came from a long-established Glasgow mercantile family, and his father - also Hugh - was a successful muslin manufacturer. Although connected with the firm in his youth, he retired after his father's death to devote his attentions to other business pursuits. In this capacity he was director of numerous companies, including the Caledonian Railway Co. and Clydesdale Bank. Brown was noted as a philanthropist, and a member of St. Peter's Free Church. In politics, he was said to have played "no prominent part". Died 5/10/1906; estate, £128,476.

58. BROWN, James - 8th Ward, 1856-81 (retired); Bailie, 1856-62 & 1863-65; Treasurer, 1869-71. Born 1810, Newmilns, Ayrshire. Established the firm of James & Thomas Brown, wholesale tea and coffee dealers and fruit importers, along with his brother in 1837. For many years he was Convener of the Town Council's Water Committee. Died 5/3/1888; his estate has not been traced.

59. BROWN, John - 3rd Ward, 1871-74 (retired). Born 1832, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Head of his own business as a lithographic writer, artist and engraver. He was promoted by the drinks' trade in the 1871 municipal elections. Brown's date of death, sometime after 1918, has not been traced.

60. BROWN, Robert Somerville - 13th/Anderston Ward, 1900-20 & 14th/Anderston Ward, 1920-23 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1904-05; Bailie, 1905-09; Master of Works, 1914-15. Date and place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of Robert S. Brown & Co., accountants and licensed valuers. He was an active Unionist. Died 1/3/1927; estate, £2,878.

61. BROWN,- William [of Kilmardinny] - Dean of Guild, 1856-38;

4th Ward 1838-41 (resigned). Born 1792, Glasgow. He inherited his father's oil and colour business, which he continued under the name of William Brown & Co. Much influenced in his youth by Thomas Chalmers, Brown joined the Free Church in 1843, and was thereafter associated with the Free St. George's congregation. In politics he had early sympathies for Peelite Conservatism, but his later allegiances remain unknown. Died 25/9/1884; estate £6,298.

62. BROWN, William - 5th Ward, 1861-64 (defeated) & 1865-69 (defeated); 4th Ward, 1869-70 (defeated); 1st Ward, 1875-82 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1863-67; River Bailie, 1868-69; Bailie, 1869-70. Born 1808, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Senior partner of Brown, Downes & Co., wholesale grocers and tea merchants, originally based in the Gallowgate. On moving to larger premises the firm added papermaking to its list of activities. Brown was a devoted United Presbyterian and founder member of the Kent Road congregation, where his brother, Joseph, was minister. Both were outspoken Liberals and leading members of the Scottish Temperance League; as a result, Brown faced several electoral clashes with the pro-drinks' lobby during his municipal career. Died 15/4/1882; his estate has not been traced.

63. BROWNE, James - Dean of Guild, 1838-40. Born 1784, Mauchline, Ayrshire. A partner in the firm of Bennett, Browne & Co., insurance brokers, along with his cousin, Peter Clouston (q.v.). Browne was an Established Churchman, associated with the Conservative-Evangelical Alliance. Died 9/2/1845; estate, £32,363.

64. BROWNE, Richard - 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1896-1907 (retired); Bailie, 1901-04. Born 1857, Glasgow. The son of George Browne, former Chief Magistrate of Crosshill Burgh, he was sole partner in the firm of David Stirrat & Son, coachbuilders, Port Dundas, originally founded in 1783. Browne took over the business in 1882. In politics he was a Liberal, closely allied to the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. A sports enthusiast, he was connected with Queen's Park Football Club, and in 1886 served as President of the Scottish Football Association. Brother-in-law of William Primrose (q.v.). Died 6/2/1937; his estate has not been traced.

65. BROWNLIE, John - 2nd Ward, 1873-75 (resigned). Born 1827, Glasgow. A partner in the East End bakery firm of Brownlie & Nish, he stood for the Council as a pro-temperance candidate in 1873. He died on 11/6/1885 in dramatic circumstances; his body

was found at the entrance to the Bishopton railway tunnel, the result - it was suggested - of falling from a passing train. Estate, £4,816.

66. BROWNLIE, Thomas - Deacon Convener, 1844-46; 16th Ward, 1849-52 (defeated). Born 1801, Glasgow. A builder and contractor to trade, Brownlie represented the Incorporation of Masons as Deacon Convener. He was a Conservative supporter. Died 25/10/1865; his estate has not been traced.

67. BRYCE, Andrew Stewart - 2nd Ward, 1879-81 (defeated). Born 1833, Glasgow. Bryce ran his own business as a drysalter, oil and tallow merchant, based at the Glenpark Oil Works. A Liberal, he stood as a pro-temperance candidate in the municipal elections of 1879. Died 3/1/1918; estate, £4,309.

68. BRYCE, John Morison - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1911-20 & 17th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1920-22 (defeated); Bailie, 1916-19. Born 1855, Glasgow. He inherited the family business of Morison Bryce & Son, upholsterers, cabinetmakers and carpet warehousemen, Sauchiehall Street. An Established Churchman, associated with the Baldernock congregation, Bryce was a director of the Abstainers' Union and connected with numerous philanthropic organisations. Died 6/1/1925; estate, £17,480.

69. BRYSON, Robert - 3rd Ward, 1843-46 & 5th Ward, 1846-50 (retired); 10th Ward, 1856-59 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1844-45; River Bailie, 1845-46; Bailie, 1846-47 & 1849-50. Born 1796, Houston, Renfrewshire. A merchant and cotton broker, he was head of the firm which latterly became Robert Bryson & Son. In politics Bryson was a Liberal. Died in Birkenhead, 11/7/1869; his estate does not appear to have been recorded in Scotland.

70. BUCHANAN, Alfred Wilson - 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1899-1901 (defeated). Date and place of birth unknown. He was self-employed as an accountant, auditor and insurance broker during the 1890s, and first stood for municipal office in 1896. An outspoken Conservative, he founded the shortlived Unionist Municipal League in 1902, as his highly personal contribution to the campaign to unseat Lord Provost Samuel Chisholm (q.v.) and his teetotal allies. The following year Buchanan was declared bankrupt, and thereafter disappeared from trace in Glasgow.

71. BUCHANAN, Thomas - Dean of Guild, 1858-60; 8th Ward,

1860-63 (retired). Born Glasgow, date unknown. Senior partner in the firm of Buchanan, Watson & Co., listed simply as "merchants". However, Buchanan had substantial shipping investments, especially in the British & North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. He was one of several town councillors to live in Cawder House, Bishopbriggs, including Robert Baird and Walter Bannerman (q.v.). He retired suddenly from municipal affairs due to ill-health, and died 5/4/1864; estate, £216,853.

72. BUNTEN, Robert - 5th Ward, 1845-46 (retired). Born Kilmarnock, date unknown. An iron merchant to trade, Buntten was a former Chief Magistrate of Gorbals, and chairman of the Gorbals Gravitation Company. In politics he was a Liberal. Following his sudden death on 31/12/1848, at the height of the cholera epidemic, Robert Murdoch (q.v.) took over the firm. Estate, £3,354.

73. BURGESS, Joseph - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1902-05 (retired). Born 1854, Oldham, Lancashire. Burgess started work in an Oldham cotton mill at the age of seven, but subsequently became a journalist, acting as editor of the Workman's Times. A founding member of the ILP, Burgess was based in Leeds before he came to Glasgow in 1899. He was Secretary of the city ILP at the time of his election to the Corporation; however, he felt uneasy in municipal politics, and withdrew to devote his attention to Parliamentary affairs, nursing his candidature for the Camlachie constituency. A forthright socialist, Burgess nevertheless severed his connection with the ILP in 1915, because of its anti-war stance. Died in Ilford, Essex, 10/1/1934.

74. BURNS, George Arbuthnot [2nd Baron Inverclyde] - Dean of Guild, 1902-04. Born 1861, Glasgow. Burns belonged to a famous Glasgow mercantile family; his grandfather was George Burns, the brother of James (q.v.), both of whom were instrumental in establishing the Cunard Company. George Arbuthnot Burns became chairman of Cunard's, as well as being a partner in the long-established family business of G. & J. Burns, steamship owners. Involved in numerous philanthropic concerns, he was a member of the Episcopal Church, attached to the Wemyss Bay congregation. He inherited his father's title in 1901. Died 8/10/1905; estate, £295,456.

75. BURNS, James [of Kilmahew] - 5th Ward, 1836-45 (resigned). Born 1789, Glasgow. The son of an Established Church minister, Burns entered into partnership with his brother George in 1818, and built up a highly successful business as produce merchants,

servicing the ports of Liverpool, London and especially Ireland. However, the Burns brothers increasingly directed their attentions towards shipping, particularly steam shipping. In partnership with James Martin (q.v.), they were eventually able to dominate much of the Clyde coastal trade. The Cunard Company, formed in 1839, was one of the Burns brothers' most important ventures; several Glasgow town councillors were involved with them in the original Company. James Burns was a Church of Scotland Evangelical, with sympathies for Peelite Conservatism. He joined the Free Church in 1843, and thereafter his political sympathies were for Liberalism. Died 6/9/1871; estate, £45,550.

76. BURRELL, Sir William - 10th/Exchange Ward, 1899-1906 (resigned). Born 1861, Glasgow. Along with his brother, George, he inherited the successful family firm of Burrell & Son, shipbrokers and shipowners. He continued to manage the business until 1917, when he determined to devote his life - and his substantial fortune - to fine art. During his career as a town councillor, Burrell took an interest in housing questions; however, he was opposed to the public funding of slum clearance projects and supported restraint in municipal spending. Burrell's world-wide fame rests on the gift of his spectacular art collection to the city of Glasgow in 1944; after many years, a building to display the collection was eventually opened by Glasgow District Council in 1983. In his early life, Burrell had Unionist sympathies, although he was not politically active in later life. He was knighted in 1927 for his services to art. His brother-in-law was Sir Charles Cleland (q.v.). Died 29/3/1958; estate, £312,035.

77. BURT, John - 2nd Ward, 1861-70 (defeated) & 14th Ward, 1873-79 (retired); Bailie, 1869-70 & 1874-76. Born 1819, Glasgow. A tanner, currier and leather merchant to trade, his firm was based in the Calton. He entered municipal politics with strong radical credentials, and throughout his life was an active Liberal, achieving a powerful position in the party hierarchy. Keir Hardie later identified him as an éminence grise in the Mid-Lanark constituency. Burt was a zealous supporter of the Scottish Temperance League, repeatedly at odds with the pro-drinks lobby during the 1870s. A devoted United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Duke Street congregation. Died 12/9/1891; estate, £6,465.

78. BURT, Peter - 4th Ward, 1889-96 (retired) & 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1899-1902 (retired); 20th/Kelvin Ward, 1920-30 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1894-95; Bailie, 1895-96 & 1926-28. Born 1856, Glasgow. Burt served an engineering apprenticeship with

his father and in 1879 he started his own highly successful business, originally trading under the name of the Acme Machine Co., gas engine makers, perambulator and cycle manufacturers, and makers of wringers, washing machines and mangles. The legendary "Acme" wringer was to become a feature of many Scottish households. He was latterly involved with his son, Thomas, in the Argyll Motor Co. Burt was profoundly influenced by the philosophy of Henry George, and took an active part in the formation of the Scottish Land Restoration League. However, unlike many in the movement, he retained a life-long allegiance to Liberalism, and was a former chairman of the Camlachie Liberal Association. In this capacity he was close to Samuel Chisholm (q.v.). A United Presbyterian, associated with the London Road and Bothwell congregations, Burt was allied to the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 24/1/1944; estate, £59,966.

79. CAIRNS, James - 2nd Ward, 1855-61 (defeated). Born 1797, Edinburgh. Head of the East End firm of James Cairns & Sons, tailors and clothiers, Cairns was a former member of the Glasgow Police Board. In politics he was a Conservative. Died 2/10/1863; estate, £1,336.

80. CAIRNS, James - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1908-20 (retired); Bailie, 1913-17. Born 1851, Blackford, Perthshire. In early life Cairns established his own business as an architect, property valuator and fire loss assessor. A Free Churchman, he belonged to the Cowcaddens congregation. Died 28/7/1930; estate, £12,218.

81. CALDERWOOD, Thomas - 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1896-1909 (retired); Bailie, 1900-03. Born 1837, Stewarton, Ayrshire. Head of his own business as a mason and builder, Calderwood was a former Police Commissioner of Govanhill Burgh, and was long associated with the district. Died 9/11/20; estate, £1,400.

82. CALDWELL, Hugh - 4th Ward, 1883-89 (defeated). Born 1836, Londonderry, Ireland. Although he came to Glasgow at the age of six, he retained strong Ulster connections, especially with the Orange Order. From the 1870s, Caldwell ran his own watchmaking and jeweller's business in the Trongate. Not surprisingly, in politics he was a staunch Conservative. His self-proclaimed rôle as the defender of loyal Protestantism aroused the animosity of labour, Irish nationalist and pro-temperance activists, who made strenuous efforts to keep him off the Council. Died 8/6/1915; estate £1,716.

83. CALLENDER, Thomas - 10th Ward, 1846-49 (retired). Born 1799, Linlithgow, West Lothian. A partner in the firm of J.R. Callender & Bros., hide and leather factors, and general commission merchants. The firm was sequestered in 1858, as a result of the Western Bank failure the previous year. In politics Callender was a Liberal. Died 4/2/1868; estate, £188.

84. CAMPBELL, Angus - 13th Ward, 1890-96 (retired). Born 1842, Cairnbuie, Tarbert, Argyllshire. Campbell came to Glasgow at the age of nine, and at fourteen commenced a law apprenticeship. In 1876 he was able to start his own business as a writer, specialising in licensing law, under the firm of Angus Campbell & Mackenzie. His clientele included many publicans, and Campbell understandably attracted fierce criticism from the pro-temperance lobby, which witheringly categorised him as the "trade" lawyer. A Liberal, who entered municipal politics with the formal endorsement of Glasgow Trades' Council, he was said to be of "broad" religious views, although he was attached to the Sandyford congregation of the Established Church. Died 6/11/1908, as the result of a tramway accident. Estate, £1,476.

85. CAMPBELL, Archibald - 19th/Gorbals Ward, 1900-20 (defeated); River Bailie, 1905-06; Bailie, 1906-11; Master of Works, 1915-16. Born 1861, Glasgow. Campbell came from a long-established Glasgow mercantile family. After a University education, he became head of the firm of Archibald Campbell & Co., shipwrights and engineers, Springfield Quay. Involved in numerous cultural pursuits, Campbell was noted as a musical virtuoso, and had the distinction of being one of the few Council representatives to play the bag-pipes. He was an active Liberal, of the Lord Rosebery school, and an keen supporter of the Scottish Temperance League. Died 5/11/1931; estate, £11,944.

86. CAMPBELL, Dugald - 20th/Kingston Ward, 1904-07 (defeated). Date & place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of Dugald Campbell & Co., coal, coke, slate, limestone and cement merchants. A shadowy figure, he disappeared from trace in Glasgow after 1907.

87. CAMPBELL, Sir James [of Stracathro] - 2nd Ward, 1833-34 (retired) & 3rd Ward, 1835-43 (retired); Bailie, 1837-38; Treasurer, 1839-40; Lord Provost, 1840-43. Born 1790, Port of Mentieth, Perthshire. His father was James McOran, a farmer who changed the family name on moving to Glasgow. Campbell was apprenticed to the firm of Lachlan & McKeard, warehousemen, but

in 1817 he joined his younger brother, William (q.v.), as a partner in the highly successful firm of J. & W. Campbell & Co., wholesale drapers and warehousemen. An admirer of Sir Robert Peel, Campbell served as a councillor prior to 1833, and took a leading rôle in municipal affairs after this time as a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance. However, he could not bring himself to join the Free Church in 1843, and remained a staunch Conservative throughout his life. Nevertheless, his son, Henry Campbell Bannerman, was a noted radical and ultimately served as Liberal Prime Minister between 1905 and 1908. Campbell was a formidable businessman, involved in numerous enterprises, especially railways. Knighted in 1842, he died 10/9/1876. Estate, £282,582.

88. CAMPBELL, Sir Malcolm - 11th Ward, 1882-88 (retired). Born 1848, Kilwinning, Ayrshire. Campbell began working life in Glasgow as a fruit seller's errand boy; he subsequently became proprietor of the business on the retirement of his boss, Mark Walker. Malcolm Campbell Ltd. was, and remains, one of the foremost fruiterers and florists in the city, with numerous retail outlets. Campbell himself was a Liberal and temperance activist, involved in numerous philanthropic and charitable organisations. He was a member of the Montrose Street Congregational Church, and President of the Congregational Union of Scotland in 1924. Knighted 1922, he died 3/9/1935; estate, £20,800.

89. CAMPBELL, Matthew Pearce - Dean of Guild, 1908-10. Born 1853, Glasgow. Grandson of William Campbell (q.v.), he was a partner in the long-established family firm of J. & W. Campbell & Co., warehousemen. In 1922 the firm merged with Stewart & McDonald Ltd., and Campbell was appointed chairman. Involved in numerous commercial activities in Glasgow, he was formerly a keen Volunteer. Like his grandfather, Campbell belonged to the Free Church; he was latterly a member of the College and Kelvingrove United Free Congregation. Died 22/8/1924; estate, £93,438.

90. CAMPBELL, William [of Tullichewan] - 4th Ward, 1846-52 (retired). Born 1793, Port of Menteith, Perthshire. Brother of James Campbell (q.v.), who he assumed as partner in the firm of J. & W. Campbell & Co, drapers and warehousemen, in 1817. Campbell was an enthusiastic Church of Scotland Evangelical, but unlike his brother he followed Thomas Chalmers into the Free Church. Politically, he was an admirer of Sir Robert Peel, but was latterly a strong supporter of Liberalism. He was also a campaigner for greater Scottish autonomy, and deeply involved in philanthropic activities, especially Glasgow's Night Asylum for

the Houseless. In 1841 he purchased the estate of Tullichewan, Dunbartonshire, noted for its spectacular scenery. Grandfather of Matthew Pearce Campbell (q.v.). Died 2/4/1864; estate, £92,336.

91. CARLTON, Charles - 11th/Blythswood Ward, 1911-20 (defeated); Bailie, 1916-20. Born 1855, Glasgow. Sole partner in Charles Carlton & Son, painters, decorators and gilders, founded by his father during the 1840s. The firm was noted for its fine decorative work, particularly in public buildings, like the City Chambers and the Mitchell Library. Carlton was closely connected with the promotion of the fine arts in Glasgow, until his retiral to Boscombe, near Bournemouth. An active Conservative, his nephew was Sir William Hannan McLean, Conservative MP for Glasgow, Tradeston. Died 28/12/1933; estate, £73,577.

92. CARSON, David - 10th Ward, 1865-68 (retired). Born 1814, Ireland. Along with Thomas Warren (q.v.), he was a partner in the firm of Carson, Warren & Co., glass bottle manufacturers, Port Dundas. Because of his involvement in the bottling business, Carson was an extensive supplier to the drinks' trade; hence, the pro-temperance James Leitch Lang (q.v.) stood against him in the 1865 elections. Died 26/11/1879; estate, £30,326.

93. CARSON, George - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1910-13 (defeated). Born 1848, Glasgow. He commenced working life as an apprentice tinsmith, becoming involved at an early stage in trade union affairs. From 1902 to 1916 he served as full-time Secretary to Glasgow Trades' Council. A long-time socialist, Carson was a founder member of the Scottish Labour Party in 1888, and played a key rôle in convening the famous 1893 Bradford Conference, which led to the formation of the ILP. He was also active in the creation of the STUC in 1897. His name was brought to public notice during the agitation in the early 1890s to municipalise the tramways, and he claimed to be particularly proud of the Trades' Councils efforts to organise the tramwaymen. Died 28/7/1921; his estate has not been traced.

94. CARSWELL, John - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1896-1903 (retired). Born 1856, Glasgow. He studied medicine at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, and was subsequently appointed as Assistant Medical Superintendent at Woodilee Asylum, Lenzie. His interest in mental health established his reputation, and he became Medical Officer to the Barony Parochial Board and Glasgow Parish Council. He was also a lecturer at the Anderson's College Medical School. In politics, Carswell was a Liberal,

allied with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 20/6/1931; his estate has not been traced.

95. CARSWELL, Morris - 21st Ward, 1891-96 & 23rd/Pollokshields Ward, 1896-1909 (resigned); Bailie, 1894-96 & 1897-98; Master of Works, 1903-04. Born 1836, Largs, Ayrshire. After serving in Largs as a draper's apprentice, he came to Glasgow in 1855, and set up in business manufacturing silk gut and fishing tackle. He subsequently built a factory in Murcia, Spain, which processed the raw material. A staunch Conservative and Established Churchman, he belonged to the Maxwell Park congregation. Carswell was a leading pro-annexationist in West Pollokshields, prior to 1891. Died 17/6/1910; estate, £2,178.

96. CASSELLS, John - 21st Ward, 1891-96 (retired). Born 1836, Glasgow. Although connected with the firm of H. Macbean & Co., paint, colour and varnish manufacturers, he was never actively engaged in commercial pursuits. His main interests, outside municipal affairs, were the 3rd Lanark Volunteers and promoting choral music. Not politically active, his Liberal sympathies wavered in later years. He was a member of the Trinity United Presbyterian Church, Pollokshields. Died 16/7/1909; estate, £12,690.

97. CASSILS, John - 2nd Ward, 1846-48 (resigned). Born 1805, Glasgow. Along with his younger brother, William, he inherited his father's wine and spirit business. The brothers were also involved in a separate enterprise as grain merchants. Cassels served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner prior to 1846. Died 14/12/1864; estate, £1,080.

98. CHALMERS, John - 13th Ward, 1865-69 & 9th Ward, 1869-76 (retired). Born 1810, Dumfriesshire. In 1835 Chalmers founded a family baker and confectioner's business, which latterly had several branches in the West End of Glasgow. Died 28/6/1884; estate, £1,489.

99. CHAPMAN, David - 5th Ward, 1844-46 & 13th Ward, 1846-49 (retired). Born 1796, Dumbarton. He was a partner in the firm of Thomson & McConnell, steam-shiping agents. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 19/5/1852; estate, £2,803.

100. CHISHOLM, Sir Samuel - 11th Ward, 1888-96 & 17th/Woodside Ward, 1896-1902 (defeated); Bailie, 1892-97; Lord Provost, 1899-1902. Born 1836, Dalkeith, Midlothian. The son of a

tobacco manufacturer, he started working life as an apprentice grocer in 1861. Along with his brother, Robert, he came to Glasgow in 1870, establishing the firm which eventually became Samuel Chisholm & Co., wholesale grocers and provision merchants. A committed Liberal, and a dedicated member of the Kent Road United Presbyterian Church, Chisholm was a leading figure in the Scottish Temperance League, and active in other temperance organisations. He was strongly influenced by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Brown, minister at Kent Road, and brother of William Brown (q.v.). Another mentor was Sir William Collins (q.v.). Chisholm's forthright pro-temperance stance made him powerful enemies in the city, and in 1902 he was defeated by Andrew Scott Gibson (q.v.) in a sensational municipal election. His main municipal interest was housing and slum clearance, and from 1891 to 1902 he was Convener of the City Improvement Trust. Knighted in 1902, Chisholm died 27/9/1923; estate, £112,643.

101. CLARK, George Wilson - 13th Ward, 1857-62 (retired). Born 1819, Woodside, near Aberdeen. Came to Glasgow in 1841, and served as a clerk to a grain merchant. Four years later he entered into partnership with Robert Gibson, under the firm of Gibson & Clark, corn factors. When Gibson retired from the business, he was forced to withdraw from municipal activity; however, he was subsequently appointed a member of the Clyde Navigation Trust, serving for fifteen years. Clark was involved in numerous commercial ventures in later life, but was hard-hit by the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank. He was a Liberal, and committed Free Churchman. Died 2/6/1890; estate, £16,273.

102. CLARK, John, jun. - 1st Ward, 1846-48 (retired). Born 1792, Paisley, Renfrewshire. He was a member of the Clark family, who along with J. & P. Coats was pre-eminent in the British thread-making industry. When very young he joined his father in cotton-spinning in Paisley, but after the factory was destroyed by fire he moved to Glasgow in 1817. He subsequently became head of John Clark, jun., & Co., cotton-spinners and thread manufacturers, based in Mile-End. His nephew, William (q.v.), was a partner in the firm. A Liberal, Clark was a committed United Presbyterian, belonging to the London Road congregation. Noted for his evangelical work with youngsters, he cultivated a paternalistic image both at the business and philanthropic level. Died 3/12/1868; estate, £50,654.

103. CLARK, William - 2nd Ward, 1873-79 (retired); Bailie, 1875-76 & 1877-79. Born 1843, Glasgow. Son of Matthew Clark, the brother of John Clark, junior, (q.v.), he was involved from an early date in the management of John Clark, jun., & Co.,

thread manufacturers, Mile-End. He subsequently became head of the business, until its amalgamation with the Paisley thread-making firm of Clark & Co., in 1885. Adhering to family tradition, Clark was a Liberal and United Presbyterian, of strong pro-temperance views. He was noted for his devotion to the Volunteer movement, to which he had been a youthful adherent in 1859. He was latterly Colonel Commandant of the 8th Lanark Volunteers, keenly interested in shooting, and serving as Chairman of the Scottish Rifle Association. Died 13/9/1930; estate, £121,841.

104. CLELAND, Sir Charles John - 24th Ward, 1891-96 & 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1896-1907 (retired); 12th/Exchange Ward, 1929-34 (retired); Bailie, 1896-1901. Born 1867, Maryhill, then outside Glasgow. Cleland's father was a prosperous paper merchant, and the son continued this connection as a partner in the firm of Martin, Cleland & Taylor, wholesale and mercantile stationers. Active in politics from an early age, he was a youthful rising star in the Conservative party. He also served as a Police Commissioner in the Burgh of Maryhill, prior to amalgamation with Glasgow in 1891. Notwithstanding his Conservative allegiances, Cleland was an elder in Maryhill Free Church, with pro-temperance sympathies. He had a keen interest in educational matters, particularly after public education was transferred to local authority control in 1929. He was married to Jessie Burrell, sister of Sir William Burrell (q.v.); his brother, James William Cleland, was Liberal MP for Bridgeton from 1906 to 1910. Cleland received a knighthood in 1917. Died 19/1/1941; estate, £5,938.

105. CLOUSTON, Peter - 12th Ward, 1854-63 (retired); Bailie, 1855-60; Lord Provost, 1860-63. Born Greenock, Renfrewshire, the son of a shipmaster. He moved to Glasgow as a child, and in 1821 was apprenticed to the firm of William Bennett & Co., marine insurance brokers. Clouston ultimately became a partner in the firm, under the name of Bennett, Browne & Co.; another partner was his cousin, James Browne (q.v.). He was involved in numerous business and commercial interests, and was latterly chairman of the Glasgow & South Western Railway Co. Not actively political, but he was identified with the Conservatives and the Established Church. Died 30/8/1888; estate, £180,171.

106. COCHRAN, William - 1st Ward, 1848-53 (defeated). Born 1802, Glasgow. He ran his own business as a calenderer, hot presser and packer, in the Candleriggs, and served as a member of Glasgow Police Board between 1844-46. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 13/12/1863; estate, £157.

107. COCHRAN, William - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1896-97 (defeated). Born 1847, Glasgow. A writer, latterly head of the firm of William Cochran & Son. Active in numerous public organisations, he was a prominent Liberal, connected with the Bridgeton constituency. Secretary to the Bridgeton Burns Club for twenty-five years. Died 18/2/1914; estate, £4,895.

108. COGAN, Hugh - Dean of Guild, 1842-44. Born 1792, Glasgow, the son of an exciseman. He became a partner in the firm of John Bartholomew & Co., muslin manufacturers, which had extensive trading links with India and Latin America. A prominent Church of Scotland Evangelical prior to 1843, he was a founder member of the Free Church, and closely connected with William Collins, senior, in its church-building programme. Also, like Collins, he had sympathies for Peelite Conservatism, but his political allegiances after 1843 remain unknown. Died 28/8/1855; estate, £44,657.

109. COHEN, Frank Israel - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1902-04 (defeated) & 1905-12 (resigned); Master of Works, 1911-12. Born 1876, Hillhead, then outside Glasgow. He was descended from Rabbi Joseph Cohen, who held a prominent position in Glasgow's small Jewish community during the 1850s, and who ultimately left the ministry to found the successful firm of Joseph Cohen & Son, cigar importers, pipe manufacturers, and tobacconists' fancy goods merchants. The younger Cohen entered the family firm, and soon manifested an interest in public affairs. Politically he espoused a vague populism, influenced by the municipal success of Andrew Scott Gibson (q.v.), although he latterly distanced himself from the dubious Gibsonite connection. In 1912 he was given six months leave of absence from the Corporation to pursue business affairs in the United States; he chose to remain across the Atlantic, dying in New York in 1918.

110. COLLIE, Alexander [of Murlington] - 7th Ward, 1861-70 (died); Bailie, 1862-67. Born 1803, Kintore, Aberdeenshire. He came to Glasgow in 1820, and was thereafter associated with the firm of J. & W. Campbell, drapers and warehousemen, becoming a business partner of the two Campbell brothers (q.v.). Died 4/6/1870; estate, £32,000.

111. COLLINS, Sir William - 10th Ward, 1868-69 & 5th Ward, 1869-83 (retired); Bailie, 1873-77; Lord Provost, 1877-80. Born 1817, Glasgow. The son of William Collins, senior, founder of the firm which ultimately became William Collins, Sons & Co., printers and publishers, with extensive world-wide trading connections. Collins, junior, took over the business after his

father's death in 1853. Like his father, he was profoundly influenced by the philosophy of Thomas Chalmers; he was a founder member of the Free Church in 1843, and was associated with the Free St. John's congregation, and later the Free College Church. Also like his father, he maintained a strong pro-temperance commitment, becoming one of the great father figures of the Scottish Temperance League, and inspiring a generation of municipal activists. He was a prominent Liberal, who helped to establish Glasgow Liberal Association in 1878. Brother-in-law of J.L.K. Jamieson (q.v.). Knighted 1880, and died 20/2/1895. Estate, £163,985.

112. COLQUHOUN, Hew - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1906-10 (retired). Born 1843, Duror, Appin, Argyllshire. Like many Glasgow-based Highlanders, he was a policeman, joining the City Force in 1868. After serving in the Detective Branch, he was eventually promoted to Superintendent, first of the St. Rollox Division and latterly in the Eastern Division. His interest in crime prevention prompted him to become active in municipal affairs, following his retiral from the Force. Died 26/7/1914; estate, £298.

113. COLQUHOUN, Hugh - 4th Ward, 1874-83 (retired); Bailie, 1879-82. Born 1825, Rutherglen, Lanarkshire. Along with his brother, James, he was a partner in the firm of H. & J. Colquhoun, writers. Colquhoun's were lawyers to the Glasgow United Fleshers' Society, and had intimate knowledge of the city's meat trade. A Liberal, Free Churchman and active temperance campaigner, he was associated with the Independent Order of Good Templars. Uncle of James Colquhoun (q.v.). Died 24/9/1884; estate, £1,637.

114. COLQUHOUN, James - 9th Ward, 1883-96 & 11th/Blythswood Ward, 1896-99 (resigned); Bailie, 1886-89; Treasurer, 1896-99. Born 1845, Glasgow. Following in the footsteps of his father and uncle Hugh (q.v.), he trained to the legal profession, becoming senior partner in firm of J. & D.T. Colquhoun. Again like his uncle, he was a Free Churchman, associated with the Langside congregation, manifesting strong pro-temperance views. Initially a Liberal, his admiration for Chamberlainite radicalism caused him to ally with the Unionists after 1886, and he withdrew from temperance activity. In 1899 he was forced to resign municipal office, after he was charged with embezzling over £50,000 from the family law firm. Found guilty, he was given a five year jail sentence, which he served in Peterhead Penitentiary. After his release he took up residence in London, where he died early in September 1912.

115. CONNAL, William - Dean of Guild, 1850-52 & 1856. Born 1790, Stirling. Son of a cloth merchant, who became a partner in the Stirling Banking Company Co., he came to Glasgow in 1806. He entered the firm of Finlay, Duff, & Co., colonial merchants, specialising in the West India trade, and was made a partner in 1812. He was eventually head of the firm of William Connal & Co., brokers and commission merchants, with extensive East Indian trading connections. Connel was said to be the proprietor of the largest tea warehouses to be privately owned in Europe or America. A Church of Scotland Evangelical, he joined the Free Church in 1843. Died 25/8/1856; estate, £14,332.

116. CONNELL, Michael Joseph - 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1902-08 (defeated). Date of birth unknown, although he was a Glaswegian. Connell was a partner in the firm of Turnbull, Murray & Connell, writers. He was one of a triumverate of lawyers represented on Glasgow Corporation who defended drinks' trade interests against pro-temperance pressure; Angus Campbell and Fred Macquisten (q.v.) were the other two. Connell came from a Catholic Irish background, and politically allied himself with Andrew Scott Gibson (q.v.). He suffered a severe mental breakdown in 1910, after being found guilty of embezzling £1,200 from the Rory Oge O'More Funeral District of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin) Friendly Society. His subsequent career cannot be traced.

117. COPLAND, Sir William Robertson - Deacon Convener, 1891-93. Born 1838, Stirling. Educated in Glasgow, he trained as a civil engineer, and was for a short time the Burgh Engineer in Paisley. In 1866 he started his own business, winning major contracts for the construction of large-scale projects. A Liberal, and member of Claremont United Presbyterian Church, he took a particular interest in technical education, and represented the Trades' House on the Board which established the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College in 1886. The College was a forerunner of Strathclyde University. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Tailors. Knighted in 1906, he died 19/8/1907. Estate, £20,220.

118. CORBETT, Thomas - 14th Ward, 1863-66 (retired). Born 1822, Glasgow. The son of a doctor, he originally intended to be a lawyer. Embarking instead on a commercial career, he entered into partnership with his brother as a tea merchant, and then went into the Australian produce trade, freighting vessels on a large scale to and from Glasgow. So successful was the latter venture that in 1866 he transferred his business headquarters to London, although he continued to spend part of

the year in Scotland, and maintained close Glasgow connections. A noted philanthropist, Corbett established the Great Western Cooking Depot, providing meals at nominal prices in many of the poorer districts of Glasgow. A Liberal and Free Churchman, belonging to the Kelvinside congregation, he had strong pro-temperance sympathies. Father of Archibald Cameron Corbett, later Lord Rowallan, MP for Glasgow's Tradeston constituency between 1885 and 1911. It was Rowallan who gifted the Ardgoil Estate to Glasgow Corporation in 1906. Corbett, senior, died 1/4/1880; estate, £80,000.

119. COSH, Thomas Russell - 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1908-1913 (resigned). Born 1855, Glasgow. Cosh carried on business in the Trongate as a hosier, glover and hatter. Calling himself "a Radical of an independent turn of mind", he did not ally himself with any political group on the Corporation, and attempted to conciliate between the warring drinks' and pro-temperance lobbies. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Glasgow Cathedral congregation. He resigned as a councillor due to ill-health, and died 16/2/1914. Estate, £663.

120. COUPER, James - 10th Ward, 1852-69 & 5th Ward, 1869-70 (defeated); Bailie, 1857-61 & 1863-64. Born 1797, Glasgow. A glass manufacturer, he was head of the firm of James Couper & Sons, City Flint Works, Port Dundas. In his youth he was an enthusiastic participant in the reform movement, and in later years retained a strong commitment to Liberalism. However, like David Carson (q.v.), he incurred the wrath of teetotalers because his firm supplied bottles to the drinks' trade. Couper was one of the principal advocates of municipalising Glasgow's gas supply in 1869. Died 25/11/1884; his estate has not been traced.

121. COUTTS, James - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1903-06 (retired). A shadowy figure, date and place of birth unknown; probably the son of a doctor, based in the Gallowgate. Coutts's occupation was given as an "artificial teeth specialist". An ally of Andrew Scott Gibson, (q.v.), his career after 1906 cannot be traced.

122. CRAIG, James [of Middleton] - Deacon Convener, 1853-55. Born 1795, Dunkeld, Perthshire. Coming to Glasgow as a youth, he set up in business with his brother as boot and shoe makers. He latterly traded on his own, also as a leather merchant. Craig was involved in the municipal affairs of the Barony of Gorbals prior to 1846. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Cordiners. Died 19/1/1880; his estate has not

been traced.

123. CRAIG, John - 14th Ward, 1869-75 (retired). Born 1810, Gorbals, then outside Glasgow. A tea merchant and general grocer to trade; The Bailie said that "his little and dingy shop in "the Stockwell" ... [has] ... been known for over a generation as on of the best tea shops in the city". Of Conservative inclinations, he was a committed Established Churchman and member of the Gorbals Parish Church. Died 21/4/1887; estate, £6,617.

124. CRAIG, William - 1st Ward, 1833-38 (retired); Bailie, 1834-35; River Bailie, 1835-36. Born 1785, Blantyre, Lanarkshire. A partner in the firm of Craig, Crichton & Fairley, manufacturers, Glassford Street. A former Glasgow Police Commissioner, Craig was a Liberal and free trade activist. He seems to disappear from trace in Glasgow after 1839.

125. CRAWFORD, Robert - 10th Ward, 1883-96 (retired); Bailie, 1885-86; Master of Works, 1892-93. Born 1845, Milngavie, Dunbartonshire. Coming to Glasgow in 1856, he worked for some years as a commercial traveller, and in 1866 became a partner in the firm of Burns, Crawford & Co., wholesale fancy goods merchants and fancy stationers. A radical Liberal, he was an early mentor to R.B. Cunninghame Grahame, and was a leading Liberal activist up to 1886. His strong Chamberlainite sympathies allied him with Unionism after this time; thereafter he was an unswerving adherent to the cause. One of the foremost advocates of municipalisation policies on the Town Council, Crawford was particularly interested in sanitary affairs as Health Committee Convener between 1887 and 1896. During the 1890s, he a driving force in the campaign to establish the People's Palace on Glasgow Green. A member of the Established Church, he was connected with the Queen's Park and Lenzie congregations. Died 6/3/1915; estate, £11,627.

