

PART III

Glasgow Colonial Merchants and the Domestic Economy

CHAPTER 7

Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Industry, 1770-1815 I

I Miscellaneous industries

II Heavy industry

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The problem of the relationship between profits earned in the colonial trades and Scottish industrial change has, in recent years, provoked stimulating debate among scholars. Professor Henry Hamilton in his pioneering study of the Scottish Industrial Revolution, published in 1932, stated what was by then a fairly traditional and orthodox view,¹

Many of them (i.e. Glasgow tobacco merchants) realizing the profitable nature of manufacturing industry, turned their attention and capital to the new cotton industry.

Hamilton's authority lent academic respectability to this theory² until 1956 when Miss M.L. Robertson, during a general study of the American War of Independence suggested a much more tentative conclusion,³

It is possible, though there is little evidence to support the assumption, that there may have been some financial connection between the one time tobacco merchants and the new industrial developments.

Since then the weight of critical comment has moved slowly but increasingly uniformly towards a more sceptical view of the relationship between colonial trade and the domestic economy.⁴ Professor Hamilton himself, in 1963, took up Robertson's emphasis on the wide gaps in the documentary material essential for any final appreciation of the problem,⁵

There is little evidence of tobacco merchants engaging directly in the flotation of cotton-mills although outlets in other directions would naturally have been sought for funds accumulated in commerce with the old American colonies.

1. H. Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland (Oxford, 1932), 121.

2. See, for example, Laurence J. Saunders, Scottish Democracy 1815-40 (Edinburgh, 1950), 98; J. Cannison and J.B.S. Gilfillan (eds) The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Glasgow Region (Glasgow, 1958), 103.

3. Robertson, loc. cit., 130.

4. The major theoretical critique was contained in K. Berrill 'International Trade and the Rate of Economic Growth', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser. XII (1960), 351-59.

5. Hamilton, Economic History, 168.

Although writers on more general themes continued to cite Hamilton's thesis of 1932 and the rather fragmentary evidence quoted in support of it,⁶ scholars in the more localised field of eighteenth century Scottish economic history were swinging to an opposite point of view. Reviewing Hamilton's 1963 book, Professor R.H. Campbell broadened the attack on the 'traditional view' by describing the connection between the early growth of industry and trade as 'questionable' and concluded in a striking sentence that 'the Scottish economy in much of the eighteenth century may be considered to consist of two distinct sectors.'⁷ This assertion was to form the basis of Campbell's controversial critique.⁸ It might well be said indeed that Professor Campbell's thesis has become the new orthodoxy; just as the late Professor Pares and Mr. D.A. Farnie discovered⁹ little connection between the West Indies trade and the English Industrial Revolution, so recent writers basing their arguments on those of Professor Campbell, have found little relationship between Glasgow's colonial commerce and economic change in Scotland.¹⁰

The aim of this present chapter is to attempt a reappraisal of the role of colonial merchant capital in the various industries of the West

6. See, for example, Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (London, 1944), and Seymour Shapiro, Capital and the Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution, (New York, 1967), where Scotland is taken as the classic example of an economy which owed much of its impetus in the later eighteenth century to flow of capital from the colonial trades.

7. R.H. Campbell, 'An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century', S.J.P.E., XI (1964), 19.

8. R.H. Campbell, 'The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 II The Economic Consequences', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XVI (1964), 472; Scotland since 1707 (Oxford, 1965), 40; 'The Industrial Revolution in Scotland: a Revision Article', SHR, 46 (1967), 47.

9. R. Pares, 'Economic Factors in the History of the Empire', Econ. Hist. Rev., 1st ser., VII (1937); D.A. Farnie, 'The Commercial Empire of the Atlantic', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XV (1962), 205.

10. W.E. Minchinton (ed.), The Growth of English Overseas Trade in 17th and 18th Centuries (London, 1969), 44; M.W. Flinn, The Origins of the Industrial Revolution, (London, 1966), 57.

of Scotland in the period 1770-1815. The investigation will not only examine the flow of funds to the cotton industry - the aspect of the problem which has stimulated most discussion over the past decade - but will attempt a full scale examination of merchant involvement in all sectors of manufacturing and extractive industry. It is thus proposed to consider the various industries in three groups:

- (1) Miscellaneous manufacturing (glass, sugar, ropeworks, breweries etc.)
- (2) 'Heavy' industries (iron-smelting, refining and coal-mining)
- (3) Textile industries (linen, wool, cotton and the finishing processes)

I

Contemporaries displayed an interesting unanimity of view on the investment of colonial merchants in industry. Ten years after the ending of the American War of Independence, Colonel William Fullarton considered that,

When the separation of America from England put an end to the great profits arising from the tobacco trade... the merchants withdrew from a concern no longer profitable and the habits of manufacture formerly established in the country enabled them to apply their capitals to the various branches of iron, glass, inkle, linen, woollen, gauze and particularly to cotton, which in a few years they had extended to an extraordinary degree. 11

James Denholm, writing in 1804, was sure that -

Many of the merchants who embarked on the American trade were ruined, yet there were others... who were enabled to branch out into other branches of trade, notably manufacturers. 12

11. William Fullarton, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr, (1793), 130.

12. Denholm, op. cit., 408.

David Macpherson was equally certain, asserting that,

A considerable number of merchants withdrew their capitals from foreign trade and shipping in order to employ them in manufactures. 13

Similarly the Merchants House of Glasgow in 1812 pointed out how the city was indebted to those who had carried on the pre-1776 tobacco trade not only for 'the extension of commerce', but 'for the establishment and, for a considerable time, the support of its manufactures now so highly advantageous to this Kingdom at large'.¹⁴

It would be unwise to come to any definite conclusion on the basis of these opinions; however, as the analysis which follows demonstrates, whatever the naivety of linking the expansion of Scottish industry after 1783 with the collapse of the tobacco trade, it must be said the degree of integration between external commerce and domestic manufactures throughout the eighteenth century was very extensive. Before the 1770s solid linkages had been established between the two sectors in sugar-processing,¹⁵ ropeworks,¹⁶ tanworks,¹⁷ slitting-mills,¹⁸ textile-finishing processes,¹⁹ and bottleworks.²⁰ The last forty years of the eighteenth century saw a marked expansion in these existing interests.

Modern commentators have to a large extent quickly dismissed mercantile investment in such ventures as tanning and glass manufacture as

13. Macpherson, op. cit., III, 593.

14. GCA, Minute Book of Merchants House of Glasgow, IV (1790-1826), 245.

15. T.C. Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660-1720', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XIV (1961), 240-253; McCure, op. cit., 170, 227-28; Glasgow Journal, 31 October, 1748; J.C. Mitchell, op. cit., 377, n.10.

16. McCure, op. cit., 229; Gourlay, Provosts of Glasgow, 55, 59, 63.

17. McCure, op. cit., 229.

18. Brown, op. cit., BK III, 286-7.

19. Hamilton, Economic History, 164.

20. R. Benwick (ed) Extracts from the Records of Burgh of Glasgow, V, 114.

involvement in 'small-scale activities. Such an approach is much based, however, on an exaggerated hindsight view of the fixed capital requirements of the early cotton mills and by corollary on an inaccurate assessment of the physical size of the bottle-houses, ropeworks and tanneries.²¹ Bell's 'Tannerie' in 1780 was employing over 300 men: few cotton mills, apart from New Lanark, could better this.²² Contemporaries attached the adjectives 'vast', 'great' and 'magnificent' to these 'small-scale' concerns.²³ The main Glasgow tannery, the Glasgow Tanwork Co. was, according to David Loch, the greatest in Europe, except for one at Cologne.²⁴ Quantitative analysis of some of the capital structures involved adds weight to these comments (Table 30). Some effort has been made to present a fair sample of various company assets in this table. There were concerns which operated on much slighter capital bases - a small tanwork established in 1768, unrelated to Bell's Tannery and the Glasgow Tanwork Co., had a total stock of £2,400 and the brewing and distilling firm of Andrew Buchanan sen and Co. had an initial subscription of £550 divided among sixteen persons.²⁵ Yet as table 30 indicates, it would

21. For an important discussion of this point see M.M. Edwards, The Growth of the British Cotton Trade (Manchester, 1907), Ch. IX, passim. Only six Scottish cotton mills in 1795 were valued at more than £10,000; twenty-five valued at more than £5,000: total number at that date was about fifty-five. S.D. Chapman, 'Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XXIII (1970), 262-3. See Campbell 'Angle-Scottish Union', loc. cit., 472, for his emphasis on the small-scale nature of the miscellaneous manufactures. The revolutionary aspect of the cotton industry was, of course, not size but the massive gains in productivity as a result of the series of technical advances.

22. J. Clelland, Statistical and Population Tables relative to the City of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1828); J. Butt, The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland, (Newton Abbot, 1967), 70.

23. Loch, op. cit., I, 26; Lettice, Letters on a Tour through various parts of Scotland in the Year 1792, 82.

24. Loch, op. cit., I, 21.

25. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/81030, Contract of Copartnery, Alex. Speirs and Others, 24 Aug., 1778; B.10/5/7651, Contract of Copartnery betwixt Francis Hamilton and others, 27 January, 1773.

TABLE 30Capital Stock of some Glasgow Manufactories,
1770 - 1815

<u>Company</u>	<u>Capital Stock</u>	<u>Date</u>
Glasgow Bottlewark Co.	£12,000	1786 ²⁶
Dumbarton Glasswork Co.	£20,000	1794 ²⁷
Dumbarton Glasswork Co.	£84,050	1813 ²⁸
South Sugar House	£8,000	1777 ²⁹
Greenock Ropework Co	£40,000	1785 ³⁰
King St. Sugar House	£6,000	1776 ³¹

be entirely wrong to dismiss the various firms involved in tanning, rope-making and sugar-processing as 'fly by night' concerns making little demand on the town of Glasgow's pool of available capital.

In 1777 James Gibson estimated that the value of the boot and shoe trade of Glasgow approached £23,000 per annum, while including saddlery and tanned leather it was nearer £85,000.³² Each of the three companies concerned with the tanning of leather existing in the city in the 1770s and 80s was substantially dominated by colonial merchant capital. The cream of the tobacco aristocracy were partners in the 1780s in Bell's Tannery - John Coats Campbell, John Bowman, Laurence Dinwiddie, John Campbell of

26. SL, CSP 422/53, Answers for J. Geddes to Petition of G. Hamilton, Feb., 18, 1801.

27. SRO, Adams Mack Misc., Balance Bk. of Dumbarton Glass Co., 1804-15; Day Book of Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 1793-1803.

28. Ibid.

29. SRO, GD 237/139, Minutes of Meeting of Partners of South Sugar House, 5 November, 1777.

30. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 246/1/580 DAL.

31. SRO, GD237/143/4.

32. Gibson, op. cit.,

Clathic, James Dunlop and Alex. Speirs.³³ Throughout the period 1770-1802 the more sizeable Glasgow Tanwork Co., which eventually took over Bell's, was capitalised by tobacco, West India merchants or the sons of these, and managed by persons experienced in tanning. The first extant contract of copartnery, that for 1771, shows that about ninety per cent of the capital stock was subscribed by six of the partners in Bell's Tannery - John Bowman, Alexander Speirs, John Campbell, Robert Bogle and Walter Monteath. The enterprise was managed by two Glasgow saddlers, Robert Marshall and John Macfarlane.³⁴ Twenty years later Speirs's name had disappeared - he died in 1783 - but he had been succeeded by his son Archibald. Bogle and Monteath had also gone, but William Coats had joined Bowman and Campbell.³⁵ Again the managing partner was skilled in the actual manufacture: this was Ephraim Gardner, 'tanner in Glasgow'.³⁶ By 1802 the same partners were still in control.³⁷

A much smaller concern had been set up in 1768 with fifty per cent of the £2,400 capital taken up by two tobacco merchants, Hugh Wylie and Francis Hamilton. Significantly they had been approached by three persons, including one, John Steven 'shoemaker and tanner' who since 1702 had been carrying on a trade of tanning, dressing, currying and buying leather and making of gloves. They had experience and skill in the process and trade of tanning but probably lacked the necessary capital for the extension of their business.³⁸

It seems feasible to suggest that much of the stimulus which led

33. Senex, I, 460; Gourlay, A Glasgow Miscellany, 97.

34. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 232/817 MACK; GCA, Reg. of Sasines, 10/30-1, 14 March, 1777.

35. GCA, Reg. of Sasines, 10/198-202, 6 December, 1793.

36. Ibid

37. GCA, Reg. of Sasines, 11/297-8, 2 August, 1802.

38. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/15/7651, Contract of Copartnery betwixt Francis Hamilton and Others, reg. 21 January, 1773.

merchants to supply capital to tanners is to be found in their need to establish a viable, secure and relatively cheap source of supply (by cutting out middleman profit) for their customers in colonial North America and in the islands of the Caribbean. That Virginia and Maryland were two of the main outlets for the products of such concerns is made obvious in the customs records and also in a report of the Glasgow Tanwork Co. in 1778; because of the outbreak of rebellion and the virtual collapse of the tobacco trade, the Company,

had on hand goods, manufactured and unmanufactured, to a great value which they have no immediate prospect of selling ... by reason of the present unhappy contest with America. 39

Despite this, the Company attempted to continue exporting through New York and through more circuitous routes via Halifax, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Charlestown.⁴⁰

The coalescence of mercantile funds and technical ingenuity was evident also in brewing. By contracts of copartnership signed in February and March, 1763, John Glassford, William Bogle and Peter Murdoch and three East of Scotland merchants joined with two 'brewers in Edinburgh' and agreed 'to carry on a joint business of brewing and selling of strong beer, strong ale and small beer in a brewhouse ... to be erected at Anderston near Glasgow'.⁴¹ In 1771 James Hopkirk, John McCall and James Gordon - the latter two Glassford's partners in the tobacco-importing firms of Glassford, Gordon, Monteith and Co. and Henderson, McCall and Co - entered the company. James Warroch, a brewer, became joint manager with John Cunninghame.⁴² At some point in the later 1770s James Murdoch and

39. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 232/817 MACK, Agreement between partners of the Glasgow Tanwork Co., 3 September, 1778.

40. SRO, Collector's Quarterly Accounts, Greenock, E.504/15/26-31.

41. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 216/802 DAL, Obligation, John Glassford and others to John Cunninghame, reg. 23 October, 1774.

42. GCA, Town Court Books of Glasgow, entry 2 December, 1790.

Hopkirk's son, Thomas became partners.⁴³

The Customs Records of Port Glasgow and Greenock, 1773-84 reveal an interesting penetration of the products of this firm into the markets of the West Indies and North America. A sampling of cargoes outwards in April-August 1778 from Greenock, reveals that the Company's 'strong ale' was being carried by three out of the five vessels bound for Halifax (Nova Scotia), Philadelphia and New York. Two of the seven vessels bound for destinations in the West Indies also transported the firm's product.⁴⁴

Merchant involvement in one concern in a particular industry, once established, could easily extend into others. Thus James Hopkirk and James Gordon, partners in Murdoch, Warroch and Co., were two of the six partners in James Hervey and Co., brewers and distillers at Paisley.⁴⁵ The firm of Andrew Buchanan sen. and Co numbered twelve merchants involved in colonial trade out of the sixteen persons who subscribed to the capital stock of £550 in 1778. Of this amount £450 came from colonial mercantile sources.⁴⁶

Two soap and candle manufactories in Glasgow enjoyed the patronage of colonial merchants. Robert Houston Rae and James McDowall (both of the West India concern of Alex. Houston and Co.) and Richard Dennistoun were partners in Walter Buchanan and Co. and John Hay and Co.⁴⁷ The West India firm of Hamilton, Gordon and Co. were also interested in this venture.⁴⁸

43 SRO. Reg of Deeds, 216/802 DAL.

44. SRO, E.504/15/29, Jan., 1778 - July, 1779.

45. Glasgow Courier, 6 April, 1799.

46. GCA, B.10/5/8103, Contract of Copartnery, Alex. Speirs and others, 24 Aug., 1778. The merchants concerned were Alexander Speirs, John Crawford, George Buchanan, Archibald Coats, John Robertson, Alexander Donald, George Kippen, James Murdoch, Andrew Stirling, John Stirling, Thomas Donald, Andrew Buchanan jun.

47. Glasgow Courier, 26 September, 1795.

48. Ibid.

Rope and sailcloth manufacture had been prominent among the industries of Glasgow since the end of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ In the following century, with an increasingly massive investment in foreign commerce, this necessary ancillary industry to any thriving port was capitalised by colonial merchants just as it had been since the earliest days. In the 1770s James Corbett and Co., 'the Rope Manufactory of Glasgow', had fifteen partners. Ten of them were men involved in the city's colonial trades.⁵⁰ When this establishment was sold to new owners in 1786, Robert Dunmore and James Dunlop had taken over their fathers' shares.⁵¹ George Buchanan jun., James Somervell, James McDowall and James Dennistoun were the principal partners, during the 1780s, of a separate firm, the Glasgow Ropework Co.⁵²

At Greenock, Glasgow colonial merchants dominated the co-partnery of the Greenock Ropework Co. The two Ritchie brothers, James and Henry, together with Michael Bogle, owned seventy-five per cent of the shares.⁵³ Details are sparse on the post-1790 partnership structure of this concern but certainly Glasgow interest in it continued into the nineteenth century: at his death in 1817, Alexander Campbell of Hallyards had a £1,000 share in the firm.⁵⁴ The Port Glasgow Ropework Co. in the early 1780s was partly capitalised by Alexander Speirs and Thomas Hopkirk and as late as 1791 James Somervell had no less than £3,000 in the firm's stock.⁵⁵

49. W.R. Scott, The Constitution of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720 (London, 1911), III, 174-5.

50. GCA, Reg. of Sasines, 23 October, 1789, F.41-3.

51. SRO, GD1/532/1, Disposition and Assignment, the partners of the Glasgow Ropeworks to John Hay and Others (1786).

52. Glasgow Mercury, 8 December, 1785.

53. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 246/1/580 DAL.

54. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Revenue, August, 1817.

55. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD1/131/5, Ledger 'C', 34; Mitchell, Johnston Papers, Disposition and Deed of Settlement by James Somervell of Hamilton Farm, 10 June, 1791; SRO, CC9/7/80/514, Testament of Thos. Hopkirk. At his death, he had £1,321..13..4 in the company.