126. CRONIN, John - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1896-1898 (defeated) and 1899-1902 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. General Secretary of the Iron & Steel Workers of Great Britain, he allied himself with the "Stalwart" group of pro-labour councillors. Cronin was a Roman Catholic, and in his municipal defeat in 1898 was partly engineered by the Orange Order. Died 21/9/1906; his estate has not been traced.

127. CROSS, William - 4th Ward, 1841-44 (retired). Born 1811,

Glasgow. The son of a West India merchant, he was a partner in the firm of J. & A. Dennistoun, one of the great Glasgow mercantile firms. Dennistoun's had extensive trading links with the United States, particularly in connection with the importation of cotton. Cross shared the Dennistouns' pro-reform commitment, and was an enthusiastic free-trader. Related by marriage to Alexander Dennistoun (q.v.), he was the father of John Walter Cross, the husband and biographer of the novelist, George Eliot. In 1844 he left Glasgow to manage the Liverpool branch of the firm, and his subsequent career remains unknown.

128. CUMMING, Peter - 4th Ward, 1838-41 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1840-41. Born 1796, Liberton, near Edinburgh. Originally a partner in a draper's business, he eventually became head of Peter Cumming & Sons, wholesale Scotch woollen and linen warehousemen. While on the Town Council he was a dedicated Church of Scotland Evangelical, with strong sympathies for Peelite Conservatism. Died 7/7/1881; his estate has not been traced.

129. CUMMING, Thomas - 8th Ward, 1884-93 (retired); Bailie, 1888-92. Born 1845, Gilmorton, near Strathaven, Lanarkshire. Came to Glasgow aged eighteen, and worked for some years in the wholesale furnishing trade, serving with Wylie & Lochhead for a period. In 1876 he entered into partnership with Robert Smith, and established an extensive business under the name of Cumming & Smith, wholesale upholsterers and complete house furnishers. Their warehouse in Sauchiehall Street, built in 1892, remains an acclaimed example of Glasgow's architecture. A Liberal who was latterly an influential Unionist, Cumming's health gave way while on the Town Council, and he died 31/5/1895. Estate £13,861.

130. CUNNINGHAM, Thomas Moffat - 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1896-99 (defeated). Born 1855, Kirkintilloch, Dumbartonshire. Head of his own soap manufacturing business, based at the Canal Soap Works, St. Rollox. A Liberal, he was nevertheless opposed in 1896 by Progressives because of his lukewarm stance on the taxation of land values issue. His date of death, sometime after 1907, has not been traced.

131. CUTHBERT, Alexander Andrew - 8th Ward, 1893-96 & 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1896-1900 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1896-97; River Bailie, 1897-98; Bailie, 1898-1900. Born 1836, Stewartfield, Aberdeenshire. The son of a United Presbyterian minister, he started his working career in Glasgow with a firm of East India merchants. Cuthbert was later employed by James

Morton & Co., which specialised in Australasian investments, and where he was involved in numerous financial transactions with the doomed City of Glasgow Bank. He speedily severed the connection after finding out the questionable nature of his employer's activities, and was eventually appointed to the highly lucrative post of manager of the British Dynamite Co., later Nobel's Explosives Co., Ltd. A United Presbyterian, he was connected with the Wellington congregation. Initially a Liberal, he turned Unionist in 1886. Died 26/2/1915; estate, £78.

132. DALGLISH, Robert, sen. - 3rd Ward, 1834-37 (defeated). Born 1770, Glasgow. Son of James DalGLISH, muslin manufacturer, in 1803 he erected a calico printing works at Lennoxton, in the Blane Valley, under the designation of R. DalGLISH, Falconer & Co. His partners were his brother, William, and Patrick Falconer. DalGLISH achieved a prominent position in the Glasgow mercantile community, serving as Lord Provost between 1830-32. He identified with Peelite Conservatism, and was a close associate of James Ewing, the last Lord Provost in the unreformed Council, and who did much to ease the transition to the new municipal régime. An Established Churchman, with Evangelical sympathies, his son - also Robert - was Liberal MP for Glasgow between 1857 and 1874. Died 5/1/1844; estate, £39,752.

133. DALLAS, John - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1904-05 (retired) & 1906-08 (resigned); Deacon Convener, 1925-27. Born 1873, Glasgow. Although starting his working career with the Royal Bank of Scotland, he joined the family firm of Dallas & Co., drapers and warehousemen, becoming its head after the death of his father, Simon (q.v.). The subsequent success of the business prompted him to resign his municipal seat in 1908. An Established Churchman, of strong Unionist sympathies, he was identified with the Ratepayers' Federation Ltd., which was a forum for business interests critical of the trend for municipal expansionism in Glasgow. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Tailors. Died 5/2/1950; estate, £368,307.

134. DALLAS, Peter - 9th Ward, 1863-69 & 10th Ward, 1869-71 (retired). Born 1806, Islay, Argyllshire. He worked for a time in a lawyer's office after his arrival in Glasgow, but subsequently set up a cotton manufacturing business under the designation of Dallas & Hart. He was latterly sole partner in the firm. Died 2/6/1872; estate, £5,758.

135. DALLAS, Simon - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1896-1904 (died);

Bailie, 1900-04. Born 1838, Conon, Rosshire. Coming to Glasgow as a youth, he established the highly successful firm of Dallas & Co., drapers and warehousemen. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Woodside congregation. Father of John Dallas (q.v.), who succeeded him to the Cowcaddens seat after his death on 8/2/1904. Estate, £8,043.

136. DAVIDSON, John - 3rd Ward, 1892-96 (retired). Born 1845, Glasgow. He started his working career as a clerk, then teller, in the City of Glasgow Bank, but subsequently purchased the Blythswood Sausage Works, which he expanded into a highly successful sausage making enterprise. "Annackers" - the trade name - soon had a legendary reputation in the West of Scotland, and the factory was noted for its progressive industrial relations practices. An active Liberal, and devoted United Presbyterian, he was ardently pro-temperance, identified with the Progressive group on the Council. Died 19/3/1920; estate, £27,332.

137. DAVIDSON, William - 20th/Kingston Ward, 1908-20 (defeated) & 28th/Kingston Ward, 1921-24 (defeated); Bailie, 1913-17. Born 1853, Sandford, near Stonehouse, Lanarkshire. Came to Glasgow in 1867, and was apprenticed to the grocery trade. He subsequently became a partner in the long-established firm of John Laird & Co., ham curers and wholesale provision merchants. A Liberal, and member of Pollok Street United Presbyterian Church, he was a director of the Scottish Temperance League. Died 11/1/1940; estate, £12,873.

138. DENNISTOUN, Alexander [of Golfhill] - 2nd Ward, 1833-35 (retired). Born 1790, Glasgow. He was the eldest son of James Dennistoun, who along with his brother had established the highly successful firm of J. & A. Dennistoun, dealing extensively in the cotton trade. Dennistoun, junior, gained municipal experience successively in Louisiana, Liverpool and France, where branches of the business were based. In 1834, while serving as a town councillor, he was returned as MP for Dunbartonshire, calling himself a "radical reformer". He retired from Parliament in 1837, but remained an unwavering Liberal for the rest of his life. From the 1860s, in collaboration with James Salmon (q.v.), he developed the estate of Golfhill into the suburban residential district of Dennistoun. His brother, John, was MP for Glasgow between 1837 and 1848; he was also related by marriage to William Cross (q.v.). Died 15/7/1874; estate, £343,378.

139. DENNY, Alexander - 4th Ward, 1834-37 (defeated). Date and

place of birth unknown, although not Glaswegian. He was a partner in the firm of D. & A. Denny, listed simply as "manufacturers". A Liberal, he was associated with the Whiggishly-inclined group on the Council known as the "Clique". Died 14/9/1855; estate, £195.

140. DICK, George - Deacon Convener, 1840-42. Date & place of birth unknown. A lime and slate merchant, based in Port Dundas, Dick was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843. He lived in the picturesquely titled "Gothic Cottage", St. George's Road. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Skinners. Died 31/5/1853; estate, £2,742.

141. DICK, George Coventry - 7th Ward, 1856-62 (retired). Born 1802, Edinburgh. Dick was the son of a Secession Church minister. He became head of the firm of George C. Dick & Co, commission merchants. In politics he was a Liberal, in religion a United Presbyterian. Died 5/1/1865; estate, 4,153.

142. DICK, James - 22nd Ward, 1891-96 & 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1896-1908 (retired); Bailie, 1894-99; Master of Works, 1904-05. Born 1844, Bridgeton, then outside Glasgow. His father, Robert, managed the Bridgeton cotton-spinning mills of A. & J. Dennistoun & Co., and was a partner in this substantial enterprise. However, the son was orphaned at an early age, and spent part of his youth in Oban. On his return to Glasgow he set up in business as a commission merchant, and became active in the municipal affairs of Hillhead Burgh. Belonging to the Free College congregation, he was initially an enthusiastic Liberal supporter, and politically close to Sir William Collins (q.v.). After 1886 his Unionist sympathies estranged him from his erstwhile associates, although he continued to manifest strong pro-temperance views. Died 7/11/1909; estate, £3,099.

143. DICK, James Wilson - 24th Ward, 1891-96 & 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1896-99 (defeated) & 1900 (defeated); Bailie, 1898-99 & 1900. Born 1856, Cambroë, Lanarkshire. Head of his own business as a wholesale stationer, printer and lithographer. A former Police Commissioner in the Burgh of Maryhill, he was a prominent pro-annexationist. He was also an active Liberal, and belonged to the Maryhill United Presbyterian Church, although brought up as a member of the Evangelical Union. He manifested strong pro-temperance sympathies, and allied with the Council's Progressive group. However, his municipal career was stopped short in 1901 when he was involved in a sensational corruption scandal. Dick was found guilty of accepting bribes to secure a licensing application, while serving as a Magistrate, and he

abruptly resigned from the Council. Thereafter, his career remains unknown.

144. DICK, Matthew [of Meikle Earnock] - 5th Ward, 1865-69 & 4th Ward, 1869-71 (retired). Born 1800, Glasgow. Son of a city merchant, he became head of Matthew Dick & Co., soap and candle manufacturers. Dick served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner prior to 1846. Died 1878, precise date unknown; his estate has not been traced.

145. DICKSON, James Hunter - 12th Ward, 1877-96 & 14th/Sandyford Ward, 1896-1902 (retired); Bailie, 1880-86; Master of Works, 1888-89. Born 1824, New Lanark, Lanarkshire, but spent most of his youth in Stanley, Perthshire. The son of a handloom weaver, he came to Glasgow in 1851, and for a time continued in his previous trade as a linen draper. He then became a partner in the successful firm of McLelland & Dickson, wholesale upholstery furnishers, which he sold in 1877 to Thomas Cumming (q.v.). He thereafter devoted his time to public affairs, particularly promoting the temperance cause. A member of Finnieston Free Church, he was an active Liberal, but latterly manifested sympathies for Unionism. Died 2/7/1917; estate, £21,512.

146. DIXON, William [of Govanhill] - 4th Ward, 1833-36 (retired) & 1846-48 (resigned). Born 1788, Glasgow. His father had come to Scotland from Northumberland during the 1770s, and acquired considerable coal and ironstone workings. The two Dixon sons inherited these in 1822, but William manifested more enthusiasm for the business, and he built up the Govan Iron Works and Colliery into a substantial enterprise. "Dixon's Blazes", the furnaces of the Iron Works, was for many years a noted Glasgow landmark. Latterly, Dixon's taste for entrepreneurial adventurism resulted in serious financial complications for the company, which only narrowly escaped insolvency. However, after Dixon's demise, the firm's fortunes revived under more controlled management. Politically, he was allied with the Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group, and he had Parliamentary ambitions. In 1847 he stood unsuccessfully for the Glasgow constituency, in the election which was to return Alexander Hastie (q.v.). Dixon was brother-in-law of John Strang, City Chamberlain between 1834 and 1861. He died in London on 23/2/1859; estate, £597.

147. DOUGAN, William - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1896-1901 (defeated); River Bailie, 1900-01. Date & place of birth unknown. He qualified as a medical practitioner from the

University of Glasgow in 1872, and became Medical Officer to the city's General Post Office. A Liberal, and strong pro-temperance supporter, he was allied with the Council's Progressive group. Died 3/6/1906; estate, £2,993.

148. DOUGLAS, John [of Barloch] - 3rd Ward, 1833-39 (resigned); Treasurer, 1833-36. Born 1772, Glasgow. Barloch was a small landed estate, now in Dunbartonshire, which had been owned by the Douglas family since the 1630s. Douglas attended Glasgow University, and was apprenticed as a lawyer to Robert Grahame (q.v.), later practising on his own. Unconventional and noted as a "character", he was nicknamed the "Old Whig", although his views were more radical than orthodox Whiggery. He stood twice unsuccessfully for Parliament, in 1832 and 1835, for the Glasgow and Paisley constituencies. Although believed to be a bachelor, he secretly married his housekeeper shortly before his death, which took place on 27/8/1850. Estate, £650.

149. DOWNIE, James - 14th Ward, 1875-78 (retired). Born 1821, Anderston, then outside Glasgow. At first based in Glasgow as a woollen and Angora yarn merchant, he was later associated with the firm of Somerville, Crawford & Co., powerloom cloth manufacturers. For many years he lived in Kirkintilloch, and following his brief Council career in Glasgow he was instrumental in the formation of the Dunbartonshire town into a Police Burgh. A Liberal, and pro-temperance campaigner, he was closely associated with William Collins (q.v.). His son-in-law was John Colville, Liberal MP for North-East Lanark between 1895 and 1901. Died 28/9/1887; estate, £1,029.

150. DREGHORN, David - 5th Ward, 1843-46 & 13th Ward, 1846-57 & 16th Ward, 1857-67 (defeated); 8th Ward, 1870-75 (died); River Bailie, 1847-48; Bailie, 1848-51; Treasurer, 1858-63. Born 1807, Govan, then outside Glasgow. An accountant to trade, he reached an influential Council position largely through his financial expertise. He was an active Liberal, personally and politically close to Sir Andrew Orr (q.v.), and involved with Orr in the questionable transaction which brought the McLellan Galleries under municipal control. In later life he was noted as an enthusiastic Volunteer, connected with the 3rd Lanark Regiment. Died 21/11/1875; estate, £14,806.

151. DRON, William - 12th Ward, 1873-84 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1881-83; River Bailie, 1883-84. Date & place of birth unknown. Senior partner in the firm of Dron & Lawson, engineers and machine makers, Cranstonhill Tool Works. A Liberal, he belonged to the Free St. Peter's Church and was a pro-temperance

activist. Died 21/2/1901; estate, £6,554.

152. DRUMMOND, James - 7th Ward, 1846-56 (retired); Bailie, 1852-53; Master of Works, 1853-56. Born 1801, Glasgow. He was a partner in the firm of Clark & Drummond, cotton yarn merchants, later Drummond & Co. Died 1/10/1881; estate, £3,164.

153. DRUMMOND, John Cowan - 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1909-20 & 35th/Govanhill Ward, 1920-30 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1914-15; River Bailie, 1915; Bailie, 1915-18. Born 1866, Bendochy, Perthshire. He was head of his own confectioner's business, based in Govanhill. A temperance activist, Drummond served as an elder in the evangelical Church of Christ, which met in Coplaw Street. Died 9/10/1948; estate, £209.

154. DUNCAN, Thomas - 3rd Ward, 1868-71 (defeated). Born 1816, Paisley. A silk, lace and ribbon merchant, based in the Trongate. Duncan was a Liberal and pro-temperance activist. Died 15/5/1880; estate £1,991.

155. DUNCAN, Thomas - 5th Ward, 1883-86 (died). Born 1823, Cambuslang, Lanarkshire. He was apprenticed as a printer to William Collins & Sons, and later became manager of the printing establishment of Thomas Murray & Sons. William Collins, junior, and Thomas Murray (q.v.) were both prominent town councillors. A member of St. John's Wesleyan Church, Duncan was noted as a keen sportsman. He died on 25/9/1886, during an official Council visit to the Crarae Quarries, Argyllshire. He entered the Quarries too soon after witnessing a "monster blast", and suffocated by an outburst of poisonous gas. John Young (q.v.) also died as a result of the explosion. Estate, £1,026.

156. DUNLOP, Adam Morton - 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1896-1904 (retired); River Bailie, 1900-01; Bailie, 1901-04. Born 1846, Galston, Ayrshire. Came to Glasgow in 1862, and eventually started his own business as a retail grocer and provision merchant. He was a former chairman of the Grocers' Company of Glasgow, and well-known throughout trade circles in the United Kingdom. A Liberal, and zealous temperance campaigner, he was one of Glasgow's pioneer Good Templars during the 1860s. Died 26/1/1914; estate, £4,553.

157. DUNLOP, Archibald - 8th Ward, 1875-91 (retired). Born 1819, Campbeltown, Argyllshire. Came to Paisley as a youth,

where he was apprenticed to the trade of shawl designing. After some years he moved to Glasgow, and became a grain traveller. He subsequently went into partnership under the firm of Dunlop Brothers, flour and grain merchants. Died 14/4/1902; estate, £27,897.

158. DUNLOP, Henry [of Craigton] - 4th Ward, 1833-43 (retired); Bailie, 1836-37; Lord Provost, 1837-40. Born 1799, Linwood, Renfrewshire. Son of James Dunlop, a cotton-spinner, he entered the family business along with his brothers, and the firm became known as James Dunlop & Sons. Cotton mills were acquired in Barrhead and Gateside, on the Water of Levern, and another was set up at Broomward, Glasgow. Although a Liberal, with strong free trade principles, Dunlop was closely connected with the Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland. He thus identified with the Conservatives while on the Town Council. He joined the Free Church in 1843, and remained a prominent figure in Glasgow's business circles until his death on 10/5/1867. Estate, £28,158.

159. DUNLOP, James [of Tollcross] - 1st Ward, 1839-42 (retired). Born 1811, Glasgow. He came from a well-known Glasgow mercantile family, which had made its fortune in the Virginia trade. His grandfather, also James, diversified the family business in coalmining, and his uncle, Colin, expanded it further by acquiring the Clyde Iron Works in 1810. After working for a short while in his father's law firm, the younger James Dunlop went to work for his uncle, and along with his brother, fell heir to the Clyde Iron Company in 1837. However, in 1857 he suffered serious financial difficulties in the wake of the Western Bank failure, and he thereafter withdrew from business activity. A Liberal, he was vice-chairman of the Glasgow Anti-Corn Law Association at the time of his Council career. Died 19/1/1893; estate, £634.

160. DUNLOP, Sir Thomas - 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1901-17 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1906-05; Bailie, 1906-10; Lord Provost, 1914-17. Born 1855, Glasgow. After serving an apprenticeship in the office of Gillespie, Cathcart & Fraser, East India merchants, he entered the family business of Thomas Dunlop & Sons, flour importers, ship owners and ship brokers. The Dunlops ran the Queen Line of steamers and the Clan Line of sailing ships. A deeply committed Conservative, he was Lord Provost during most of the First World War, and played a prominent part in Glasgow's military recruitment drive. Noted as a keen yachtsman, he died 29/1/1938; estate, £218,287.

161. DUNN, John - 2nd Ward, 1893-96 & 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1896-97 (retired). Born 1855, Glasgow. Closely connected with Glasgow's East End, he was involved in a succession of enterprises, including the manufacture of packing cases, a wholesale tea merchants, and latterly a bakery. An active Liberal, connected with the Camlachie constituency, he was an member of the Parkhead United Presbyterian Church, and closely associated with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. His date of death, sometime after 1919, has not been traced.

162. EADIE, James, sen. - 1st Ward, 1872-75 (retired). Born 1799, Glasgow. A partner in the firm of Eadie & Spencer, lap welded boiler tube makers, which became James Eadie & Sons in 1875. He stood for the pro-temperance interest in 1872; his views, otherwise, were described by the Glasgow Herald as "colourless". Died 19/6/1876; estate, £14,104.

163. EDMISTON, Archibald - 15th Ward, 1846-47 (retired). Born Glasgow, date unknown. In 1845 he founded the firm of Edmiston & Mitchells, timber brokers and importers, along with his brother Robert and Alexander Mitchell. The Gorbals-based company had substantial trading connections with the Baltic, North America, Latin America and Indo-China. Uncle of Robert Edmiston (q.v.). Died 8/11/1848; estate, £6,451.

164. EDMISTON, Robert - 14th Ward, 1859 (defeated). Born 1821, Glasgow. A partner in the firm of Edmiston & Mitchells, timber brokers and commission merchants, he held the record for the shortest period of Council office between 1833 and 1912. He was appointed on an interim basis, on 28th October 1859, and was defeated in the municipal election four days later. Nephew of Archibald Edmiston (q.v.) Died 21/3/1875; estate, £13,320.

165. ERSKINE, James - 13th/Anderston Ward, 1898-1901 (defeated) & 1910-13 (defeated). Born Paisley, Renfrewshire, date unknown. He studied both arts and medicine at Glasgow University, qualifying as a doctor in 1882. He specialised in diseases of the ear, and spent some time at the University of Berlin furthering his knowledge of the subject. On his return to Glasgow he took up various appointments, including that of aural surgeon to Anderson's College Dispensary and assistant surgeon in the Glasgow Ear Hospital. A United Presbyterian, he joined the ILP, but remained close to Liberalism, and was sometimes at odds with the Labour group on the Council. A particular friend, who shared his interest in German affairs, was Daniel Macaulay Stevenson (q.v.). Both were leading lights

in the Glasgow Fabian Society. Understandably, Erskine took a particular interest in health and welfare matters. Died 4/3/1922; estate, £1,326.

166. EWING, Alexander - Dean of Guild, 1870-72. Born 1811, Greenock, Renfrewshire. A partner in the firm of Ewing, Angus & Co., grain merchants, he was a prominent figure in the city's commercial life. A Liberal, he was also noted as an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 13/3/1876; estate, £24,005.

167. EWING, Sir Archibald Orr - Dean of Guild, 1864-66. Born 1818, Glasgow. He was initially the manager of his brother's firm of Turkey-red dyers, but in 1845 - with the help of brother, John - he established his own firm of Archibald Orr Ewing, with extensive works in the Vale of Leven. His first business partner in the venture was William Miller of Eastwood (q.v.). In 1868 Ewing was returned as Conservative MP for Dunbartonshire, where his business was based, and held the seat until his retirement in 1892. A staunch member of the Established Church, he received a Baronetcy in 1886. Died 27/11/1893; estate, £1,081,558.

168. FAIRLEY, Matthew - 11th Ward, 1879-82 (defeated). Born 1814, Glasgow. Head of the firm of Matthew Fairley & Co., tea merchants. He was the son of a minister in the strict Reformed Presbyterian Church, which forbade its members to participate in civil elections, and served as an elder in the Great Hamilton Street congregation for many years. In 1876 the Church merged with the Free Church, and thus relaxed its strictures on municipal activity. Fairley was defeated in the 1882 elections by the pro-temperance Malcolm Campbell (q.v.) Died 3/10/1887; estate, £6,073.

169. FARQUHAR, John - 9th Ward, 1874-83 (retired); River Bailie, 1877-78; Bailie, 1878-83. Born 1825, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. Senior partner in the firm of Farquhar & Roxburgh, grain merchants, which subsequently became Farquhar & Robertson. A Liberal, noted for his interest in housing and the temperance issue. Died 10/11/1901; estate, £5,400.

170. FERGUS, Andrew - 7th Ward, 1870-74 (retired). Born 1822, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland, the son of a minister in the Scotch Church there. He trained as a doctor at King's College, London and Glasgow University, practising in Glasgow from 1845. His experience during the cholera epidemics of

1848-49 and 1853 led him to take a keen interest in sanitary improvement, expounding his views as an prominent member of the Glasgow Philosophical Society. Died 29/7/1887; estate, £23,763.

171. FERGUSON, John - 4th Ward, 1893-96 & 2nd/Calton Ward, 1896-1906 (died); Bailie, 1899-1902. Born 1836, Belfast, Ireland. He served an apprenticeship to the stationery business in Belfast, becoming a journeyman, then a commercial traveller. Ferguson settled in Glasgow in 1859, and became a partner in Cameron, Ferguson & Co., wholesale, export and manufacturing stationers. From an early stage he was prominently associated with the Irish Home Rule movement in the West of Scotland, and from the 1880s zealously advocated Georgeite ideas on the taxation of land values. Placing Home Rule interests uppermost, he was often at odds with local Liberals, and became a founder member of the Scottish Labour Party in 1888. He eventually returned to the Liberal fold, but remained a driving force behind the "Stalwart" group of pro-labour Glasgow councillors until his death, and was a crucial link between the Irish community, the labour movement and radical politics. A long-time member of the St. Cyprian Scottish Episcopal Church, Lenzie, he left - characteristically - over a difference of opinion, and was thereafter aligned with no congregation. He was yet another councillor who died as the result of a tramway accident, on 23/4/1906. Estate, £10,833.

172. FIFE, William - 6th Ward, 1891-96 & 1896-1902 (retired); Bailie, 1896-1900. Born 1835, Anderston, then outside Glasgow. Although a commission merchant to trade, he came from a weaving background, with strong family connections with the Anderston United Presbyterian Church. He subsequently joined the Renfield Street and Camphill congregations, remaining to the fore in religious and philanthropic affairs, and serving as President of the Glasgow YMCA between 1858 and 1869. A committed Liberal, he was closely allied to the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 20/10/1906; estate, £3,552.

173. FILSHILL, John - 3rd Ward, 1879-90 (retired); Bailie, 1884-85; Master of Works, 1885. Born 1830, Glasgow. A confectioner and preserve maker, based in the Gallowgate, who started up business after spending time with Gray, Dunn & Co., biscuit manufacturers. He was active in the municipal affairs of Kirkintilloch, along with James Downie (q.v.), before devoting his attention to Glasgow Town Council. A member of Free St. Andrew's Church, and an active Liberal, he was noted for his forthright pro-temperance views. Died 13/2/1897; estate, £11,160.

174. FINLAY, John - 4th Ward, 1873-82 (retired); River Bailie, 1879-81; Bailie, 1881-82. Born 1812, in the Gorbals, then outside Glasgow. Senior partner in the firm of John Finlay & Co., furnishing ironmongers, blacksmiths, brassfounders and tinsmiths, based at the Rumford Foundry, in Glasgow's East End. He had retired by the time of his election to the Council. Finlay also served as the first Chief Magistrate to the Police Burgh of West Pollokshields. He was an elder in the Maxwell Parish congregation of the Established Church. Died 17/8/1883; his estate has not been traced.

175. FINLAY, William - 5th Ward, 1893-96 & 8th/Townhead Ward, 1896-1910 (died); Bailie, 1900-04. Born 1849, Glasgow. The son of a schoolteacher, he was apprenticed to the grocery trade, and in 1872 started his own business, latterly specialising in grain. An active Conservative, he was connected firstly with the Townhead congregation of the Established Church, and later with the St. Paul's congregation. Died 12/5/1910; estate, £4,905.

176. FLEMING, James Brown - 23rd Ward, 1891-93 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1891-93. Born 1840, Glasgow. His father, John Park Fleming, was a well-known city lawyer, in partnership with Mathew Montgomerie. From the 1840s the two men were responsible for developing the suburb of Kelvinside, which came to be one of the most desirable residential areas in Glasgow. Fleming, junior, was brought up in Kelvinside, and after a legal training, inherited the estate in 1869. Thereafter he personally administered the running of Kelvinside, until its amalgamation with Glasgow in 1891. Fleming was one of the foremost figures in the pro-annexation movement prior to this time. A staunch Conservative, he nevertheless came from a prominent Free Church family, and had strong connections with the Kelvinside congregation. Died 18/6/1899; estate, £24,138.

177. FLEMING, John [of Claremont] - 5th Ward, 1833-38 (defeated) & 1st Ward, 1839-40 (resigned); Bailie, 1833-35 & 1836-37; Master of Works, 1833-34. Born 1782, Glasgow. An East India merchant, who had the distinction of serving as "pretender" to the Lord Provostship between 1837-40, after a notorious disputed election with Henry Dunlop (q.v.). Dunlop was declared the winner after litigation, but in a gesture of defiance Fleming held on to the Lord Provost's regalia until 1840. He was a Liberal, allied with the Whiggishly-inclined "Cliques" group on the Council. Died 17/5/1846; estate, £5,490.

178. FLEMING, John - 1st Ward, 1845-46 & 3rd Ward, 1846-59 (retired); Bailie, 1854-56. Born 1796, Glasgow. A partner in the firm of W. & J. Fleming & Co., flax, hemp and jute spinners, and linen, sailcloth and sacking manufacturers. Fleming's had works in Bridgeton, Glasgow, and Meadowside, Dundee. In politics, he was a Liberal. His date of death, sometime after 1861, has not been traced.

179. FLEMING, Robert - 4th Ward, 1839-44 (retired) & 5th Ward, 1846-48 (retired). Born 1801, Glasgow. Senior partner in the firm of P. & R. Fleming, ironmongers and ironmerchants, which was established by his father. He was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical Alliance prior to 1843. Died of cholera on 18/12/1848, at the height of the epidemic. Estate, £18,948.

180. FORRESTER, James Merry - 8th Ward, 1881-84 (retired). Born 1836, Glasgow. A stockbroker and accountant, Forrester was a well-known figure on Glasgow's Stock Exchange. His brief venture into municipal politics coincided with the period of the campaign to integrate Kelvinside into Glasgow, in which he was a leading activist. In later life he was chiefly known for his devotion to the Volunteer movement, having command of the 5th Lanark Corps. A Free Churchman, he belonged to the Kelvinside congregation. In politics he was a Liberal with Unionist sympathies. Nephew of James Merry, the wealthy coal and iron master, who was Liberal MP for Falkirk Burghs between 1859 and 1874. Died 25/7/1914; estate, £10,217.

181. FORRESTER, John - 8th Ward, 1846-56 (defeated). Born 1799, Cambuslang, Lanarkshire. He was the founder of the well-known firm of John Forrester, fancy bakers, pastry cooks and confectioners, based at Gordon Street. Forrester's pioneered the "artistic form of wedding cake" in Glasgow, and latterly specialised in large-scale catering, particularly on the occasion of ship launches. The firm also provided the catering at the opening of the Loch Katrine Water Works by Queen Victoria in 1859. A prominent member of the Incorporation of Bakers, Forrester first entered public service as a Glasgow Police Commissioner between 1842-46. Died 29/5/1860; estate, £5,426.

182. FORSYTH, Henry - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1908-13 (defeated); Bailie, 1912-13. Date & place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of Henry Forsyth & Son, fleshers. He does not seem to have been related to William Forsyth (q.v.). Died 28/4/1936; estate,

£82,303.

183. FORSYTH, William - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1897-1906 (defeated); Bailie, 1904-06. Born 1858, Glasgow. Senior partner in the firm of William Forsyth & Sons, fleshers, based in Glasgow's East End. An ILP member, and office bearer in St. John's Methodist Church, he had a strong pro-temperance commitment. Died 24/7/1939; estate, £534.

184. FOWLER, Andrew - Deacon Convener, 1842-44; 5th Ward, 1854-65 (died); Bailie, 1858-60. Born 1795, Crail, Fifeshire. He was employed at first with his father-in-law's firm of Cowan & Co., nurserymen, florists and seedsmen, but was latterly with his own business of Fowler & Son. Although his offices were in Glasgow, he ran his nurseries from his home - Cessnock House - near Govan. He was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical Alliance prior to 1843, but after this time was associated with Liberal causes, such as Italian independence. Fowler represented the Incorporation of Gardeners as Deacon Convener. Died 4/5/1865; estate, £1,474.

185. FRASER, James - 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1902-07 (resigned). Born 1856, Wick, Caithness. Trained as a tailor, he came to Glasgow as a youth, where he eventually became head of the firm of Fraser, Ross & Co., wholesale clothiers, Ingram Street. He was a Liberal, but had pro-Labour sympathies, and was active in the movement for the taxation of land values. Like Angus Campbell and John Ferguson (q.v.), he was another town councillor who sustained serious injury as the result of a tramway accident, which precipitated his death on 27/8/1908. His estate has not been traced.

186. FULTON, David - 3rd Ward, 1874-77 (retired). Born 1821, East Kilbride, Lanarkshire, but came to Glasgow as an infant. Senior partner in the firm of David Fulton & Co., engravers to calico printers, Duke Street Engraving Works. A Liberal, and member of Greyfriars United Presbyterian Church, he was a leading activist in the Scottish Temperance League. Died 15/12/1883; estate, £60,321.

187. GALBRAITH, Andrew - Dean of Guild, 1848-50; 10th Ward, 1854-63 (retired); Bailie, 1855-57; Lord Provost, 1857-60. Born 1799, Campbeltown, Argyllshire. The son of a sheep farmer, he came to Glasgow as a youth, and eventually went into partnership with his cousin, Alexander Johnston (q.v.), in the firm of Johnston, Galbraith & Co., cotton-spinners and power-loom

manufacturers. he set up in business with his brother after the death of Johnston in 1844, under the firm of A. & A. Galbraith, and developed substantial foreign connections. Like his cousin, he was a Liberal, and a keen supporter of free trade. Died 29/11/1885; estate, £12,954.

188. GALBRAITH, John Sands - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1907-10 (defeated); 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1919-20 & 22nd/Kelvinside Ward, 1920-23 (died). Born 1857, Glasgow. The son of an accountant, he graduated with a degree in law from Glasgow University in 1881, and four years later set up his own practice, in partnership with David McGill. A temperance campaigner, prominent in the Abstainers' Union, he was a long-standing member of Kelvinside Free Church. Died 30/5/1923; estate, £3,178.

189. GALT, Robert - 5th Ward, 1850-54 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1852-53; River Bailie, 1853-54. Born 1803, Saltcoats, Ayrshire. After coming to Glasgow, he set up on his own as a silk mercer, based in the Trongate. After 1854 he established an accountancy business with his son. Died 9/3/1884; estate, £5,993.

190. GARDINER, James - 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1906-12 (defeated); River Bailie, 1912. Born Glasgow, date unknown. Head of the firm of James Gardiner & Son, wholesale fruit and vegetable merchants, established by his father. He was regarded as one of the most successful middle-men in the trade, supplying much produce to Ireland. An ardent Liberal, he belonged to the Elgin Place Congregational Church. Active in the Independent Order of Good Templars, he was a strong supporter of the Council's Progressive, pro-temperance group. Died 28/12/1928; estate, £2,839.

191. GARDINER, Joseph, sen. - 7th Ward, 1883-86 (died). Born 1817, Ladyburn, Renfrewshire. In 1840 he established the firm of Gardiner & Co., clothier contractors, which specialised in supplies to the army, Volunteer and police forces. A Trades' House activist, he was associated with the Incorporation of Tailors. Died 26/5/1887; estate, £38,353.

192. GAREY, John - 17th Ward, 1891-96 & 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1896-1907 (retired); Master of Works, 1900-01. Born 1854, Maidens, Ayrshire, but brought up in Girvan. After medical training, in 1884 he set up a practice in Govanhill, where he became active in local politics. For a number of years he was

President of the Govanhill Liberal Association, and was active in the Scottish Temperance League. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Govanhill and Queen's Park congregations. Died 8/6/1914; estate, £3,352.

193. GARVIE, William Bryce - 1st Ward, 1871-79 (retired). Born 1815, Haddington, East Lothian. Head of his own business as a mineral, property and land agent. He was a Liberal, of strong pro-temperance views. Died 10/4/1890; his estate has not been traced.

194. GEMMILL, Andrew - 15th Ward, 1847-63 (resigned); Bailie, 1858-61. Born 1803, in Calton, then outside Glasgow. In 1821 his father emigrated with most of the large Gemmill family to New Lanark, Canada, but Andrew - the eldest surviving son - remained behind. He trained as a lawyer, achieving prominence in 1838 when he acted for the defence of the Glasgow cotton-spinners who were ultimately convicted of conspiracy and murder. He was active in Gorbals affairs prior to 1846, and was Chief Magistrate at the time of the amalgamation of the Barony with Glasgow. His South-Side interests prompted him to take a leading role in the Gorbals Gravitation Company, which was formed to introduce a water supply to the district. A Liberal, he had pro-temperance sympathies, but did not ally himself with the Council's evangelical group during the 1850s. In 1863 he was involved in a bitter public wrangle with James Moir (q.v.) over alleged financial irregularities, and subsequently resigned from his municipal seat. Died 7/7/1872; estate, £14,321.

195. GIBSON, Andrew Scott - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1901-02, 17th/Woodside Ward, 1902-06 & 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1906-09 (resigned); 27th/Plantation Ward, 1912-14 (defeated); 2nd/Calton Ward, 1919-20 (resigned). Born 1878, Glasgow. Gibson made his name in his early twenties as an outstanding public speaker, of charismatic qualities, and his subsequent success rested almost entirely on his persuasive rhetorical skills. He was involved in several abortive business ventures during the 1900s, including a boot and shoe shop, a painter and decorators, and a partnership in the Tivoli Music Hall. His defeat of Samuel Chisholm (q.v.) in the 1902 municipal election was regarded as a major victory against the Corporation's deeply-entrenched pro-temperance party; however, Gibson's connection with the drinks' trade was a source of fierce controversy throughout his career. He adopted an aggressively populist political stance, deriving elements of his philosophy from the pro-labour "Stalwart" platform, but resolutely distancing himself from any organised municipal grouping. He went bankrupt in 1909 as a result of successful litigation by W.F. Anderson (q.v.) for

defamation. Thereafter he never had the same influence, although he was returned as a councillor on two further occasions. In 1920 he resigned his seat after creating further sensation by attempting to cut his throat. His health did not recover, and he died 17/7/1921.

196. GILCHRIST, Archibald - Deacon Convener, 1875077. Born 1822, Port Dundas, Glasgow. The son of an innkeeper, he was apprenticed at an early age to his uncle, who ran a foundry and millwright business. After this time he worked for Tod & McGregor, engineers and shipbuilders, as a draughtsman, rising to become manager of the engineering shop. In 1857 he was asked to become a partner in the firm of Barclay, Curle & Co., based in Whiteinch, near Partick. His career prospered after this time, and he became a prominent figure in Glasgow's business circles. A staunch Conservative, he was a founder member of Sandyford Established Church. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 8/1/1900; estate, £81,556.