A thorough search of the local histories of Greenock, Port Glasgow and Glasgow and of newspapers between 1770-1815 has revealed no other industrial unit, apart from those enumerated above, which specialised in the production of sailcloth, rope and tackle. It is therefore fair to conclude that this industry depended for a large proportion of its capital on funds subscribed by colonial merchants.

The West of Scotland sugar-processing industry was expanding vigorously in the latter part of the eighteenth century in the wake of developments in Clyde-West Indies trade. It has been calculated that there were four sugar houses in Glasgow, two in Port Glasgow and two in Greenock, between 1760 and 1810. The forthcoming discussion will demonstrate that Glasgow West Indian interests played a central role in most of these units.

The South Sugar House (Glasgow) was set up by Colonel William McDowall and James Milliken, leading partners in what was, in the 1740s, the greatest West India firm in the city. The sugar house was owned by their descendants until the 1780s.⁵⁶ Alexander Houston, who joined this co-partnership and later founded Alexander Houston and Co. with Colonel McDowall's son, William II, bequeathed his 3/16 shares to his son Andrew; at the same time William McDowall III joined his father in the co-partnership.⁵⁷ Andrew Houston gave up his shares in the company in 1782 and by the following year the concern was composed of William McDowall III (of Alex. Houston and Co.) and George, Alexander and James Oswald, with management in the hands of a Dutch expert, Casper Clauson.⁵⁸ In this firm, Casper Clauson and Co., McDowall held three-sixths of the capital stock

56. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 377, n.10; Gibson, *op. cit.*, 210.

57. GCA, Reg. of Sasines, FF, 143-144, 145-6, 24 April, 1780; F.275-6, 24 May, 1782.

58. GCA, Reg. of Sasines, F.275-6, 24 May, 1782; SR0, UP Innes Durie B7/1.

of £8,000, the Oswalds between them, two-sixths and Clausen one-sixth.⁵⁹
 In 1785 the personnel changed again yet control was still in the hands of the partners of Alexander Houston and Co. Andrew Houston, Robert Houston Rae and James McDowall carried on the business until 1796, when with increasing financial difficulties in the parent concern, the South Sugar House Co. conveyed 'all and whole the boiling houses, distilling houses, store rooms, cellars, lofts, dwelling-house, mill-houses, well, 'limekilns' to Richard Bell and Co.⁶⁰

Thus for over fifty years there had been a recognisable stability of ownership in this concern. By integrating backwards into the refining process, Houstons could gain considerable economies. The firm's partners supplied the capital and the production unit could be managed by a person skilled in the sugar-boiling process. Movement into refining represented a further stage in the evolution of economies of scale in this giant enterprise. At the same time Houstons were acquiring sugar estates in the Leeward Islands through foreclosure on mortgages and through purchase.⁶¹
 In addition to owning the South Sugar House, they took over the King Street Sugar House from three tobacco merchants, James Buchanan, Thomas Wallace and Andrew Buchanan, who had inherited it from their respective fathers.⁶²
 This they held until 1796.⁶³

Details on the two remaining Glasgow Sugar-processing units are more fragmentary. George Bogle, who by the American War period had successfully

59. SRO, GD 237/139 Minutes of meeting of partners of South Sugar House, 3 November, 1777.

60. SRO, U.P. Innes Durie 37/1, Representation of Wm. McDowall etc. (1790); GCA, Reg. of Sasines, F.232, 20 May, 1796; Glasgow Mercury, 14 June, 1796.

61. NLS, MSS 9793-4, Foreign Letter Books 'E' and 'F' of Alexander Houston and Co.

62. GCA, FF 229-32, 2 July, 1773.

63. SRO, GD 237/143/4.

turned his family's traditional interest in the tobacco trade towards the importation of sugar from the Caribbean, was a principal partner in the Easter Sugar House.⁶⁴ Similarly Alexander Speirs the doyen of the tobacco aristocracy, had shifted much of the interest of Speirs, French and Co. and Speirs, Bowman and Co. to the West Indies trade and from 1773 until his death a decade later, he was a partner in the Wester Sugar House.⁶⁵

Some of the most important sugar houses were located further down the Clyde at Port Glasgow and at Greenock which was to become in the nineteenth century the major sugar-refining centre in Scotland. Sugar-processing began at Greenock in 1765 with the erection of a 'house' in what came to be known as Sugarhouse Lane. Two of the seven partners were Thomas Hopkirk and Arthur Connell, the latter of the West India firm of Somervell, and Co.⁶⁶ By 1788 this concern was completely dominated by Glasgow Colonial interests, eighty per cent of the capital being subscribed by John Campbell sen., James Gordon and Henry Riddell and the remainder by two Greenock merchants.⁶⁷ Ten years later the same men, operating under the firm, Hopkirk, Riddell and Co., were in control.⁶⁸

Andrew Scott, in his pioneering paper on the Clyde sugar industry, suggested that sugar-refining began at Port Glasgow with the establishment of a sugar-house in Balfour St. in the 1770s.⁶⁹ The original subscribers

64. ML, Bogle MSS, Bundle 54; SRO, E.504/28/31 (April 1777-Oct., 1778), reveals Bogle's sugar imports, especially from Tobago and Jamaica.

65. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD 131/4-5; for his West India interests, see TD 131/9, Letterbook, 1781-9, passim.

66. Andrew Scott 'The History and Progress of the Four Leading Articles of Foreign Origin', Trans. Glasgow Arch. Soc. I (1859), 364.

67. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 25/56.

68. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 41/89; Glasgow Courier, 29 November, 1798. James Gordon and Henry Riddell were the leading partners in Gordon, Riddell and Co. West India merchants and had both been members of the various copartneries with John Glassford.

69. Scott, loc. cit., 366.

included five Glasgow colonial merchants - George Crawford, William Crawford, Andrew Buchanan, William Cunninghame and Robert Dunmore - in addition to seven others who give residential addresses in Port Glasgow and Greenock.⁷⁰ The customs accounts demonstrate that R. Dunmore and Co. were second only to Alex. Houston and Co. in quantity of sugar importations. William Cunninghame would also have a motive for such an investment. In addition to the expansion into the West Indies trade of Cunninghame, Findlay and Co. after 1778, Cunninghame himself had become a partner in R. Dunmore and Co. by that date.⁷¹

John Leitch and Richard Dennistoun together with four Greenock merchants were proprietors in the 1780s of the 'Sugar House Company of Port Glasgow' under the firm of Alex. Macpherson and Co.⁷² The company, later enlarged, included by September 1790, John Gordon, David Russell and George Buchanan in addition to Leitch and Dennistoun.⁷³ Personal and business contacts were evidently important here. Gordon, Russell and Leitch were all partners in Stirling, Gordon and Co. and Leitch and Smith, West India merchants.⁷⁴ Together they were to become extensively involved from 1794 in James Finlay and Co., cotton spinners and merchants.⁷⁵

In 1809 MacLachlan, Watt and Co. built the Newark Sugar Refinery just outside Port Glasgow, later selling it to Robert Dennistoun, Alexander Campbell, of Hallyards and his brother James.⁷⁶ It continued in their

70. Ibid.

71. SRO, E.504/28/33-4, Port Glasgow, Oct., 1781 - Oct. 1782.

72. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Trustees of R. Dennistoun to trustees of Alex Campbell, 15 December, 1823; Glasgow Mercury, 29 December, 1789.

73. Glasgow Mercury, 7 September, 1790.

74. Stewart, op. cit., 217-18.

75. James Finlay and Co., Glasgow, Finlay MSS, Balance Book, 1789-1800, 21-2,

76. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Meeting of trustees vide infra, 396-7, of Alex. Campbell, 27 Aug. 1817.

hands until 1817 when, after the death of Alexander Campbell and Dennistoun, it was dissolved in May, 1818.⁷⁷ Again the same phenomenon of business relationships being carried through into different sectors is apparent: just as Campbell and Dennistoun invested in a concern which processed one of their imports from the Caribbean - sugar - so they also financed Robert Humphrey and Co., cotton-spinners, a concern which would be likely to process another of the main commodities of their West Indian trade.⁷⁸

Two immediate conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of the capital structures of the West of Scotland sugar industry in the period 1770-1815. Firstly, there is no doubt that Glasgow colonial merchants played a crucial role in the financing of this industry in the forty years under review. Of the four sugar houses in Glasgow itself, two at least, until the end of the eighteenth century were wholly owned by such interests. The inevitable gaps in evidence do not allow firm conclusions to be made on the Easter and Wester Sugar Houses but the sketchy information that has survived does point to a somewhat similar pattern. The co-partneries of the three sugar-refining plants established at Port Glasgow between 1770 - 1809, suggest a more complex picture. In one, Glasgow colonial merchants had about a fifty per cent share. In the second, they held a relatively smaller proportion of the capital stock in the 1780s, but this developed rapidly into overall control by the early 1790s. In the third, Glasgow merchants, after an initial period of dominance by Port Glasgow interests, quickly became the leading stockholders until 1817. The only sugar house that has been traced at Greenock during the later eighteenth century was in the 1760s controlled by merchants of that town. By 1788,

77. Edinburgh Gazette, 12 May, 1818.

78. ML, Campbell of Hallywuds Papers, Trustees of R. Dennistoun to trustees of Alex. Campbell, 15 December 1823, vide infra, 391-2.

however, it was almost wholly capitalised by Glasgow men. Clearly Glasgow did not exert a complete stranglehold over the industry in Port Glasgow and Greenock: the latter town especially had its own elite group of wealthy merchants who, especially before the outbreak of the American War, had played an important role in the development of Clyde-Caribbean commerce.⁷⁹

A second broad conclusion can be made here. Table 31 lists the Glasgow merchants known to have subscribed to the capital stocks of sugar houses between 1770-1815. The column on the extreme right of the table lists any interests in the West Indies trade which a particular merchant might have had. Of the thirty merchants enumerated in this table, a minimum figure of twenty-three are known to have had interests in the West Indian sugar importation trade. It is plausible to argue that the investment of such men in the sugar industry followed on logically from a desire to secure processing plants for their major import. Some comments might be made about those merchants who do not appear to have had connection with Caribbean commerce. The Oswalds - George, Alexander and James - were leading tobacco merchants, importing into Port Glasgow from Virginia 1220 hogsheads in the period October, 1774 to July, 1775.⁸⁰ Their connection with the South Sugar House was short-lived; they held one-third of the capital stock of £8,000 for less than five years. George Oswald's correspondence hints at the fact that since the brothers had no strong connections with the West Indies trade, they were uninterested in long-term involvement in such a concern, and aimed at the essentially limited

79. Stewart, op. cit., 247-249. Vide supra, 4-5.

80. SRO, E.504/28/24 (Port Glasgow).

TABLE 31
Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Sugar Houses

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Sugar House</u>	<u>West India Firm</u>
Alexander Houston	South Sugar House	Alex. Houston and Co.
William McDowall II	-do-	-do-
William McDowall III	-do-	-do-
George Oswald	-do-	-
Alexander Oswald	-do-	-
James Oswald	-do-	-
Andrew Houston	-do-	Alex. Houston and Co.
Robert Houston Rae	-do-	-do-
James Buchanan	King Street Sugar House	-
Andrew Buchanan	-do-	-
Thomas Wallace	-do-	-
George Bogle	Easter Sugar House	George Bogle and Co.
Alexander Speirs	Wester Sugar House	Speirs, French and Co. Speirs, Bowman and Co.
James Hopkirk	Greenock Sugarhouse (1765)	Hopkirk, Riddell and Co.
Arthur Connell	-do-	Somervell, Connell and Co.
John Campbell sen.	-do- (1788)	John Campbell sen. and Co.
James Gordon	-do- -do-	Somervell, Gordon and Co.
Henry Riddell	-do- -do-	Gordon, Riddell and Co.
George Crawford	Port Glasgow Sugar House	Speirs, Crawford and Co.
William Crawford	-do-	-
Andrew Buchanan	-do-	-
William Cunninghame	-do-	Robert Dunmore and Co.
Robert Dunmore	-do-	-do-
John Leitch	Sugar House Co. of Port Glasgow	Leitch and Smith and Co.
Richard Dennistoun	-do-	James Dennistoun Jun and Co.
John Gordon	-do-	Stirling, Gordon and Co.
David Fussell	-do-	Leitch and Smith
Robert Dennistoun	Newark Sugar Refinery	Robt. Dennistoun and Co.
Alexander Campbell	-do-	John Campbell sen. and Co.
James Campbell	-do-	-do-

SOURCE: Footnote references, pp. 326 - 331.

objectives of quick profits on relatively small initial capital investment and a fairly rapid disengagement.⁸¹ As Oswald indicated, this had been their practice in their other industrial ventures.⁸²

James and Andrew Buchanan and Thomas Wallace, on the other hand, had not moved into sugar-boiling as part of a conscious decision of commercial policy. They had merely inherited the holdings of their respective fathers in 1773 and before the end of the decade had disposed of the King St. Sugar House to Alexander Houston and Co.⁸³ This action ought to be contrasted with the latter company's ownership of the South Sugar House for almost half a century.⁸⁴

The glass industry in late eighteenth century West of Scotland was capitalised by a tight-knit, yet wealthy, group of Glasgow tobacco and West Indian merchants. In March, 1786, Peter Murdoch, James Gordon and James Hopkirk and James Dunlop, Thomas Donald and Andrew Houston, purchased the Glasgow Bottleworks 'at the Broomielaw'.⁸⁵ For the former three such an acquisition was a logical extension of industrial investment in another line - they were prominent partners in Murdoch, Warroch and Co., brewers in Glasgow.⁸⁶ For the others there was at once the opportunity of increasing the capacity of their existing interest in the Dumbarton Glasswork Co and at the same time the chance to absorb a competitor.⁸⁷ A month later the flint glass manufactory at Verreville came under the combine's control and a joint company with an initial capital of £12,000

81. SR0, UP Innes Durie B7/1, George Oswald to William McDowall, 17 November, 1783.

82. Ibid.

83. GCA, FF 229-32, 2 July, 1773; SR0, GD 237/143/4.

84. Vide supra, 316-7.

85. GCA, FF 171-3, 11 November, 1793.

86. SR0, Reg. of Deeds, 216/802 DAL.

87. GCA, FF, 171-3, 11 November, 1793.

was established 'for the manufacture of glass in all its branches'.⁸⁸ Until its dissolution in 1793, it was managed by John Geddes, a well known figure in the West of Scotland glass trade, with capital supplied by Dunlop, Murdoch, Hopkirk, Houston, Gordon, Robert Dunmore and Archibald Wallace.⁸⁹

As has been indicated, there were partnership links between this Glasgow firm and the flourishing Dumbarton Glasswork Co., which in 1789 paid no less than £119,000 in excise duties.⁹⁰ William and John Dixon, its proprietors, were members of the Glasgow Glasswork Co.,⁹¹ and James Dunlop and Andrew Houston of the latter had been partners in Dumbarton 'for some years previous' to 1789.⁹² In that year, the two colonial merchants held 75 per cent of the total capital of £16,000, Dunlop having $\frac{26}{40}$ (£10,400) and Houston $\frac{4}{40}$ (£1,600) of the shares.⁹³ On the dissolution of the copartnery of the Glasgow Glasswork Co. in 1793, Dumbarton purchased their premises, which, it was stated in 1798, 'at present form about a fourth part of the partners' subjects'.⁹⁴ By 1804 the Dumbarton Glasswork Co. had undertaken further horizontal integration acquiring the Greenock Bottlework Co. in 1801 for £5,510, and had integrated forwards into ownership of the Dumbarton Brewery Co.⁹⁵ It will be seen from the discussion to follow that this powerful unit, whose capital stock reached

88. SL, CSP 422/53, Answers for John Geddes ... 4.

89. Ibid., 2; SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 246/1/570 DAL.

90. Irving, *op. cit.*, 389.

91. Glasgow Journal, 30 April, 1793.

92. U.P. Currie Mack D/5/14, Memorial for the partners of the Dumbarton Glass Co. in the question with John Dunlop, 1. See also SRO R.D. 259/903 DUR, Contract of Copartnery of the Dumbarton Glasswork Co.

93. Ibid., 2. For a detailed breakdown of shares, see Appendix XIII/a.

94. Ibid., Answers for Old Dumbarton Glasswork Co. to the Petition of Gilbert Hamilton (1798), p. 33.

95. SRO, Adams Mack Misc., Bundle 22, Sederunt of the partners of Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 1804-15, pp. 9, 47, 80; SRO, PRS (Renfrew) 44/163.

£98,400 in October 1815,⁹⁶ drew much of its finance from the reserves of foreign merchants.

The likely motives for the Dunlop - Houston stake in Dumbarton can be ascertained after a consideration of the general framework of their other industrial activities. In the 1780s Andrew Houston and James Dunlop owned the Govan Colliery.⁹⁷ In addition, Dunlop himself had such important interests in other mines that he was regarded as one of the leading coalmasters in Scotland.⁹⁸ John Dixon, a member of the Dumbarton Glasswork Co. with his brother William, was in charge of operations at the Knightswood Coal Mine.⁹⁹ There were several problems in the coal trade at this time. New pits were opening in the vicinity of Glasgow; the Monkland Canal was begun in 1771 and through this the abundant coal of Old and New Monkland would eventually flow; marketing costs were increasing because of the large number of agents employed and the necessity to give long credits to customers.¹⁰⁰ Thus the prospect of narrowing markets occurred at the same time as rising costs. One answer was combination for control of both production and sales and this led to the formation of a cartel, the Glasgow Coal Company, in 1790.¹⁰¹ Both Dunlop and William Dixon were prominent members of this venture.¹⁰² Another tactic was to secure outlets for coal. It is in this context that

96. SRO Adams Mack Misc., 113.

97. SRO, Reg. of Deeds 292/758 DUR, Disposition and Assignment by James Dunlop to Andrew Houston. Vide infra, 356.

98. Vide infra, 358-61.

99. SRO, Court of Session UP 1 Currie Mack, D/5/14, Memorial for J. Dunlop ... against the Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 1.