197. GILKISON, Robert - 11th Ward, 1859-68 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1861-62; River Bailie, 1862-63; Bailie, 1864-68. Born 1821, Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire. He started off his business career as a ship and insurance broker, but subsequently joined the family firm of Robert Gilkison & Co., cotton-spinners and power-loom cloth manufacturers. The firm had works at Blackburn and Linlithgow, as well as in Glasgow. Gilkison's wife was Harriet Hogg, daughter of James Hogg, one of the outstanding figures of nineteenth century Scottish literature. A Liberal, he emigrated to New Zealand during the 1870s, where he died 15/12/1879. Estate, £718.

198. GILMOUR, David - 2nd Ward, 1848-50 (resigned). Born 1813, Glasgow. The son of a baker, he followed the family trade, with his own business in the Gallowgate. Gilmour served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner between 1843 and 1846. In politics he was a Liberal. Brother of William Gilmour (q.v.). Died 25/2/1895; estate, £12,735.

199. GILMOUR, John - 12th Ward, 1846-50 (retired); Bailie, 1846-47. Born 1802, Glasgow. The son of William Gilmour of Oatlands (q.v.), he entered the family business of William Gilmour & Co., wholesale woollen drapers, in the Gallowgate. The firm went bankrupt in 1858, as a result of the failure of the Western Bank of Scotland. Died 19/1/1882; his estate has not been traced.

200. GILMOUR, William [of Oatlands] - 1st Ward, 1833-39 (retired); Bailie, 1833-36. Born 1778, Denny, Stirlingshire. Head of the firm of William Gilmour & Co., wholesale woollen drapers. A supporter of the Council's "Clique" group of Whiggishly-inclined Liberals, he was associated with James Lumsden and Henry Brock (q.v.) in the founding of the Clydesdale Bank in 1838, and was thereafter a director of the Bank. Father of John Gilmour (q.v.), he died 6/3/1848. Estate, £66,036.

201. GILMOUR, William - 3rd Ward, 1849-55 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1850-51; River Bailie, 1851-52; Bailie, 1852-55. Born 1804, Glasgow. A writer by profession, he acted for many years as Secretary to the Bakers' Incorporation, with which his family had close connections. Brother of David Gilmour (q.v.), and shared the same Liberal politics. Died 13/2/1867; estate, £851.

202. GOLDIE, James - Deacon Convener, 1903-05. Born 1844, Hutchesontown, then outside Glasgow. On leaving school he served an apprenticeship with the firm of Shields & Duff, measurers, prior to entering the family brickmaking business, which his father renamed James Goldie & Son. Goldie's bricks went into the construction of many industrial buildings, notably the Fairfield shipyards at Govan and Templeton's Carpet Factory in Glasgow's East End. Goldie belonged to Belhaven United Presbyterian Church, and as Deacon Convener represented the Incorporation of Wrights. Died 6/2/1913; estate, £75,154.

203. GOURLAY, James - 15th Ward, 1849-54 & 8th Ward, 1854-56 (retired); Bailie, 1850-54. Born 1804, St. Andrews, Fifeshire. The son of an ironmonger, Gourlay moved to Glasgow with his family following his father's death. He served an apprenticeship with the firm of Kerr & Adam, smallware manufacturers and warehousemen, then became a commercial traveller, crossing frequently to Ireland. In 1838 he helped to found the Commercial Travellers' Society of Scotland. Three years later he started business on his own as an accountant, achieving rapid success. His varied business career did not rest there; in 1855 he took up the agency of the Laurieston branch of the Bank of Scotland, and thereafter his family was closely connected with banking affairs. A Liberal and devoted United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Erskine congregation, and also lent his support to the Evangelical Alliance. He was prominently involved in promoting the Loch Katrine water scheme during the 1850s. Father of Robert Gourlay (q.v.). Died 17/5/1872; estate, £29,333.

204. GOURLAY, Robert - Dean of Guild, 1900-02. Born 1840, Glasgow. Son of James Gourlay (q.v.), at the age of sixteen he joined the Laurieston branch of the Bank of Scotland, where his father was the manager. In 1861 he was transferred to the Bank's head office in Edinburgh, and eight years later returned to the Glasgow head office, where he became manager. Like his father, he was a United Presbyterian, belonging to the Erskine then Belhaven congregations. His second wife was Jane McPhail, daughter of Duncan (q.v.). Died 27/12/1916; estate, £61,295.

205. GOURLIE, William - 14th Ward, 1852-56 (died). Born 1815, Glasgow. The son of a well-known calico printer, he was a partner in the family firm of William Gourlie & Son. A committed Liberal, his wife, Agnes, was the daughter of William P. Paton (q.v.), while his sister - also Agnes - was the wife of John Blackie; junior, (q.v.). Died, suddenly, 24/6/1856; estate, £22,129.

206. GOVAN, William, jun. - 13th Ward, 1855-65 (resigned); Bailie, 1860-63. Born 1819, Glasgow. A partner in the family firm of William Govan & Son, muslin manufacturers, based in Pollokshaws. A founder member of the Scottish Temperance League in 1844, he was a zealous advocate of the temperance cause for the rest of his life, latterly associated with the evangelically-inclined Blue Ribbon Movement. An active Liberal, and an outspoken campaigner for the North during the American Civil War, he was a leading member of the Glasgow Evangelical Association. Govan was almost certainly a Free Churchman, although no definite church membership has been traced. His municipal claim to fame was his exposé of the events surrounding the purchase of the McLellan Galleries in 1856. Died 25/9/1883; estate, £36,992.

207. GRAHAM, Donald - Dean of Guild, 1896-98. Born 1844, Oporto, Portugal. His father, John Graham, was a member of the Graham's port family. Unusually for a Glasgow civic representative, he was educated at an English public school, attending Harrow. He subsequently followed his father's footsteps into William Graham & Co., taking charge of the Bombay branch of the firm in 1865. He lived in India for a number of years, becoming a prominent figure in Bombay's commercial life. Graham returned to Glasgow during the 1880s, and died 23/1/1901, as the result of a carriage accident. Estate, £342,214.

208. GRAHAM, Duncan - 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1907-20 & 12th/Exchange Ward, 1920-34 (died); Bailie, 1912-17; treasurer, 1923-26. Born 1858, Comrie, Perthshire, where his father was

the dominie. As a youth he was apprenticed to the grocery trade in Alloa, and worked for a time as a commercial traveller. He subsequently set up his own business in Glasgow as a wholesale provision merchant, and his work experience led to his appointment as Chairman of the Committee dealing with food control in Glasgow during the First World War. An active Liberal, and keen sportsman, he was a director and latterly Chairman of Rangers Football Club. Died 15/11/1934; estate, £35,974.

209. GRAHAM, James - Deacon Convener, 1833 and 1835, serving during two separate years. Date & place of birth unknown. A wright and builder to trade, he represented the Incorporation of Wrights as Deacon Convener. His son, also James (q.v.), inherited the family business. A Trades' representative in the unreformed Town Council, he was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843. Died 18/3/1850; estate, £1,855.

210. GRAHAM, James - 9th Ward, 1852-63 (retired); Bailie, 1853-55; Master of Works, 1856-61; Deacon Convener, 1863-65. Born 1804, Glasgow. Like his father, James (q.v.), he was a wright and builder, and followed family tradition by representing the Incorporation of Wrights as Deacon Convener. He was associated with the Evangelical Alliance while serving as a councillor. Died 27/6/1882; estate, £21,399.

211. GRAHAM, Sir Robert - 10th Ward, 1884-96 (defeated) & 10th/Exchange Ward, 1897-1914 (retired); Bailie, 1889-93; Master of Works, 1902-03; Treasurer, 1908-11. Born 1846, Greenock, Renfrewshire, but brought up in Beith, Ayrshire. Came to Glasgow in 1863, and entered the service of a newsagent. After gaining further business experience in the offices of the Glasgow Herald, he founded the firm of Robert Graham & Co., wholesale newsagents, in the South Side of Glasgow, later opening a chain of bookstalls in city railway stations. A former Chairman of the Glasgow Liberal Association, he nevertheless came into conflict with pro-temperance colleagues over his relaxed views on the licensing question. He was the first serving member of the Corporation to be awarded the Freedom of Glasgow in 1913, and received a knighthood in 1917. Died 11/2/1929; estate, £45,673.

212. GRAHAME, Robert [of Whitehill] - 1st Ward, 1833-34; Lord Provost, 1833-34. Born 1759, Glasgow. His father, Thomas, was a prominent writer in the city, and Robert joined the family business at an early age, later entering into partnership with

Andrew Mitchell under the firm of Grahame & Mitchell. From his youth he was an unswerving adherent to the cause of political reform, and an outspoken critic of Government policy in Scotland during the 1790s. He acted as one of the legal agents in defence of Thomas Muir of Huntershill, who was transported for sedition in 1794, and took a prominent part in the campaign to reprieve Hardie, Baird and Wilson, executed for their part in the so-called "Radical War" of 1820. In addition to his legal interests, he was one of the original partners in the firm of Charles Tennant & Co., whose St. Rollox chemical works became a thriving concern. An Established Churchman, Grahame was elected Lord Provost of the first reformed Town Council as a tribute to his long-standing political commitment; however, he did not intend to remain a Council representative, and retired the following year. He subsequently retired to Hatton Hall, Northamptonshire, where he died at an advanced age on 28/12/1851. His estate does not appear to have been recorded in Scotland.

213. GRANT, George, jun. - 1st Ward, 1856-65; Bailie, 1857-59 & 1862-65 (resigned). Born 1816, Glasgow. The son of a cotton-spinner, he was a partner in the family business of George Grant & Sons, with power-loom weaving works at Broad Street, Mile-End. Died 27/4/1866; estate, £69,698.

214. GRAY, Charles - 4th Ward, 1852-58 (died). Born 1801, Glasgow. He was in partnership with his brother in the firm of Charles & David Gray, distillers. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 19/3/1858, in London, en route to Madeira. His estate has not been traced.

215. GRAY, James - 10th Ward, 1879-96 & 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1896-1907 (retired); Bailie, 1884-88; Master of Works, 1890-91; Treasurer, 1893-96 & 1899. Born 1838, Campsie, Stirlingshire. Came to Glasgow in 1854, and served an apprenticeship with Andrew Inglis, hat and cap manufacturer, in the Trongate. He eventually became a partner in the firm, which was renamed James & John Gray, after the death of the original proprietor. An active Liberal prior to 1886, he withdrew from political involvement after this time, and thereafter had wavering allegiances. His previous pro-temperance commitment similarly faltered. Gray was noted on the Corporation for his "economist" approach to municipal affairs. An Established Churchman, he successively belonged to the congregations based in the parishes of St. George's and Pollokshields. Died 16/4/1923; estate, £35,911.

216. GRAY, John Boyle [of Cranberrymoss] - 1st Ward, 1834-39 (resigned). Born Glasgow, date unknown. His father was a textile manufacturer, but Gray trained as a writer, and latterly formed a partnership with John Wilson, who became Town Clerk of Rothesay Burgh. A radical Liberal, Gray died 26/10/1856. Estate, £4,652.

217. GRAY, Walter - 14th Ward, 1860-63 (died); Bailie, 1861-63. Born Glasgow, date unknown. Head of the firm of Walter Gray & Co., West India merchants, and also a partner in the firm of Gray, Cunningham & Co. An Established Churchman, he called himself a "Liberal-Conservative" when standing for election in 1860. Died 13/9/1863; estate, £48,515.

218. GRAY, William - Dean of Guild, 1840-42. Date & place of birth unknown. A partner in the firm of Wighton, Gray & Co., commission merchants, he was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843. Died 28/3/1848; his estate has not been traced.

219. GRIERSON, Henry - 7th Ward, 1873-84 (retired). Born 1827, Borgue, Kirkcudbrightshire. He had a long-standing connection with his uncle's firm of George Gordon & Co., gingham and pullicate manufacturers, but retired at an early age from day-to-day business. In 1872 he was elected to the board of the North British Railway Company, and was thereafter intimately connected with railway matters. An Established Churchman, he was not politically active, although in later years identified with Unionism. From 1890 he lived at Liberton, Midlothian, where he died 26/1/1914. Estate, £71,349.

220. GUEST, Edward - 13th/Anderston Ward, 1901-10 (defeated), 1911-14 (defeated) & 1921-24 (defeated); Bailie, 1906-10. Born 1859, Quebec, Canada. Came to Glasgow with his family at the age of fifteen, and served an apprenticeship to a firm of painters and decorators. In 1889 he entered into partnership with his brother, under the designation of E. & H. Guest, with a painting business based in Anderston. Guest's religious affiliations were to the Wesleyan Methodist Church. An anti-socialist, he was repeatedly involved in confrontations with Labour candidates at municipal election time, especially James Erskine (q.v.). Died 26/2/1927; estate £601.

221. GUTHRIE, Thomas Cochrane - 9th Ward, 1887-96 & 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1896-99 (died); Bailie, 1891-95; Master of Works, 1898-99. Born 1849, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire. Came to

Glasgow during the 1860s, where he served an apprenticeship as junior clerk with a firm of shipowners and insurance brokers. He eventually became sole partner in the firm, renamed Guthrie, Macdonald, Hood & Co. Active in shipping affairs, he was a member of the Clyde Navigation Trust, and served as a Police Commissioner in Govan. In this connection, he was a driving force in the movement to unite Govan with Glasgow during the 1880s, in order to provide greater continuity over the administration of the river. An active Conservative - personally close to Sir William Pearce, MP for Govan 1885-89 - he was an Established Churchman, belonging to the Maxwell Parish congregation. Died 16/4/1899; estate, £9,973.

222. HAMILTON, Donald - 14th Ward, 1892-95 (defeated). Born 1845, Kildonan, Isle of Arran, Buteshire. He studied law at Glasgow University, and after serving a legal apprenticeship in Ayr, joined the Town Clerk's office in Glasgow under Angus Turner. After thirteen years, he was appointed to the post of Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages for the Hutchesontown district. A Conservative and Established Churchman, he belonged to the Uddingston congregation. Hamilton was a keen Volunteer and sportsman, becoming President of the Scottish Football Association; he was also one of the Council's Gaelic-speaking representatives. Died 24/9/1899; his estate has not been traced.

223. HAMILTON, James - 14th Ward, 1867-69 & 13th Ward, 1869-84; Bailie, 1870-72 & 1873-75; Treasurer, 1878-81. Born 1814, Greenock, Renfrewshire. Came to Glasgow in 1839, where he entered the firm of Robert Barclay & Co., shipbuilders and engineers, of Stobcross. In due course he became a partner in the firm of Barclay, Curle & Co., along with Anthony Inglis (q.v). Like his colleague, Hamilton was a Liberal, and one of the leading members of the Scottish Temperance League. Died 13/12/1894; estate, £53,315.

224. HAMILTON, James - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1896-1902 (died); Bailie, 1902. Born 1841, Glasgow. He ran his own business as a provision merchant in Parkhead, in the city's East End. A Liberal and active temperance campaigner, the cause of his death was a cerebral haemorrhage, which struck during "the midst of a fervent address on temperance" while addressing the annual convention of the Eastern Band of Hope Union. The date of his demise was 12/12/1902. Estate, £1,313.

225. HAMILTON, James Struthers - 14th Ward, 1878-87 (retired); Bailie, 1881-84. Born 1825, Glasgow. He was a partner in the

firm of Robert Thomson & Son, cotton-spinners and power-loom cloth manufacturers, based at the Adelphi Cotton Works, Hutchesontown. He had retired from business by the time he became active in municipal politics. Hamilton was a Conservative, and belonged to the Free Church. Died 6/1/1914; estate, £1,779

226. HAMILTON, John [of Dunfillan] - 2nd Ward, 1833-44 (retired) & 4th Ward, 1845-46. Born Glasgow, date unknown. A tobacco and snuff manufacturer, based in the Saltmarket, he was a Liberal, associated with the Council's Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group. Died 2/5/1864; his estate has not been traced.

227. HAMILTON, Peter - 7th Ward, 1848-53 (resigned). Born 1807, Glasgow. The son of a city merchant, he was a partner in the firm of William and James Davidson, muslin manufacturers. A Liberal, and staunch United Presbyterian, he was associated with the Evangelical Alliance during the 1850s. He became prominent in the affairs of the City Parochial Board after leaving the Town Council. Died 3/10/1878; estate, £4,988.

228. HAMILTON, William - 20th Ward, 1891-96 (retired); River Bailie, 1891-92; Bailie, 1892-95. Born 1826, Muirkirk, Ayrshire. He came to Glasgow as a boy, where he attended the Free Church Normal Seminary. The school had been founded by David Stow, silk merchant and prominent educationalist, who came into contact with the young Hamilton, and offered him a job at his Port Eglinton Spinning Company. When the works were sold to the Caledonian Railway Company during the 1870s, Hamilton became agent to the Pollokshields Branch of the British Linen Company Bank. He was closely identified with the South Side, serving as Chief Magistrate to the Police Burgh of East Pollokshields from 1879 to 1891. Although not politically active, he did identify with Liberalism, and belonged to the Eglinton Street Congregational Church. Died 29/8/1911; estate, £770.

229. HAMILTON, William David - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1911-14 (retired). Born 1862, Glasgow. Head of the firm of William D. Hamilton & Co., consulting engineers and valuers. He was a radical Liberal, supporting the cause of Scottish Home Rule and serving for several years as President of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values. Died 7/8/1944; estate, £342.

230. HANNAN, James - 1st Ward, 1849 (retired); Dean of Guild, 1852-54; 9th Ward, 1854-57 (defeated); 8th Ward, 1858-61 (retired); Bailie, 1855-57. Born 1805, Anderston, then outside

Glasgow. His father, Robert, was a partner in the "Anderstown Brewerie Company". The junior Hannan entered the firm of Henry Monteith & Co., Turkey red dyers and printers, at an early age, and he subsequently became a partner. His great-uncle had been one of the original founders of the firm. A Conservative, he was a strong supporter of the Established Church. Died 10/8/1888; estate, £474.

231. HANNAY, William Hay - 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1908-20 (died); Bailie, 1913-16. Born Glasgow, date unknown. During the 1860s he entered the firm of W.B. Dick & Co., oil merchants and refiners, and sole proprietors of Dick's (later Hannay's) patent anti-corrosive for ship's bottoms. The company became well-established throughout the United Kingdom, and Hannay rose to the position of managing director. A United Presbyterian, he was a member of the Belhaven congregation. Died 27/8/1920; estate, £34,607.

232. HARVEY, Alexander [of Govanhaugh] - 4th Ward, 1848-54 (retired) & 1858-63 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1849-50; River Bailie, 1850-51; Master of Works, 1852-53; Bailie, 1853-54. Born 1799, St. Ninian's, Stirlingshire. His father was a watchmaker and jeweller in Stirling, and Harvey initially followed the family trade. However, he developed an interest in chemistry, and was employed in this capacity at the St. Rollox works of Charles Tennant & Co. and later at the Barrowfield printworks of Henry Monteith & Co. In 1838 he established his own dyeworks, under the designation of Alexander Harvey & Son. A Liberal, and supporter of the Evangelical Alliance, he was the father-in-law of J.L.K. Jamieson (q.v.). Died 9/12/1876; estate, £24,563.

233. HARVIE, Robert - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1904-08 (died). Born 1852, Glasgow. Head of the firm of Robert Harvie & Son, bakers, based in Bridgeton. He belonged to the Fairbairn Free Church. Died 5/5/1908; estate, £7,669.

234. HASTIE, Alexander - 1st Ward, 1838-46 & 2nd Ward, 1846-48 (defeated); Bailie, 1842-44; Lord Provost, 1846-48. Born 1805, Glasgow. The son of Robert Hastie, a prominent Glasgow merchant, he entered a branch of the family business in Canada while still a youth. He returned to Glasgow shortly before his father's death in 1828, and became head of Hastie & Co. An active campaigner in the Glasgow Anti-Corn Law Association, his political interests prompted him to successfully stand for one of the two Glasgow Parliamentary seats in 1847. He became the first United Presbyterian to represent the city, and his support

for the Evangelical Alliance was a feature of the campaign. Hastie belonged to the East Campbell Street, then Berkley Street UP congregations. In 1848 he caused considerable resentment in the East End of Glasgow in the wake of the notorious "bread riots", which contributed to his defeat in the municipal poll by James Moir (q.v.). Nine years later he lost his Parliamentary seat, in a bitterly contested election. Following this time his health broke down, and he died 13/8/1864. Estate, £96,941.

235. HENDERSON, Francis - Dean of Guild, 1910-12. Born 1857, Glasgow. His father, John, was one of the founders of Henderson Bros., Ltd., steamship owners and agents, who ran the famous "Anchor Line". At the age of fifteen he entered the New York office of the firm, where he served for three years. After a brief period in Glasgow, he took charge of the Mersey Branch of the Anchor Line, based in Liverpool. He subsequently served as a Liverpool Town Councillor. Staying south of the border for nearly twenty years, he returned to Glasgow in 1900, taking control of the entire Henderson enterprise. He retired from business, and died 24/1/1934; estate, £175,015.

236. HENDERSON, James - 20th/Kingston Ward, 1903-12 (died); River Bailie, 1907-08; Bailie, 1909-12. Born 1843, Glasgow. He commenced his career as a cab driver, aged fourteen, and twelve years later set up his own business of James Henderson & Co. Henderson's became one of the most successful carriage hirers in Scotland, and was created a limited company in 1897. At this time its scope was greatly extended through the acquisition of the sizeable carriage and funeral concern of the old Glasgow Tramway Co. With his work base in the Govan-Ibrox area, Henderson became closely identified with Rangers Football Club, serving as a director. He was also President of the Scottish Football Association. Died 10/5/1912; his estate has not been traced.

237. HOEY, Samuel - 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1907-13 (defeated); Bailie, 1912-13. Born 1865, Glasgow. After serving an apprenticeship as a warehouseman, he set up a small draper's shop in Springburn during the 1880s. The business prospered, becoming one of the best known of its kind in Glasgow. Died 31/1/1937; estate, £5,532.

238. HOLMS, Archibald Campbell - 23rd Ward, 1891-96 (defeated); 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1897-1900 (retired). Born 1828, Paisley, Renfrewshire. He entered into partnership with his elder brother, under the firm of William Holms & Bros., worsted spinners, Greenhead Mills, Bridgeton. William subsequently

became Liberal MP for Paisley. While Archibald shared his brother's politics, his brand of Liberalism was regarded as over-cautious by some of the Council's Progressive group. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the congregation of St. Mary's, Partick. Holms was also an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 14/12/1918; his estate has not been traced.

239. HONEYMAN, John - 4th Ward, 1845-46 & 16th Ward, 1846-48 (resigned); Bailie, 1846-48. Born 1797, place unknown. Head of John Honeyman & Co., corn factors, he was a Liberal supporter. His son, also John, was an outstanding Glasgow architect, and a noted expert on Gothic design. Honeyman, senior, died 29/8/1871; his estate has not been traced.

240. HOPE, Alexander William - 22nd Ward, 1891-96 (retired). Born 1850, Glasgow. He was originally a partner in the firm of Hope & King, wine, spirit and commission merchants, with substantial French connections. The other partner was John C. King (q.v.). Hope retired from active business in 1890, and thereafter devoted his time to municipal affairs. A Liberal Unionist, he was an Established Churchman, belonging to the St. Stephen's Parish Church. Died 7/4/1914; estate, £26,669.

241. HOPE, David - 4th Ward, 1833-40 (retired) & 1842-45 (retired). Born 1791, Blackburn, Lancashire, but grew up in Annandale, Dumfriesshire. Came to Glasgow in 1803, where he became a partner in the firm of Fleming & Hope, commission merchants. He was allied to the Council's Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843. Died 6/9/1857; estate, £5,916.

242. HOULDSWORTH, John [of Cranstonhill] - 14th Ward, 1856-59 (died); Bailie, 1856-59. Born 1807, Cranstonhill, then outside Glasgow. His father, from Nottingham, founded the extensive cotton-spinning business of Henry Houldsworth & Sons, which was latterly based in Anderston. From the 1820s the Houldsworths increasingly diversified their interests into the iron trade, and established the Coltness Iron Works, Lanarkshire, in 1837. Thereafter they were identified as successful ironmasters, although John Houldsworth remained based in Anderston, where he was responsible for the Coltness Company's financial arrangements under his own merchant banking firm. The Houldsworth's played a prominent part in the civic affairs of Anderston prior to 1846, and John served as the Burgh's last Provost. He was recognised as a leading figure in the city's commercial circles, although a shadow was cast over his later

years due to his close connection with James Smith, architect, whose daughter Madeleine was involved in a sensational murder trial. A Liberal, Houldsworth came from one of Glasgow's most prominent Episcopal families. Brother-in-law of Patrick Playfair (q.v.). Died suddenly, 18/10/1859; estate, £110,593.

243. HUNTER, Archibald Jeffrey - 25th Ward, 1891-96 & 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1896-1903 (died); Bailie, 1896-99. Born 1821, Greenlaw, Berwickshire. He settled in Edinburgh during the 1840s, where he worked in the bakery business; thereafter he was employed in the trade at Crossmyloof, near Glasgow. He became involved in trade union affairs, and was appointed Secretary of the Bakers' Union in Glasgow. Although he established his own firm of bakers in 1868, he remained a prominent figure in the labour movement, serving as Secretary to Glasgow Trades' Council between 1880 and 1902. Identified as an "old style" trade unionist, he was a committed Liberal, strongly allied with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Town Council. Belonging for over fifty years to the Pollokshaws United Presbyterian Church, he was the father of James Jeffrey Hunter (q.v.). Died 26/1/1903; estate, £25.

244. HUNTER, James - 17th Ward, 1891-92 (resigned) & 22nd/Langside Ward, 1900-02 (defeated); Bailie, 1904-09. Born 1847, Yett, Dumfriesshire. Came to Glasgow in 1865, where he set up in business with his brother George as a grocer and wine merchant in the developing Crosshill district. He took a prominent part in the campaign to establish the Police Burgh of Govanhill in the 1870s, and subsequently served as Chief Magistrate. A dedicated Conservative, his involvement with the drinks' trade made him a target for pro-temperance activists. Died 6/10/1929; estate, £37,481.

245. HUNTER, James Jeffrey - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1899-1901 (resigned). Born 1861, Crossmyloof, Renfrewshire. Son of Archibald Jeffrey Hunter (q.v.), he served a legal apprenticeship, and set up in business as a writer in 1892. He inherited his father's devotion to radical Liberalism, and the United Presbyterian Church, but his main claim to fame was his zealous promotion of the Burns cult. From 1900 he was a senior member of the Federation of Burns Clubs, and was also the long-standing Secretary of the Glasgow and District Association of Burns Clubs. Died 27/11/1925; estate, £1,293.

246. HUNTER, Robert - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1911-18 (office "declared vacant"); Bailie, 1916-17. Date and place of birth unknown. A shadowy figure, his occupation was listed as that of

"engineer", although his precise business connections have not been traced. An ILP activist of long-standing, the circumstances surrounding his departure from the Council in 1918 remain obscure.

247. HUTCHISON, James - Dean of Guild, 1833-34; 3rd Ward, 1834-42 (retired). Born 1776, Paisley, Renfrewshire. The son of a Relief Church minister, he came to Glasgow in 1795, where he established the firm of James Hutchison & Co., manufacturers of plain lawns and other light fabrics. His brother, Robert (q.v.), was also involved in the business, which grew to substantial proportions; Hutchisons' had trading connections with London and the Continent. His Voluntaryist principles generally allied Hutchison with Liberalism, but he showed some sympathy for the Conservative-Evangelical alliance while serving on the Council. Died 14/12/1861; estate, £99,085.

248. HUTCHISON, John - 4th Ward, 1864-69 & 14th Ward, 1869-73 (retired). Born 1823, Perth. He was the son of a hardware merchant, who moved to Glasgow when Hutchison was an infant. Originally a partner in the firm of Hutchison & Brown, shipping agents and ship and insurance brokers, in 1868 he entered into partnership with his brother Peter (q.v.), as agents for the Mediterranean, French and Peninsular Steam Packet Company. The business was subsequently extended to include other European ports. The Hutchison brothers were prominent Free Churchmen, with John belonging to the Free Kelvinside congregation. He was described as an "independent" in politics, but showed a strong tendency towards Conservatism. Uncle of Thomas Holt Hutchison (q.v.). Died 15/3/1883; estate, £44,498.

249. HUTCHISON, Peter - 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1896-99 (died). Born 1834, Glasgow. He went to the United States as a youth, but returned to Glasgow shortly afterwards, where he joined the family hardware business. Along with his brother John (q.v.), he established the successful shipping firm of J. & P. Hutchison, becoming sole partner in 1883. Although a prominent member of the Anderston Free Church, he was an outspoken Conservative, resolutely opposed to the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. Among his many public positions he served as vice-chairman of the Scottish Protestant Alliance. Father of Thomas Holt Hutchison (q.v.). Died 7/9/1899; estate £138,497.

250. HUTCHISON, Robert - 3rd Ward, 1833-42 (resigned); Master of Works, 1835-41. Born 1782, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Along with his brother James (q.v.), he was a partner in the firm of James Hutchison & Co., manufacturers of plain lawn and other

light fabrics. A member of the Relief, later the United Presbyterian Church, in politics he was a Liberal. Died 16/11/1862; estate, £45,703.

251. HUTCHISON, Thomas Holt - 15th/Park Ward, 1910-18 (died); Bailie, 1915-18. Born 1861, Glasgow, the son of Peter Hutchison (q.v.). Following his education, which included a period of study in France and Germany, he entered the family firm of J. & P. Hutchison, shipping agents, of which he latterly became sole partner. In his municipal capacity he served as Convener of the Libraries Department, during which time the Commercial Library was established. Following family tradition, he was a committed Free Churchman, belonging to the Hillhead congregation. Died 23/6/1918; estate, £1,023,812.

252. HUTCHISON, William - 11th Ward, 1856-59 (resigned). Born 1809, Dalry, Ayrshire. Head of the firm of William Hutchison & Co., timber merchants, which subsequently became W. & C. Hutchison, Lancefield Saw Mills. Died 15/1/1870; his estate has not been traced.

253. INGLIS, Anthony - Deacon Convener, 1861-63. Born 1813, Partick, then outside Glasgow. His father was a farmer in the district, but subsequently set up a carrier's business. After serving an apprenticeship as a blacksmith, he entered the firm of William Paterson, Ann Street, but then set up in business for himself, taking his brother John into partnership. The firm of A. & J. Inglis initially took contracts from shipbuilders for ships' smithwork, but in 1847 diversified into marine engineering. Thereafter, the business expanded substantially, and in 1862 a yard and slipdock was acquired at Pointhouse, for the construction of iron ships. Inglis's close connection with Partick endured throughout his life, and he served as a Police Commissioner in the Burgh. However, he remained a committed member of the Anderston United Presbyterian Church. In politics he was a Liberal. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 10/1/1884; estate, £152,779.

254. IRWIN, Thomas James - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1908-20 (retired); Bailie, 1913-17. Born 1863, Dumbarton, the son of an army schoolmaster at the Castle there. He came to Glasgow in 1882 and entered the retail meat trade, subsequently becoming manager of the Glasgow Meat Market Co. In 1901 he set up in business on his own, under the firm of T.J. Irwin & Sons. He was a prominent member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Glasgow. Died 17/9/1930; estate, £2,098.

255. JACK, James Miller - 3rd Ward, 1890-96 & 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1896-97 (retired); Bailie, 1895-97. Born 1848, Lugar, Ayrshire. His family came to Glasgow in 1856, and the young Jack was brought up in the Gallowgate, where he served an apprenticeship as an ironmoulder with the firm of Alston & Gourlay. His father had been a trade union activist, and Jack inherited these inclinations, rising to a prominent position in the Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland. In 1879 he was appointed General Secretary, a position which he held for the rest of his life. An active Liberal, Jack fell foul of the pro-temperance lobby following his election to the Town Council, with accusations that he was being tacitly promoted by the drinks' trade; nevertheless, he remained an unswerving adherent to the Liberal cause. Jack was a long-standing member of Whitevale Free Church. Died 27/9/1912; estate, £970.

256. JACKSON, George - 11th Ward, 1878-85 (died); Bailie, 1883-85. Born 1840, Glasgow, although he spent much of his youth in the Gareloch district. Back in Glasgow he was apprenticed as a watchmaker and jeweller, and subsequently set up in business on his own. During the 1860s he became active in the political agitation over the Second Reform Bill, and was closely identified with Glasgow Trades' Council, of which he became Secretary. A zealous Liberal, he later became a leading light in the Glasgow Liberal Working Men's Electoral Union. Jackson was a protégé of erstwhile Chartists like James Moir (q.v.), and had a strong antipathy to the teetotal Liberalism of the powerful Collins clique on the Council. This partly derived from his commitment to the Established Church; he belonged to the Anderston congregation. A charismatic figure, he would almost certainly have been returned as one of Glasgow's MPs had not his health broken. Died 29/8/1885; estate, £2,177.

257. JAMIESON, Alexander, junior - 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1907-09 (resigned). Born in the 1880s, Glasgow. The son of a medical practitioner, he followed in his father's footsteps and duly qualified as a doctor in 1904. His family were noted evangelicals. Died 6/4/1950; estate, £2,044.

258. JAMIESON, John [of Shandon] - Dean of Guild, 1856-58. Born 1792, Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire. His family moved to Glasgow when Jamieson was still a youth, and he rose to become the senior partner in the firm of Paterson, Jamieson & Co., merchants and manufacturers. A staunch Liberal and United Presbyterian, he was leading figure in the Evangelical Alliance. Died 6/10/1871; estate, £78,199.

259. JAMIESON, John Lennox Kincaid - 16th Ward, 1880-83 (died). Born 1826, Milton of Campsie, Stirlingshire. Following training as an engineer, he entered the Royal Navy, serving with distinction in the Crimea. He left the navy after the war and became superintendent of the Pacific Steam Navigation Co., stationed on Tobago. Returning to Scotland in 1866, he was appointed engineering manager at John Elder & Co., subsequently becoming a partner in the firm. A Liberal, Jamieson was brother-in-law to William Collins (q.v.) and son-in-law to Alexander Harvey (q.v.). Died 2/7/1883; estate, £68,666.

260. JOHNSTON, Alexander [of Shieldhall] - 2nd Ward, 1833-41 (resigned). Born 1790, Campbeltown, Argyllshire. A cousin of Andrew Galbraith (q.v.), the two were partners in the firm of Johnston, Galbraith & Co., cotton-spinners and power loom manufacturers. Johnston also had business connections in Cuba and Honduras. He was a committed Liberal, and President of the Anti-Corn Law Association of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. On the strength of his free trade activity, he was elected MP for Kilmarnock Burghs in 1841, serving until his sudden death on 9/5/1844. Estate, £44,847.

261. JOHNSTON, James Aitchison - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1906-09 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of James A. Johnston, timber merchants, with offices in West George Street; however, his home was in Stirling. A shadowy figure, his whereabouts after 1916 have not been traced.

262. JOHNSTON, Peter - 15th Ward, 1848-49 (died). Born 1811, place unknown, although not Glaswegian. His occupation was listed as "smith, bellhanger, gasfitter and Inspector of Weights and Measures for the Barony of Gorbals". In politics he was a Liberal. Died suddenly, 29/4/1849, having served on the Council for only four months.

263. JOHNSTONE, James - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1897-1905 (defeated). Date & place of birth unknown. Johnstone was elected under the auspices of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and thereafter allied himself with the "Stalwart" group of councillors. The circumstances of the 1897 election were controversial, as it was believed that tacit drinks' trade support had helped to secure Johnstone's victory. He did little to dispel such speculation when in 1905, after his departure from municipal politics, he went to work as a traveller with James Murray & Sons, wine and spirit merchants. Died 15/11/1922; estate, £374.

264. KELLAR, Alexander - 1st Ward, 1846-52 (defeated). Date and place of birth unknown. Ran his own business as a merchant and shawl warehouseman. Kellar served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner immediately prior to 1846. A Liberal, his whereabouts after 1858 have not been traced in Glasgow.

265. KEMP, James Campbell - 7th Ward, 1876 (retired). Born 1843, Glasgow. A partner in his father's firm of David Kemp & Sons, originally founded in 1832. Kemp's specialised in the manufacture of ladies' costumes, including mantles, millinery, lingerie, silk, dress goods, shawls and furs. He served as a councillor for a few months on an interim basis. Died 28/6/1915; estate, £9,574.

266. KENNEDY, Alexander - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1901-04 (defeated); 23rd/Pollokshields Ward, 1909-20 & 32nd/Pollokshields Ward, 1920-34 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1912-13; Bailie, 1913-18; Master of Works, 1925-26. Born Glasgow, date unknown. After studying chemistry at Glasgow University, he became sole partner in the firm of Kennedy & Reid, rosin distillers, oil importers and manufacturers of lubricants. In politics he was a Conservative. His date of death has not been traced.

267. KENNEDY, Hugh - Deacon Convener, 1883-85. Born, 1825, Netherton, Dunbartonshire. Head of the firm of Hugh Kennedy & Sons, builders and railway contractors. He was active in Partick municipal politics, serving as the Police Burgh's Chief Magistrate between 1878-83. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Wrights. Died 31/10/1895; estate, £21,640.

268. KERR, Archibald - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1896-1900 (died). Born 1844, Ardrossan, Ayrshire, but grew up in Lochranza, Isle of Arran. He trained as a marine engineer, and spent much of his early life working in Latin America. In 1874 he returned to Scotland, and set up in business as an ironfounder, under the firm of Kerr & Co., Caledonia Foundry, Maryhill. Kerr was a keen pro-annexationist during the 1880s. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. Stephen's congregation. Died 2/1/1900; estate, £24,787.

269. KIDSTON, Richard - 5th Ward, 1835-44 (retired); Bailie, 1838-41. Born 1784, Halifax, Nova Scotia. His father was the head of William Kidston & Sons, merchants and shipowners, which specialised in the colonial timber trade. The Kidston family had temporarily settled in Canada when Richard was born. On

their return to Glasgow, the firm continued trading, although the second generation increasingly took control. A keen supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance while on the Council, Kidston joined the Free Church in 1843, becoming attached to the St. Enoch's congregation. He subsequently went to live in Helensburgh, and became involved in Church and civic affairs there. Died 21/2/1865; estate, £40,068.