100. Hamilton, *Economic History*, 209-10.

101. See H. Hamilton, 'Combination in the West of Scotland Coal Trade, 1790-1817', *Economic Hist.*, Vol. II (1930).

102. *Ibid.* See also B.F. Duckham, History of the Scottish Coal Industry, I, (Newton Abbot, 1970).

Dunlop's interest in the Dumbarton Glasswork Co. could be seen. In 1787 he was attempting the same operation with Clyde Company, signing 'several different agreements ... for his supplying their ironworks and blast furnaces at Fullarton with coal'.¹⁰³

On the bankruptcy of James Dunlop in 1793,¹⁰⁴ it is evident that the Dumbarton Glasswork Company was faced with credit difficulties. Dunlop himself, by 1792, owed the concern £12,747..5..8.¹⁰⁵ Moreover the original stock of the partnership - £16,000 - had turned out to be 'greatly inadequate to the extent of their business' and they had had to borrow 'large sums upon bond and otherways for enabling them to go on'.¹⁰⁶ These two problems were exacerbated by the financial crisis of 1793.¹⁰⁷ Clearly the company was encountering immense problems. The holder of three-quarters of the capital had gone bankrupt and overdrawn over £12,000 on the company's account. Family relationship and colonial capital came to the rescue. On Dunlop's bankruptcy his $\frac{26}{40}$ shares in Dumbarton passed to Andrew Houston and the other solvent partners. They found it 'convenient and necessary to assume into the said concern in place of the said James Dunlop, a new responsible partner whose credit may be interposed for security of the debts owing by the said Company'.¹⁰⁸ The 'new responsible partner' was Alexander Houston of Edinglassie, later of Clerkington, son

103. SRO, R.D 260/358 DUR, Contract, James Dunlop and Thomas Edington.

104. Scots Magazine, LV (1793), 156: list of bankrupts for March, 1793; SRO, U.P. 1 Currie Mack D.6/1 (1797), Petition to the Lords of Session by G. Hamilton, 1 "On March 23, 1793, the estates real and personal of J. Dunlop were sequestrated by the late Lord Ellick." "

105. SRO, U.P. 1 Currie Mack D/5/14, Memorial of the Partners of the Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 6-7.

106. Ibid., 11-12.

107. For this see Forbes, op. cit., 77; SRO. GD237/151/3, Will. McDowall to Arch. Ted, 2 November, 1794; Hamilton, Economic History, 333-4.

108. SRO, RD 276/244 DUR, Articles of Agreement between Messrs. Houston and Dixon.

of Alexander Houston, the great Glasgow West India merchant, and inheritor, as a younger son, of some of his wealth.¹⁰⁹ He himself may well have been engaged in the West India trade; certainly in the 1790s he was Lieutenant-Governor of Grenada.¹¹⁰ In consideration of 'the advantage afforded to the Company by the said Alexander Houston interposing his credit for the debts presently owing to them', he was given twenty-two of the $\frac{26}{40}$ shares formerly held by Dunlop.¹¹¹ This was done from 31 December, 1792. The partners determined obviously to avert disaster as speedily as possible, they thus acted three months before Dunlop's bankruptcy was officially declared.¹¹²

The involvement of Houston seems to have been a success. Probing the reasons, four years later, for their solvency during the depression, the Company's lawyer pointed to the additional security afforded by 'a gentleman of undoubted responsibility, Mr. Alexander Houston'.¹¹³ Concentration of capital in the latter's hands increased in July, 1798, when two years before his death, Andrew Houston 'having occasion for money in his private affairs' decided to dispose of his $\frac{4}{40}$ share and offered them to his brother Alexander; 'to accommodate' him, Alexander accepted.¹¹⁴

For the whole of the period until October 1815, merchant capital was a crucial support to the Dumbarton Glasswork Company and its important

109. Ibid., SRO Adams Mack, Misc., Bundle 22, Day Book of Dumbarton Glasswork Co. (1793-1803), 41.

110. SRO, RD 271/583 DUR., Commission, Alex. Houston to John Campbell, Matriculation Albums, Matric No. 4411.

111. SRO, RD 276/244 DUR, Articles of Agreement between Messrs. Houston and Dixon.

112. Ibid., SL, Session Paper 369/3, p. 8.

113. SRO, U.P. 1 Currie Mack, D/5/14, Answers for Gilbert Hamilton to the Petition of the Solvent Partners of Old Dumbarton Glasswork Co., June 28, 1797.

114. SRO, Adams Mack Misc., 22, Day Book of Dumbarton Glasswork Company (1793-1803), p. 41.

subsidiaries. Until 1804, merchants or the heirs of mercantile fortunes controlled between seventy five per cent and fifty per cent of the capital stock. In the remaining period, their share oscillated between one-third and one-half.¹¹⁵ Although Alexander Houston, when not residing in Grenada, lived in Edinburgh, he did not conform to the conventional image of the absentee sleeping partner. When in 1795 he was about to set out for Grenada, he appointed John Campbell, Receiver General of His Majesty's Customs to supervise his interests in the Dumbarton Company and in the Knightswood Coal Company.¹¹⁶ In February, 1802, before setting out from London for a prolonged stay of several months, he expressed concern over the fact that the Company's books were not yet balanced for 1801. He thought it proper,

to prevent disputes in case of the death of any of the partners of the Company can meet, to examine and doquet the Balance Sheet, that a sum should in the meantime be agreed on as the probable profits to regulate the footing on which a deceasing or bankrupt partner should retire from the Company. 117

Houston suggested a sum of £8,000 and recommended that a meeting of the Company be called. The holder of two-thirds of the Company's stock could not be ignored; everything was done exactly as he suggested.¹¹⁸ A year later he proposed the doubling of the amounts carried to the accounts of different partners. Again this was agreed to.¹¹⁹ The sleeping partner took little part in the day-to-day running of the Company - this is by definition - yet where he chose to intervene and guide the general financial strategy of the concern, his work, as majority shareholder, would seem to have been law.

115. For details on this see Appendix XIII/A.

116. SRO, RD. 271/583 DUR, Commission, Alexander Houston to John Campbell.

117. SRO, Adams Mack, Misc. 22, Day Book, p. 65, Minute of Meeting of Company, 25 February, 1802.

118. SRO, Adams Mack Misc. 22, Day Book, 65, Minute of Meeting of Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 25 February, 1802.

119. Ibid., 73.

II

Consideration of mercantile involvement in the iron industry can fruitfully be looked at under two headings. Firstly, investment in units specialising in the processing of malleable iron can be examined. Then an investigation can be carried out of the degree of mercantile interest in the various pig-iron firms which developed after the foundation of Wilsontown in 1779.

Of the three relatively small malleable ironworks in operation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Scotland, the two West of Scotland units - Smithfield and Dalnottar - enjoyed extensive mercantile patronage. The Smithfield Company had its origins in 1734 when 'a number of merchants' had a small slitting mill erected on the banks of the River Kelvin to manufacture those metal articles consistently in demand in Glasgow's developing colonial commerce viz. 'nails, adzes, axes, hoes, spades, shovels, chisels, hammers, bellows, and anvils'.¹ Such materials were the essential tools for the effective exploitation of a Caribbean sugar estate or a Virginian tobacco plantation and by the foundation of this enterprise those concerned could maintain a regular source of supply at their home port. Evidence of the membership of the concern is negligible between the 1740s and early 1780s though Alexander Speirs was a full partner, at least from 1773. At that date he had £1,475.13.4 in the capital stock, in 1780 £2,855 'both in stock and discounted bills', and at his death in 1783, £1,550.² His share then passed to his son Archibald.³ In 1784, William Robertson, the manager of the company assumed his brother John and Robert Bogle, two wealthy West Indian merchants, as

1. Brown, *op. cit.*, III, 286; Glasgow Mercury, 8 June, 1786.

2. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD 131/4/25; TD 131/5/29.

3. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD 131/5/81

partners. Later the third Robertson brother joined.⁴

Access to capital, apart from the personal resources of the partners, thus seemed guaranteed. Alexander Speirs was a major shareholder in the Glasgow Arms Bank (Speirs, Murdoch and Co.) having in January, 1783, £13,347..10..8 in its stock.⁵ John Robertson was cashier and principal partner of the same bank and his brother James was cashier to the Glasgow Merchants Bank.⁶ In 1785 three other tobacco merchants entered the Smithfield copartnership. These were James Ritchie, George Oswald and James Dennistoun.⁷ By 1793, however, their names had disappeared from the company's partnership agreement and when 'the concern carried on under the firm of William Robertson and Co.' was dissolved in 1804, the remaining members were William and John Robertson and George Bogle.⁸

In November, 1769, Ilay Campbell of Succoth, Advocate and Member of Parliament for Glasgow Burghs feued to three Glasgow tobacco merchants, George and Peter Murdoch and William Cunninghame and two others 'part of the lands of Dalnottar'.⁹ In this area the five original partners intended to set up a concern for 'the manufacturing of hoes, bills, axes, spades, rails, hinges, anchors, belts and every other kind or species of iron ware also of making of Barr, plate and red iron barr steel of the different kinds and all manner of steelwork'.¹⁰ All this was to be done with a capital stock of £6,000.¹¹ Once again there is apparent here the

4. Glasgow Mercury, 1 July, 1784.

5. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD 131/5/30.