270. KING, Sir James [of Levernholme and Castairs] - Dean of Guild, 1874-76 & 1894 (appointed on an interim basis); 7th Ward, 1886-89 (retired); Lord Provost, 1886-89. Born 1830, Glasgow. His father, John, was a merchant from Stirling, who became senior partner in both the Hurllet & Campsie Alum Co., prussiate of potash manufacturers, and McIntosh & Co., manufacturers of cudbear dyestuffs. King, junior, joined his father in the Hurllet & Campsie Company, after a University education. However, he interested himself in numerous other business concerns, notably the Clydesdale Bank; he served as Chairman between 1881 and 1911. His commercial connections turned him into a wealthy man, which was one reason why he was approached in 1886 with a unanimous request by town councillors to accept the office of Lord Provost. By the 1880s, the personal financial outlay attached to the Provostship was such as to prevent all but the richest citizens from standing. King was also a very popular man; although an active Conservative and a stalwart of the Established Church, he maintained a good working relationship with city Liberals. King was knighted in 1887, and received a baronetcy in 1888 (the first Lord Provost to be so distinguished). Brother of Robert King (q.v.) and brother-in-law of Robert Stewart (q.v.). Died 1/10/1911; estate, £705,496.

271. KING, John - 25th Ward, 1891-96 & 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1896-1902 (retired); Bailie, 1897-1902. Born 1852, Glasgow. After attending technical and scientific classes at the Anderston College, he joined his father's firm of David King & Sons, ironfounders, based at the Keppoch Iron Works, Possilpark. A committed Liberal and Free Churchman, belonging to the St. Paul's congregation, he was closely identified with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. His rôle as Senior Magistrate in the 1902 campaign to tighten the city's licensing arrangements was widely condemned by the drinks' trade, contributing to King's withdrawal from municipal activity that year. Died 17/11/1931; estate, £55,593.

272. KING, John Connel - 11th/Blythwood Ward, 1904-20 (defeated); Bailie, 1902-12. Born 1849, Glasgow. In 1874 he became the proprietor of the Glasgow Advertiser & Property

Circular, although he had numerous other business interests. In particular, he was a partner in the firm of Archibald Campbell, Hope & King, Ltd., formerly Hope & King, wine, spirit and commission merchants. Another partner in this enterprise was Alexander W. Hope (q.v.). Campbell, Hope & King were the owners of the Argyle Brewery, Edinburgh. Like Hope, King was a Liberal who turned Unionist in 1886. Died 9/7/1930; estate, £30,392.

273. KING, Robert [of Levernholme] - Dean of Guild, 1904-06. Born 1837, Glasgow. Son of John King and brother of Sir James King (q.v.), of the Hurler & Campsie Alum co., prussiate of potash manufacturers. Robert joined the firm after a University education. Like his elder brother, he was an active Conservative, and a stalwart of the Established Church. He was also a keen supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 22/3/1910; estate, £337,015.

274. KIRKLAND, Robert - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1904-20 (retired); Bailie, 1909-13. Born 1870, Larkhall, Lanarkshire. He came to Glasgow at an early age, settling in Springburn, where he conducted his own business as a printer and publisher. Died 16/2/1929; estate, £17,761.

275. KIRKPATRICK, Alexander Bryce - 14th/Sandyford Ward, 1902-15 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1906-07; Bailie, 1907-11; Treasurer, 1911-14. Born Glasgow, date unknown. His father was Thomas Kirkpatrick, a city draper. Although he trained as a stockbroker in London, he returned to Glasgow where he became a partner in the firm of Fraser, Kirkpatrick and Smith. For some years he was chairman of Glasgow Stock Exchange. A Liberal, active in temperance work, he was a member of Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church. Died 29/2/1915; estate, £127,627.

276. KIRKWOOD, James - Deacon Convener, 1905-07; 27th/Plantation Ward, 1912-19 (defeated). Born 1849, St. Quivox, Ayrshire. He came to Glasgow as a youth, where he worked for the firm of Robert Stirling, stockbrokers. He eventually became sole partner, changing the firm's name to Robert Kirkwood & Sons. A prominent figure in Govan's municipal affairs prior to the annexation to Glasgow in 1912, Kirkwood served for a time as Chief Magistrate. A stalwart of the Established Church, he represented the Incorporation of Coopers as Deacon Convener. Died 8/2/1922; his estate has not been traced.

277. LAING, John - 15th Ward, 1872-87 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1876-77; Bailie, 1877-81; Master of Works, 1882-83. Born 1825, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. He served an apprenticeship as a joiner, and worked for a while in the trade in the city before setting up in business as a property agent and valuator, under the firm of John Laing & Son. Laing subsequently added the agency of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, Laurieston Branch, to his business interests. He was a Liberal, and pro-temperance campaigner. Died 4/4/1909; estate, £4,418.

278. LAIRD, George Holms - 1st Ward, 1895-96 (retired). Born 1858, Glasgow. Head of the firm of George Laird & Son, wrights, contractors, cabinetmakers and upholsterers, based in Bridgeton. Laird was closely involved in Bridgeton affairs, where he was an active member of the local Unionist Association. He was also a keen supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 3/7/1930; estate, £3,729.

279. LAMBERTON, Hugh - 4th Ward, 1868-69 & 14th Ward, 1869-71 (defeated); 5th Ward, 1873-82 (defeated); Bailie, 1876-79. Born 1818, Glasgow. Senior partner in the firm of John Gray & Co., wholesale and export confectioners and preserve makers - one of the largest businesses of its kind in Glasgow. A Liberal and zealous temperance campaigner, he was closely identified with the Independent Order of Good Templars. Died 25/5/1888; estate, £96,681.

280. LANG, James Leitch - 6th Ward, 1866-69 (defeated); 5th Ward, 1870-72 (resigned). Born 1815, Kirkintilloch, Dunbartonshire. His father and uncle shared a city law practice, and he joined the family firm after a legal apprenticeship with Alexander Morison. Lang had a preference for court work, where he built up a reputation as an advocate in the local Police and Small Debt Courts. A zealous temperance campaigner, in 1866 he defeated the Lord Provost - John Blackie, junior (q.v.) - in a much-publicised municipal election. Blackie's enthusiastic endorsement of the recently-inaugurated City Improvement Trust was the main point at issue, although Lang's motives for standing included a deep mistrust of the city's Town Clerks, and a desire to raise the municipal consciousness on the temperance issue. He was a Liberal in politics, and almost certainly a Free Churchman. He abruptly resigned from the Town Council in 1872, and was subsequently declared bankrupt, although he continued his legal practice and was thus able to put his tangled financial affairs in some order. Died 1/6/1876; estate, £71.

281. LANGLANDS, Edward William - 24th Ward, 1891-96 (defeated). Born 1857, Glasgow. He trained with the accountancy firm of John Gourlay, which became part of the bigger concern of Thomson, Jackson, Gourlay & Taylor. Langlands was in charge of the firm's property department, and subsequently set up on his own as a house factor and insurance agent, based in Maryhill. He was also agent to the local branch of the Union Bank of Scotland. An active Conservative, he was nevertheless a member of the United Presbyterian Church; he also took an interest in the Volunteer movement. Langlands was considered by the pro-temperance lobby to be a strong supporter of the drinks' trade. His date of death has not been traced.

282. LAUGHLAND, John - 14th Ward, 1866-68 (resigned). Date & place of birth unknown. Initially on his own as a commission merchant dealing with the African trade, he latterly belonged to the firm of Taylor, Laughland & Co. He was elected as a declared opponent of the Watson-Blackie group in the municipal election of 1866. His date of death, sometime after 1872, has not been traced.

283. LEADBETTER, John - 5th Ward, 1834-43 (retired); Dean of Guild, 1844-46; 8th Ward, 1846-48 (resigned); Bailie, 1838-43. Born 1788, Penicuik, Midlothian. He came to the West of Scotland as a boy, and worked as a clerk in Glasgow before establishing his own business of John Leadbetter & Co., linen merchants. He had substantial trading connections with Ireland, and a branch of his firm was based in Dundee. From the 1830s he became identified with railway development, notably the Edinburgh and Glasgow line; he was also a director of the Ayrshire Railway Company and Dumfries Railway. A committed Peelite Conservative, he was a leading figure in the Council's Conservative-Evangelical alliance, but refused to secede from the Established Church in 1843. Died 17/3/1865; estate, £4,650.

284. LIDDELL, Andrew - 4th Ward, 1844-46 & 12th Ward, 1846-51 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1845-46; Bailie, 1846-47. Born 1789, Bainsford, Stirlingshire. His father was a schoolteacher, who subsequently took up an appointment as a clerk in the Carron Ironworks, near Falkirk. Liddell, junior, assisted his father, but in 1807 he went to work in Leith, with a view to studying medicine. He abandoned this plan when he was offered a partnership in an ironmongery business in Glasgow; he came to the city in 1814, and eventually became sole partner in the firm of Andrew Liddell & Co., ironmonger, smiths, brassfounders and gasfitters. Liddell's was based in the Globe Foundry, Washington Street. A committed Liberal, he was pastor to the Scottish Baptist Church in Brown Street. Died 17/11/1854; his

estate has not been traced.

285. LOCHORE, Robert, tertius - 7th Ward, 1869-73 (resigned). Born 1811, Glasgow. He succeeded to his father's business as head of William Lochore & Son, bootmakers. His uncle Robert - also a shoemaker - was a noted Glasgow poet, and contemporary of Robert Burns. Robert, tertius, was so-called to distinguish him from his uncle and cousin Robert. Another cousin - Agnes Lochore - was married to William Brodie (q.v.). In politics he was a Liberal. Died 27/9/1889; estate, £4,137.

286. LOGAN, David - 3rd Ward, 1884-86 (died). Born 1827, Glasgow. He was the son of a fruit merchant, based in the Gallowgate, and continued the family business under his own name. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. James's congregation. Died 19/5/1886; estate, £14,218.

287. LUMSDEN, James [of Yoker Lodge] - 4th Ward, 1833-38 (defeated); 4th Ward, 1841-46 & 7th Ward, 1846-53 (retired); Bailie, 1833-36; Lord Provost, 1843-46. Born 1778, Glasgow. His father - also James - was an engraver and publisher, and the junior Lumsden became his apprentice and ultimately partner. James Lumsden & Son became a lucrative concern, with considerable foreign and domestic business. Unusually for a committed Liberal, he became a town councillor in 1822, prior to municipal reform. He was a Trades' councillor, representing the Incorporation of Hammermen. Thereafter, he became the leading figure in the Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group on the Council after 1833, and built up a powerful position in civic affairs, much resented by the Conservative-Evangelical alliance. This was compounded by his defence of the "Moderate" position in the Established Church. Lumsden was also the first Chairman of the Clydesdale Bank when it was founded in 1838, and had numerous other business interests. Noted for his interest in philanthropy, he was a keen promoter of model lodging houses in Glasgow. Died 16/5/1856; estate, £34,950.

288. LUMSDEN, Sir James [of Arden] - Dean of Guild, 1860-62; 7th Ward, 1862-69 (retired); Treasurer, 1833-66; Lord Provost, 1866-69. Born 1808, Glasgow. After a University education, he joined his father, James (q.v.), as a partner in the firm of James Lumsden & Son, wholesale stationers. In addition to the family business, he took a keen interest in railway affairs, becoming a director - and eventually Chairman - of the Glasgow & South Western Railway Company. His railway interests were suggested a reason for his enthusiastic response to the 1866 City Improvement Trust, in order that the city centre might be

opened out for rail traffic. Whatever his motives, he was closely involved with John Blackie, junior, and James Watson (q.v.) over the promotion of the scheme. Like his father, he was a moderate Liberal and Established Churchman, belonging to the Park congregation. He was knighted in 1868, and died 22/3/1879; estate, £90,348.

289. LYON, Hugh - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1910-13 (defeated). Born 1872, Glasgow, but was brought up in Falkirk. The son of an ironmoulder, his first job was as an apprentice ironmoulder at the Carron Ironworks. It was here that he first came into contact with trade unionism, and after organising workers in the Central Ironmoulders' Society, he was elected Secretary to Falkirk Trades' Council. He became involved with the Scottish Carters' Association in 1899, shortly after its formation, and in 1901 he was invited to become Scottish Organiser; within a year he was General Secretary to the Union. Around this time he joined the ILP, and was Chairman of the Springburn Branch. Of a forceful and pugnacious personality, he took a strong pro-war stance in 1914, and like his friend Alex R. Turner (q.v.), began to distance himself from ILP policy. His hold on the Carters' Association (or the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association, as it became in 1908) was such that despite sustained criticisms of his leadership, he remained General Secretary until 1936, when he was ousted from office. Died 19/6/1940; estate, £3,526.

290. MCADAM, William - 14th Ward, 1852-60 (retired); River Bailie, 1858-59. Born 1816, Glasgow. Head of the firm of William McAdam, potter and glass manufacturer, HydePark Works, Anderston. A radical Liberal, along with his brother John he did much organise support for European nationalist movements, notably in Italy, Hungary and Poland. In 1879 McAdam emigrated to New Zealand, after sustaining substantial financial losses in the wake of the City of Glasgow Bank crash. He died there on 24/3/1881.

291. MCALPINE, Angus - 14th Ward, 1846-54 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1847-48. Date & place of birth unknown. Head of his own dyer's business in Cheapside Street, Anderston, he was prominently involved in Burgh affairs prior to 1846, and thereafter represented Anderston on the Town Council. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 29/8/1870; estate, £4,163.

292. MCARA, Peter - 3rd Ward, 1846-54 (defeated); Bailie, 1853-54. Born 1811, Muthill, Perthshire. Initially in business on his own as a grocer and tobacco manufacturer, based in the Gallowgate, he was latterly a partner in the firm of McAra &

Stewart, wholesale tea and coffee merchants. He served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner between 1840 and 1846 before joining the Town Council. In politics he was a Liberal, with strong evangelical inclinations. Died 28/2/1855; estate, £1,804.

293. MCBEAN, Hugh - 16th Ward, 1871-80 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1874-75; River Bailie, 1875-76; Bailie, 1876-80. Born 1817, Inverness. Trained as an engineer, he came to Glasgow in 1840 to pursue the trade. In 1848 he lost his right hand in a machinery accident, which forced him to switch careers; two years later he established the successful firm of Hugh McBean & Co., oil merchants, Tradeston Paint Mills. Died 8/4/1894; estate, £35,168.

294. MCCALLUM, John - Deacon Convener, 1846-48. Born Glasgow, date unknown. A partner in the firm of Balfour & McCallum, smiths, bell-hangers, gas fitters and ironfounders. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammemen. His whereabouts in Glasgow after 1851 have not been traced.

295. MCCLURE, Alexander - 26th/Kinning Park Ward, 1910-13 (retired). Born New Monkland, Lanarkshire, date unknown. He studied law at Glasgow University - where he was a prizewinner - and subsequently joined the legal practice of Fred McQuisten (q.v.), as a solicitor. He eventually became a partner in the firm of McClure & Bannatyne, writers. In 1908 he became active in Govan municipal affairs, and served on the local Council, as well as in Glasgow. He was an active Conservative, who stood unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1918 and 1922. Died 19/5/1934; his estate has not been traced.

296. MCCONNEL, Edward - 20th/Kingston Ward, 1907-20 & 28th/Kingston Ward, 1920-23 (died); Bailie, 1912-16. Born in the north of Ireland, date unknown. He studied medicine at Queen's University, Belfast, and practised as a doctor in Wales and Yorkshire before coming to Glasgow during the 1890s. He was a member of Albert Street United Presbyterian Church. Died 18/4/1925; estate, £18,540.

297. MCCUBBIN, David - 6th Ward, 1859-62 (retired). Born 1824, Glasgow. Initially a partner in the firm of McCubbin & Johnston, accountants, he latterly set up in business on his own. Died 5/5/1870 under tragic circumstances; he cut his throat in a Greenock hotel bedroom. Money problems were believed to be the cause of his anguish. Estate, £2,842.

298. MCCULLOCH, Hugh - 22nd/Langside Ward, 1910-20 & 36th/Langside Ward, 1820-25 (retired); Bailie, 1915-20. Born 1843, place unknown. Head of the firm of McCulloch & Co., ecclesiastical and domestic decorative painters, glass stainers and glaziers, which he established during the 1870s. He served as the first President of the Scottish Amateur Swimming Association, formed in 1887. Died 23/11/1925; estate, £2,615.

299. MCCULLOCH, Samuel - 5th Ward, 1855-61 (retired); 6th Ward, 1869-72 (retired); Bailie, 1857-58. Born 1809, New Kilpartrick, Dunbartonshire. The son of a mason, he entered into partnership with his brother under the firm of Samuel and William McCulloch, wholesale and retail grocers; they latterly had several establishments in Glasgow, including a licensed grocers shop in the Govanhill area. Curiously, McCulloch was supported by pro-temperance evangelicals during the 1850s and '60s. Died 8/1/1875; estate, £937.

300. MCCUTCHEON, Alexander - 17th Ward, 1891-96; 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1896-1908 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1893-94; River Bailie, 1894-95; Bailie, 1895-98; Treasurer, 1902-05. Born 1824, Wigtown. He served a legal apprenticeship in the office of Wigtown's Town Clerk, and following a course of study at Edinburgh University was appointed Sheriff and Commissary Clerk-Depute for Wigtownshire. Thereafter he set up his own legal practice, and served as agent to the Newton Stewart branch of the City of Glasgow Bank. He lost substantial cash investments when the Bank collapsed in 1878; however, under the influence of Lord Overtoun and William Collins (q.v.), he was appointed Secretary and Treasurer to the Relief Fund for Scotland, which necessitated his removal to Glasgow. He served for six years as a Police Commissioner in Crosshill, before the Burgh was annexed to Glasgow. A staunch supporter of the Free Church, he belonged to the Pollokshields and later Queen's Park congregations. A Liberal, he was identified with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 20/2/1914; estate, £2,381.

301. MACDONALD, Andrew - Deacon Convener, 1907-09; 23rd/Pollokshields Ward, 1910-13 (retired). Born 1847, Glasgow. After working for a while in the soft goods and African export trade, he joined the firm of John Poynter & Son, manufacturing chemists and drysalters. In 1887 he set up on his own, in partnership with his brother, becoming John Poynter, Son & Macdonalds. He was elected as the first Chairman of the Scottish Railway Shareholders' Association, after its formation in 1907. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Dyers. Died 16/12/1922; estate, £124,379.

302. MACDONALD, Archibald Gray - 12th Ward, 1864-79 (retired); Bailie, 1868-72. Born 1813, Glasgow. The son of a city merchant, he started working life as a law apprentice, but soon found more congenial employment in the office of James Lumsden & Son, wholesale stationers. He trained there as an engraver and lithographer, specialising in the art of calligraphy. After working for some time in London, in 1835 he became a founding partner in the firm of Maclure & Macdonald, lithographic printers. A keen patron of the arts, he bequeathed his collection of paintings to the Town Council. A Conservative and Established Churchman, Macdonald belonged to the Park congregation. Died 25/4/1900; estate, £65,065.

303. MACDONALD, Charles - 9th Ward, 1857-66 (retired). Born 1812, Port of Menteith, Perthshire. Head of the firm of Charles Macdonald & Co., wholesale Scotch woollen warehousemen. Died 10/11/1869; estate, £14,214.

304. MCDOWALL, John - 11th Ward, 1846-61 (died); River Bailie, 1848-49; Bailie, 1849-52; Treasurer, 1855-58. Born 1803, Stranraer, Wigtownshire. An ironfounder, he was head of the firm of McDowall & Co., based at the Milton Foundry, Port Dundas. He was one of the most influential municipal figures of the 1850s, with ambitions for the Lord Provostship; however, his personal rivalry with Andrew Orr (q.v.) and his strong identification with evangelicalism alienated him from many town councillors. A Liberal and devoted United Presbyterian, he played a prominent part in the Evangelical Alliance, and took much of the initiative on the Council to tighten up Glasgow's licensing arrangements. McDowall was an early mentor of William Collins (q.v.), who went on to become Glasgow's first teetotal Lord Provost. Popularly known as "Airm John" he invoked the ire of East Enders for his attempts to foster mineral workings on Glasgow Green, in order to raise municipal cash. In the event, public pressure ensured that the plan was thwarted. Died 9/9/1861; estate, £63,645.

305. MCEWAN, Robert Dougall - 14th/Sandyford Ward, 1911-13 (defeated). Born 1853, Glasgow. In 1870 he entered the firm of Rule & Greenlees, fancy dress, skirting, shirting and zephyr manufacturers, and ultimately became a partner. He retired in 1909, before entering the Council. For over thirty years he was an enthusiastic member of the Volunteer movement. Died 1/4/1927; estate, £56,580.

306. MCEWEN, Malcolm - 1st Ward, 1868-71 & 2nd Ward, 1871-73 (resigned). Born 1842, Glasgow. The son of a tobacco importer,

originally from Islay, he was head of the firm of Malcolm McEwen & Co., tobacco importers and manufacturers, with substantial trading connections with the Southern States of America. A radical Liberal, and Established Churchman, he was a youthful protégé of James Moir (q.v.), although he latterly allied himself with Moir's old Chartist adversary, James Martin (q.v.). Like Martin, McEwen was forthright in his opposition to the Council's militant teetotal lobby. In 1873 he abruptly left municipal politics, in order to devote more time to his thriving tobacco business. He travelled frequently across the Atlantic, to the extent that shortly before his death he had made plans to settle permanently in the United States. A popular figure, especially among his fellow East Enders, McEwen was expected to fulfil the promise of a brilliant career, but he died suddenly on 16/2/1878 as the result of an illness which he had contracted in America. The value of his estate has not been traced.

307. MCEWEN, William - Dean of Guild, 1868-70 & 1883-85. Born 1813, Howgate, Midlothian. The son of a Secession minister, he came to Glasgow in 1827, where he entered the extensive drysalting business of R. & J. Henderson. His uncle, John Henderson of Park, was a partner in the firm, and although McEwen left to set up on his own as a commission agent, he inherited a large proportion of his uncle's fortune when the latter died in 1867. A workaholic, he had numerous commercial interests - including a period as Chairman of Young's Paraffin Light & Mineral Oil Co., Ltd. - and took an active interest in the administration of the city's Royal Infirmary. He also had the unusual distinction of serving twice as Dean of Guild. Although he retained the family allegiance to the United Presbyterian Church, he was not an advocate of disestablishment, and latterly held Unionist sympathies. Died 19/12/1893; estate, £62,005.

308. MACFARLANE, George - 1st Ward, 1891-94 (retired). Born 1831, Braco, Perthshire. His father was a minister who in 1843 threw in his lot with the Free Church, and was subsequently called to one of the new churches at Dalkeith. Here the Macfarlanes came to know the Chisholm family, and George was a contemporary of young Samuel Chisholm (q.v.). Macfarlane travelled extensively in Europe, the West Indies and the United States; for six years he worked for a large exporting firm in Philadelphia. He was in the United States at the time of the Civil War, where he was an enthusiastic supporter of the anti-slavery cause. On his return to Scotland in 1865 he became a partner in the firm of George Gray Macfarlane, commission merchants, with extensive American trading links. He also entered fervently into evangelical work, and was prominently associated with the visits of Moody and Sankey to Glasgow during

the 1870s. True to his ideological grounding, he was a committed Liberal and pro-temperance activist, identified with the Council's Progressive group during the 1890s. Died 11/5/1899; estate, £15,840.

309. MACFARLANE, James - 4th Ward, 1882-88 (retired); 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1903-16 (resigned); Bailie, 1885-88. Born 1846, Glasgow. Following a University education, he entered his father's bakery business, which eventually became his own firm of James Macfarlane, Ltd. In politics he was identified as a Unionist sympathiser. Died 4/4/1936; estate, £1,440.

310. MACFARLANE, Sir James - Deacon Convener, 1899-1901. Born 1857, Glasgow. His grandfather had been a baker in the Vale of Leven, and Macfarlane continued a strong family tradition, after serving a business apprenticeship with the firm of Aitken, Lilburn & Co., shipowners. In 1883 - along with his brother, John - he took control of the family firm, which ultimately became highly successful. Macfarlane, Lang & Co. - noted for the manufacture of "a superior class of digestive biscuits" - became a limited company in 1908, and James Macfarlane became its first Chairman. A Conservative and Established Churchman, he belonged to the Glasgow Cathedral congregation. A noted philanthropist, he gifted the site of Canniesburn Hospital to the City's Royal Infirmary. As Deacon Convener - not surprisingly - he represented the Incorporation of Bakers; at the time he was the youngest man ever to have held the prime office in the Trades' House. Died 26/1/1944; estate, £172,180.

311. MCFARLANE, John - 12th Ward, 1884-96 & 14th/Sandyford Ward, 1896-1913 (retired); Bailie, 1889-93; Master of Works, 1893-94. Born 1846, Gartmore, Perthshire. After a short period of study at the Andersonian College, he entered a Glasgow grain merchant's office, and subsequently set up in business with his brother under the firm of Malcolm & John McFarlane. In addition to dealing in the grain trade, the McFarlanes were livery stable keepers, at the Charing Cross Horse Bazaar, Berkely Street. They were also commission merchants for the West African trade. An active Liberal, he was associated with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. He was also an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 19/12/1910; estate, £9,667.

312. MACFARLANE, Walter - 3rd Ward, 1863-66 (retired). Born 1817, Torrance, Stirlingshire. He moved to Glasgow at an early age, where he worked for a firm of jewellers, but during the 1830s he embarked on a seven year apprenticeship with James

Buchanan, blacksmith. He then spent ten years as foreman in the foundry of Moses McCulloch & Co., before setting up his own business of Walter Macfarlane & Co., in partnership with his brother-in-law, Thomas Russell, a future Glasgow MP. Macfarlane's was initially based in Saracen Lane, Gallowgate, but in 1848 the estate of Possilpark - much-loved home of Sir Archibald Alison - was acquired as a new site for the foundry. Thereafter, the pace of Possilpark's industrial transformation was such that Macfarlane was nicknamed "the Laird of Fossiltown". However, the enterprise prospered, gaining a world-wide reputation for the production of architectural ironwork, notably bandstands. A leading Glasgow Liberal, he was an influential political figure in Glasgow until his death on 18/9/1885. Estate, £116,612.

313. MCGAVIN, Robert - 1st Ward, 1833-40 (retired). Born 1776, place unknown, although he was not a Glaswegian. Head of the firm of Robert McGavin & Son, commission merchants, he was particularly involved in the importation of cotton. A radical Liberal, he belonged to a strict Presbyterian sect known as Separatists, and incurred the ire of Conservative-Evangelical councillors because of his refusal to swear the municipal oath of allegiance to the Crown. Father of Robert McGavin (q.v.), he was also the father-in-law of James Moir (q.v.), one of Glasgow's leading Chartists. In Moir's obituary he was confused with William McGavin; famous in nineteenth-century Glasgow as author of The Protestant, an anti-Catholic polemic. It seems possible, judging from biographical information, that the two men could have been brothers, although no evidence has been so far unearthed to confirm the relationship. Died 24/9/1844; estate, £1,286.

314. MCGAVIN, Robert - 16th Ward, 1846-47 (retired) & 1848-51 (retired). Born 1809, Irvine, Ayrshire. His father Robert (q.v.), was a commission merchant in the cotton importing trade, and McGavin, junior, joined the family firm. He subsequently set up on his own under the firm of McGavin & Thomson, and was latterly involved with the Clyde Galvanising Co., Mavisbank. He was a Liberal, like his father, but did not express the latter's forthright views. Brother-in-law of James Moir (q.v.). His date of death, sometime after 1860, has not been traced.

315. MCGEORGE, Andrew - 5th Ward, 1833-34 (retired). Born 1774, Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire. Son of a merchant, originally from a landed family in Kirkcudbrightshire, at the age of fifteen he became a law apprentice in the firm of Thomas Falconer. He undertook various aspects of legal work - including a period as extractor in Glasgow's Burgh Court - and

ultimately built up a large practice. His speciality was canon law, and he was much consulted at the time of the Disruption in 1843 over the legal implications of the schism. Allied with the Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group of Liberals on the Council, he was an Established Churchman. Died 2/10/1857; estate, £12,779.

316. MCGREGOR, James Watt - 13th Ward, 1849-55 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1851-52; River Bailie, 1852-53; Bailie, 1853-55. Born 1804, Greenock, Renfrewshire. In 1829 he succeeded to his father's cooperage factory in Hamilton Street, Greenock, but eventually came to Glasgow, where he set up on his own as a cooper, stave and hoop manufacturer. A life-long Liberal and devoted United Presbyterian, he was a prominent free trade activist during the 1840s. Died 4/11/1894; his estate has not been traced.

317. MCGREGOR, John - 3rd Ward, 1833-34 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of John McGregor & Son, wholesale tobacconists and snuff manufacturers. A radical Liberal, he belonged to the Relief, later United Presbyterian Church. Died 14/5/1849; estate, £6,729.

318. MCINTYRE, John - 1st Ward, 1853-56 (retired) & 1867-72 (defeated). Born 1820, Glasgow. After studying medicine at Edinburgh University, he set up his own practice in Bridgeton, where he remained for over fifty years. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 21/7/1898; estate, £1,160.

319. MCKELLAR, William - 5th Ward, 1886-96 (retired); River Bailie, 1892-93; Bailie, 1893-95. Born 1822, Glendaruel, Argyllshire. Came to Glasgow in 1846, and three years later established his own flesher's business in Stirling Road, St. Rollox. An active Liberal, he belonged to the Grayfriar's congregation of the United Presbyterian Church, and was strongly identified with the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council. McKellar was a native Gaelic speaker. Died 25/2/1901; estate, £344.

320. MACKENZIE, Alexander - 10th Ward, 1871-75 (died). Born 1813, Hamilton, Lanarkshire. Brought up near Falkirk, he came to Glasgow during the 1830s, where he became a partner in the firm of Mackenzie & Crawford, cabinetmakers and upholsterers. The firm was latterly designated Alexander Mackenzie & Co., and became an extensive enterprise. He also had an interest in the firm of George Smith & Co., art metal workers and ironfounders,

at the Sun Foundry, Port Dundas. He was an Established Churchman, belonging to the St. David's (Ramshorn) congregation. Died 31/1/1875; estate, £75, 386.

321. MACKENZIE, James [of Glentore] - 5th Ward, 1864-69 (resigned). Born 1811, place unknown. Head of the firm of James Mackenzie & Co., distillers and wine merchants. A branch of Mackenzies was based in Oporto. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 11/12/1876; estate, £744.

322. MACKENZIE, James - 6th Ward, 1893-95 (retired). Born 1865, Glasgow. He received his education at St. Mungo's Academy, Glasgow, and St. Joseph's College, Dumfries; two of Scotland's leading Roman Catholic schools. He subsequently became head of his own business as a metal merchant, based in the city centre. Mackenzie was the first Catholic to serve as town councillor, certainly since 1690, and faced a concerted Orange onslaught when he stood for election, spearheaded by the Ulsterman, Hugh Caldwell (q.v.). A Liberal and temperance campaigner, he disappears from trace in Glasgow after 1904.

323. MCKINLAY, David - [of Oswaldbank] - 3rd Ward, 1842-46 & 6th Ward, 1846-64 (retired); Bailie, 1844-46. Born 1782, Glasgow. He was a partner in the firm of McKinlay, Anderson & Co., which was listed simply as "merchants". A Liberal, he was a devoted United Presbyterian, belonging to the Anderston congregation. Died 19/1/1866; estate, £8,804.

324. MCLARDY, David - 4th Ward, 1894-96 (retired). Born 1852, Glasgow. He served an apprenticeship to the cork-cutting trade, and thereafter set up in business on his own. The firm of David McLardy & Co. initially specialised in supplies of domestic machinery, but was latterly listed as a drapers and house furnishers. A radical Liberal, McLardy was a disciple of Henry George, and a former Secretary of the Land Restoration League. He successively adhered to various Presbyterian denominations, but eventually joined the Catholic Apostolic Church. However, he was suspended from membership over a doctrinal dispute, and thereafter remained religiously non-attached. He was also an enthusiastic temperance campaigner, identified with the Council's Progressive group. Died 9/11/1922; estate, £10,485.

325. MCLAREN, Alexander - 6th Ward, 1869-71 (defeated) & 1879-91 (defeated); Master of Works, 1883-84; Bailie, 1885-88. Born 1831, Bridgeton, then outside Glasgow. His father was a wine and spirit merchant in the Gallowgate, and following his

death in 1850, McLaren, junior, succeeded to the business. His career prospered, and he was able to acquire additional outlets in Bridgeton and Cowcaddens. A Conservative and Established Churchman, he stood for municipal office with the backing of the drinks' trade, and was one of its staunchest supporters on the Council. Died 8/2/1902; estate, £4,148.

326. MACLAY, Joseph Paton [Lord Maclay] - 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1899-1906 (resigned); Bailie, 1904-06. Born 1857, Glasgow. His father, Ebenezer, was head of an upholstery business; his mother, Janet, came from the Paton's thread family of Paisley. After an early business training, he established the successful trampship firm of Maclay & McIntyre, in partnership with Walter McIntyre. His business expertise was such that Lloyd George made him Minister of Shipping in the War Cabinet from 1916; a post he held until 1921. An active Liberal, zealous evangelical and pro-temperance campaigner, he was a leading figure in the Council's Progressive group. Made a baronet in 1914, Maclay was elevated to the Peerage in 1922. Two of his sons were MPs; Sir Joseph P. Maclay for the Liberals, and John Scott Maclay - later Viscount Muirshiel - for the Conservatives. Maclay, senior, died 24/4/1951; estate, £1,179,544.

327. MACLAY, William - 19th Ward, 1891-96 & 22nd/Langside Ward, 1896-1910 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1897-98; Bailie, 1898-1902; Master of Works, 1908-09. Born 1840, Ballikinrain, Stirlingshire. Son of a timber merchant, he came to Glasgow as a youth, where he was employed as a junior clerk with the ill-fated Western Bank. When the bank failed in 1857, he pursued a career in the grain trade, establishing his own business as a corn factor in 1863. An active Liberal, he belonged to Queen's Park United Presbyterian Church, and was associated with the Council's Progressive, pro-temperance group. Died 3/4/1923; estate, £2,868.

328. MCLEAN, Charles Rankin - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1905-11 (defeated); Bailie, 1910-11. Born Glasgow, date unknown. Studied medicine at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities, and thereafter had his own practice in the Gallowgate. A Liberal, allied with the Progressive, pro-temperance group, he was defeated by Robert Hunter of the ILP. Died 29/5/1919; estate, £8,575.

329. MCLEAN, William [of Plantation] - 2nd Ward, 1844-46 & 9th Ward, 1846-64 (retired); Bailie, 1845-46. Born 1783, Glasgow. Served an apprenticeship to the dyeing trade, one of the conditions of his indenture being that he should acquire a

knowledge of chemistry. In 1810 he established his own business in Duke Street, latterly he was head of William McLean & Son, Clydesdale Dyeworks, and the Gorbals Spinning Factory, in partnership with William Brodie (q.v.). Although he was a Whiggishly-inclined Liberal, his business success secured him a prominent position within the Incorporation of Dyers and Bonnetmakers; he served as Deacon Convener between 1827 and 1829. A United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Wellington congregation. Grandfather of William McLean, junior, (q.v.). Died 22/2/1867; estate, £117,838.

330. MCLEAN, William, junior - Deacon Convener, 1885-87; 8th Ward, 1888-90 (retired). Born 1837, Paisley, Renfrewshire. His father was a prominent Glasgow stockbroker and accountant, and William, junior, joined the family business after serving an apprenticeship with a firm of calico printers. Grandson of William McLean (q.v.). As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Maltmen. Died 15/9/1893; estate, £66,652.

331. MCLELLAN, Adam - Deacon Convener, 1859-61. Date & place of birth unknown. Originally a clothier and hatter, he latterly had his own business as a commission merchant. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Tailors. His date of death, sometime after 1861, has not been traced.

332. MCLELLAN, Allan Houston - 11th Ward, 1867-79 (retired); Bailie, 1870-71. Born 1824, Glasgow. Head of A.H. McLellan & Co., commission merchants, dealing with the East India trade. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 8/8/1893; estate, £4,563.

333. MCLELLAN, Archibald - Deacon Convener, 1834-35; 14th Ward, 1847-54 (died). Born 1795, Glasgow. The son of a successful city coachbuilder, he trained for the family business, becoming in the process an accomplished heraldic draughtsman. He was latterly head of Archibald McLellan & Son, and served for a period on the unreformed Town Council. He returned to the municipal arena in the 1840s as leader of the "Means and Substance" party, which aimed to alter the method of Poor Law assesment in Glasgow. Although declaring himself to be an avowed old-school Tory, he attracted considerable radical support for his Poor Law stance. McLellan took a keen interest in fine art, acquiring a substantial collection of books, paintings and sculpture. During the 1850s he commenced development of properties in Sauchiehall Street, with the aim of exhibiting his acquisitions; however, he came to be heavily in debt and died owing substantial sums to assorted creditors, including - indirectly - several Glasgow town councillors. It

was partly to pay off the creditors and keep the estate intact that the McLellan Galleries were purchased by the Town Council in 1856. An Established Churchman, McLellan was attached to the Cathedral congregation, and took a keen interest in the Cathedral's structural restoration, along with his great friend, Andrew Orr (q.v.). As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 20/10/1854.

334. MCLELLAN, Peter - 4th Ward, 1862-64 (retired). Born 1807, Drumfad, Dunbartonshire. Came to Glasgow in 1824, and served an apprenticeship with the ironmongery firm of Andrew Liddell (q.v.). Seven years later he commenced business on his own, under the designation of P. & W. McLellan, ironmongers, iron merchants, smiths, tinsmiths and gasfitters, based at the Clutha Ironworks. A Free Churchman, he belonged to the Anderston congregation. Died 27/5/1866; estate, £34,972.

335. MCLENNAN, Andrew - Deacon Convener, 1909-11. Born 1866, Glasgow. The son of James McLennan (q.v.), he served a legal apprenticeship, before working for a mercantile firm in London. He also took the opportunity when young of travelling round the world. Back in Glasgow, he became a partner with his father in the firm of Alexander Bryce & Co., wholesale wine and spirit merchants. Like his father, he was an Established Churchman. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Maltmen. Died 16/4/1941; estate, £4,519.

336. MCLENNAN, James - 4th Ward, 1885-93 (retired); Deacon Convener, 1893-95; 2nd Ward, 1896-98 (retired); River Bailie, 1887-88; Bailie, 1888-93. Born 1840, Coylton, Ayrshire. In 1865 he joined the firm of Alexander Bryce & Co., wholesale wine and spirit merchants, and although living in Glasgow, he retained close connections with Ayrshire in his day-to-day business. An Established Churchman, and committed Conservative, he was one of the most powerful supporters of the drinks' trade on the Town Council. The McLennan Arch - facing towards Charlotte Street from Glasgow Green - was named after him, in tribute to his services to the East End. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Maltmen. Died 7/2/1899; estate, £207,798.

337. MACLURE, William - 17th/Woodside Ward, 1906-20 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1912; Bailie, 1912-16. Born 1852, Ayrshire. Head of his own family grocer's business, based in the West End of Glasgow. Died 24/2/1925; estate, £10,654.

338. MACMILLAN, Thomas - 26th/Kinning Park Ward, 1905-20 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1910-14; Treasurer, 1914-17. Born 1863, Galston, Ayrshire. After serving a grocery apprenticeship in Kilmarnock, he came to Glasgow in 1885, and established his own business as a grocer and tea merchant. He was latterly based in the Kinning Park area, and was Chief Magistrate of the Burgh before its annexation to Glasgow in 1905. Died 15/7/1920; estate, £11,350.

339. MCNAUGHT, Patrick - 14th Ward, 1846-47 (retired); Bailie, 1846-47. Date and place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of Patrick McNaught & Co., cotton-spinners, Anderston. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 2/7/1853; estate, £3,509.

340. MACNAUGHTON, Henry - 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1910-20 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1915-16; Bailie, 1916-19. Born 1854, place unknown. Head of the firm of Macnaughton & Wilson, ironmongers, drysalters and varnish manufacturers, based in the Gallowgate. An Established Churchman, he was a member of the Blackfriars congregation, and was originally elected to the Town Council on an anti-socialist platform. Died 29/6/1936; estate, £18,570.

341. MACNEE, Walter - 4th Ward, 1844-46 (retired). Born 1786, Auchinleck, Ayrshire. Son of a farmer, he became head of the firm of Walter Macnee & Son, sewed muslin manufacturers, Cochrane Street. He died 30/12/1848, at the height of the cholera epidemic. Estate £5,146.

342. MCNEIL, William - 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1908-11 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of William McNeil & Co., masons, builders and contractors. His date of death, sometime after 1924, has not been traced.

343. MCONIE, Andrew - Deacon Convener, 1879-81. Born 1819, Glasgow. His father was a prosperous flesher in the Cowcaddens, but McOnie, junior, served an apprenticeship with the firm of Thomas Wingate & Co., engineers and shipbuilders. He subsequently went into partnership with his brothers, Peter and William (q.v.), but following Peter's death in 1850, the firm became W. & A. McOnie, engineers and millwrights. A staunch Conservative and Established Churchman, he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen as Deacon Convener. Died 19/5/1886; estate, £123,341.

344. MCONIE, Sir William - 16th Ward, 1867-73 (retired) & 1878-86 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1869-70; River Bailie, 1870-71; Bailie, 1879-83; Lord Provost, 1883-86. Born 1813, Gartmore, Perthshire. When he was a child the family moved to the Cowcaddens area of Glasgow, where his younger brother, Andrew (q.v.), was born. Like Andrew, he did not follow his father's flesher's trade; after a brief period as a licensed grocer's apprentice, he joined his brothers in an engineering partnership, which latterly became W. & A. McOnie, engineers and millwrights. In 1892 the firm merged with Robert Harvey & Co., to become McOnie, Harvey & Co., Ltd., specialising in the manufacture of sugar machinery. Again like Andrew, and his close business associate - James Buchanan Mirrlees (q.v.) - he was a staunch Conservative and Established Churchman, belonging to the Maxwell Parish congregation and later the Pollokshields congregation. He was knighted in 1888. Died 3/2/1894; estate, £110,966.

345. MACPHAIL, Duncan - 3rd Ward, 1843-46 & 1st Ward, 1846-48 (resigned). Born 1782, Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire. A partner with his brother, Dugald, in the firm of Dugald Macphail & Co., cotton-spinners and manufacturers, Greenhead, Bridgeton, which they established in 1824. The Macphails employed many Highlanders in their cotton mills; indeed, the area adjacent to the Greenhead factory became known as "The Hielands" because of its predominant ethnic character. His daughter, Jane, was the wife of Robert Gourlay (q.v.). A Liberal supporter, Macphail died 13/7/1853. Estate, £9,364.

346. MACPHERSON, Duncan - 12th Ward, 1879-88 (retired); Bailie, 1882-85. Date and place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of Macpherson & Aitken, ironfounders, Anderston. His date of death, sometime after 1900, has not been traced.

347. MACPHERSON, Henry Shaw - 7th Ward, 1884-92 (retired); Bailie, 1888-90. Born 1828, Ayr. He came to Glasgow as a boy, where he subsequently established the extensive business of H.S. Macpherson & Co., commission merchants, worsted and yarn agents. He maintained other business interests, including a Directorship of the North British Railway. A Liberal, he was a member of the Elgin Place Congregational Church. Son-in-law of James Gourlay (q.v.) and brother-in-law of Robert Gourlay (q.v.). Died 3/9/1906; estate, £120,173.

348. MCPHUN, John Pollok - 1st Ward, 1889-96 & 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1896-99 (died); River Bailie, 1893-94; Bailie, 1894-97. Born 1844, Inverchaolain, near Dunoon, Argyllshire. He came to

Glasgow in 1857, where he served an apprenticeship to the timber trade. In 1867 he set up on his own, under the designation of J. & D. McPhun, timber merchants, saw millers and wood turners, Bridgeton. The firm's specialisation was the manufacture of drawer knobs. He also carried on business as a builder and quarrymaster at Springbank, on the Garscube Road. Although an active Liberal and temperance campaigner - closely identified with the Council's Progressive group - he belonged to the Established Church. However, his outspoken pro-disestablishment views eventually prompted him to resign as an elder from St. James's Parish Church. McPhun's daughters were noted Suffragettes. Died 28/8/1899; estate, £34,070.

349. MACQUISTEN, Frederick Alexander - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1906-09 (retired). Born 1870, Inverkip, Renfrewshire. Son of the Rev. Alexander Macquisten, Established Church minister for Inverkip Parish, he studied law at Glasgow University, becoming President of the Students' Union and Conservative Club. He later set up his own legal practice under the firm of Dunlop & Macquisten, specialising in company law. However, his brief municipal career arose from his hostility to the pro-temperance ideology of the Corporation's Progressive group, and as a lawyer, he defended drinks' trade interests in the Licensing Appeals Court. His formidable debating skills made him look towards a Parliamentary career; he was elected Conservative and Unionist MP for Springburn between 1918 and 1922, and sat for Argyllshire from 1924 until his death on 29/2/1940; estate, £51,627.

350. MAIN, George Baillie - 25th Ward, 1893-96 & 6th/Springburn Ward, 1896-97 (died). Born 1853, Glasgow. After a brief apprenticeship in a city warehouse, he joined a Cowlairs firm of oil refiners and manufacturers, which subsequently took the name of Hutchison, Main & Co. A devoted Free Churchman, belonging to the Pollokshields congregation, he had sympathies with Liberal Unionism, although he was not politically active. Died 2/9/1897; his estate has not been traced.

351. MARTIN, James [of Glengaber] - Dean of Guild, 1834-36. Born Dumfries, date unknown. Along with James Burns (q.v.), he was a partner in the firm of James Martin & J. & G. Burns, agents for the Liverpool Steam Packet. He had originally been involved in the West India trade, but successfully diversified into shipping after 1814. A Peelite Conservative, he was an Established Churchman, with Evangelical sympathies. Died 11/2/1842; estate, £17,053.

352. MARTIN, James - 3rd Ward, 1855-61 (retired); 6th Ward, 1864-69 (died). Born 1822, Glasgow. During the 1840s - along with his brother William - he founded the successful firm of W. & J. Martin, leather merchant and boot and shoe manufacturers. James concentrated on the leather and tanning side of the business, which he built up into a separate co-partnership under the firm of Martin & Millar. A Liberal, he was related by marriage to Alexander Osborne (q.v.); their wives, Agnes and Margaret Fulton, were sisters. Died 20/2/1869; his estate has not been traced.

353. MARTIN, James - 4th Ward, 1870-73 (defeated); 2nd Ward, 1874-80 (defeated) & 1881-92 (died); Bailie, 1889-91. Born 1815, Parkhead, then outside Glasgow. His father was a handloom weaver, and Martin was brought up to the trade, at which he became highly skilled. He subsequently set up on his own as a tailor, clothier and draper; the firm was latterly Martin & Sons, based in the Gallowgate. From his earliest years he absorbed the radical ideology of the East End weavers, becoming an active Chartist during the 1840s. However, he came to distrust Liberal organisation in Glasgow, believing it to be too much under the control of the pro-temperance lobby, notably the Scottish Temperance League. As a result, throughout his municipal career he defended drinks' trade interests, often allying himself with Conservatives and Unionists. Nicknamed the "East End Tribune" and "Oor Jeems", his popular appeal rested partly on his blunt outspokenness in the Council Chamber, using the broadest Glasgow doric. In religious matters he was associated with the Free Church Brotherhood in his Chartist days; his later allegiances - if any - remain obscure. Father of James H. Martin (q.v.). Died 18/11/1892; estate, £241.

354. MARTIN, James Henderson - 2nd Ward, 1883-96 & 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1896-1911 (retired); Bailie, 1887-92. Born 1849, Glasgow. The eldest son of James Martin (q.v.), he was a partner in the family drapery business of Martin & Sons. Nevertheless, he did not share his father's outgoing temperament, and his political allegiances became increasingly inclined towards Conservatism. He was brought up in the Free Church Brotherhood - which had close Chartist connections - but latterly took a strong anti-disestablishment stance. Died 5/2/1912; estate, £657.

355. MARTIN, Sir William - 17th/Woodside Ward, 1894-1904 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1904. Born 1856, Glasgow. After a University education, he established his own business as a shipping and passenger agent; he also came to be well-known as the Organising Secretary to the Royal National Lifeboat

Institution, serving in this capacity for over thirty years. An active Liberal and temperance campaigner, he was one of the founders of the Scottish Christian Social Union. He was closely identified with the Council's Progressive group. Knighted 1919, he died 12/9/1924. Estate, £7,068.

356. MARTIN, William Cramond - 13th/Anderston Ward, 1908-11 (died). Born 1862, Dundee. As a young man he entered the service of the Telephone Company of London, and in 1882 joined the British Electrical Light & Power Company of Scotland. In 1893 he set up in business on his own, under the designation of W.C. Martin & Co., electrical engineers, and his firm established a reputation for installations in ships. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Wellington congregation. Died 29/10/1911; estate, £8,359.

357. MASON, Sir David - 10th/Exchange Ward, 1905-20 & 12th/Exchange Ward, 1920-29 (retired); River Bailie, 1910-11; Bailie, 1911-15; Master of Works, 1920-21; Lord Provost, 1926-29. Born 1862, Glasgow. His father, George, established the wholesale warehousing firm of G.J. Mason & Co., to which Mason, junior, eventually became the senior partner. He was a member of the Pollokshields United Presbyterian Church. Brother-in-law of Matthew W. Montgomery (q.v.), he was knighted in 1928. Died 1/4/1940; £61,310.

358. MASON, Sir Thomas - Deacon Convener, 1889-91; 8th Ward, 1891-93 (retired); Dean of Guild, 1906-08. Born 1844, Airdrie, Lanarkshire. Educated in Glasgow, he became an apprentice mason, and as a journeyman became particularly involved in railway construction. In 1876, along with John Morrison, he established the firm of Morrison & Mason, builders, railway and dock contractors, and was responsible for many large-scale projects, including the construction of Glasgow's City Chambers. An active Liberal, he was a United Presbyterian, belonging to the Ibrox congregation. Mason was also a noted horse-racing enthusiast. As Deacon he represented the Incorporation of Masons. Knighted in 1909, he died 26/4/1924; estate, £138,129.

359. MATHIESON, James Harper - 15th/Park Ward, 1904-10 (retired); Bailie, 1909-10; Deacon Convener, 1923-25. Born 1867, Glasgow. Son of Thomas Mathieson (q.v.), he was educated in Edinburgh, and thereafter joined the long-standing family firm of Alex Mathieson & Sons, manufacturers of planes, mechanical, engineering and edge tools. A United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Park congregation. Like his father, he was a

Unionist. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 15/4/1926; estate, £150,939.

360. MATHIESON, Thomas Adam - 3rd Ward, 1866-84 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1868-69; River Bailie, 1869-70; Bailie, 1870-72. Born 1827, Glasgow. He was brought up in the East End of the city, where his father had established the firm of Alexander Mathieson & Son, manufacturers of planes, mechanical engineering and edge tools. A United Presbyterian, he belonged to the East Campbell Street congregation. Initially a Liberal supporter, he allied himself with Liberal Unionism after 1886. Father of James H. Mathieson (q.v.). Died 10/3/1899; estate, £138,637.

361. MAXWELL, James Shaw - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1896-1901 (defeated) & 1903-09 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1903-04; River Bailie, 1904; Bailie, 1904-09. Born 1855, Glasgow. After a brief career as a journalist in London, he returned to Glasgow during the 1880s, where he set up on his own as an engraver, printer and lithographer. His radical ideology had been shaped by the struggles of the Irish Land League plus the philosophy of Henry George, but he grew disillusioned with Liberal orthodoxy after the Unionist split, and allied himself with independent labour politics. Indeed, he became the first national Secretary of the ILP in 1893, although his abrasive personality caused him to be short-lived in the post. His relationship with the Glasgow ILP was also difficult; his intimate Irish connections - especially with publicans - caused controversy, and he gradually distanced himself from fellow ILP supporters on the Town Council, despite the growing electoral appeal of collective Labour organisation. Died 6/1/1929; estate, £233.

362. MAYBERRY, Hugh - 18th Ward, 1891-93 (defeated). Born 1849, Drummore, near Stranraer, Wigtownshire. He served a law apprenticeship in Stranraer and later moved to Greenock; after qualifying as a writer he worked for a period in the Glasgow office of James Leitch Lang (q.v.). Mayberry subsequently diversified into property and land valuation, and set up his own business in 1873, acting particularly for railway interests. He served as a Police Commissioner in Crosshill before the burgh's annexation to Glasgow. An Established Churchman, he became a Liberal Unionist in 1886, but transferred his allegiances back to Liberalism towards the end of his life. Died 24/10/1913; estate, £7,044.

363. MECHAN, Arthur - 13th Ward, 1884-90 (retired). Born 1832, Glasgow. A partner in the firm of Mechan & Sons, brassfounders,

based at the Neptune Iron, Brass & Copper Works, Cranstonhill. In politics he was a Liberal. His date of death, sometime after 1893, has not been traced.

364. MILLAR, John - 3rd Ward, 1859-63 (resigned); Bailie, 1861-63. Born 1801, Airdrie, Lanarkshire. Head of the firm of John Millar & Son, drapers and warehousemen, High Street. A Liberal, and Free Churchman, he was the uncle of William Millar (q.v.). Died 4/11/1863; estate, £5,057.

365. MILLAR, William - 3rd Ward, 1861-79 (retired); Bailie, 1866-70 & 1872-75. Born 1822, Airdrie, Lanarkshire. Along with his brother, Gavin, he was a partner in the firm of W. & G. Millar, warehousemen, based at Glasgow Cross. A Free Churchman, he was a Liberal who latterly switched to support for Unionism. Nephew of John Millar (q.v.). Died 26/4/1908; his estate has not been traced.

366. MILLER, Hugh John - 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1903-12 (resigned); River Bailie, 1908-09; Bailie, 1909-12. His initial occupation was that of a dentist, but in 1908 he became head of the firm of H.J. Miller & Co., engineers, iron and steel merchants. The business folded spectacularly in 1912, and Miller was declared bankrupt. Described as "a radical with socialist leanings", he was an ally of the idiosyncratic Andrew Scott Gibson (q.v.), and like him had to resign from the Council because of financial entanglements. His date of death, sometime after 1918, has not been traced.

367. MILLER, John Fulton - Deacon Convener, 1897-99; 111th/Blythswood Ward, 1899-1904 (retired); River Bailie, 1901-02; Bailie, 1902-04. Born 1848, Crossmyloof, then outside Glasgow. He served an apprenticeship with J. & G. Thomson, engineers, Finnieston, but in 1870 he became a partner in his father's firm of James Miller & Co., rivet, nut and bolt manufacturers, which was latterly based in Coatbridge. He was also senior partner in the firm of George Miller & Sons, coalmasters. A staunch member of the Established Church, belonging to the Kenmuir congregation, he was an active Conservative. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 18/11/1904; his estate has not been traced.

368. MILLER, John Ritchie - 2nd Ward, 1880-83 (retired). Born 1823, Greenock, Renfrewshire. He came to Glasgow as a young man, and was eventually a partner in the firm of Forsyth, Miller

& Co., malleable cast iron founders, Mile-End. A devoted Free Churchman, belonging to the St. John's and later Anderston congregations, he was for a time Secretary to the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association. Died 16/12/1908; estate, £3,882.

369. MILLER, William [of Eastwoodhill] - 13th Ward, 1865-69 & 9th Ward, 1869-79 (resigned) ; Bailie, 1866-70; Treasurer, 1872-75. Born 1817, Glasgow. His early working career was spent as a partner with Archibald Orr Ewing & Co., Turkey-red dyers, in the Vale of Leven. He retired from the business in 1855, but ten years later he became involved in another Turkey-red partnership, this time with the firm of Miller, Higginbotham & Co. The undertaking sustained huge financial losses, and Miller was obliged to give up municipal activity. He latterly became manager of the Hillhead Branch of the Clydesdale Bank. A Liberal and Free Churchman, belonging to the St. Peter's congregation, he was a zealous pro-temperance campaigner. Died 27/8/1892; estate, £184.

370. MILLS, William [of Sandyford] - 5th Ward, 1833-37 & 3rd Ward, 1837-40 (retired); Bailie, 1833-34; Lord Provost, 1834-37. Born 1776, Lessudon, Roxburghshire. Moving early to Glasgow, he became involved in the cotton trade, building up substantial United States connections as an importer. Latterly he diversified into shipping, helping to pioneer steam transportation between Glasgow and Liverpool. A Whiggishly-inclined Liberal, he was an Established Church moderate. Died 8/11/1857; estate, £27,631.

371. MIRRLEES, James Buchanan - 16th Ward, 1862-68 (retired); Bailie, 1863-65; Dean of Guild, 1879-81. Born 1822, Glasgow. His father, William, was a saddler and leather merchant, who happened to be brother-in-law to James Lumsden (q.v.) and Richard Kidston (q.v.). Brought up among the élite of Glasgow's mercantile community, he joined forces with Peter McOnie in 1848 to form the firm of McOnie & Mirrlees, engineers and sugar mill manufacturers. After McOnie's death in 1850, he entered into the successive co-partneries of Mirrlees & Tait (1858), Mirrlees, Tait & Watson (1870), and Mirrlees, Watson & Yaryan Co., Ltd. (1889). From 1870 he was in company with William Rennie Watson (q.v.). A Free Churchman, he was a founder member of Westbourne Church. Died 16/11/1903; estate, £168,244.

372. MITCHELL, Edward Rosslyn - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1909-20 & 6th/Whitevale Ward, 1920-25 (resigned); 38th/Yoker & Knightswood Ward, 1932-46 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1915; Bailie, 1915-18. Born 1879, Devizes, Wiltshire. His father, Edward

John Mitchell, was an evangelical preacher. Educated in Glasgow, he studied law at the University, and established his own practice in 1904. Over time he was involved in several partnerships, but when he entered the Council the firm was known as Mitchell & Bell. He became active in Liberal politics as a student, being closely identified with Lord Rosebery. However, he increasingly allied himself with ILP members on Glasgow Corporation after his election in 1909, eventually throwing in his lot with them nine years later. In 1924 he was elected Labour MP for Paisley, defeating H.H. Asquith, the former Liberal Prime Minister. Mitchell did not find Parliamentary life congenial, and resigned his seat in 1929. Died 31/10/1965; the value of his estate is not yet available.

373. MITCHELL, George - 2nd Ward, 1846-55 (retired); Bailie, 1851-55. Born 1808, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. A partner in the firm of Macleroy, Hamilton & Co., cotton-spinners and power loom cloth manufacturers, based in the Calton. His date of death, sometime after 1865, has not been traced.

374. MITCHELL, George - 2nd Ward, 1895-96 & 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1896-1905 (defeated); Bailie, 1902-05. Born 1858, Glasgow. Head of the Labour Literature Society, Ltd., booksellers, publishers and letterpress printers. An ILP activist, he was allied with the "Stalwart" group of councillors. Died 11/5/1910; the value of his estate has not been traced.

375. MITCHELL, John - 3rd Ward, 1833-35 (defeated); 3rd Ward, 1839-46 & 15th Ward, 1846-81 (died); River Bailie, 1834-35; Bailie, 1839-42; Master of Works, 1868-81. Born 1786, Dalkeith, Midlothian. The son of a cork manufacturer, he came to Glasgow in 1808, where he worked as a cork-cutter. He then diversified into the importation of cork, building up extensive Portuguese connections. His firm, John Mitchell & Son, was reputed to be the largest cork importer in Britain, and he was a substantial shipowner. A Peelite Conservative and staunch Established Churchman, he had the distinction of serving for almost fifty years as a councillor, dying in harness - aged ninety-five - on 5/12/1881. Estate, £86,475.

376. MITCHELL, Matthew - 26th/Kinning Park Ward, 1907-10 (retired). Born Glasgow, date unknown. A partner in the firm of A. Mitchell & Son, property and insurance agents. Died 3/7/1937; estate, £699.

377. MITCHELL, Robert - 3rd/Mile-End Ward, 1909-19 (defeated);

Depute River Bailie, 1914; River Bailie, 1914-15; Bailie, 1915-18. Born 1871, Glasgow. During the 1900s he was involved with the firm of James McGibbon, rope and twine manufacturer, based at the Clyde Ropery, Parkhead. However, after the First World War he changed direction altogether, becoming the proprietor of the Shandon Hydropathic Hotel, Gareloch. Died 9/5/1936; his estate has not been traced..

378. MITCHELL, Robert McFarlane - 5th Ward, 1884-93 & 23rd Ward, 1893-96 & 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1896-1908 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1885-86; River Bailie, 1886-87; Bailie, 1887-90. Born 1833, Glasgow. Son of Colin Gillespie Mitchell, a writer, he was educated in Edinburgh and Glasgow. He subsequently became a partner in the firm of James Nimmo & Co., coalmasters, who specialised in supplying steamships. A devoted United Presbyterian, he was a founder member of the Belhaven congregation. Initially an active Liberal, he latterly identified with Unionism, much to the dismay of erstwhile colleagues in the Council's pro-temperance Progressive group. Died 2/1/1910; estate, £48,802.

379. MOIR, George - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1908-11 (defeated). Born 1854, Grangemouth, Stirlingshire. After serving for several years with the Merchant Navy, he became a coal merchant, and was latterly in partnership with James Willock (q.v.), under the designation of Willock, Broom & Moir. Apart from his brief municipal career, he was well-known in Glasgow as an accomplished yachtsman, acting as Secretary to the Clyde Corinthian Yacht Club. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 5/11/1918; estate, £1.

380. MOIR, James - 2nd Ward, 1848-65 (defeated) & 1868-71; 4th Ward, 1871-74 (defeated); 10th Ward, 1875-80 (died); Bailie, 1871-74. Born 1805, Stenhousemuir, Stirlingshire. He came to Glasgow as a youth, and served an apprenticeship with James Wallace (q.v.), a tea merchant in the Gallowgate. He subsequently set up on his own as a wholesale and retail tea merchant, becoming known as the "Gallowgate Slasher" because of his low prices. Coming from a radical political background, his elder brother, Benjamin, had been transported to Australia for his part in the so-called "Radical War" of 1820. Moir himself became caught up in the reform struggles of the 1830s, and was latterly identified with "moral force" Chartism. During the 1840s he became a Glasgow Police Commissioner; a position that was to be an important precursor to his municipal work, especially as he took a keen interest in police and sanitary affairs. Over time he became a leading figure in the Glasgow Liberal party, particularly as President of the Scottish

National Reform League during the 1860s. Indeed, he could have secured the Liberal Parliamentary nomination for Glasgow in 1868, but declined the opportunity. His wife, Martha, was the daughter of Robert McGavin (q.v.) and sister of Robert McGavin, junior (q.v.). Died 1/12/1880; estate, £13,839.

381. MONCUR, John - 2nd Ward, 1869-74 (defeated). Born 1811, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Head of John Moncur, wood turner, Soho Street Turning Works. He was a Liberal, and pro-temperance activist. Died 9/6/1897; estate, £1,706.

382. MONTGOMERY, Sir Matthew Walker - 19th/Gorbals Ward, 1902-20 (defeated); 29th/Kinning Park Ward, 1921-26 (retired); Bailie, 1906-09; Master of Works, 1916-17; Lord Provost, 1923-26. Born 1859, Glasgow. His father was a successful cork merchant and manufacturer, and Matthew joined him as a partner in the business, which became known as Daniel Montgomery & Son. A United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Pollokshields congregation. Brother-in-law of David Mason (q.v.), who was Montgomery's successor as Lord Provost in 1926. Knighted in 1926, he died 8/8/1933; estate, £40,918.

383. MORISON, John - Deacon Convener, 1857-59; 10th Ward, 1859-65 (retired); Master of Works, 1861-65. Born 1809, Auchterarder, Perthshire. Head of John Morison & Son, slaters and slate merchants. Brother-in-law of Samuel McCulloch (q.v.). As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammemen. Died 17/8/1883; estate, £16,181.

384. MORRIN, David - 5th Ward, 1882-96 & 8th/Townhead Ward, 1896-97 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1888-89; Bailie, 1889-94. Born 1842, Closeburn, Dumfriesshire. Originally a journeyman boot and shoemaker, he eventually acquired his own business, based in the Townhead district. An active Liberal and devoted Free Churchman, he belonged to the Free Barony congregation. Morrin was also a zealous temperance campaigner, closely identified with the Council's Progressive group. His date of death, sometime after 1925, has not been traced.

385. MORRISON, James - 9th Ward, 1867-69 & 10th Ward, 1869-79 (retired); 10th Ward, 1880-83 (defeated); Bailie, 1873-76. Born 1833, Glasgow. Along with his brother, John, he established the firm of J. & J. Morrison, auctioneers, valuers & storekeepers, Crown Sale Rooms. The firm subsequently became Morrison, Dick & McCulloch. Died 19/1/1909; estate, £7,399.

386. MORTON, George Dickson - 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1907-20 & 35th/Govanhill Ward, 1920-32 (retired); Bailie, 1912-16; Master of Works, 1924-25; Treasurer, 1929-32. Born 1858, Glasgow. The son of a provision merchant, he became a partner in the firm of William Stevenson & Co., oil, colour and cement manufacturers. A Liberal, he belonged to the Govanhill congregation of the United Presbyterian Church, and was a pro-temperance activist. Died 4/5/1937; estate, £16,217.

387. MOTHERWELL, Andrew - 19th/Gorbals Ward, 1900-01 (resigned). Born 1856, Kirkintilloch, Dunbartonshire. He came to Glasgow as a young man, where he entered the firm of Kirkwood & Pattison, grain merchants. In 1882 he took the business over, under the name of the Gorbals Grain Stores. Died 28/10/1934; estate, £16,217

388. MOWAT, John - 7th Ward, 1875-83 (retired); River Bailie, 1878-79; Bailie, 1879-82. Born 1825, Aberdeen. He came to Glasgow with his family in 1831, where he served a grocery apprenticeship. He subsequently set up on his own under the name of John Mowat & Son, wholesale grocers, tea merchants and sugar brokers. Mowat belonged to the Free Church. Died 2/12/1884; estate, £29,130.

389. MUIR, Sir John [of Deanston] - 11th Ward, 1886-92 (retired); Lord Provost, 1889-92. Born 1828, Glasgow. His father, also John, was the senior partner in the firm of Webster, Steel & Co., merchants and piece-good agents. After a University education, John, junior, joined James Finlay & Co., for whom his father's firm acted as agents in Latin America. Finlay's dealt exclusively with the East India trade, especially the importation of cotton wool, although it latterly diversified into tea and rubber; it also had substantial shipping interests. Muir latterly became sole partner in the firm, which operated in India under the name of Finlay, Muir & Co. A Free Churchman, he was connected with the St. George's congregation at Deanston. Originally a Liberal, he became a strong Unionist supporter after 1886, personally close to Robert Crawford (q.v.). Died 6/8/1903; estate, £862,802.

390. MUIR, John - 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1910-20 & 6th/Whitevale Ward, 1920-23 (retired); River Bailie, 1915-16; Bailie, 1916-19. Born 1848, Ayr. He was apprenticed to the shoemaking trade in his home town, but came to Glasgow with his two brothers in 1863, where the firm of Muir Brothers, boot and shoemakers, was established. A radical Liberal, he was a disciple of Henry George, believing that the taxation of land

values was the fairest means of achieving a just society. Died 9/3/1929; estate, £4,222.

391. MUIR, Thomas [of Muirpark] - 5th Ward, 1833-34 (defeated); Bailie, 1833-34. Born Glasgow, date unknown. He described himself as a merchant and manufacturer, and was in politics a Whiggishly-inclined Liberal. Muir seems to have left Glasgow during the 1830s, settling with his family in Madeira. Died 9/4/1875; his estate has not been traced.

392. MURDOCH, Robert - 7th Ward, 1889-96 & 10th/Exchange Ward, 1896-99 (died); Bailie, 1893-95. Born 1825, Glasgow. An East Ender and the son of an ironfounder, he entered the employment of Robert Bunten (q.v.) as a youth. After Bunten's sudden death in 1848, he took over the business, changing the name to Robert Murdoch & Co., iron and steel merchants. He was a Liberal, although latterly he began to identify with Unionism, and was a member of the Woodlands Road United Presbyterian Church. Died 17/10/1899; estate, £48,425.

393. MURRAY, Alexander - 20th Ward, 1891-96, 23rd/Pollokshields Ward, 1896-1910 (retired); Bailie, 1894-98; Treasurer, 1899-1902; Master of Works, 1905-06. Born 1850, Rogart, Sutherland. He came to Glasgow as a boy, and worked for a while as a bank clerk, but he eventually became a partner in the firm of Carswell & Murray, chartered accountants. An active Liberal, he was a Free Churchman, belonging to the Anderson congregation before transferring to Pollokshields. He was also firmly identified with the Progressive pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 18/8/1915; estate, £22,625.

394. MURRAY, John - 21st Ward, 1891-96 (defeated); Bailie, 1893-96. Born 1830, Paisley, Renfrewshire. He came to Glasgow in his teens, and worked for a wine and spirit merchant before setting up on his own as an oil merchant and drysalter. The firm was latterly known as John Murray & Son. Active in local affairs in Pollokshields, he was a former Chief Magistrate of the Burgh. A Free Churchman, he successively belonged to the Young Street and later Pollokshields congregation. His early connection with publicans made him a supporter of "trade" interests on the Council. Died 5/5/1909; estate, £61,929.

395. MURRAY, John Bruce - 15th/Park Ward, 1900-20 & 16th/Park Ward, 1920-35 (retired); Bailie, 1904-08. Born 1853, Glasgow. His father, David A.B. Murray, was a partner in the shipping firm of Reid & Murray. Murray, junior, embarked on a shipping

career, and at one stage was employed as manager of the State Line of steamers, before it was absorbed by the Allan Line in 1891. He then set up on his own as John Bruce Murray & Son, steamship owners and brokers, and was also head of J.B. Murray & Son, yarn agents. Died 8/8/1942; estate, £2,866.

396. MURRAY, Thomas - 10th Ward, 1863-69 (retired); Bailie, 1865-69. Born 1800, Paisley, Renfrewshire. He was the founder of the famous publishing firm of Thomas Murray & Son, publishers, which specialised in the production of railway timetables and gazetteers. A staunch Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. Paul's congregation. Died 13/1/1884; estate, £11,609.

397. MURRAY, William [of Monklands] - 12th Ward, 1850-58 (died). Born 1790, Glasgow. The son of a city merchant, he was head of the Monkland Iron & Steel Co., manufacturers of pig and bar iron, based in Airdrie. Died 2/11/1858; estate, £158,425.

398. NEIL, John - 4th Ward, 1836-38 (retired); Deacon Convener, 1838-40. Born Glasgow, date unknown. Son of Daniel Neil, a city silk mercer, he became a partner in the firm of Neil & Langlands, silk printers and manufacturers. Neil was a supporter of the Council's Conservative-Evangelical alliance, prior to 1843. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Weavers. His date of death, sometime after 1847, has not been traced.

399. NEIL, John - 6th Ward, 1872-93 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1883-84; Bailie, 1884-86. Born 1836, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Son of a hot presser, Neil took up the baking trade, acquiring his own shop at the age of nineteen. On moving to Glasgow he specialised in the manufacture of biscuits. An active Liberal, he was an outspoken pro-temperance campaigner. However, he resigned abruptly from the Council in April 1893 because of bankruptcy. His date of death, sometime after 1898, has not been traced.

400. NEILL, Robert - 15th Ward, 1854-72 (died); Master of Works, 1865-66; Bailie, 1866-69. Born 1814, Glasgow. He became head of his own business as a slate merchant and builder, based in the Gorbals. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 26/3/1872; estate, £3,957.

401. NEILSON, Archibald - 4th Ward, 1869-72 (defeated); 4th

Ward, 1888-91 (defeated). Born 1824, Johnstone, Renfrewshire. After medical training in Edinburgh and Glasgow, he set up his own city practice in the East End. As a municipal candidate, he stood in opposition to pro-temperance supporters. Died 19/9/1918; estate, £3,957.

402. NEILSON, James - Deacon Convener, 1871-73. Born 1808, Bothwell, Lanarkshire. The son of a farmer, he commenced working life at Tennant's Wellpark Brewery, and eventually became manager of the concern. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he latterly became disenchanted with the power of the pro-temperance lobby within the Liberal hierarchy. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Maltmen. Died 20/10/1886; estate, £13,790.

403. NEILSON, Robert - 3rd Ward, 1854-57 (retired). Born 1817, Moffat, Dumfriesshire. He was head of his own plasterer's business. Died 18/5/1900; estate, £49,363.

404. NEILSON, Thomas - Deacon Convener, 1836-38. Born 1802, Glasgow. The son of a flesher, Neilson carried on the family trade, latterly as head of T. & A. Neilson. A supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843, he represented the Incorporation of Fleshers as Deacon Convener. Died 26/1/1859; estate, £628.

405. NEILSON, William [of Camoquhill-Douglas] - 15th Ward, 1863-68 (retired). Born 1826, Glasgow, although his family had long been connected with the estate of Camoquhill-Douglas, near Balfron, Stirlingshire. A bank and insurance agent, he represented the Hercules & Scottish Fire & Life Insurance Co., and latterly the British Linen Co. Bank, South-Side branch. Neilson was a keen Volunteer, holding a commission in the 1st Lanark Regiment. Died 17/6/1873; his estate has not been traced.

406. NELSON, John Ewing - 7th Ward, 1892-96 (retired). Born 1838, Glasgow. In 1850 he started working life in the drapery warehouse of Thomas Chalmers & Co., and seven years later joined the Luton-based firm of William Wills & Co., straw hat manufacturers and warehousemen. He was eventually admitted into partnership, the firm becoming Wills, Nelson & Co. A Conservative sympathiser and Established Churchman, he belonged to the Pollokshields Parish congregation. Died 28/7/1911; estate, £42,424.

407. NELSON, Walter - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1906-12 (resigned). Born 1863, Johnstone, Renfrewshire. A chartered accountant, he belonged to the firm of Wilson & Nelson, which latterly became Nelson, Gilmour, Scott & Co. He was also an agent for the North of Scotland and Town and Country Bank, Ltd. Died 28/2/1946; estate, £36,127.

408. NICOL, William - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1903-08 (defeated) & 1910-20 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1907-08; River Bailie, 1912-13; Bailie, 1913-16. Born 1847, Caithness. Along with his son - also William - he was proprietor of several lodging houses in Watson Street, near Glasgow Cross. The firm was latterly known as Watson Street Homes. In politics, Nicol was an active Liberal. Died 14/6/1925; estate, £2,915.

409. OATTS, John Lumsden - 18th Ward, 1893-96 & 22nd/Langside Ward, 1896-1900 (retired); River Bailie, 1898-99; Bailie, 1899-1900. Born 1850, Glasgow. After studying law at Glasgow University, he set up his own practice in 1878; the firm was latterly known as Lindsay, Meldrum & Oatts. For many years he was Secretary to the Glasgow Dairymen's Association, and was particularly involved in legal cases relating to the milk standard. A Liberal and pro-temperance activist, he belonged to Queen's Park Free Church. Died 10/8/1919; estate, £7,561.

410. O'HARE, Patrick - 6th/Springburn Ward, 1897-1906 (retired); Bailie, 1903-06. Born 1849, Tullygillen, Co. Monaghan, Ireland. He commenced working life on his father's farm, where he became involved in the butter and egg trade, sending supplies regularly to Glasgow. In 1870 O'Hare came to Glasgow, and after four years with the Blochairn Iron Works, he was given a position with Patrick & James Sherry, wine and spirit merchants, in the Townhead area. He rose to become manager, and was eventually able to set up his own successful business, based in the Calton. Although he identified with Liberalism and had strong pro-labour sympathies, he was a committed Irish Nationalist, representing the North Monaghan constituency as MP between 1906-07. He was the first Roman Catholic to be elected a Bailie in Glasgow, at least since 1690. Died 9/11/1917; estate, £5,466.