6. Stewart, op. cit., 145-9; Glasgow Mercury, 1 December, 1785.

7. Glasgow Mercury, 1 December, 1785.

8. SRO, GD 237/151/3 (Copy) Continuation of Copartnership among the partners of Muirkirk Co. (1793); Glasgow Courier, July 3, 1904.

9. G. Thompson examined this concern in 'The Dalnottar Iron Co.' SHR, XXV (1956) but since the author has utilised material unexamined by Dr. Thompson all references regarding the company are to original sources. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/15/7460, Contract of Copartnership betwixt the Glasgow Iron and Steel Manufactory.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

classic alliance of mercantile capital and technical skill. The two other persons listed in the copartnership agreement were George Hudson and James King who had had much experience in steel making in the North of England.¹² Throughout its forty-four years of existence, until in 1813, the buildings of the company were purchased by William Dunn, cotton-spinner, its capital stock was almost entirely in the hands of persons involved in the colonial trades.¹³

Less than a year after its establishment, James Gordon and George Kippen were added to the copartnership and at that point Glasgow merchants held seventy-five per cent of the capital. The manager, George Hudson, owned one-tenth of the stock.¹⁴ In 1773 Robert Dunmore, at that time cementing useful connections with the firm's wealthiest partner, William Cunninghame, was assumed a member.¹⁵ Changes took place in 1787-88 when Cunninghame himself, 'partly from a desire to withdraw from all trading concerns and partly because he did not approve of the plans of trade proposed by the partners of the Company' decided to give up his share.¹⁶ In the meantime George Kippen had died and the decision was taken to dissolve the copartnership in August, 1787; a new company was formed in March of the following year consisting of the partners of the 'old Dalnottar concern' together with Neil Jamieson and James McDowall and a new manager John Gillies.¹⁷

12. Ibid.

13. NSA, VIII, 26.

14. SL, CSP 180/8, Answers for Mrs. Margaret Cranstoun ... Jan 3, 1800, Appendix II, 4-5.

15. SL, CSP 409/22, Petition of Messrs. Murdoch, Gillies and Co., 20 November, 1799, 1. For Dunmore and Cunninghame's later association see SRO, GD 247/140, Dunmore - Cunninghame Correspondence.

16. SL, CSP 180/8, Answers for Mrs. Margaret Cranstoun ... Jan. 3, 1800, 4.

17. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 249/829 DUR, Contract of Copartnership of Messrs Gordon, Gillies and Co; SL, CSP 409/22, Petition of Messrs Gordon, Gillies and Co.

Relations between McDowall and Jamieson were nothing if not cordial. James had married Jamieson's daughter, Fenella, in August 1782, and had written to his father-in-law, who by this time resided in London, informing him that he, McDowall, had an offer to be taken on as a partner in the Dalnottar Co. He added that the venture had been strongly recommended to him as 'a good safe business' and 'one hundred per cent for the money'.¹⁸ After McDowall had made further enquiries, Jamieson furnished him £2,000 on bond, to put into the Company stock since he (Jamieson) had 'some knowledge' of the other partner. He particularly referred to James Gordon who had been his 'former partner with John Glassford in the tobacco trade to North America.'¹⁹ Because Jamieson resided in London, James McDowall was appointed his factor and attorney.²⁰ This is an interesting example of eighteenth century commercial relationships functioning very much on the basis of family ties and personal friendships. By such means the merchant might hope to protect himself from dishonesty in a period of high risk in commercial transactions and inevitably lengthy legal processes for debt recovery.

With an increased capital stock of £12,000 (double the original subscription of 1769) the company functioned fairly smoothly, despite the depression of 1793, until the bankruptcy of Peter Murdoch in 1797. At that date the copartnery was still composed of Neil Jamieson, James Gordon, Robert Dunmore, James McDowall, James Murdoch and John Gillies.²¹ The following year, Dunmore's estate was sequestrated and by 1800 only

18. Gourlay, *op. cit.*, 104, n.4; SRO, GD 237/151/3, Neil Jamieson to Archibald Tod, 21 October, 1793.

19. SRO, GD 237/151/3, Neil Jamieson to Arch. Tod, 21 October, 1793.

20. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 251/2/420 DUR.

21. GCA, B.10/5/9342, Submission betwixt Dalnottar Co. and Creditors of Dunlop, Paterson and Murdoch, 5 August, 1797.

James McDowall, James Gordon and Gillies remained.²² In that year the works were acquired by the firm of Dennistouns, Macnair and Tassie in which, of the five partners, two, Richard and Robert Dennistoun, were West India merchants.²³ From 1808 until the sale of the fixed property of the Dalnottar Co. in 1813 to Dunn, the Dennistoun brothers and Colin McLachlan were the sole remaining partners.²⁴

Between 1770 and 1815, nine separate pig-iron companies were founded in Scotland with a total furnace capacity which rose from 4,000 tons in 1780 to 32,000 in 1813.²⁵

TABLE 32

Foundation of Scottish Pig Iron Firms, 1779-1801

Wilsontown	...	1779
Clyde	...	1784
Muirkirk	...	1787
Omoa	...	1787
Devon	...	1792
Glenbuck	...	1795
Calder	...	1800
Shotts	...	1801
Balgonie (Leven)		1801

Here it is intended to assess the impact of colonial merchant capital on these nine concerns. Certain points can be made immediately. Six of the nine fall out of the reckoning because no direct contact between them and partnership involvement by Glasgow merchants has been discovered.

22. SL, CSP 368/12, Answers for Arch. Newbigging ... 20.

23. SR0, BCP, I, 65, 933, Bill of Advocation for Lord Blantyre and the Dalnottar Iron Co. (1809).

24. GCA, B.10/5/9944, Subtack betwixt the Dalnottar Co. and Joseph Comb, 23 April, 1808; B.10/5/10244, Bond by Dennistouns and McLachlan, 19 December, 1811.

25. See generally, J. Butt, 'The Scottish Iron Industry before the Hot-Blast', Journ. of West of Scotland Iron and Steel Inst. (1966-7).

Wilsontown was founded by Robert, John and William Wilson in 1779. The brothers were London merchants involved in the iron trade to Sweden and although Robert retired in 1785 and William was bought out in 1797, the third brother John held control for most of our period.²⁶ One must be less definite on the internal structure of the Omea Company between its foundation in 1787 and 1796. However, less doubt remains on the membership of the enterprise after 1796: from that year possession passed into the hands of Colonel William Dalrymple, the local landed proprietor,²⁷ and from him to Messrs. Francis and John Anderson.

From 1793 until 1805 Glenbuck Ironworks in Ayrshire were capitalised by John Rumney and Co. of Workington and when financial difficulties began to occur in 1805, Rumney lost control to a more powerful partnership group.²⁸ All the members of this group come from south of the Border and ranged from Joseph Dixon, merchant at Whitehaven to John Askew member of a shipbuilding firm at Workington.²⁹ Until the Company's assets were sequestered in 1813, they held control.³⁰ Calder and Co., formed in 1800 was until 1803 financed by two Glasgow merchants, Alexander and David Allan, neither of whom had any connection with the colonial trades, and James Burns and David Mushet.³¹ In 1804 the ironworks were sold to John Gillies who appears to have been acting for Messrs William Dixon and William Creelman of the Calder

26. J. Butt and I.L. Donnachie, 'The Wilsons of Wilsontown: a Study in Entrepreneurial Failure', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, 2nd ser., IV (1967), 150-168.

27. OSA, XV, 60; SRO, RH/15/1925, Ledger of Omea Ironworks.

28. SRO, EP, Decree exonerating John Slean, Trustee for Glenbuck Iron Co., 7 July, 1821.

29. SRO, Currie Mack, Sequestrations G1/35, 1814.

30. Ibid.; for the history of the company, 1795-1813 see J. Butt, 'Glenbuck Ironworks', Ayrshire Collections, VIII (1967-9) 68-75.

31. Hamilton, Industrial Revolution, 173.

Coal Co.³² Balgonie, in Fife, attracted English capital from the Team Ironworks, Newcastle and Scottish funds from the Leith Walk Iron Foundry. Although the assets of the concern were sequestrated in 1803, subsequent partnership groupings until 1814, when the works were closed, show no sign of colonial merchant interest. Ownership of shares fluctuated between Newcastle, Edinburgh and London interests.³³

Some degree of merchant involvement was however noted in the three remaining iron works, Clyde, Muirkirk and Shotts. It seems unlikely that there was any mercantile interest in the Clyde Iron Company, when it was founded by Thomas Edington, in partnership with John Mackenzie, a landowner from Ross-shire. Of the £6,000 capital divided into twenty-four parts, Cadell held eighteen parts and Mackenzie six.³⁴ However, at some period between then and 1790 the powerful financial interests of James Dunlop entered the copartnery. It would appear that such an investment was an attempt to create ever more secure outlets for his expanding coal-mining operations.³⁵ A year after the original contract was signed James Dunlop was assumed as a partner and the existing 'agreements formerly entered into between the said James Dunlop and the said Company for his supplying their ironworks and blast furnaces at Fullarton with Coal' were further formalised and extended to Dunlop's benefit.³⁶ The latter agreed to,

supply whatever coals may be required by the said Co. for one or more blast furnaces and their iron manufacturing and not less than 20,000 tons of coal yearly from his coalworks at Fullarton, over and nether Carmyle, Hutcheston, Bogleshold, Tollcross and Sandyhills.