411. ORD, George - 5th Ward, 1833-35 (resigned); 1st Ward, 1840-46 & 4th Ward, 1846-50 (retired); Treasurer, 1843-46; Bailie, 1847-48. Born Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, Ireland, date unknown. His father was involved in the Irish linen trade, but Ord was himself an accountant and agent for the Fire Insurance Company of Scotland. His date of death, sometime after 1851,

has not been traced.

412. ORR, Sir Andrew [of Harvieston & Castle Campbell] - 3rd Ward, 1842-46 & 6th Ward, 1846-60 (retired); Bailie, 1846-50; Lord Provost, 1854-57. Born 1801, Glasgow. After a University education, he entered his father's firm of Francis Orr & Sons, wholesale stationers and publishers. He was prominently involved in railway affairs, becoming Chairman of the Glasgow & South Western Railway Co., in 1849. Along with John Blackie, junior, (q.v.), he was an early advocate of slum clearance in the city centre, partly because of his concern to open out the area for railway development. An active Liberal, Orr was an enormously influential figure in Glasgow during the 1850s and '60s, and was repeatedly urged to stand as one of the city's Parliamentary representatives. He took a keen interest in the development of the Council's Parks and Art Galleries; in the latter connection, he was personally close to Archibald McLellan (q.v.), and it was suggested that his anxiety to acquire McLellan's art collection for the city was chiefly prompted by his desire to rescue his friend's estate from insolvency. Orr's relationship with the architect James Smith also caused him some awkward moments during 1857, when Smith's daughter Madeleine faced trial on a murder charge. An Established Churchman, Orr belonged to the Glasgow Cathedral and Dollar congregations. He was knighted in 1857, and died 19/4/1874. Estate, £172,045.

413. ORR, Robert - 5th Ward, 1843-46 (retired). Born 1796, Glasgow. He was listed simply as a "merchant", Exchange Place. In politics he was a Liberal. Orr disappears from trace in Glasgow after 1851.

414. ORR, Thomas Carmichael - 13th Ward, 1856-61 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. Head of his own business as a commission merchant, Union Street. A Liberal, he was a keen advocate of public health reform. Died 7/2/1866; estate, £236.

415. OSBORNE, Alexander - 6th Ward, 1862-96 & 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1896-1900 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1865-66; River Bailie, 1866-67; Bailie, 1867-70; Treasurer, 1875-80. Born 1819, Braehead, near East Kilbride, Lanarkshire. He came to Glasgow in 1834, and served an apprenticeship to the provision trade; eight years later he set up on his own as a wholesale cheese merchant, based in the Candleriggs. Although nominally a Conservative, he often allied himself with Liberal Progressives on the Council; for instance, in 1893 he took a stand in support of James Mackenzie, a Liberal Catholic councillor, against Orange attempts to oust him. His own religious allegiances were

to the Free Church, belonging to the St. John's congregation. One of the Council's most popular representatives during the nineteenth century, he was related by marriage to James Martin (q.v.), of W. & J. Martin. Through his brother, Hugh, he was also related to the novelist Guy McCrone, and Arthur Moorehouse - the sympathetic father-figure in McCrone's Wax Fruit trilogy - seems to have been partly modelled on Osborne. Died 23/2/1900; estate, £23,256.

416. PARNIE, James - 9th Ward, 1888-96 (retired); Bailie, 1892-96. Born 1837, Glasgow. After attending classes at Glasgow University, he commenced business on his own, in the firm that eventually became Turnbull, Parnie & Adam, house factors, accountants and valuers. The enterprise owed its success largely to the purchase of property on behalf of railway companies. Although a United Presbyterian, belonging to the Berkley Street congregation, he was a Conservative supporter. Died 26/12/1897; estate, £32,609.

417. PATERSON, Andrew - 1st Ward, 1849-57 (retired). Born 1800, Glasgow. The son of a city merchant, he became head of his own business of Andrew Paterson, gingham and pullicate manufacturers. In politics he was a Liberal supporter. Died 27/1/1883; estate, £9.

418. PATERSON, John - 14th Ward, 1887-89 (retired). Born 1836, Glasgow. He was apprenticed to the brickbuilding trade, and during the 1860s started his own firm of John Paterson & Son, brickmakers and contractors, Pollokshaws Road. One of his contracts included the construction of the Glasgow District Subway. Died 12/12/1908; estate, £38,914.

419. PATERSON, Joshua - 11th Ward, 1861-67 (retired). Born 1814, Glasgow. He studied medicine at Glasgow University, qualifying as a doctor in 1836. He then set up his own practice, but by the time he was elected as a councillor he had retired from full-time employment. A Liberal, he was a devoted Free Churchman, and one of the founders of the Kelvinside congregation. He was also a supporter of the Evangelical Alliance. Died 14/5/1892; estate, £101,717.

420. PATERSON, Robert - 15th/Park Ward, 1896-1900 (defeated). Born 1851, Glasgow. Coming from a long line of city merchants, he was a senior partner in the firm of Paterson, Newlands & Co., accountants and stockbrokers. An active Liberal, he was a Free Churchman, belonging to the St. Enoch's congregation. He was

also an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 11/5/1918; estate, £18,667.

421. PATON, James Robert - 18th Ward, 1891-96 & 10th/Exchange Ward, 1896-97 (died); River Bailie, 1895-96; Bailie, 1896-97. Born 1839, Glasgow. He started working life as a junior clerk, serving for a while with W.B. Huggins, seedsmen and warehousemen, where he assisted Emile L'Angelier, the unfortunate lover of Madeleine Smith. Huggins's was badly affected by the failure of the Western Bank in 1857, and so Paton moved into his father's firm of Sclanders & Paton, wood, tin, zinc and packing-case makers. In due course, Paton, junior, became sole partner. A Liberal, and active pro-temperance campaigner, he was a devoted member of the St. John's and later Queen's Park United Presbyterian Church. He was also a Crosshill Police Commissioner, prior to the Burgh's annexation to Glasgow in 1891. Great-nephew of William Bankier (q.v.). Died 27/1/1897; estate, £17,569.

422. PATON, Walter - 16th Ward, 1884-96 & 20th/Kingston Ward, 1896-1904 (defeated); Bailie, 1888-93; Master of Works, 1896-97. Born 1838, Moniaive, Dumfriesshire. He came to Glasgow in 1853, where he served an apprenticeship to the drapery trade. In due course he set up his own draper's business, but eventually diversified into the manufacture of waterproof garments and oilskins, under the partnership of Paton & Moultrie. His business suffered as a result of the City of Glasgow Bank failure, but he was able to recoup his losses. A Liberal, he was brought up as an adherent to the strict Reformed Presbyterian Church; following its absorption into the Free Church in 1876, he became a member of the West Pollokshields congregation. He was the Convener of the Tramways Committee in 1894, when the Corporation took over the lease for operating the system. Died 25/5/1906; estate, £3,652.

423. PATON, William Patrick - 10th Ward, 1849-51; Bailie, 1850-51. Born 1794, Edinburgh. The son of a builder, he initially worked in Leith - in a commercial capacity - leading on from which he moved to India and Java. In 1828 he returned to Scotland, where he settled in Glasgow, establishing his own business as a commission merchant, dealing with the East India trade. A staunch Liberal, his religious affiliations were to the Evangelical Union Church. Active in the anti-slavery movement, he also gave strong support to the causes of Italian and Hungarian independence. Father-in-law of William Gourlie (q.v.). Died 6/1/1867; estate, £21,977.

424. PATTISON, John [of Kelvingrove] - 5th Ward, 1833-36 (defeated). Born 1782, Glasgow. His father - also John - was a city merchant, who was an early proprietor of the Kelvingrove estate. Kelvingrove formed the nucleus of the West End Park, which came under municipal control in 1852. Pattison, junior, was a partner in the firm of Pattison, Duncan & Co., listed simply as "merchants". A Whiggishly-inclined Liberal, he was a supporter of the "Clique" group on the Council. Died in Edinburgh, 29/1/1867; his estate has not been traced.

425. PAUL, Henry - 4th Ward, 1833-39 (resigned); Bailie, 1836-39. Born 1796, Edinburgh. The son of an Established Church minister, he came to Glasgow in 1820 to practice as an accountant, under the firm of Paul & Harvie. While serving as a town councillor, he was closely identified with the Conservative-Evangelical alliance, although he was highly-regarded by many Liberals. In 1839 he resigned from municipal office to become the first manager of the newly-established City of Glasgow Bank; however, he abruptly left this position in 1842, and moved from Glasgow, putting his North Woodside estate on the market. The reasons for his departure remain unclear, and may have been for health reasons, although they may also be tied in with the crisis in the Church of Scotland, and Paul's ideological dilemma over whether to break with the Establishment. Certainly, his brother - the banker, Robert Paul - was subsequently a stalwart of the Free Church. Paul latterly lived in his home town, and died on 29/5/1860, leaving an estate of £267.

426. PAXTON, Sir Thomas - 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1904-20 & 12th/Exchange Ward, 1920-23 (retired); Bailie, 1908-13; Lord Provost, 1920-23. Born 1860, Letham, near Cupar, Fife. He came to Glasgow in 1876, and seven years later became a detective officer in the Glasgow Police, Central Division. In 1886 he became manager of the City Improvement Trust Lodging House in the Gorbals, and in 1895 opened three model lodging houses of his own. He was also the manager of the Adelphi Stores, Ltd., wholesale tea and coffee dealers, and Government contractors. A Conservative and Established Churchman, he belonged to the Hyndland Parish congregation. He received a baronetcy in 1922, and died 15/3/1930; estate, £31,651.

427. PEARSON, Thomas - 16th Ward, 1847-56 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1848-49; River Bailie, 1849-50. Born 1806, Glasgow. He ran two businesses in the Gorbals; one, on his own, as a tailor and clothier, the other - Thomas Pearson & Sons - as a draper and hosier. He served as one of the Gorbals Magistrates prior to 1846. Pearson's date of death, sometime

after 1855, has not been traced.

428. PERSTON, James - 2nd Ward, 1835-37 (retired). Born 1777, Glasgow. He was the younger son of Matthew Perston, a muslin and cambric manufacturer, and followed the family business as a partner in the firm of Perston, Bannatyne, Moir & Co. His political sympathies were for Liberalism. Died 31/1/1852; his estate has not been traced.

429. PETTIGREW, Sir Andrew Hislop - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1907-08 (resigned). Born 1857, New Lanark, Lanarkshire. Originally apprenticed to a local draper, he came to Glasgow in 1875, where he became a buyer for several large Glasgow warehouses, including Copland & Lyle and the Polytechnic. In 1888 he established his own business, in partnership with William H. Stephens. Pettigrew & Stephens - described as general drapers, costumiers, ladies' outfitters and complete house furnishers - soon established extensive foreign and domestic connections. Latterly, Pettigrew became Chairman of Campbell, Stewart & MacDonald, Ltd., the firm which incorporated the warehousing concern founded by William and James Campbell (q.v.). An active Liberal, Pettigrew was knighted in 1913. Died 22/7/1942; estate, £110,930.

430. PETTIGREW, William - 11th Ward, 1885-96 & 17th/Woodside Ward, 1896-98 (retired); River Bailie, 1890-91; Bailie, 1891-96. Born 1843, Glasgow. He initially trained to be a teacher - with the ultimate aim of entering the ministry - but gave up his studies to embark on a business career. For a while he was a tobacco traveller, then he started up on his own as a confectioner specialising in the manufacture of sweets. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, belonging to the Pollokshields congregation, he was closely identified with the Progressive pro-temperance group on the Council. Died 27/2/1909; estate, £3,481.

431. PINKERTON, Matthew - 6th Ward, 1871-79 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1877-78; River Bailie, 1878-79. Born 1813, West Kilbride, Ayrshire. He was a partner in the firm of J. & M. Pinkerton, leather merchants and boot manufacturers. Politically he was a Liberal supporter, strongly allied to the pro-temperance lobby. Died 24/6/1888; his estate has not been traced.

432. PIRRIE, John - 22nd Ward, 1891-96 (retired). Born 1830, Glasgow. Along with his elder brother, Robert, he was a partner

in the firm of Pirrie, Foote & Co., commission merchants. Pirrie's had extensive trading links world-wide, plus a branch of the firm in Gibraltar. Although not politically active, he was inclined towards Conservatism. His religious affiliations were to the Established Church, and he belonged to the Park congregation. Pirrie was previously involved in Hillhead affairs, prior to the Burgh's annexation to Glasgow in 1891. Died 28/9/1916; estate, £35,877.

433. PLAYFAIR, James - 11th Ward, 1846-60 (retired); Bailie, 1848-51. Born 1792, Meigle, Perthshire. He was a partner in the firm of Playfair, Bryce & Co., commission merchants. A Liberal and Free Churchman, he belonged to the Anderston congregation, and was a keen supporter of the Evangelical Alliance. Died 13/1/1866; estate, £19,542.

434. PLAYFAIR, Patrick - Dean of Guild, 1872-74 & 1878-79. Born 1814, Glasgow. Head of the firm of Patrick Playfair & Co., East India merchants, which had a branch in Calcutta. A Free Churchman, he belonged to the Free College congregation. In politics he was a Liberal. Brother-in-law of John Houldsworth (q.v.). Died 21/11/1879; estate, £49,657.

435. PRATT, Sir John William - 17th/Woodside Ward, 1906-14 (resigned); Bailie, 1911-14. Born 1873, South Shields, Northumberland, England. He came to Glasgow to attend the University, and thereafter served as Warden to the Glasgow University Students' Settlement; a post he held until 1912. He was strongly identified with the Council's Progressive group, and nursed Parliamentary ambitions. In 1913 he became Liberal MP for Linlithgowshire, and between 1918 and 1922 was MP for Cathcart. During that time he served as Scottish Under-Secretary for Health. Pratt did not return to Parliament after 1922, although in 1931 he became associated with Sir Oswald Mosley's short-lived New Party. Knighted in 1922, he died in England on 27/10/1952.

436. PRIMROSE, Sir John Ure - 16th Ward, 1886-96 & 20th/Kingston Ward, 1896-1905 (retired); Bailie, 1891-95; Master of Works, 1897-98; Lord Provost, 1902-05. Born 1847, Glasgow. His father founded the firm of William Primrose & Sons, flour millers, based in Tradeston, and Primrose, junior, eventually became senior partner in the concern. His mother - Annie Ure - was the sister of Lord Provost John Ure (q.v.), and Primrose inherited his uncle's commitment to public health reform. Again like his uncle, he was a Liberal supporter, but switched his allegiances to Unionism in 1886, and was thereafter a zealous

Chamberlainite. His religious affiliations were to the United Presbyterian Church, and he belonged to the Ibrox congregation. A popular man, he was noted for his affability as Lord Provost, particularly in his attempts to conciliate the pro-temperance and pro-drinks' lobbies. Brother of William Primrose (q.v.), he was made a baronet in 1903, and died 29/6/1924. Estate, £68,989.

437. PRIMROSE, William - 20th/Kingston Ward, 1905-08 (retired). Born 1849, Glasgow. After serving an apprenticeship to the grain trade, he worked for a year in Canada, before returning to his father's firm of William Primrose & Sons, flour millers. In 1905 he succeeded to the municipal seat vacated by his brother - John Ure Primrose (q.v.) - and shared the same ideological outlook. A Liberal in early life, he became one of Glasgow's leading Unionists after 1886. His religious affiliations were to the United Presbyterian Church, belonging to the Pollokshields congregation. Nephew of John Ure (q.v.) and brother-in-law of Richard Browne (q.v.). Died 17/5/1935; estate, £9,642.

438. RAE, William - 2nd Ward, 1852-60 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. Head of his own business as a grocer and tea merchant, dealing in the wholesale and retail trade. He was one of the Calton magistrates, prior to the Burgh's annexation to Glasgow in 1846; his date of death, sometime after 1864, has not been traced.

439. RAEBURN, James - 14th Ward, 1858-67 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1860-61; River Bailie, 1861-62; Bailie, 1862-67. Born 1796, Kilmaurs, Ayrshire. A partner in the firm of Russell & Raeburn, merchants and shipowners. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 29/10/1880; estate, £7,175.

440. RAMSAY, John [of Kildalton] - Dean of Guild, 1866-68. Born 1814, Glasgow. The son of a prosperous merchant, he received a University education; thereafter he entered into business on his own, becoming the proprietor of the Port Ellen Distillery, Isle of Islay. He purchased the Kildalton estate on the island, building an imposing home there in 1872. He briefly became Liberal MP for Stirling Burghs in 1868 - defeating the radically-inclined Henry Campbell Bannerman - and sat for Falkirk Burghs between 1874 and 1878. A cautious Liberal - with a reputation for meanness - he was understandably wary of the strong pro-temperance movement within the party ranks. Died 24/1/1892; estate, £118,138.

441. RAMSEY, Robert - Deacon Convener, 1895-97. Born 1831, Beith, Ayrshire. His father was a tanner, and he continued the tradition, becoming manager of the family firm in Beith. He came to Glasgow in 1856, and started his own successful business of Robert Ramsey & Co., hide, wool and tallow brokers. The firm acted as wholesale agents for the "Flockmaster's Dip", amongst all sorts of other dipping and smearing materials. An active Liberal, he was a United Presbyterian, belonging to the Queen's Park and later Claremont congregations. He lived in Crosshill for much of his life, and was the Burgh's first Chief Magistrate, after its creation in 1871. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Fleshers. Died 22/2/1917; estate, £44,222.

442. RANKIN, Cunison Deans - 15th Ward, 1882-84 (resigned). Born 1837, Hamilton, Lanarkshire. He was a partner in the firm of William Rankin & Sons, cork merchants and manufacturers, with extensive forests in Lisbon, and a large factory. Rankin's subsequently absorbed the extensive cork business of John Mitchell (q.v.). Rankin stood for municipal election on an "independent" platform in 1882. Died 4/6/1884; estate, £22,394.

443. REID, James - 3rd Ward, 1877-83 (retired); Dean of Guild, 1893-94. Born 1822, Kilmaurs, Ayrshire. He started working life as a blacksmith, and ultimately went to Greenock, where he was employed as an engineer and draughtsman. In 1852 he became manager of the Hyde Park Locomotive Works, Anderston, but moved for a while to Manchester, working in a similar position with the firm of Sharp, Stewart & Co. However, he was prevailed upon to return to the Hyde Park works, which had transferred to Springburn in 1860; he took up the opportunity, and eventually became proprietor of this highly successful concern. Initially a Liberal, he switched allegiances to Unionism in 1886. Although brought up in the Established Church, he joined the United Presbyterians, belonging to the Claremont congregation. Died 23/6/1894; estate £677,624.

444. REID, Thomas [of Kilmardinny] - Deacon Convener, 1881-83. Born 1831, Govan, then outside Glasgow. After serving an accountancy apprenticeship, he joined his father and brother James in the family firm of Alexander Reid & Sons, Turkey-red dyers. In 1879 Reid's moved from Govan to Burnbrae, near Milngavie, Dunbartonshire; Reid himself purchased the estate of Kilmardinny - formerly the homes of William Brown (q.v.) and Robert Dalglish, MP - to be near to the new works. He had numerous other business interests, notably Chairman of Nobel's Explosives Co., Ltd. and the London & Glasgow Engineering & Iron Shipbuilding Co. He served as Chief Magistrate of Govan between

1869 and 1872, and was an ardent anti-annexationist. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Dyers. Died 5/7/1900; estate, £205,498.

445. RICHMOND, Sir David - 14th Ward, 1879-96 & 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1896-99 (retired); Bailie, 1882-87; Treasurer, 1887-90; Master of Works, 1895-96; Lord Provost, 1896-99. Born 1843, Deanston, Perthshire. He came to Glasgow as a child, but from 1864 he was obliged to spend three years abroad for the sake of his health. He decided to settle in the Antipodes, but family circumstances brought him back to Glasgow, where he eventually set up on his own as an iron tube manufacturer, based in the City Tube Works, Hutchesontown. Initially a Liberal, he metamorphosised into a Unionist supporter, after a good deal of soul-searching. His religious affiliations were to the Established Church. Municipally, he was a leading figure during the intricate negotiations to extend the municipal boundaries in 1891. He was knighted in 1899, and died 15/1/1908. Estate, £158,718.

446. ROBERTON, Robert Donald - 8th Ward, 1867-70 (retired). Date and place of birth unknown. He was a partner in the firm of R. Cowan & Co., merchants and corn factors. Died 9/8/1878; estate, £2,657.

447. ROBERTSON, James - 1st Ward, 1865-68 (retired). Born 1830, Rothesay, Buteshire. His father was head of the firm of John Robertson & Co., cotton-spinners and power loom cloth manufacturers, with factories at Newhall, Bridgeton, and Ladeside, Rothesay. Robertson, junior, entered the firm along with his brother, Joseph Currie Robertson (q.v.), and eventually became senior partner. A Free Churchman, he was latterly connected with the Park congregation, Helensburgh. Died 5/1/1901; estate, £75,007.

448. ROBERTSON, John - 4th Ward, 1843-46 & 11th Ward, 1846-47 (retired); River Bailie, 1846-47. Date and place of birth unknown. Head of the firm of John Robertson & Son, sewed muslin manufacturers, Queen Street. A Liberal supporter, possibly related to James and Joseph Robertson (q.v.). His date of death has not been traced.

449. ROBERTSON, Joseph Currie - 15th/Park Ward, 1896-1902 (defeated); Bailie, 1900-02. Born 1848, Rothesay, Buteshire. His father was the head of John Robertson & Co., cotton-spinners and power loom cloth manufacturers at Newhall, Bridgeton, and

the two brothers eventually became partners in the firm. A devoted Free Churchman, he belonged to the St. Peter's congregation; he also served as Chairman of the Scottish National Sabbath School Union. Died 10/11/1918; estate, £16,844.

450. ROBERTSON, William - 5th Ward, 1834-45 (retired); Bailie, 1840-42. Born 1789, Glasgow. Along with his brother, he was a partner in the firm of William & Robert Robertson, grocers and spirit dealers, Argyle Street. Elected originally as a Liberal, he switched to support for the Conservative-Evangelical Alliance. Died 28/4/1857; estate, £7,779.

451. ROBERTSON, William -14th Ward, 1846-49 (retired). Born 1788, place unknown. Head of his own firm as a wright and builder, based in Anderston. A Liberal, he was active in the affairs of Anderston Burgh prior to 1846. Died 18/1/1850; estate, £3,286.

452. RONALDSON, Alexander - Dean of Guild, 1862-64. Born 1799, Haddington, East Lothian. The son of a merchant, he came to Glasgow as a young man, where he became a partner in the firm of James Richardson & Co., sugar merchants. He was also involved in railway affairs, being a director of the Glasgow & South Western Railway. A Liberal, his religious affiliations were to the Established Church. Died 30/10/1883; estate, £21,822.

453. ROSS, Richard Greenshields - 2nd Ward, 1865-68 (defeated) & 7th Ward, 1869-70 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1867-68. Born 1831, Edinburgh. The son of a railway contractor, he was a partner in the firm of Glen & Ross, engineers, based at the Greenhead Engineering Works, Bridgeton. The firm - later known as R.G. Ross & Son - specialised in the manufacture of "Rigby's Patent Steam Hammer". A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the John Street congregation. Died 1/4/1912; estate, £4,866.

454. RUSSELL, Sir William Fleming - 15th/Park Ward, 1902-14 (retired); Bailie, 1906-11. Born 1852, Glasgow. The son of a wright and builder, he began working life in 1866, with the firm of Kerr & Mitchell, coalmasters. In 1890 he started up on his own, the business eventually becoming William F. Russell & Sons, colliery agents, coal exporters and quarrymasters, with world-wide connections. An active Conservative, he was a staunch Established Churchman, belonging to the Belmont congregation. He was knighted in 1922, and died 29/5/1925. Estate, £50,722.

455. SADLER, Robert - 22nd/Langside Ward, 1910-20 & 33rd/Camphill Ward, 1920-22 (died); Bailie, 1916-19. Born 1862, Glasgow. In 1884 he founded the Bridgeton firm of Sadler & Co., soap manufacturers, oil merchants and refiners; his home in Pollokshields was called "Sudbrooke". Died 29/12/1922; estate, £6,644.

456. SALMON, James - 11th Ward, 1860-78 (retired); Bailie, 1864-66 & 1869-72. Born 1805, Glasgow. After serving an architectural apprenticeship, he started his own practice in 1830, and was subsequently joined by his son, William, also an architect. His preferred style of working was Italian Renaissance, though he used a variety of influences, and he was intimately involved in the laying-out of the Dennistoun district during the 1860s. His grandson, James Salmon, junior, became one of Glasgow's most innovative architects, designing buildings such as "The Hatrack", St. Vincent Street. Salmon, senior, was a Liberal and devoted Free Churchman. Died 5/6/1888; estate, £2,559.

457. SANDILANDS, James Ramsay - 19th/Gorbals Ward, 1896-1900 (died); Bailie, 1899-1900. Born New Lanark, Lanarkshire, date unknown. He was initially employed at the mills in New Lanark, but came to Glasgow, where he became the local manager of the General Life Assurance Co. A Liberal, he belonged to the Hutchesontown Congregational Church. Died 16/4/1900; estate, £8,999.

458. SCOTT, Daniel Maclaren - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1895 (defeated). Born Glasgow, date unknown. Head of his own drapers and outfitter's business, based in the East End. An active Liberal, he belonged to Adelaide Place Baptist Church. He served as a town councillor in an interim capacity. Died 23/6/1917; estate, £38,864.

459. SCOTT, David Robert - 17th/Woodside Ward, 1904-06 (retired). Born 1867, Crosshill, then outside Glasgow. His father was the Rev. William Scott, the first minister to be called to the newly formed Queen's Park Free Church, during the year of his son's birth. Scott, junior, was manager of the Fire Office, National Union Society, Ltd. Died 18/2/1907; estate, £2453.

460. SCOTT, Edward - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1905-08 (retired). Born 1855, Glasgow. Son of Edward J. Scott (q.v.), he continued his father's successful boot and shoe manufacturers, with

warehouses based throughout the city. A Liberal, he latterly manifested sympathy for socialism. His date of death, sometime after 1917, has not been traced.

461. SCOTT, Edward John - 15th Ward, 1871-80 (retired) & 1882 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1873-74; River Bailie, 1874-75; Bailie, 1875-80. Born 1825, London, of Scottish parents. Coming to Glasgow as a traveller in early life, he worked for a while with Wylie & Lochhead, before joining his brother in establishing the firm of Edward & Samuel Scott, boot and shoe manufacturers. Scott's principal factory was based in Kirk Street, Gorbals. He briefly served as a Commissioner to Hillhead Burgh. Father of Edward Scott (q.v.). Died 16/4/1887; estate, £1,204.

462. SCOTT, James [of Kelly] - 8th Ward, 1846-55 (retired); Bailie, 1850-51; Treasurer, 1851-55. Born 1810, Glasgow. In 1826 he started work for James Black & Co., manufacturers and calico printers; four years later he was made a partner, and ultimately became the firm's driving force. In 1847 he retired temporarily from business activity, concentrating on his municipal involvement, but returned to Black's in 1856. In later years he was associated with the Scottish oil industry, becoming Chairman of the Clippens Oil Co., Ltd. Although an Established Churchman, he was circumspect about his politics. He played an important municipal rôle as Treasurer, at the time of the negotiations to purchase Kelvingrove Park and inaugurate the Loch Katrine water supply. Son-in-law of Andrew Galbraith (q.v.). Died 24/4/1884; estate, £138,211.

463. SCOTT, Roderick - 2nd/Calton Ward, 1900-19 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1904; Bailie, 1904-09. Born 1856, Glasgow. In 1864 his family moved to Germany, where he remained for ten years. He then served a three years' apprenticeship to the butchering trade in Manchester, before returning to his home town. In 1894 he became Glasgow agent for the Swift Beef Company - a United States' firm - and thereafter Scott dealt extensively with the live and dead meat trade from North America. He was ultimately head of his own Meat Market in Moore Street; one of the largest such businesses in the United Kingdom. Scott was a leading figure in Fleshers' Trade Protection Association, to counter Co-operative trading in the meat markets. Died 16/12/1922; estate, £38,404.

464. SCOTT, William - 15th Ward, 1868-71 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. He studied medicine at Glasgow University, qualifying as a doctor in 1837. A United

Presbyterian, he belonged to the Anderston congregation; however, he appears not to have been allied with the pro-temperance lobby. Died November 1895; his estate has not been traced.

465. SELKIRK, James Landells - 5th Ward, 1875-84 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1879-81; River Bailie, 1881-83; Bailie, 1883-84. Born 1837, Largo, Fife. He was descended from the same family as Alexander Selkirk - Defoe's Robinson Crusoe prototype - and came to Glasgow as a youth, serving an accountancy apprenticeship with the firm of Ritchie & Drew. In partnership with his brother, Thomas, he subsequently set up his own business of J.L. & T.L. Selkirk, chartered accountants. A Liberal, and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the famous teetotal congregation at Kent Road; it was there that he forged his friendship with Samuel Chisholm (q.v.). A zealous temperance crusader, he became the first Honorary Secretary of the SPBTA, after its formation in 1858. Died 5/3/1904; estate, £1,640.

466. SERVICE, Andrew Graham - Deacon Convener, 1911-13. Born 1848, Glasgow. His father was Inspector of the Poor to the Barony Parish, although the Services were originally a farming family, which diversified into the gardening business. Service, junior, began his own career as an iron merchant, aged fifteen. He subsequently served three times as Chairman of the Scottish Pig Iron Association. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Lenzie congregation. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Gardeners. Died 7/1/1925; estate, £74,374.

467. SHANKS, Robert - 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1911-14 (defeated). Born 1870, Glasgow. Brought up in the Camlachie district, he was a partner in the local firm of J. Steele & Shanks, makers of porcelain enamelled fireclay baths, urinals, lavatory basins, water-closets, sinks, wash-tubs and every description of plumbers' ware. Imbued with evangelical influences in his youth, he became active in Liberal politics, and was particularly vocal on the issue of land reform. He was adopted as Parliamentary candidate for the Camlachie constituency in 1914, but owing to his strong pacifist sentiments after the outbreak of war he withdrew his candidacy and broke with the Liberal party. The war factor also caused his defeat in the 1914 municipal elections. Thereafter he threw himself into the organisation of the peace movement in and around Glasgow, becoming a leading figure in two major anti-war groups - the Union of Democratic Control and the No-Conscription Federation. In 1918 he joined the ILP, although his acceptance of socialism was uneasy, and he never really abandoned his pre-war radical

ideals. Died 16/7/1921; estate, £2,684.

468. SHARP, James - 9th Ward, 1864-67 (retired) & 7th Ward, 1870-76 (retired); River Bailie, 1871-72; Bailie, 1871-73 & 1874-76. Born 1813, Blackford, Perthshire. He was a partner in the firm of James Sharp & Sons, yarn merchants and power loom manufacturers, based in Dalmarnock. A Liberal, he was a pro-temperance campaigner. Died 5/8/1891; estate, £2,112.

469. SHAW, Sir Archibald McInnes - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1899-1911 (retired); River Bailie, 1902-03; Bailie, 1903-08; Lord Provost, 1908-11. Born 1862, Maryhill, then outside Glasgow. His father - James Shaw - was head of the firm of Shaw & McInnes, ironfounders, Firhill Iron Works, and a former Chief Magistrate of Maryhill. Shaw, junior, entered the family business as a youth, becoming senior partner, and extending the firm into the Scotstoun district. An active Conservative, his son - also Archibald - was Unionist MP for West Renfrewshire between 1924 and 1929. Knighted 1911, and died 14/12/1931; estate, £24,799.

470. SHAW, James - 9th Ward, 1879-87 (defeated); River Bailie, 1884-85; Bailie, 1885-87. Born 1828, Glasgow. Head of his own business as an accountant. His son was killed in the 1886 Crarae Quarries disaster, and thereafter Shaw withdrew from municipal activity. His date of death, sometime after 1903, has not been traced.

471. SHEARER, Sir John - 16th Ward, 1883-96 & 20th/Kingston Ward, 1896-1903 (retired); Bailie, 1884-88; Master of Works, 1889-90. Born 1843, Glasgow. He started his working career as an apprentice joiner, for his father. Thereafter, he entered in partnership with Shearer, senior, under the designation of John Shearer & Son, ship and house carpenters, joiners, blockmakers and blacksmiths. The firm became increasingly involved in ship repair, with extensive premises at Scotstoun and Kelvinhaugh. An active Conservative, and a staunch Established Churchman, he belonged to Kingston and latterly Cathcart Parish Church. Knighted in 1903, he died 28/2/1908. Estate, £596.

472. SIMONS, Michael - 3rd Ward, 1883-1892 (retired); Bailie, 1887-89. Born 1842, London. He was the eldest son of Benjamin Simons, founder of Simons, Jacobs & Co. one of the largest fruit importers in the United Kingdom. The family came to Glasgow when Michael was a child; he subsequently entered the family business, and became senior partner after his father's death in

1892. A prominent member of Glasgow's Jewish community, he was Secretary to the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation, and one of the original members of Garnethill Synagogue. In politics he was a Liberal, although his early radicalism was tempered in old age. Simons was one of the driving forces behind Glasgow's two major Exhibitions in 1888 and 1901, and he was a noted patron of the arts. Died 20/11/1925; estate, £24,645.

473. SIMPSON, Robert - 16th Ward, 1868-71 (retired). Born 1807, Saltcoats, Ayrshire. He came to Glasgow as a youth, and in 1826 - aged nineteen - started his own business as a draper, outfitter and general warehousman. The firm became Robert Simpson & Sons, and was latterly Arnott Simpsons. Although eschewing direct political involvement, his leanings were towards Liberalism. He was also a zealous temperance campaigner, belonging to the Evangelical Union church, although he manifested warm support for the various evangelical agencies throughout Glasgow. Died 3/4/1887; estate, £22,651.

474. SINCLAIR, Alexander - 19th Ward, 1891-96 & 22nd/Langside Ward, 1896-1903 (resigned); Depute River Bailie, 1895-96; Bailie, 1896-99. Born 1828, Campeltown, Argyllshire. In 1845 he joined the commercial department of the Glasgow Herald, and rose to become general manager and partner in the firm of George Outram & Co., proprietors of the newspaper. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Camphill congregation. Sinclair was active in local affairs in Langside, and keenly supported the amalgamation of the district with Glasgow in 1891. Died 3/9/1910; his estate has not been traced.

475. SLIMAN, Archibald - 6th Ward, 1895-96 (retired). Born 1859, Glasgow. His father was a partner in the firm of D.K. & J. Sliman, wholesale provision merchants, and Sliman, junior, started working life in the family business. During the 1890s he set up on his own as an accountant, under the name of Archibald Sliman & Fisher. A supporter of the Progressive, pro-temperance group on the Council, he was a keen sportsman, serving as President of the Scottish Football Association. Died 2/9/1925; estate, £1,353.

476. SLOAN, Robert - 26th/Kinning Park Ward, 1905-15 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1910-11; Bailie, 1911-15. Born 1850, Camunnock, Lanarkshire. He moved to Kinning Park in 1869 - two years before it was erected into a Police Burgh - and set up on his own as a wine and spirit merchant. He was active in Burgh affairs prior to amalgamation with Glasgow in 1905. Died 10/1/1915; estate, £5,885.

477. SMALL, John - 2nd Ward, 1833-46 & 9th Ward, 1846-52 (died); Bailie, 1835-40; Master of Works, 1846-52. Born 1777, Kilmaurs, Ayrshire. Head of his own firm as a wright and builder, latterly based in Renfrew Street. Initially elected as a Liberal, he manifested support for the Council's Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843, but seems to have reverted back to Liberalism. Died 27/9/1852; estate, £2,472.

478. SMITH, David - 5th Ward, 1846-50 (resigned); Bailie, 1847-50. Born 1799, Glasgow. Eldest son of David Smith, a Glasgow boot and shoemaker, he received a University education before entering the family business in the Trongate. He was latterly in partnership with his brother in the firm of David & John Smith. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 4/5/1870; estate, £11,261.

479. SMITH, John Guthrie - Dean of Guild, 1891-93. Born 1834, Glasgow. Both his father and grandfather were prominent merchants in the West India trade, although Smith, junior, followed the career of an insurance broker, with the firm of William Ewing & Co. An active Conservative and staunch Established Churchman, he belonged to Strathblane congregation. Immensely proud of his long links with Glasgow's "burgher aristocracy", he collaborated with John Buchanan and J.O. Mitchell in preparing The Old Country Houses of the Old Country Gentry, which recorded the history of many city villas and mansions before they were removed to make way for new developments. He was the cousin of John Parker Smith, Conservative MP for Partick between 1890 and 1906. Died 19/10/1894; estate £19,164.

480. SMITH, Robert - 1st Ward, 1845-46 & 4th Ward, 1846-48 (retired); Bailie, 1846-48. Born 1801, Saltcoats, Ayrshire. He was a partner in the firm of George Smith & Sons, general warehousemen and shipowners, along with his father and brother. A Liberal and devoted United Presbyterian, he belonged to the London Street and latterly Renfield Street congregations. He was a founder member of the Scottish Temperance League, and between 1852 and 1873 served as President. His son-in-law was Alexander Allan, of the Allan Shipping Line; his grandson, James Allan, was a prominent member of the Glasgow ILP, popularly known as the "socialist millionaire". Died 28/7/1873; estate, £451,400.

481. SMITH, William - Deacon Convener, 1873-75. Born 1819, place unknown. Senior partner in the firm of A. & W. Smith,

engineers, millwrights, boilermakers and sugar mill manufacturers, Eglinton Engine Works. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 17/3/1881; estate, £69,377.

482. SMITH, William Brownhill - 10th/Exchange Ward, 1906-20 & 13th/Blackfriars Ward, 1920-36 (retired); Bailie, 1911-16; Master of Works, 1921-22. Born 1863, Glasgow. He followed his father and grandfather in the family jewellers and silversmiths business, latterly setting up on his own. He had previously studied chemistry and electricity at Anderson's college. His particular interest in the municipal sphere was smoke abatement, and he was one of the founders of the Smoke Abatement League of Great Britain. Died 27/12/1948; estate, £415.

483. SMITH, William Rae Wilson - 8th Ward, 1874-88 (retired). Born 1817, Glasgow. His father, Alexander Smith, had been Deputy Governor of Sierra Leone; his family were long-standing members of Glasgow's mercantile community, and he was related to John Wilson, a former Town Clerk of Glasgow. After a brief commercial apprenticeship, he started his own business as a yarn merchant and agent, with extensive European connections. An active Liberal, he switched to Unionism in 1886, because of his strong support for the Chamberlainite philosophy. His religious affiliations were to the Episcopal Church. Prior to 1891 he was one of the leading figures in the campaign to incorporate Hillhead into Glasgow. Died 31/1/1893; his estate has not been traced.

484. SOMERVILLE, William - 12th Ward, 1861-64 (retired). Born 1810, Biggar, Lanarkshire. Head of the firm of William Somerville & Co., cotton-spinners and power-loom cloth manufacturers, Bridgeton. Son-in-law of William Gilmour of Oatlands (q.v.), and brother-in-law of John Gilmour (q.v.); his family were closely connected with the Gladstones, who originated from the Biggar area. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the Queen's Park congregation. Died 6/7/1889; estate, £4,088.

485. SORLEY, Robert - 8th Ward, 1895-96 & 11th/Blythswood Ward, 1896-1904 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1898-99; Bailie, 1899-1904. Born 1811, Stirling. As a young man, he served an apprenticeship with the firm of William Harvey, watchmakers and jewellers; it was the original family business of Alexander Harvey (q.v.). In 1865, Sorley came to Glasgow, where he went into partnership with his brother under the firm of Robert & William Sorley. His speciality was watchmaking, and he

established a reputation as a supplier of chronometers to the Admiralty. In politics he was a Conservative. Died 10/9/1904; estate, £19,639.

486. STARKE, Robert - 4th Ward, 1891-94 (retired). Born 1850, Milnathort, Kinross-shire. He studied law at Edinburgh University, and subsequently established his own practice in Glasgow. An active Liberal and United Presbyterian, he was closely identified with the Council's Progressive pro-temperance group. His date of death, sometime after 1894, has not been traced.

487. STEEL, James - 11th Ward, 1847-56 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. A wine and spirit merchant, he was latterly in partnership with his son under the designation of J. & J. Steel, based in the Cowcaddens. He served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner between 1845 and 1846. There were several James Steels involved in the Glasgow drinks' trade at this time, and it is possible that he was related to James Steel (q.v.), of Steel Drops fame. Died 1869, precise date unknown; his estate has not been traced.

488. STEEL, James - 2nd Ward, 1870-73 (retired). Born 1819, Glasgow. He owned several spirit shops in the Saltmarket area, and was a partner in the Windsor Brewery, Liverpool, which had a Glasgow office. Steel entered the Town Council as part of an organised attempt by the drinks' trade to secure municipal influence; politically he espoused a vague radicalism, but his ideological perspective was coloured by a loathing of evangelicalism and pro-temperance zealotry. His outspoken attacks on the temperance movement caused him to be successfully sued for defamation in 1872, and he was obliged to retire as a councillor. Thereafter he vented his spleen in an ascerbic journal, Steel Drops. Died 10/11/1891; his estate has not been traced.

489. STEELE, James - 20th Ward, 1891-96, 23rd/Pollokshields Ward, 1920-27 & 32nd/North Pollokshields Ward, 1920-27 (retired); Bailie, 1897-1900. Born 1842, Currie, Midlothian. Brought up in Glasgow, he served an apprenticeship as a joiner, and later established his own business as a wright and builder. At a relatively early age he retired from commercial life to devote himself to public service, and for a short while represented Pollokshields East on Renfrew County Council. After Pollokshields became part of Glasgow in 1891, he directed his energies towards the municipality, serving as a councillor for an unbroken period of thirty-six years. An active Liberal and

devoted United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Pollokshields congregation. He was strongly identified with the Council's Progressive, pro-temperance group. Died 18/4/1930; estate, £20,188.

490. STEPHEN, Alexander - Dean of Guild, 1881-83. Born 1832, Arbroath, Angus. Educated in Dundee, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, he served an apprenticeship as a shipwright under his father. Coming to Glasgow in 1852, he entered business as a partner in the firm of Alexander Stephen & Sons, shipbuilders and engineers; he eventually became sole partner, after the firm had moved to Linthouse, Govan, in 1868. Stephen was noted for his flair in the design of ships. A devoted Free Churchman, he took a keen interest in educational matters, being the first Chairman of the Governors of the Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College. Died 19/5/1899; estate, £259,858.

491. STEVEN, Henry - 9th/Blackfriars Ward, 1900-06 (retired); River Bailie, 1904-05; Bailie, 1905-06. Born 1842, Muthill, Perthshire. He came to Glasgow in 1856, where he served an apprenticeship to the grocery trade. He then entered into partnership with John Marshall, under the firm of Marshall & Steven, wholesale grocers, salmon and tinned fruit exporters, and tea merchants. An active Liberal, he was a Free Churchman, belonging to the Chalmers congregation, Uddingston. He was closely identified with the Council's Progressive, pro-temperance group. Died 18/4/1923; estate, £22,595.

492. STEVENSON, Sir Daniel Macaulay - 11th Ward, 1892-96 & 17th/Woodside Ward, 1896-1914 (retired); Bailie, 1899-1903; Treasurer, 1905-08; Lord Provost, 1911-14. Born 1851, Glasgow. He came from a radical family background, and was educated at the Glasgow Secular School, which specialised in scientific and technological subjects. After leaving school, he served an apprenticeship in a shipbroking office; eventually, in 1879, he started his own business in Leith as a shipowner and coal exporter. From the 1880s he opened numerous branches throughout the United Kingdom, including Glasgow. His business connections instilled a life-long love of travel; he journeyed frequently to Europe and became proficient in a number of languages. He inherited his family's secular outlook, eschewing religious involvement in politics, although he was connected with the Trinity Congregational Church. A committed Liberal, he nevertheless had sympathies for socialism, and was active in Glasgow's Fabian Society. He also had admiration for the structure of local government in Imperial Germany; indeed, his brother-in-law was Bürgermeister of Hamburg, prompting Stevenson to be accused of pro-German sympathies during the First World

War. After retiring from municipal life, he gave a substantial amount of his personal fortune to Glasgow University, where he was Chancellor between 1934 and 1944. He received a Baronetcy in 1914, and died 11/7/1944; estate, £273,510.

493. STEVENSON, William - 15th Ward, 1883-96 & 19th/Gorbals Ward, 1896-1900 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1886-87; Bailie, 1887-91; Master of Works, 1899-1900. Born 1827, Stewarton, Ayrshire, although brought up in the then rural district of Newton Mearns. He came to Glasgow during the 1840s, and started his career with William Hill, tollkeeper, in Eglinton Street. The experience gave him a life-long love of horses, and in later years he was a noted racehorse owner. Stevenson next went to work for a quarrymaster, and eventually became a partner in the firm of Baird & Stevenson, with numerous quarry sites in the Giffnock district, adjacent to Glasgow. In politics he was a strong Conservative. Died 24/3/1910; estate, £38,674.

494. STEWART, Andrew Blackwood - 9th Ward, 1876-79 (retired). Born 1826, Glasgow. The son of a sawmiller, he served an apprenticeship with James Graham, senior, (q.v.), and worked for a while in Dublin and Australia before taking over the family business with his brother. The firm eventually became J. & A. Stewart, based in the Glasgow Veneer Sawmills, Kelvinhaugh Street. In 1878, Stewart was hard-hit by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bsnk, and had to retire from municipal life; however, he made a speedy financial recovery, and was able to pay off his debts. Died 19/9/1909; estate, £61,834.

495. STEWART, Archibald - 8th Ward, 1894-95 (died). Born 1837, Renfrew. He moved to Campeltown as a youngster, where he was brought up on a farm. On coming to Glasgow he entered the warehousing business of Mann, Byars & Co., and worked for various other concerns before setting up on his own. The firm of Archibald Stewart & Co., located in Union Street, specialised in the supply of ship and house furnishings. A Conservative and staunch Established Churchman, he belonged to St. George's Parish Church. Father of James Stewart (q.v.). Died 12/7/1895; estate, £17,743.

496. STEWART, David Yoolow - 10th Ward, 1853-54 (retired). Born 1813, Liff, Angus. Head of the firm of D.Y. Stewart & Co., ironfounders and patent cast iron manufacturers, based at St. Rollox. In politics he was a Liberal. Died 25/9/1882; estate, £108,290.

497. STEWART, Donald - 19th Ward, 1892-96 (retired). Born 1849, Dollar, Clackmannanshire. He came to Glasgow in 1864, and spent nine years in the employment of Samuel & William McCulloch, wholesale and retail grocers. Samuel McCulloch (q.v.) served as a Glasgow councillor when Stewart was working for him. Stewart subsequently left the grocery business, and - after a brief spell as a traveller with a firm of oil merchants - became a partner with Craig & Rose, lead, paint, colour & varnish manufacturers. An Established Churchman, he belonged to St. Leonard's Parish Church. Died 26/7/1919; estate, £23,889.

498. STEWART, James - 12th Broomielaw Ward, 1906-20 & 13th/Blythwood Ward, 1920-32 (retired); River Bailie, 1911-12; Bailie, 1912-16; Master of Works, 1922-23; Treasurer, 1926-29. Born 1867, Glasgow. Son of Archibald Stewart (q.v.), he continued the family business of Archibald Stewart & Co., house and ship furnishers. Like his father, he was an Established Churchman, with pro-Unionist sympathies. After 1918 he became a leading member of the Council's Moderate group, which organised against the growing strength of the Labour Party in the municipal sphere. Died 21/1/1943; estate, £1,023.

499. STEWART, James - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1909-20 & 11th/Townhead Ward, 1920-22 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1913-14; River Bailie, 1914; Bailie, 1914-18. Born 1863, Glasgow. After leaving school in 1877, he entered a variety of occupations, eventually becoming a hairdresser. He later owned two prosperous barber's shops, one in Townhead, another in Queen Street. A founder member of the SLP in 1888, he joined the ILP in 1893. During his municipal career, he was particularly interested in housing and public health, and took a key role in publicising the Glasgow Labour Party's municipal cottages campaign from 1911. Much of his work formed the basis of John Wheatley's £8 cottage scheme in October 1913. Stewart became leader of the Labour Group on the Corporation, and was Chairman of the Glasgow Labour Housing Association. Although surprisingly defeated by a Moderate candidate in the 1922 municipal elections, he was elected MP for the St. Rollox constituency of Glasgow in the same year; a position he held until his death. In the 1924 Labour Government he was appointed Under-Secretary of Health for Scotland, and in this capacity helped pilot John Wheatley's Housing Bill through Parliament. Died 17/3/1931; estate, £2,948.

500. STEWART, Sir James Watson - 11th/Blythwood Ward, 1904-20; Depute River Bailie, 1908-08; Bailie, 1909-13; Lord Provost, 1917-20. Born 1852, Rome, Italy. Son of Alexander Stewart, a Glasgow merchant, he was brought up in Ayrshire, and trained as

a chartered accountant. He set up his own accountancy business, acting also as district manager to the Commercial Union Assurance Co., Ltd. A Conservative and Established Churchman, he belonged to the New Kilpatrick congregation. As immediate post-war Lord Provost, his period of office co-incided with major municipal developments in health and housing, notably the inauguration of the Housing Department. He was made a baronet in 1920, and died 3/11/1922. Estate, £70,373.

501. STEWART, John - Deacon Convener, 1847-49; 5th Ward, 1850-55 (retired). Born 1801, Deanston, Perthshire. Head of the firm of John Stewart & Son, stave and wood hoop merchants, Dunlop Street. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Coopers. Died 11/8/1872; his estate has not been traced.

502. STEWART, John - 12th Ward, 1858-61 (retired). Born 1817, Glasgow. Initially a spirit merchant, he diversified into whisky manufacturing, having acquired the Kirkliston Distillery Company in partnership with his brother, Robert. He also became a substantial agent for the importation of European wine and spirits, under the firm of Stewart, Pott & Co. His connection with the Kirkliston Company prompted his move to Edinburgh, but he still retained business interests in Glasgow, notably as a director and Chairman of the City of Glasgow Bank. When the Bank sensationally collapsed in 1878, Stewart was indicted for fraud and embezzlement, and was subsequently found guilty of uttering false balance sheets. Along with his fellow directors - including William Taylor (q.v.) - he was given an eight month's jail sentence. Died 12/10/1894; no estate has been traced.

503. STEWART, Sir John - 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1911-20 & 26th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1920-38 (retired); Bailie, 1916-20; Lord Provost, 1935-38. Born 1867, Perth. He came to Glasgow with his family in 1875, where he served an apprenticeship to the brushmaking trade. Thereafter, he started the firm of Stewart Brothers, painting and general brush manufacturers, along with his brother, P.G. Stewart (q.v.). He joined the SLP in 1888, and became an ILP activist in 1893. The Stewarts were much influenced by the land question during the 1880s, and retained close links with the Irish community after this time. John Stewart had the distinction of being elected the first Labour Lord Provost of Glasgow, in 1935. He was knighted in 1937, and died 29/5/1947; estate, £17,641.

504. STEWART, Peter - 4th Ward, 1862-68 (defeated), 14th Ward,

1871-74 (retired) & 15th Ward, 1880-83 (retired). Born 1813, Muthill, Perthshire. A partner in the firm of Stewart & Brown, machine makers and paper manufacturers, Glasgow Paper Mills, Govanhaugh. Died 21/4/1900; estate, £88.

505. STEWART, Peter Gordon - 14th Ward, 1895-96 & 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1896-1907 (defeated); 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1909-18 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1901-02; Bailie, 1902-07; Master of Works, 1910-11. Born 1862, Perth. Like his younger brother, John (q.v.), he came to Glasgow as a youth, and became a brushmaker to trade. The firm of Stewart Brothers specialised in the manufacture of paint brushes. He became politically active in 1888, when the SLP was founded, and joined the ILP in 1893. One of the first of the "Stalwart" group to be elected during the 1890s, he built up a strong base in the Hutchesontown district, which had a substantial Irish community. He was also a close friend of George Barnes - Glasgow's first Labour MP, who represented the Blackfriars and Hutchesontown constituency between 1906 and 1922. In 1914 the Labour Group put Stewart forward as their first-ever nominee for the position of Lord Provost. Died 22/10/1918; estate, £3,153.

506. STEWART, Robert [of Murdstoun & Omoa] - 2nd Ward, 1842-46 & 10th Ward, 1846-56 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1843-44; River Bailie, 1844-45; Bailie, 1845-49; Lord Provost, 1851-54. Born 1811, Glasgow. His father, William, was a colliery owner, holding mineral rights at Omoa, Lanarkshire. Robert Stewart acquired the property after his father's death, adding to the business substantially after the discovery of a valuable seam of black-band ironstone in the vicinity. A Liberal, he was to achieve enduring fame as a principal promoter of the Loch Katrine water scheme. As Lord Provost, he led the initial negotiations at the Parliamentary level, along with James Gourlay (q.v.) and James Scott (q.v.). His efforts were officially recognised in 1872, with the erection of the Stewart Memorial Fountain in Kelvingrove Park. Rather than a personal monument to Stewart, the Fountain was a symbolic tribute to municipal achievement in mid-Victorian Glasgow. Indeed, Stewart was only one of many who had laid the groundwork for establishing the water supply, and - with a reputation for brusqueness - he did not have a particularly endearing personality. Yet, of all the Lord Provosts who served between 1833 and 1912 - with the possible exception of John Ure (q.v.) - Stewart came to be the most celebrated as a public benefactor to Glasgow. Brother-in-law of James King (q.v.) and Robert King (q.v.). Died 12/9/1866; estate, £99,010.

507. STEWART, Sir Robert - 26th/Kinning Park Ward, 1905-07 (retired). Born 1858, Glasgow. After serving an apprenticeship, he eventually worked as a foreman joiner for the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd. In due course he became a director of the Society, and in 1908 was elected Chairman of the Board of Management. Stewart was particularly interested in promoting international relations within the Co-operative movement, and travelled extensively throughout the world. A Liberal and pro-temperance campaigner, he was knighted in 1929. Died 8/5/1937; estate, £1,474.

508. STIRLING, John - 5th Ward, 1844-46 & 7th Ward, 1846-48 (died). Born 1808, Glasgow. He was a partner in the firm of Thomson & Stirling, commission merchants, South Frederick Street. A Liberal, he died suddenly on 31/10/1848, at the start of the cholera epidemic. Estate, £15,855.

509. STUART, William McNeill - 1st Ward, 1879-82 (defeated). Date and place of birth unknown. Head of his own business as an account book maker, bookbinder and stationer in Glasgow's East End. His date of death, sometime after 1884, has not been traced.

510. SUTHERLAND, Thomas - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1905-08 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. A plumber to trade, he operated his own business in Drummond Street. In politics he was a Liberal. His date of death, sometime after 1926, has not been traced.

511. TAGGART, George - 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1897-1906 (retired); Bailie, 1903-06. Born 1851, Jersey City, USA. He crossed the Atlantic when a child, and after a brief residence in the north of Ireland, came to Glasgow during the 1860s. He ultimately became head of George Taggart & Co., wholesale cabinetmakers and upholsterers, North British Cabinet Works, Bridgeton. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the John Street congregation. Music was Taggart's great passion; he was, inter alia, President of the Glasgow Choral Union, and conductor of the Glasgow Glee and Catch Club. Not surprisingly, he served as convener of the Council's Music in the Parks Sub-Committee. In 1912 he emigrated to Vancouver, Canada, where he died on 24/5/1917.

512. TAIT, Henry - 14th Ward, 1889-91 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for Scotland. A Liberal, he was the first

"labour" councillor to be elected, with the backing of Glasgow Trades' Council. His date of death, sometime after 1892, has not been traced.

513. TAYLOR, James - 4th Ward, 1853-62 (retired). Born 1821, Gorbals, then outside Glasgow. He was a partner in the firm of J. & W. Taylor, builders, Alston Street. Died 3/2/1865; his estate has not been traced.

514. TAYLOR, John, junior - 16th Ward, 1852-78 (retired?); Depute River Bailie, 1853-54; River Bailie, 1854-55; Bailie, 1855-58 & 1865-66. Born 1815, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Head of John Taylor, junior, & Co., commission merchants, dealing with the West India trade. A Liberal, although noted for his "sterling independence of character". Died 9/5/1878; estate, £3,305.

515. TAYLOR, William - 13th Ward, 1861-69 & 9th Ward, 1869-74 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1863-64; Bailie, 1864-66 & 1867-69. Born 1812, Glasgow. His father, Henry, had been a member of the unreformed Town Council. Taylor, junior, joined the family business as a partner in H. Taylor & Sons, grain and flour merchants, Hope Street; he was also head of the firm of William Taylor & Co., distillers, Lochhead Distillery, Campeltown. A Liberal and Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. Enoch congregation; he was at one time President of the YMCA. In 1878 he was charged along with John Stewart (q.v.) and other directors of the City of Glasgow Bank with fraud and embezzlement; he was subsequently found guilty of uttering false balance sheets, and served an eight months jail sentence. Died 25/11/1897; his estate has not been traced.

516. TENNANT, Charles James - 4th Ward, 1833-34 (retired). Born 1801, Glasgow. His father was the head of Charles Tennant & Co., originally manufacturers of bleaching articles and drysalts, which was latterly one of the largest chemical works in the world. C.J. Tennant was in charge of the drysalting side of the business, and was also responsible for associate companies in London and Liverpool. Along with his father, he was active in Liberal politics during the reform of the 1830s, and was allied to the Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group. After his father's death in 1838, Tennant had an uneasy working relationship with his elder brother, John, (father of Sir Charles Tennant, and grandfather of Margot Asquith). As a result of mounting tensions, he left the business in 1850, and thereafter lived in relative obscurity. Died 31/10/1870; his estate has not been traced.

517. TENNENT, Hugh [of Wellpark] - 1st Ward, 1833-38 (retired) & 3rd Ward, 1846-49 (retired). Born 1780, Glasgow. Son of John Tennant, who - along with his brother Robert - founded the brewing firm of J. & R. Tennent in 1777. Tennent, junior, was originally a commission merchant, in partnership with William Middleton. In 1827 his uncle Robert died, and Tennent took over the business, making the most out of the foreign trading connections he had consolidated in his previous career. Although committed to the free trade principles of Liberalism, Tennent was a dedicated follower of Thomas Chalmers, and joined the Free Church in 1843. Prior to this time he allied himself with the Conservative-Evangelical alliance on the Council. Died 15/7/1864; estate, £72,127.

518. THOMAS, Charles - 10th Ward, 1850-52 (defeated). Born 1802, Perth. Head of his own coachbuilding business, he was the father-in-law of Thomas Reid (q.v.). Died 2/7/1886; estate, £5,816.

519. THOMSON, Hugh Steel - 1st Ward, 1882-90 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1884-85; River Bailie, 1885-86; Bailie, 1886-89. Born 1842, Catrine, Ayrshire. Head of his own draper's business, Canning Street. Died 3/12/1921; estate, £536.

520. THOMSON, James - 2nd Ward, 1860-69 (retired) & 4th Ward, 1872-84 (died); Depute River Bailie, 1875-76; River Bailie, 1876-77; Bailie, 1877-81. Born 1810, Glasgow. He inherited his father's flesher's business, based in the East End. Died 10/11/1884; estate, £731.

521. THOMSON, James McIntyre - 23rd Ward, 1891-96 & 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1896-1903 (died); Bailie, 1895-99. Born 1843, Glasgow. He served an engineering apprenticeship to the firm of James & George Thomson, where his father was a partner. In 1865 he moved to Caird's of Greenock, and then entered into business with his brother John, under the designation of J. & J. Thomson, engineers and shipbuilders, Finnieston Engine Works. The brothers retired in 1891, leasing their establishment in Finnieston and Kelvinhaugh Street to Barclay Curle & Co. A Liberal Unionist, he belonged to Belhaven United Presbyterian Church. Died 4/2/1903; estate, £27,870.

522. THOMSON, John - 1st Ward, 1852-67 (retired). Born 1806, Glasgow. A potter and earthenware manufacturer, his firm was known as John Thomson & Sons, Annfield Pottery, Gallowgate. A Liberal, Thomson was of pro-temperance proclivities. Died

21/8/1870; his estate has not been traced.

523. THOMSON, Norman Macleod - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1896-1902 (defeated); River Bailie, 1899-1900; Bailie, 1900-02. Born Renton, Dunbartonshire, date unknown. At the age of ten, he went to work for William Stirling & Sons as an apprentice print-cutter. After pursuing this career for several years, he opened a small confectionery shop in the Cowcaddens, and subsequently added numerous establishments throughout Glasgow. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. Peter's congregation, and was a pro-temperance activist. Died 24/3/1903; estate, £3,558.

524. TORRENS, James - 10th Ward, 1869-84 (died); depute River Bailie, 1872-73; River Bailie, 1873-74; Bailie, 1874-78 & 1883-84. Born 1811, Edinburgh. After serving an apprenticeship as a painter and decorator, he worked for a while in Glasgow, before moving to Glasgow to set up his own business. After a brief visit to the United States, he became a partner in the firm of Torrens & Husband, West George Street. A Liberal, he belonged to the St. George's congregation of the Free Church. He was best-known as one of the founders of the SPBTA in 1858, and was closely connected with William Collins (q.v.) and his pro-temperance allies on the Council. Died 27/11/1884; estate, £410.

525. TULLIS, James Thomson - Deacon Convener, 1887-89. Born 1842, Arbroath, Angus. His father - also John - was a tanner and currier to trade. In 1854 he moved to Glasgow to expand the business, which was eventually known as John Tullis & Son. Five years later, James joined his two elder brothers, John and David, as manager of the firm; he became a partner, and in 1869 the St. Ann's Works, John Street, Bridgeton, were established. In due course, Tullis's was the largest leather-belting factory in the world. James Tullis was involved in other business interests, particularly in India and Ceylon, where he invested in numerous tea estates. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Bakers. Died 21/10/1910; estate, £79,385.

526. TURNBULL, James - 3rd Ward, 1839 (retired). Date & place of birth unknown. A partner in Robert Dalglish & Co., muslin manufacturers, he served only briefly as a councillor, as an interim appointment for Henry Brock (q.v.). Turnbull was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance. His date of death, sometime after 1847, has not been traced.

527. TURNER, Alexander Rankin - 8th/Townhead Ward, 1911-20 & 11th/Townhead Ward, 1920-23 (died); Bailie, 1918-21. Born 1880, Glasgow. He worked in the Corporation's Dawsholm Gasworks from an early age, where he became active in trade union affairs. In 1904 he was appointed full-time Scottish District Secretary to the Municipal Employee's Association, which began to organise among Glasgow's tramway workers. He made his name as a labour leader during the abortive tramway strike of 1911, although he was initially reluctant to commit the workforce to industrial action. A former Liberal, Turner became a prominent member of the ILP; however, at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 he participated enthusiastically in the war effort, along with his great friend, Hugh Lyon (q.v.). Turner himself volunteered for the Royal Engineers in 1915, reaching the rank of Captain, but he seriously undermined his health on active service in France. As a result, he was discharged from the army, and returned to municipal politics. He severed his connection with the Labour Group, and stood successfully as a Moderate candidate in 1921. He died suddenly, 11/7/1923; his estate has not been traced.

528. TURNER, James [of Thrushgrove] - 1st Ward, 1833-46 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1834-35 & 1836-37; River Bailie, 1837-40. Born 1768, Glasgow. The son of William Turner, a shoemaker, he was apprenticed to the tobacco trade, starting on his own as a tobacconist in 1798. A committed radical, in 1816 he allowed part of his estate at Thrushgrove to be used for a "monster" rally, calling for political reform. With 40,000 in attendance, the rally was reckoned to be a galvanising influence on the West of Scotland reform movement. During the aftermath of the so-called "Radical War" in 1820, Turner was arrested on a warrant of high treason; he was later released, never having been brought to trial. He was active in the reform struggles of the 1830s, and was a founder member of the Glasgow Political Union. Latterly, he allied himself with "moral force" Chartism, and was a prominent member of the Complete Suffrage Association. His religious affiliations were solidly with the Established Church. Died 20/5/1858; estate, £1,013.

529. URE, Allan McLymont - 7th/Cowlairs Ward, 1906-20 (retired); Bailie, 1911-15. Born 1868, Glasgow. His father established the firm of Allan Ure & Co., ironfounders, Springbank Iron Works. Ure, junior, became a partner, and showed particular practical skill in designing ornamental grates for household fire-places. Indeed, he was a noted amateur sculptor - having studied in Paris - and some of his works can still be seen in Glasgow's Kelvingrove Art Galleries. Died 28/10/1936; estate, £30,467.

530. URE, John [of Croy Ure] - 2nd Ward, 1833-38 (defeated) & 1839-42 (retired). Born 1762, place unknown, although not a Glaswegian. A partner with William Bankier (q.v.) in the firm of Ure & Bankier, calenderers, Montrose Street. An active Liberal, he was associated with the "Clique" group. Died 28/6/1848; estate, £267.

531. URE, John - 5th Ward, 1856-65, 14th Ward, 1865-69 & 13th Ward, 1869-83 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1860-61; Bailie, 1861-62 & 1875-79; Lord Provost, 1880-83; Dean of Guild, 1889-91. Born 1824, Glasgow. Son of John Ure - a baker in the Bridgegate district - Ure, junior, abandoned this side of the business after his father's death, and concentrated on flour-dealing. In 1865 he opened the Crown Mills in Washington Street, in order to have fuller control over his supplies; the business thrived, and the Ure family became leading figures in Glasgow's grain trade. A Liberal - though latterly with Unionist sympathies - he was a United Presbyterian, belonging to the Berkley Street and Helensburgh congregations. Ure was best known as the first Convener of the Town Council's Committee on Nuisances, which was an attempt to systematically tackle sanitary problems in the city. Formed in 1857, the Committee was instrumental in securing Glasgow's Police Act of 1862, and the appointment of William Gairdner as Medical Officer of Health. Uncle of John Ure Primrose and William Primrose (q.v.); brother-in-law of John Young. Died 1/8/1901; estate, £134,636.

532. URE, William - 2nd Ward, 1875-78 (retired) & 1880-95 (died); Bailie, 1882-85; Master of Works, 1891-92. Born 1830, Shotts, Lanarkshire, although brought up in Dumbarton. He spent six or seven years in Australia during the 1850s; on his return to Scotland, he set up business in Glasgow as an ironfounder, based at the Crownpoint Foundry in the city's East End. A devoted United Presbyterian, he was a founder member of Kent Road Church, which was famous for its pro-temperance militancy. Thereafter, he joined the Sydney Place congregation. In accordance with his religious connections, Ure was a director of the STL, and an active Liberal. He was closely identified with the Council's Progressive group. Died 5/7/1895; estate, £6,029.

533. WADDEL, Alexander - 1st Ward, 1871-95 (died); Bailie, 1877-80; Treasurer, 1884-87; Master of Works, 1894-95. Born 1820, Girvan, Ayrshire. The son of a soldier, his family came to Glasgow in 1823, where his father set up business as a tailor in the Calton. Seven years later Waddell, junior, was apprenticed to the trade, and following a period working in London, he joined the family business of M. Waddel & Son. In 1845 he switched careers, becoming the Calton agent to the

Western Bank. He later served the Royal Bank of Scotland in this capacity, managing several East End branches, along with his brother James. A Liberal, he had strong Chartist sympathies in his youth, and his daughters continued this tradition as activists for women's rights. Waddel was a United Presbyterian, attached for many years to the Greenhead congregation. A popular figure, he was one of the great East End "characters" of the Council. Died 18/11/1895; estate, £5,663.

534. WALKER, John - 13th/Anderson Ward, 1896-1900 (defeated). Born Selkirk, date unknown. He came to Glasgow as a boy, and eventually became a partner in the extensive company of Walker, Fraser & Steele, property agents, factors, and valuers. A resident of Lenzie, he was active in municipal affairs in Kirkintilloch, serving as Chief Magistrate of the Burgh. He was also a keen Volunteer. Died 12/12/1930; estate, £3,541.

535. WALLACE, Hugh - 13th Ward, 1883-96 & 1896-98 (defeated); Bailie, 1886-89. Born 1838, Ayrshire. He came to the Anderston district of Glasgow as a youth, and eventually set up his own business of H. Wallace & Co., boilermakers, Lancefield Boiler Works. He was also the agent for the Sandyford Branch of the Bank of Scotland. Although a Liberal, he was suspected by pro-temperance Progressives to have a wavering allegiance to the cause during the 1890s. Died 2/3/1903; estate, £3,347.

536. WALLACE, James - 2nd Ward, 1834-36 (defeated). Born 1776, Whitburn, West Lothian. He ran his own business as a tea merchant in High Street; the young James Moir (q.v.) received his training from Wallace. Given this personal and business connection, it should not be surprising to note that Wallace was a long-standing supporter of the reform movement. Died 14/7/1842; estate, £1,677.

537. WALLACE, James - 2nd Ward, 1878-79 (died). Born 1814, Paisley, Renfrewshire. His father founded the firm of William Wallace & Son, bleachers and finishers, Burnbank East, and Wallace, junior, took over the running of the concern. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. John's congregation. Died 13/12/1879; estate, £9,586.

538. WALLACE, William - 5th/Dennistoun Ward, 1902-12 (died); Bailie, 1906-11. Born 1848, Glasgow. His father had founded the firm of John Wallace & Sons, agricultural engineers and implement makers, which Wallace, junior, took over after his death. A Liberal, and pro-temperance campaigner, he belonged to

the Dennistoun Free congregation, later Rutherford United Free Church. Died 13/5/1912; estate, £48,826.

539. WALLS, William - 11th Ward, 1868-86 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1870-71; Bailie, 1871-74 & 1875-77; Treasurer, 1881-84; Dean of Guild, 1887-89. Born 1819, Kirkwall, Orkney. As a youth he served a legal apprenticeship with Kirkwall's Town Clerk, and was afterwards employed for a short period in the office of H.G. Dickson, writers, Edinburgh. Renouncing a legal profession, he moved to London, where he worked for Lloyd's as an insurance broker; however, he returned to Scotland in 1847, and established the successful firm of William Walls & Co., spermaceti refiners and oil merchants. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, belonging to the Landsdowne congregation, Walls was largely responsible for bringing fellow Orcadian James D. Marwick from Edinburgh in 1872 to serve as Glasgow's Town Clerk. As City Treasurer between 1881-84, Walls became involved in an unsavoury wrangle with City Chamberlain James Nicol over the Council's accountancy procedures; Walls suffered damage to his reputation as a result, as it was believed that his pursuit of Nicol had been personally motivated. Died 29/9/1893; estate, £8,355.

540. WARDEN, William - 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1901-04 (retired). Born Glasgow, date unknown. A carpet manufacturer, Warden was a partner in his father-in-law's firm of Alexander Murdoch & Co., Clyde Carpet Works, Springfield Road. He was an active Conservative, closely connected with the Bridgeton constituency party. Died 16/3/1937; estate, £7,499.

541. WARREN, THOMAS - Deacon Convener, 1869-71. Date and place of birth unknown. Initially a partner in the firm of Carson, Warren & Co., glass manufacturers, Port Dundas, but when David Carson (q.v.) died in 1868, the name was changed to Thomas Warren & Sons. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Hammermen. Died 11/4/1894; estate, £299.

542. WATSON, Edward - 17th Ward, 1892-96 (retired) & 12th/Broomielaw Ward, 1900-20 (retired); Bailie, 1902-06. Born 1850, Duneaton, Waterfoot, Lanarkshire. His father was a farmer, who moved to the Isle of Arran when Watson was a boy. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to his uncle John, a flesher in Whiting Bay. During the 1870s he moved into the Govanhill area - then known colloquially as "No Man's Land" - and set up his own flesher's business. In due course he became managing partner in the long-established firm of John Bell & Sons, shipping butchers and provision merchants, and diversified

into the live meat market, under the designation of Watson & Ritchie. Understandably, he was to the fore in representing meat interests on the Town Council. A Liberal Unionist, he belonged to Queen's Park United Presbyterian Church. Died 26/10/1922; estate, £80,270.

543. WATSON, Francis - 14th Ward, 1859-65 (retired). Born 1816, Glasgow. His family moved to Falkirk when Watson was a boy, and he subsequently set up on his own as a baker and confectioner in Edinburgh. However, he returned to his home town in 1840, opening one of the first high-class restaurants in the city. Located at Charing Cross, the restaurant's success was due to its proximity to the developing West End. Died 10/11/1877; estate, £41,684.

544. WATSON, Sir James - 8th Ward, 1863-74 (retired); Bailie, 1865-66 & 1869-71; Lord Provost, 1871-74; Dean of Guild, 1876-78. Born 1801, Paisley, Renfrewshire. After attending classes at Glasgow University, he served a business apprenticeship, and joined the Thistle Bank as an accountant. In 1832 he set up on his own, and added stockbroking to the list of services offered by the new business. For a few years he was the only stockbroker in the city, but in 1844 he helped found the Glasgow Stock Exchange, to open up opportunities for the growing number of investors. Not surprisingly, given the climate of the times, railway enterprises were his speciality. In 1860 he entered into partnership with John Smith, and the firm was subsequently known as Watson & Smith. One of its most eminent customers was Watson's friend and mentor, W.E. Gladstone. As Gladstone's politics evolved from Peelite Conservatism, so too did Watson's, and he was latterly a staunch Liberal. Although strongly influenced by Thomas Chalmers in his youth, he remained loyal to the Established Church; nevertheless, he retained close evangelical connections, notably through John Blackie, junior, (q.v.). Both men were active in promoting slum clearance projects in Glasgow, and played a leading - if controversial - rôle in the establishment of the 1866 City Improvement Trust. A key figure in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow, one of Watson's major municipal achievements was engineering the removal of Town Clerk Angus Turner from office in 1872, to make way for James D. Marwick, and a wholly new régime in the civic administration. Knighted 1874, Watson died 14/8/1889. Estate, £125,926.

545. WATSON, Thomas - 7th Ward, 1877-96 & 1896-1905 (resigned); Bailie, 1880-84; Master of Works, 1887-88; Treasurer, 1890-93. Born 1825, Glasgow. A partner in the firm of Fleming, Watson & Nairn, merchants and Turkey-red dyers, although retired by the

time he served on the Council. However, he retained several commercial interests, including a directorship in Young's Paraffin Oil Company. A Liberal, who latterly supported Unionism, he belonged to Elgin Place Congregational Church. Died 21/11/1911; estate, £72,068.

546. WATSON, Sir William Renny - 16th Ward, 1880-84 (retired?). Born 1838, Hawick, Roxburghshire. His father, Thomas Watson, was a hosiery manufacturer, and also a Hawick town councillor. During the 1850s, Watson, junior, was apprenticed to a local millwright. After completing his training, he spent a year as a marine engineer in Dundee, before joining the firm of Platt & Co., Oldham, manufacturers of cotton and wool spinning machinery. In 1862 he moved back to Glasgow as Platt's Scottish representative, and eight years later entered into partnership with J.B. Mirrlees (q.v.) under the firm of Mirrlees, Tait & Watson, engineers, ironfounders, boiler-makers and sugar mill manufacturers, Scotland Street Ironworks. The company was subsequently known as Watson & Yaryan Co., Ltd., and Watson was noted for the international connections he managed to establish. A Conservative, he latterly adhered to the Catholic Apolistic Church. Knighted 1892, he died 7/4/1900. Estate, £98,542.

547. WATSON, William West - 8th Ward, 1849-54 (retired); Bailie, 1850-54. Born 1814, Glasgow. Son of William Watson, a city merchant, he was initially a partner in the firm of Watson, Thomson & Co., merchants dealing with the Latin American trade, particularly the importation of guano. In 1864 Watson was appointed City Chamberlain to the Town Council, in succession to John Strang. He was a Liberal supporter. Died 13/3/1882; estate, £7,821.