32. Andrew Miller, The Rise and Progress of Coatbridge (Coatbridge, 1864) 104.

33. SR0., Leven and Melville Muniments, GD 26/810.

34. Hamilton, Industrial Revolution, 166. Miss Robertson's statement that 'The Dunlop family ... founded the Clyde Ironworks in 1786' (loc. cit., 130) is thus inaccurate.

35. Vide supra, 335; infra 358-61.

36. SR0, Reg. of Deeds, 260/358 DUR, Contract, James Dunlop and Thos. Edington.

At the same time Dunlop was 'to furnish the said Co. with ironstone'.³⁷ Dunlop reciprocated in kind by disposing to the Clyde Iron Co. the corn and lint mills which he owned adjacent to their works at Carmyle in the parish of Old Monkland. He also conveyed to the ironworks in March, 1790 part of his lands at Fullerton with the all important proviso that Dunlop was to be left the freedom to use and mine all mineral deposits on these lands.³⁸

It is impossible to tell when contractual relations between Dunlop and the other partners of the ironworks ended. Certainly in 1791 he still had close relations with the concern,³⁹ but on his bankruptcy in 1793 there is no mention of his having any share in it.⁴⁰ The connection between the Dunlop family and Clyde was not wholly terminated, however; in 1810 James's son, Colin, purchased the ironworks and proceeded to supply pig-iron to Carron, London and the American market.⁴¹

Perhaps the only pig-iron manufacturing unit in Scotland, in this period which was predominantly capitalised by colonial merchants was the Muirkirk Company, founded in 1781. The establishment of this firm was perhaps the result of a determination on the part of the partners of the malleable ironworks at Smithfield, Dalnottar and Cramond to acquire a firm supply of cheap bar-iron at a time when Swedish and Russian prices were rising.⁴²

37. Ibid.

38. SR0, PRS (Lanarks.) 29/306; PRS (Lanarks.) 29/306; Reg. of Deeds, 260/371, DUR, Deed Explanatory and Additional to a former contract, James Dunlop and Thomas Edington.

39. SR0, GRS, 577/156.

40. GCA, Mitchell, Johnston Collection, account of assets and debts of J. Dunlop, 23 March, 1793.

41. Proceedings of the Regality Club, 2nd ser. (Glasgow, 1893), 148; SR0, 1 Currie Dal, C/11/19, Clyde Ironworks versus Colin Dunlop.

42. J.R. Hume and J. Butt, 'Muirkirk 1786-1802, the Creation of a Scottish Industrial Community', SHR XLV (1960), 166.

Apart from Thomas Edington and William Cadell of Cramond Co., and John Gillies, manager at Dalnottar, the Company's capital was subscribed by the colonial merchants who already controlled Dalnottar and Smithfield.⁴³ The setting up of the Muirkirk copartnery coincided with an expansion of Dalnottar Co. after James McDowall and Neil Jamieson entered the latter concern. Perhaps Dalnottar's existing partners realised the necessity for a widening of their capital base when they were preparing for a more ambitious venture.⁴⁴ Smithfield and Dalnottar together took a five-eighths share of the capital with the remaining three-eighths being taken up by the Cramond partners.⁴⁵ Clearly this was not a 'separate' industrial activity of the merchants concerned, rather it was an extension of their main aim: to supply cheap ironware to colonial customers. Yet their establishment of Muirkirk affords yet another example of a process which has consistently been noted throughout this chapter. Merchant interest, once established in a particular industrial sector could easily broaden out into other lines with, as a major aim, the encouragement and protection of the initial investment.

Colonial merchant participation on one other pig-iron producing firm can be traced here. In April, 1804, the Shotts Iron Co. found it necessary to open a credit account with the Royal Bank of Scotland for £1,000.⁴⁶ This was a general reflection of a need for working capital in a period when the firm was undergoing considerable extension in capacity. This need became more pressing and the partners pleaded, in a later law suit

43. SRO, GD 237/151/3, Contract of Copartnery of Muirkirk Iron Co. For Cramond Co. see B.C. Skinner, The Cramond Company (Edinburgh, 1965), 65.

44. SRO, GD 237/151/3, Neil Jamieson to Arch. Tod, 21 October, 1793; Reg. of Deeds, 249/829 DUR, Contract of Copartnery of Messrs. Gordon, Gillies and Co.

45. SRO, GD 237/151/3, Contract of Copartnery of Muirkirk Iron Co.

46. SL, CSP 239/17, Information Hugh Baird and Robert Baird against Walter Logan and Others, October 8, 1814, 8.

that at this juncture 'they only wanted capital to enable them successfully to conduct their trade on the extended scale to which it had been advanced.'⁴⁷ Recourse to the banks over long terms was regarded as inadvisable and, since none of the persons within the copartnership could supply the necessary finance from their own resources it was agreed that two of the partners, after having been allowed a 'fair consideration', ought to retire from the firm in order to make room for wealthier associates.⁴⁸ Thus Hugh and Robert Baird gave up their shares and were replaced by two new partners 'of great wealth' - Robert Bogle of Gilmorhill and John Blackburn, two merchants primarily interested in the West Indies trade.⁴⁹ These men were assumed into the copartnership from 5 January, 1810. There could be no more striking example of the attraction of rich colonial merchants for capital-hungry industrialists.

The widespread penetration into landowning by Glasgow merchants in colonial trade is discussed at length in Chapter Nine. Where mineral resources allowed - and ownership of mineral bearing land was likely as most estates bestrode the rich seams of the Western coalfield - mining was often undertaken.⁵⁰ Several estates owned by merchants were well known for their extensive coal measures. Alexander Houston's lands at Jordanhill bequeathed to his son Andrew and sold to the West India merchant Archibald Smith in 1801 was 'full of coal'.⁵¹ Robert Houston Rae's valuable inheritance from his grandfather, Colin Rae, included the estate of Little Govan whose mineral resources were already being tapped by the Govan Coal Co.⁵² Hagtonhill, owned by another member of the co-

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Old Glasgow Exhibition, 144

50. Vide infra, 421.

51. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TD 1/38/27, George Oswald to Arch. Smith, 23 December, 1800.

52. SR0, UP 1 Adams Mack, S/15/106, Information for James Macnair 3; PP, Report of Select Committee on Mr. McDowall's Petition, April, 1800, 428.

partnership of Alex. Houston and Co., James McDowall, had three main seams, 'Biddie, Main and Soft' and on Richard Allan's lands of Barnelland, Fluchter and Langlee, lying about six miles from Glasgow, there was 'plenty of coal and lime'.⁵³ Two of Robert Dunmore's estates in Stirlingshire 'afforded plenty of coal and lime, and are most advantageously placed for an extensive sale of these commodities'.⁵⁴ The adjoining estates of Dalbeth and Easterhill in the barony of Glasgow, held by Thomas Hopkirk and Archibald Smellie respectively, had proved fruitful areas for mining throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁵

The extent to which such resources were exploited by mercantile landowners themselves or were leased to persons experienced in the extraction industries - an option which would cut the risks inherent in any eighteenth century mining activity⁵⁶ - is very much an open question. Certainly personal exploitation was not inevitable. Alexander Speirs's son, Archibald, having had 'information' that 'it was supposed a considerable bed of workable coal might exist' in the estate of Elderslie cautiously granted a coal-tack to the Knightswood Coal Co. for 'the coal in the lands of Elderslie and of the park of Overtown'.⁵⁷ It was agreed that a rental of £115 per annum would be paid Speirs throughout the tenure of the tack. Speirs's decision to go for the more secure, if less lucrative rental, paid off. Although the Coal Co., expended over £1,000 by erecting a steam engine, building a new engine house and sinking a new pit it 'found ...

53. Glasgow Mercury, 30 October, 1782; 1 August, 1796.

54. Ibid., 19 January, 1796.

55. Old Country Houses, xxxii, xxxvii; GCA, Mitchell Johnson Collection, 91, Disposition by John Dunlop in favour of Thos. Edington (1795).

56. Duckham, op. cit.,

57. SL, CSP 374/5, Petition of Andrew Houston esq. of Jordanhill and Others ... 2.

little coal there and that so difficult to work'.⁵⁸ Four years after the granting of the tack, Speirs was advertising it anew in the Glasgow press.⁵⁹

There must have been several merchants, like Speirs, who, although owning coal-bearing estates, transferred the burden of the extraction of the mineral and the consequent risks involved to second parties. Equally, however, important examples have been traced of merchant-landowners engaging in the coal industry in a more positive sense and their experience will be examined here.