548. WATT, John Hugh - 7th Ward, 1874-75 (resigned). Born 1819, Irvine, Ayrshire. Head of John H. Watt, shipping and general agents. Died 10/10/1891; estate, £1,082.

549. WEBSTER, Harry Carvick - 25th/Maryhill Ward, 1900-06 (retired) & 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1916-19 (retired). Born Sydney, Australia, date unknown. His family originally came from Forfar. Head of the firm of Alexander, Fergusson & Co., Ltd., metal merchants, oil refiners, and paint, colour and varnish manufacturers. Webster retained substantial business connections in Australia. Died 3/6/1932; estate, £29,807.

550. WEBSTER, Robert - 4th Ward, 1850-53 (retired) & 1854-62

(retired); Depute River Bailie, 1855-56; River Bailie, 1856-57. Born 1802, Tarbert, Stirlingshire. Initially head of his own business as a silk mercer and woollen draper in the Trongate, he was latterly employed as the Registrar of births, deaths and marriages for the Hutchesontown district. Died 25/5/1865; estate, £573.

551. WELSH, Andrew Muir - 21st/Govanhill Ward, 1911-14 (retired). Date and place of birth unknown. Head of his own business as a slaterer and plasterer, Shields Road. He was an ex-Secretary of the Slaters' Union, but had resisted appeals to become a full-time trade union organiser. A prominent member of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society, he was elected to the Board of Management in 1889, becoming President of the Society between 1904 and 1908. A long-standing member of the ILP, he was one of the original three Co-operative representatives to the Scottish Workers' Parliamentary Elections Committee in 1900. His date of death, sometime after 1922, has not been traced.

552. WHITE, Matthew - Deacon Convener, 1901-03. Born 1850, Partick, then outside Glasgow. His father founded the Partick firm of John White & Sons, flour-millers, Scotstoun Mills; he was also one of the leading figures behind the formation of the Police Burgh of Partick in 1852, serving as Chief Magistrate between 1857 and 1860. White, junior, became a partner in the family business during the 1870s; it became a limited liability company some forty years later. In politics he was an active Conservative. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Gardeners. Died 12/11/1924; estate, £5,247.

553. WHITEHEAD, John - 1st Ward, 1838-46 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1838-40; Bailie, 1843-46. Born 1783, Stirling. Listed simply as "merchant", he was known to have substantial dealings with the grain trade. A Liberal, he was associated with the Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group on the Council. Died 29/10/1847; estate, £24,178.

554. WHITSON, Alexander - 16th/Cowcaddens Ward, 1908-13 (retired). Born 1845, Kilbirmie, Ayrshire. He came to Glasgow as a youth, and in 1860 entered an iron and coal exporting firm. In 1881 he founded Whitson & Co., iron and coal merchants and iron brokers; he also retained interests in other iron manufacturing firms. A Liberal and pro-temperance activist, he was a director of the Scottish Temperance League. Died 2/11/1928; estate, £17,794.

555. WHYTE, Thomas - 8th Ward, 1855-57 (resigned). Born 1801, Glasgow. Initially in business on his own as a muslin manufacturer, he switched careers in 1867, concentrating on a wine importing concern. Died 9/11/1885; his estate has not been traced.

556. WHYTE, William - 12th Ward, 1850-72 (died); Bailie, 1851-53 & 1859-61. Born 1796, Glasgow. His father founded the firm of James Whyte & Sons, cabinetmakers and upholsterers, and Whyte, junior, carried on with the business. Died 17/12/1872; estate, £33,962.

557. WILLOCK, James - 1st Ward, 1894-96 & 1st/Dalmarnock Ward, 1896-1920 (retired); Bailie, 1899-1902; Master of Works, 1914-15. Born 1851, Saltcoats, Ayrshire. At the age of fourteen he embarked on a seafaring life, as an apprentice aboard an Ardrossan vessel. For ten years he remained in the Merchant Navy, and then entered the firm of Broom & Moir, coal merchants. He was latterly in partnership with George Moir (q.v.), under the designation of Willock, Broom & Moir. An active Liberal and member of the Scottish Temperance League, he belonged to the Muslin Street Evangelical Union Church. He was - not surprisingly - strongly identified with the Council's Progressive group. He was also a keen Volunteer, belonging to the famous 3rd Lanark regiment. Died 17/4/1922; estate, £16,964.

558. WILLOX, David - 4th/Whitevale Ward, 1896-1910 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1902-03; River Bailie, 1903-04; Bailie, 1904-07. Born 1845, Parkhead, then outside Glasgow. As a boy he was apprenticed as a handloom weaver, but subsequently entered William Beardmore & Co.'s Parkhead Forge, where he rose to be a foreman. He was dismissed in 1878, and set up on business on his own as a manufacturing chemist. He first stood for municipal office as a supporter of the pro-labour "Stalwart" group, but as a radical Liberal he latterly distanced himself from any connection with socialism. Willox had literary pretensions; he wrote personal reminiscences of Parkhead in his youth, plus numerous Scots dialect poems, including a volume about his Corporation colleagues. An ardent freemason, he also penned Brought to Light: a Masonic Tale in Verse. Died 17/12/1927; estate, £1,827.

559. WILSON, Henry Burt - 1st Ward, 1882-89 (retired). Born 1848, Portmoak, Kinross-shire. He qualified in medicine from Glasgow University, and thereafter ran his own practice in the East End. Died 7/5/1903; his estate has not been traced.

560. WILSON, Hugh - 5th Ward, 1851-56 (defeated); Depute River Bailie, 1854-55; River Bailie, 1855-56. Date and place of birth unknown. Head of his own successful business as an engraver and lithographic printer. He served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner between 1842 and 1844. Dies 27/6/2869; his estate has not been traced.

561. WILSON, James - Deacon Convener, 1855-57; 3rd Ward, 1857-68; Bailie, 1851-61; Master of Works, 1867-68. Born 1801, Glasgow. His father founded the firm of John Wilson & Son, builders and wood merchants, Gallowgate, and Wilson, junior, carried on the business. An Established Churchman, he belonged to the St. John's congregation. As Deacon Convener he represented the Incorporation of Wrights. Died 25/8/1887; estate, £2,721.

562. WILSON, John [of Dundyvan] - 4th Ward, 1843-45 (retired); Bailie, 1844-45. Born 1787, Broomhill, Lanarkshire, then outside Glasgow. A farmer's son, he initially helped his father in the day-to-day management of the family business. However, his talents came to the attention of Colin Dunlop of the Clyde Iron Works, and at the age of eighteen Wilson embarked on a highly successful career as a mining engineer, later in partnership with the Dunlops. Another of his business partners was J.B. Neilson, of hot-blast fame, and both men made a considerable fortune as patentees of the new smelting process. During the 1830s the firm of John Wilson & Co., ironmasters, was established, based initially at Dundyvan, near Coatbridge. Mineral workings were subsequently established at Arden, Kinneil, Lugar, and Muirkirk, Ayrshire. An active Liberal, Wilson was closely connected with the Whiggishly-inclined "Clique" group, and had Parliamentary aspirations, standing unsuccessfully for Falkirk Burghs. Died 9/11/1851; estate, £92,248.

563. WILSON, Sir John - 23rd Ward, 1893 (retired). Born 1844, Airdrie, Lanarkshire. Son of James Wilson, coalmaster, Airdrie, he joined the business as a youth, eventually becoming sole partner after his father's death. In 1892 the firm amalgamated with the Clyde Coal Company, Ltd. John Wilson was the first Chairman of the Board of Directors. In 1893 he successfully stood as Liberal Unionist candidate for the Falkirk District of Burghs, hence the brevity of his municipal career in Glasgow. Disenchantment with Chamberlain's Tariff Reform programme prompted him to rejoin the Liberal party in 1904, and he did not seek re-election in 1906. Wilson belonged to the Free Church. He was made a baronet in 1906, and died 28/7/1918; estate, £603,892.

564. WILSON, Walter - 15th Ward, 1887-96 (retired); Bailie, 1893-96. Born 1849, Glasgow. He was apprenticed to the hatters' trade as a youth, and started his own business in 1869 solely in this capacity. However, he soon expanded his Jamaica Street premises in to the "Grand Colossuem", under the designation of Walter Wilson & Co., wholesale and retail warehousemen. It was eventually one of the largest department stores in the world, famous for its aggressive advertising techniques. Apparently, its Christmas "Yuletide" display was one of the "yearly delights of young Glasgow". Wilson was latterly also a partner in the warehousing firm of Tréron et Cie, located in the ground floor of the McLellan Galleries building. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Wellington congregation. Died 17/10/1917; estate, £14,902.

565. WILSON, William - 4th Ward, 1837-42 (retired). Born 1788, Campbeltown, Argyllshire. Head of the business latterly known as William Wilson & Sons, boot and shoe merchants and manufacturers. A supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance until 1843. His date of death, sometime after 1863, has not been traced.

566. WILSON, William - 4th Ward, 1863-69 (retired) & 14th Ward, 1874-91 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1866-67; River Bailie, 1867-68; Bailie, 1876-77 & 1880-83. Born 1823, Glasgow. A partner in the substantial warehousing concern of Wilson & Mathieson, specialists in supplying umbrellas, parasols, hat-cases and travelling gear. A Conservative supporter, he was noted for his progressive views on local government, particularly in library provision. An Established Churchman, Wilson had been one of the founders of the Maxwell Parish Church, along with William McOnie (q.v.). Died 1/4/1892; estate, £24,300.

567. WINGATE, Andrew - 3rd Ward, 1840-42 (resigned). Born 1778, St. Ninian's, Stirlingshire. Head of the firm of Wingate & Son, wholesale warehousemen, Queen Street. He was a strong supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843. Died 25/6/1860; estate, £9,260.

568. WRIGHT, James - 5th Ward, 1837-43 (retired); Treasurer, 1840-41; River Bailie, 1841-43. Born 1783, Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire. A partner in the firm of James & John Wright, cotton brokers and commission merchants. He was a supporter of the Conservative-Evangelical alliance prior to 1843. Died 25/1/1860; estate, £6,574.

569. WRIGHT, Joseph Alexander - 7th Ward, 1853-57 (retired); Bailie, 1854-57. Born 1799, Edinburgh. A partner in the firm of Adam & Wright, manufacturers of small wares, hosiers, glovers and button factors, based in the Trongate. He was an Established Churchman. Died 9/3/1881; estate, £42,576.

570. WYLIE, Robert - 5th Ward, 1845-46 & 13th Ward, 1846-47 (retired); Depute River Bailie, 1846-47. Born 1798, Glasgow. Initially apprenticed to the upholstery business, in 1830 he formed the partnership of Wylie & Lochhead, upholsterers and funeral undertakers, which expanded rapidly into one of Glasgow's best-known furniture warehouses, with extensive premises in Buchanan Street. An active Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the John Street congregation. Died 8/12/1866; estate, £69,564.

571. YORK, William - Deacon Convener, 1849-51; 12th Ward, 1851-54 (retired). Born 1799, Guernsey. He came to Glasgow as a youth, where he was apprenticed as a stone-mason. York eventually set up in business on his own as a builder and contractor, and contributed towards several projects, including Tod & McGregor's Dock at Partick, the Victoria Bridge, and the Albert Docks, Greenock. He served as a Glasgow Police Commissioner between 1845 and 1846, and represented the Incorporation of Masons as Deacon Convener. Died 17/8/1865; estate, £10,849.

572. YOUNG, George Burn - 24th/Kelvinside Ward, 1908-12 (died). Born 1844, Glasgow. The son of a writer, he studied law at Glasgow University, before entering the office of Moncrieff, Barr, Paterson & Co. in 1865. Sixteen years later he became a partner in the business, specialising in shipping and mercantile law. A Free Churchman, he belonged to the St. George's congregation. He was also a keen supporter of the Volunteer movement. Died 3/12/1912; estate, £10,735.

573. YOUNG, James - 18th/Hutchesontown Ward, 1905-11 (defeated) & 20th/Kingston Ward, 1912-20 (defeated); Bailie, 1910-11; Master of Works, 1919-20. Born 1847, Ardrossan, Ayrshire. He came to Glasgow as a youth, and established the firm which was latterly James Young & Sons, pawnbrokers and jewellers. In politics he was a Conservative. Died 4/6/1930; estate, £234.

574. YOUNG, James Howie - 7th Ward, 1853-60 (retired); Bailie, 1854-58. Born 1803, Paisley, Renfrewshire. Son of James Young, a city merchant, he was senior partner in the firm of J.H. Young

& Co., muslin manufacturers. A Liberal and United Presbyterian, he was a supporter of the Evangelical Alliance during the 1850s. Died 28/11/1871; estate, £63,141.

575. YOUNG, John, junior - 8th Ward, 1848-49 (died). Born Glasgow, date unknown. He was a partner in the firm of George K. Young & Co., listed simply as "merchants". His father, John, seems to have been connected with this concern, which was insolvent at the time of Young, junior's, death on 15/1/1849. Estate, £11,312.

576. YOUNG, John - 14th Ward, 1868-69 & 13th Ward, 1869-86 (died); River Bailie, 1872-73; Bailie, 1873-77. Born 1827, Fenwick, Ayrshire, but brought up in Kilmarnock. He was apprenticed to the grocery trade in Glasgow, and first entered business on his own in that capacity. He switched careers, however, becoming a baker, with premises in the Anderston district. An active Liberal and United Presbyterian, he belonged to the Berkley Street congregation. Brother-in-law of John Ure (q.v.), with whom he shared a keen interest in public health affairs. He died on 26/9/1886, after being overcome by choke damp during an official Council visit to the Crarae Quarries, Argyllshire. Along with Thomas Duncan (q.v.), he had entered the Quarries too soon after witnessing a "monster blast". Estate, £2,133.

577. YUILE, David - Deacon Convener, 1851-53. Born 1808, Glasgow. He was a partner with his brother in the family firm of William Yuile & Son, wine and spirit merchants, although he also ran businesses as a commission merchant for distillers and as an insurance agent. A former Glasgow Police Commissioner, he became the first President of the Glasgow Wine, Spirit & Beer Trade Association in 1864. The following year, William Yuile & Son went sensationally bankrupt, with Yuile required to account for a substantial shortfall in the books of Glasgow's Blind Asylum, of which he was Treasurer. A Liberal, he represented the Incorporation of Maltmen as Deacon Convener. Died 12/2/1881; his estate has not been traced.

MAPS

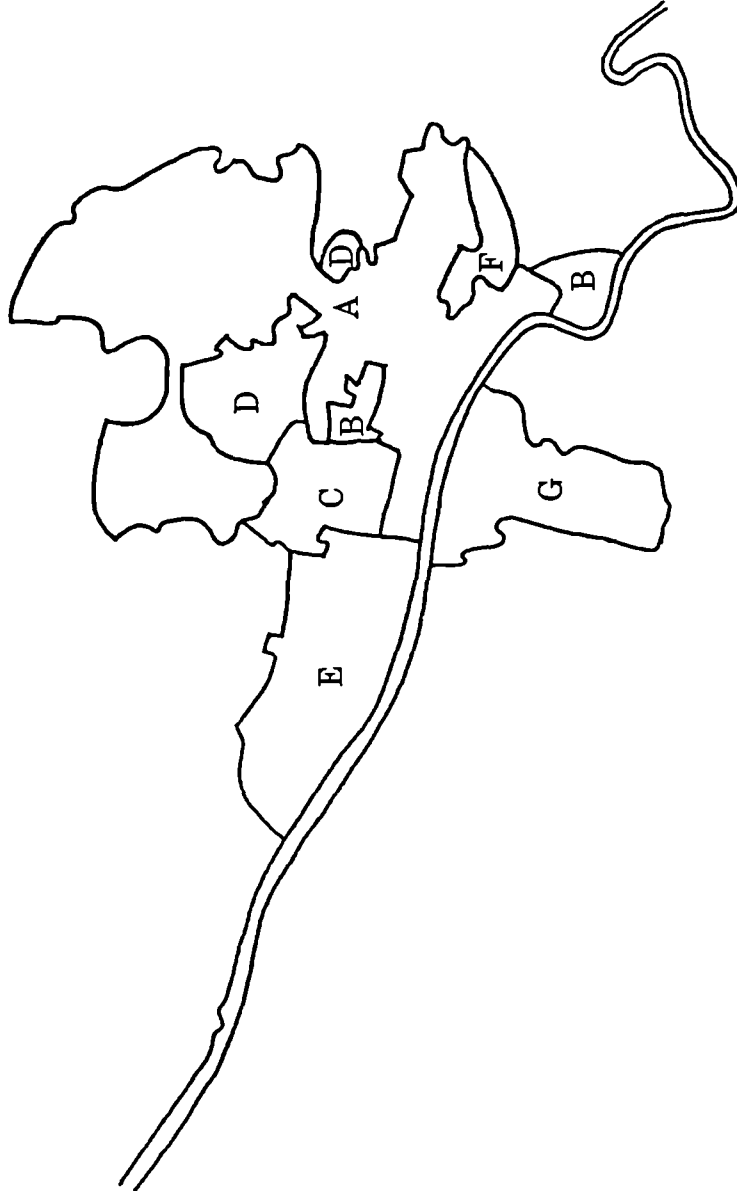
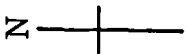
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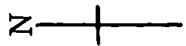
- Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise Map of the City of Glasgow (1846).
- New Plan of Glasgow, with Suburbs (1885).
- Skeleton Map of Glasgow and Suburban Police Burghs and Districts (1887).
- Map of the City of Glasgow, showing the Original Area in the Twelfth Century, and the Areas which have been added from that Period until the Present Time (1909).
- Map of the County of the City of Glasgow, showing the Registration Districts and the Municipal Wards (1913).

I. THE OLD ROYALTY. PRE-1846

(scale: 1 inch = 1 mile)

- A - Ancient Royalty
- B - 1800 Extension
- C - 1830 Extension
- D - 1843 Extension
- E - Burgh of Anderston
- F - Burgh of Calton
- G - Barony of Gorbals



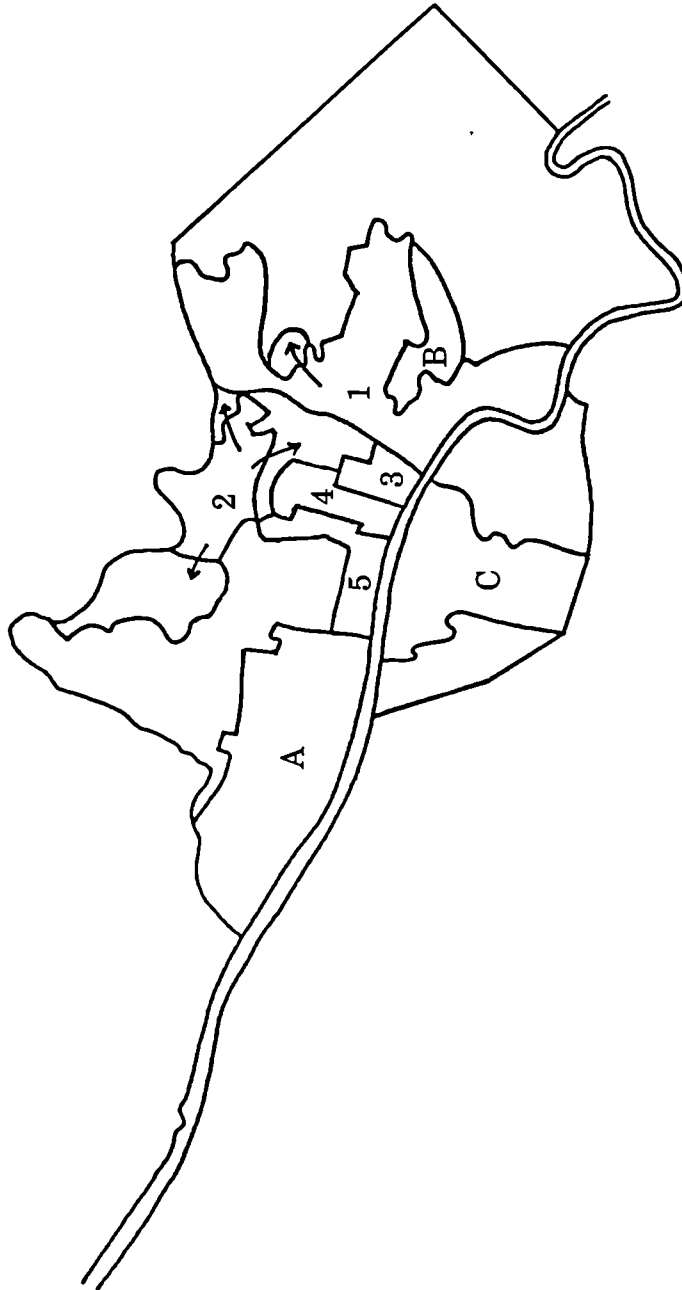


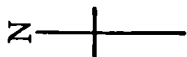
II. THE MUNICIPALITY. 1833-46

(scale: 1 inch = 1 mile)

NB: within the 1832 Glasgow
Parliamentary Boundary

- 1 - 1st Ward
- 2 - 2nd Ward
- 3 - 3rd Ward
- 4 - 4th Ward
- 5 - 5th Ward
- A - Burgh of Anderston
- B - Burgh of Calton
- C - Barony of Gorbals

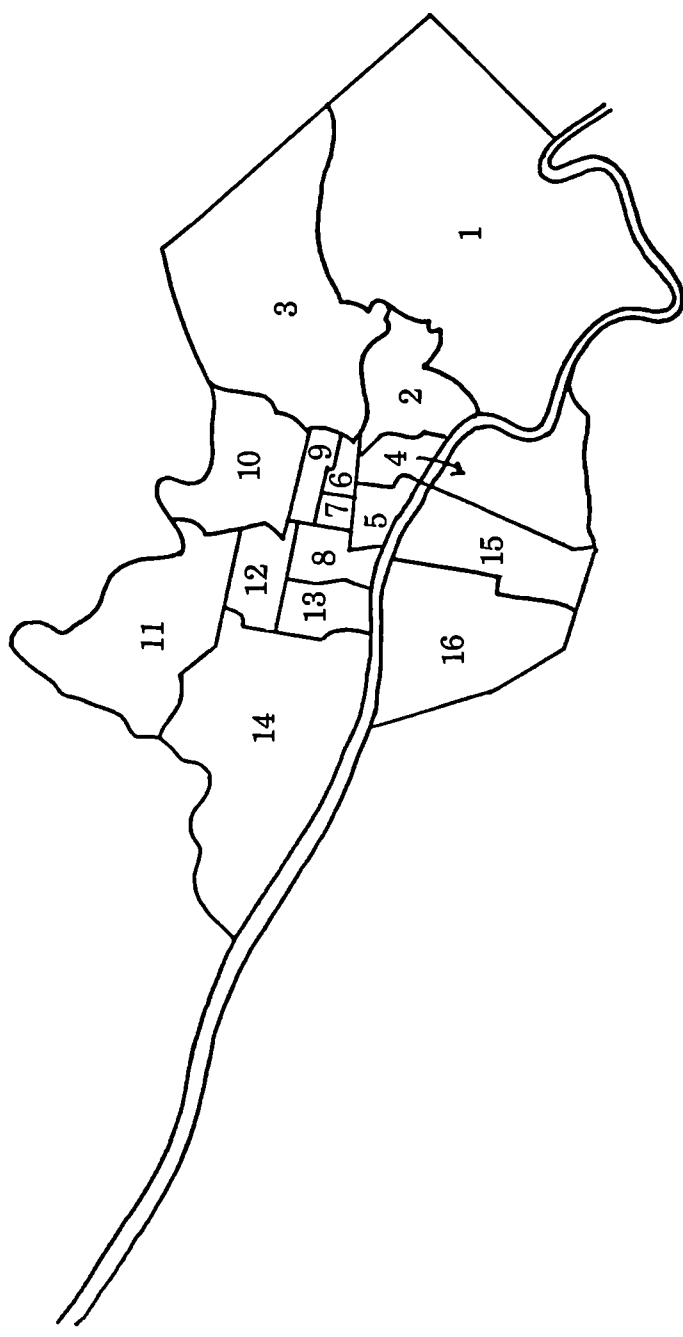




III. THE 1846 MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

(scale: 1 inch = 1 mile)

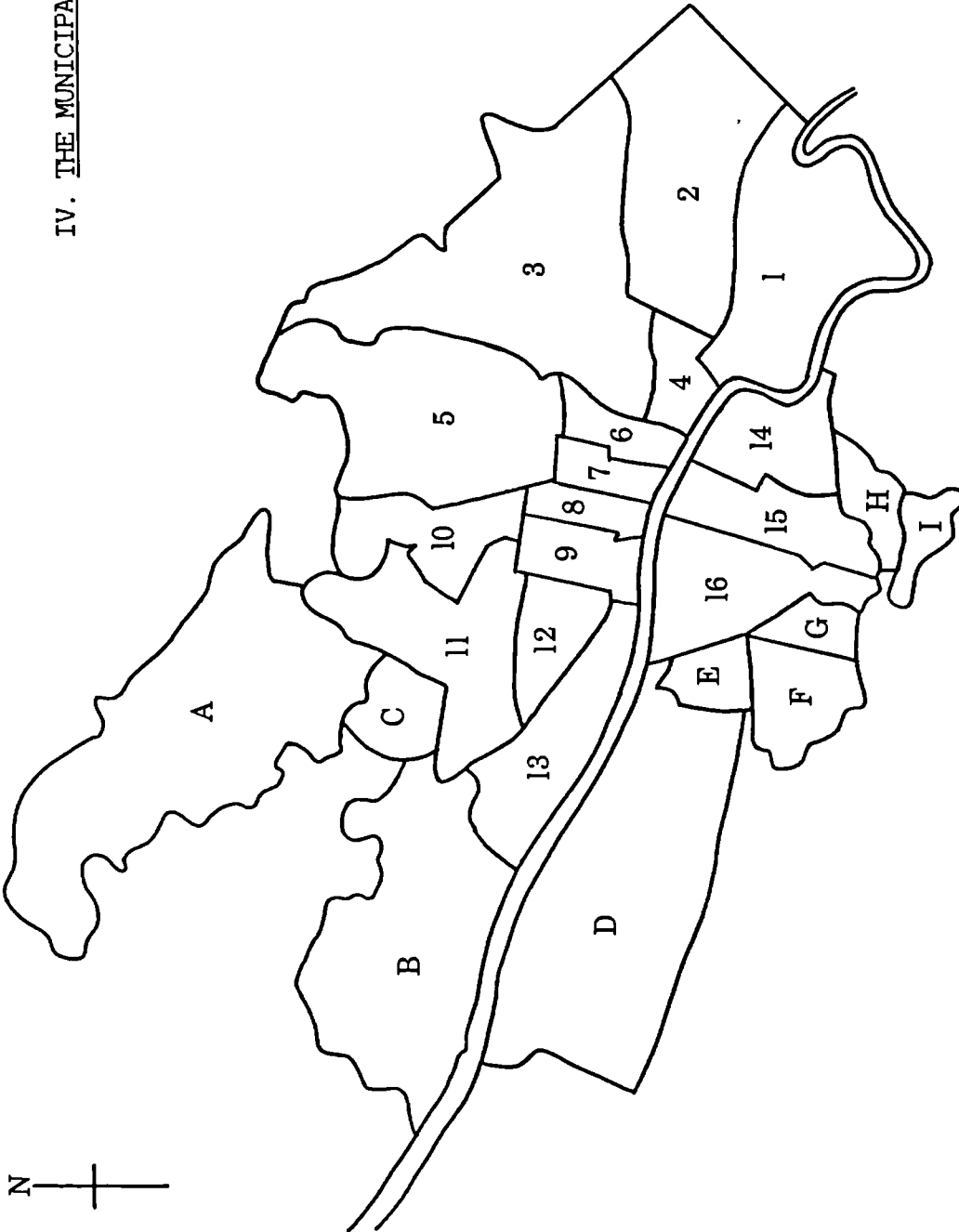
- 1 - 1st Ward
- 2 - 2nd Ward
- 3 - 3rd Ward
- 4 - 4th Ward
- 5 - 5th Ward
- 6 - 6th Ward
- 7 - 7th Ward
- 8 - 8th Ward
- 9 - 9th Ward
- 10 - 10th Ward
- 11 - 11th Ward
- 12 - 12th Ward
- 13 - 13th Ward
- 14 - 14th Ward
- 15 - 15th Ward
- 16 - 16th Ward



IV. THE MUNICIPALITY & POLICE BURGHS, 1880

(scale: 1 inch = 1 mile)

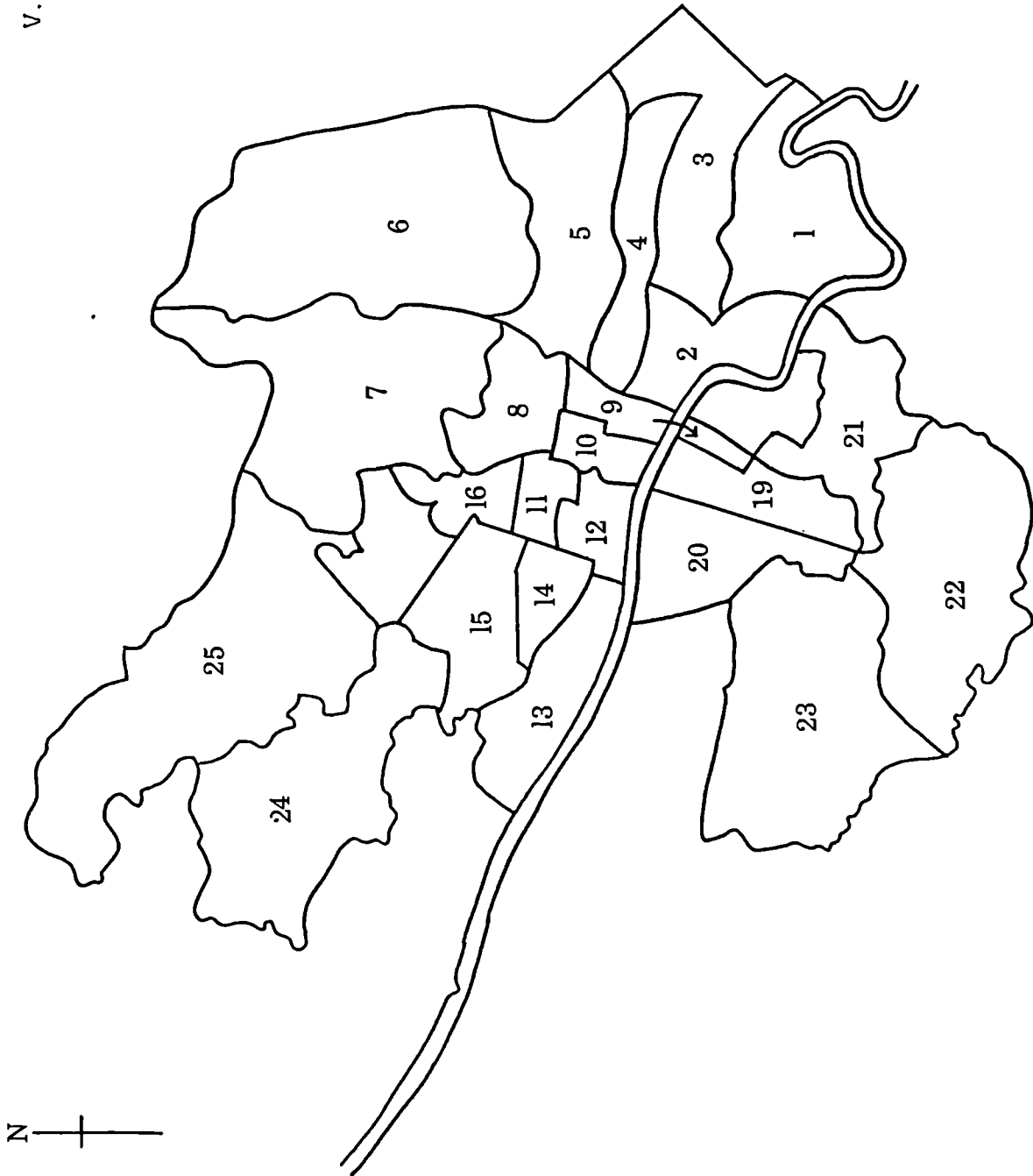
- 1 - 1st Ward
- 2 - 2nd Ward
- 3 - 3rd Ward
- 4 - 4th Ward
- 5 - 5th Ward
- 6 - 6th Ward
- 7 - 7th Ward
- 8 - 8th Ward
- 9 - 9th Ward
- 10 - 10th Ward
- 11 - 11th Ward
- 12 - 12th Ward
- 13 - 13th Ward
- 14 - 14th Ward
- 15 - 15th Ward
- 16 - 16th Ward
- A - Maryhill
- B - Partick
- C - Hillhead
- D - Govan
- E - Kinning Park
- F - Pollokshields (West)
- G - Pollokshields (East)
- H - Govanhill
- I - Crosshill



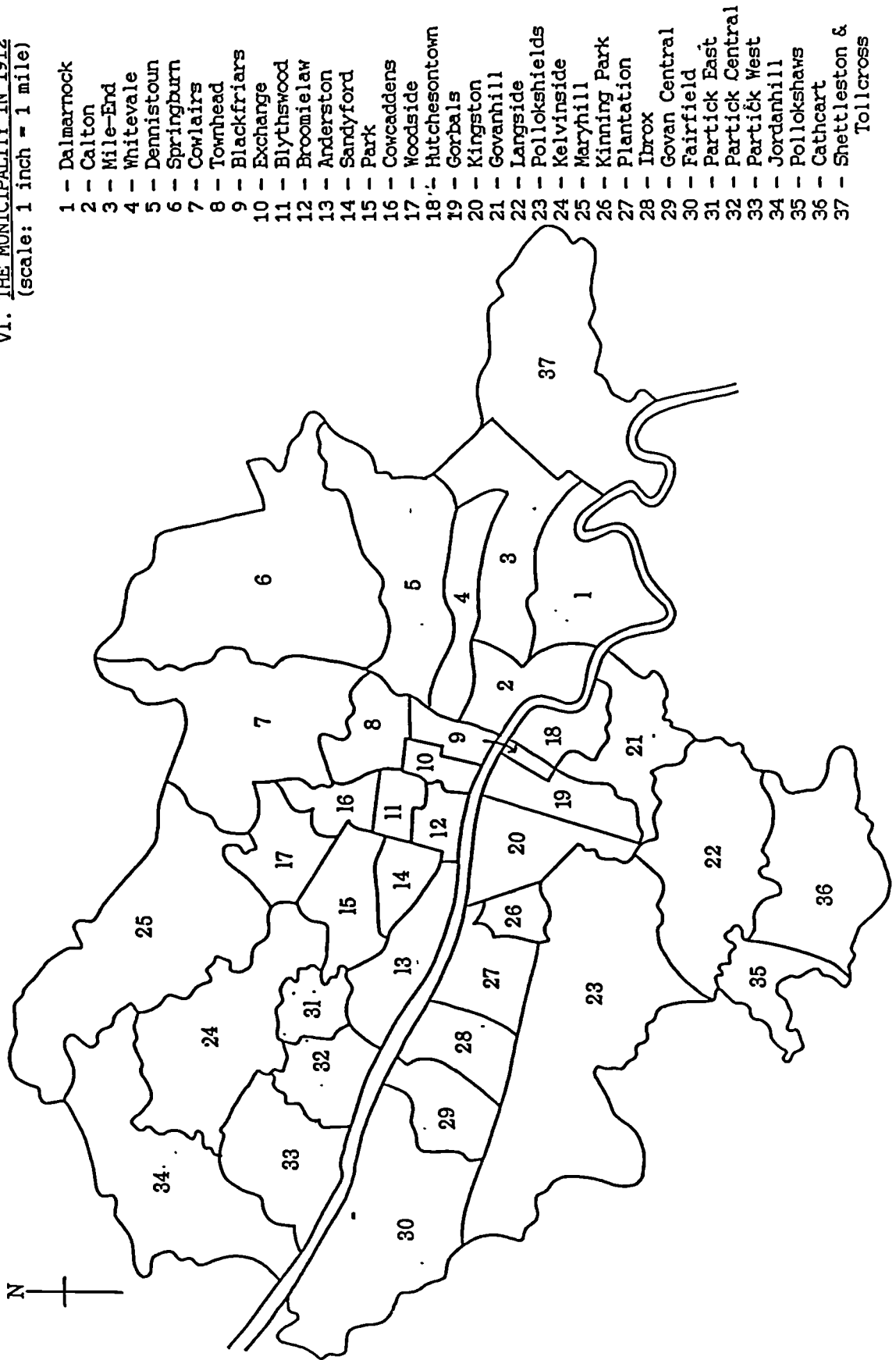
V. THE "GREATER GLASGOW", 1896

(scale: 1 inch = 1 mile)

- 1 - Dalmarnock
- 2 - Calton
- 3 - Mile-End
- 4 - Whitevale
- 5 - Dennistoun
- 6 - Springburn
- 7 - Cowlands
- 8 - Townhead
- 9 - Blackfriars
- 10 - Exchange
- 11 - Blythswood
- 12 - Broomie law
- 13 - Anderston
- 14 - Sandyford
- 15 - Park
- 16 - Cowcaddens
- 17 - Woodside
- 18 - Hutchesontown
- 19 - Gorbals
- 20 - Kingston
- 21 - Govanhill
- 22 - Langside
- 23 - Pollokshields
- 24 - Kelvinside
- 25 - Maryhill



VI. THE MUNICIPALITY IN 1912
(scale: 1 inch = 1 mile)



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- T-HB 27: Thomas Buchanan (d.1864)
- T-HH 10: William Campbell of Tullichewan (d.1864)
- T-MS: John Cassils (d.1864)
- T-BK 24: John Clark, junior (d.1866)
- T-MS 58: James Couper (d.1884)
- T-BK 33: George Dick (d.1853)
- T-HB: John Finlay (d.1883)
- TD 862: Archibald Campbell Holms (d.1917)
- TD 67: John Houldsworth (d.1859)

- TD 473: Robert King of Leverholme (d.1856)
- T-BK 84: John Leadbetter (d.1865)
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- T-BK 117: David Smith (d.1870)
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