In general terms there were two basic stimuli encouraging colonial merchants to invest in coal-mining. It might be undertaken as part of the general exploitation of a landed estate - an offshoot of a desire to maximise income from what was yet another of a merchant's assets. Secondly, the network of industrial units in which a merchant was already involved might encourage investment in mineral exploitation. Glassworks, breweries, sugar-houses - in all of which colonial merchant interest has already been detected - required considerable amounts of coal.⁶⁰ By integrating backwards into the supply of this fuel, considerable economies might be effected. This would be especially so in the period of rising coal prices, which preceded the opening of the Monkland Canal in 1792 and which saw attempts at price-fixing by Glasgow's more prominent coal-masters.⁶¹

Both of these forces can be seen working in varying degrees between 1770 and 1815. Thomas Hopkirk personally worked the coal on his lands of Dalbeth.⁶² William McDowall III was associated with another Renfrew-

58. Ibid., 3-4.

59. Glasgow Courier, 2 January, 1794.

60. Robert Bald, A General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1808), 23.

61. Hamilton, Economic History, 208-11; 'Combination in the West of Scotland Coal Trade 1790-1817', Econ. Hist., II (1930).

62. GCA, Dunlop Papers, Disposition by John Dunlop in favour of Thos. Edington (1795).

shire landowner, George Houston of Johnstone, in mining and in cotton-spinning.⁶³ Archibald Smellie 'wrought extensively the coal on his estate of Easterhill'.⁶⁴ Andrew Stirling, scion of a family who had waxed rich in the colonial trades and had purchased the estate of Drumpellier in 1777 was another who exploited his own lands for their mineral content.⁶⁵ As the majority shareholder in the Monkland Canal completed in 1793, and as the owner of an estate which bestrode the extraordinarily rich Monklands coalfield, Stirling had the capital and the motivation to exploit the mineral resources of his own lands. The 'Monkland Coal Co.' was formed in 1798 with an initial capital of £3,500 to work the coal on Stirling's estates at Faskine and Colliertree.⁶⁶ He himself had previously been sole proprietor of these two collieries;

and of the whole machinery and utensils thereto belonging, and of the gin, horses made use in raising the coal from the pits and of the boats made use of for carrying the said Coal along the Monkland Canal.

He had also 'expended considerable sums' in bringing the two pits to their present productive capacity but since 'he could not give his full time to them' he had decided on the formation of a Company.⁶⁷ At all events, Stirling still held overall control with $\frac{4}{7}$ part of the capital with John Cross, a Glasgow merchant involved in the West Indies trade, retaining $\frac{1}{7}$ of the £3,500 and two others, Alexander Hunter and Robert Rainey, the remaining two-sevenths.⁶⁸

63. NLS, ACC 2346, Letter-Book of Trust winding up Alex. Houston and Co., J.R. to George Houston, 30 May, 1807.

64. Old Country Houses, xxvii

65. Stewart, op. cit., 125-7.

66. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/9695, Contract of Copartnership among Andrew Stirling and Others.

67. Ibid.; Stirling still had interests in colonial trade, SRO, E.504/15/33 (Greenock).

68. Ibid.; SRO, CE 60/1/10, Collector to Board of Customs and Excise, 4 February, 1778.

Glasgow colonial merchants were also instrumental in the financing and establishment of the various coal companies which proliferated at this time. William French had a fifty per cent interest in the concern which operated the 'coal-work' at Easter Barrachney lying about three miles from Glasgow.⁶⁹ After October, 1793 the Sandyhill and Camlachie Coal Works, formerly mainly owned by James Dunlop, was carried on by a copartnership which included James Dennistoun sen. and his son.⁷⁰ In 1800 Viscount George Fincastle granted a tack to the Dunmore Coal Co. to work a mine on his estate at Elphinston in Fife.⁷¹ In addition to Fincastle himself, the partners were James Dennistoun, Gilbert Hamilton, James Dennistoun jun. and Archibald Wallace. Matthew Young, the manager and Robert Gray of Westmuir, a Glasgow coalmaster of high reputation, completed the copartnership.⁷² The Dennistouns' contribution would appear to have been wholly in the realms of finance.

It was in their penetration of the West of Scotland coal trade however that Glasgow colonial merchants lent their most dynamic contribution to the growth of the extractive industries in the later eighteenth century. The Gorbals-Govan area near Glasgow was said in 1793 to 'abound with coal'.⁷³ The Govan Collieries had been extensively worked since the time of the Restoration and in the period 1714-1731 when they belonged to the Town, the Trades' House and Hutcheson's Hospital, Robert Dreghorn, tradesman of the collieries was extracting almost 20,000 'loads' of coal annually.⁷⁴ The

69. Glasgow Mercury, 10 October, 1787.

70. Ibid., 15 October, 1793.

71. Glasgow Herald, 25 July, 1808.

72. Ibid., 8 April, 1808.

73. OSA, V, 540.

74. James Cleland, Statistical and Population Tables relating to the City of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1828), 186, 189; J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (London, 1932), II, 50.

parish minister reported in some wonder in 1793 that,

It is thought that there is such a quantity of coals in the colliery as would of itself serve the city of Glasgow for 100 years to come. 75

As the eighteenth century progressed Glasgow's prosperity, producing industries such as rope and cardage works, hardware, soap, glass, porcelain and earthenware manufactories, created an ever growing demand for fuel. To this industrial demand was added that of the domestic consumer.⁷⁶ The public institutions controlling the Govan coalfield could not be expected to possess either the initiative or the necessary capital to respond to these stimuli.⁷⁷ Penetration of this structure took place by means of an injection of merchant capital.

In June 1768 a coal tack was granted by the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, the patron and preceptor of Hutcheson's Hospital and the Trades House of Glasgow to Colin Dunlop and Alexander Houston on the one hand and Gabriel Gray and James McNair on the other.⁷⁸ Apparently the coal-heughs in the area were lying dormant at the time but Dunlop, Houston and their two partners, Gray and McNair, took advantage of the rising demand to take out a tack at a rental of £100 per annum.⁷⁹ Here was repeated the linkage between capital and skill; McNair declared in 1776 that he was 'perfectly well acquainted with the business of coal-working ... which he had been accustomed from his earliest years'.⁸⁰

75. O.S.A., V, 540.

76. Hamilton, *Economic History*, 186; Duckham, *op. cit.*,

77. For the conservatism of Trades House, Hutcheson's Hospital see J.R. Kellett, 'Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow, 1783-1830,' *S.J.P.E.*, Vol. VIII (1961).

78. SR0, RD. 259/809 DUR, Bond of co-partnery betwixt Dunlop, Houston (1793)

79. SR0, Court of Session B.C.P. I, 29,063, Answers for James McNair of Greenfield to the Bill of Advocation presented for Colin Dunlop and Son, p.1.

80. Ibid.

This venture was only a beginning. The tack of the coal of Knightswood was granted to the same copartnery in April of the following year.⁸¹ At the same time Hugh Spreul Crawford granted them a tack of the coal in the lands of Cloberhill and Drumchapel in Dunbartonshire.⁸² Marriage relationship had also helped to secure the coal in the lands of little Govan for the Houston-Dunlop combine. Alexander Houston had married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Bae of Little Govan.⁸³ By an agreement of 22 March, 1764, Colin Bae, the latter's son, allowed Houston and Colin Dunlop the use of 'the whole coal, coal seams and coal-pits or shafts of whatever kind' in Little Govan.⁸⁴ Further expansion took place when, in 1770, a coal-tack of the lands of Corsehill were acquired and more importantly when Alexander Houston granted the company a coal tack of Jordanhill in 1773.⁸⁵

About this time, Colin's son, James, joined the partnership. Colin and James held one-half of the capital between them; Alexander Houston contributed the other half. Both McNair and Gray had dropped out.⁸⁶ The Little Govan Coalworks and the Knightswood Coalworks were 'the principal objects' of the company⁸⁷ and investment in fixed capital had taken place at these two major undertakings. Several fine engines had been installed and waggonways built for transporting their coal to the quays since

81. SRO, R.D. 259/869 DUR, Bond of Co-Partnery betwixt Messrs. Dunlop and Houston (1793).

82. Ibid.

83. Stewart, op. cit., 223.

84. SRO, R.D. 292/758 DUR, Disposition and Assignation of James Dunlop to Andrew Houston.

85. SRO, R.D. 259/869 DUR, Bond of Co-Partnery, Messrs. Dunlop and Houston (1793).

86. Ibid., Gray had sold his $\frac{1}{4}$ share to McNair who had later died. See SRO, B.C. I, 29,063, Bill of Advoc. for C. Dunlop and Sons, p. 1.

87. Ibid.

Irish demand was an important element in the West of Scotland coal trade.⁸⁸ Yet the benefits of plentiful sources for investment were balanced, to some extent, by the near monopoly which the Company was establishing. James McNair of Greenfield, the son of one of the former partners in the venture, pointed out in a Court of Session action that the Company had not made use of the 1768 tack of the Gorbals coal. They had merely purchased it because 'it might be hurtful to their interest to have that coal wrought in their neighbourhood by a stranger.'⁸⁹ McNair put it succinctly:

Dunlop and Houston had taken the lease of the Gorbals coal with the view of locking it up entirely as a dead weight in order that it might not be wrought to the prejudice of the monopoly they were labouring to establish. 90

Since McNair was opposing Dunlop and Sons in the action cited, it is difficult to estimate the degree of truth in these allegations. Clearly the Dunlop-Houston combine had something approaching a natural monopoly in the Glasgow area before the opening of the Monkland Canal in 1792;⁹¹ they may well have taken steps to see that this was not infringed.⁹² The wealth of colonial merchants so far outdistanced that of most rivals that it could be used to stabilise and re-inforce the economic status quo. Merchants and entrepreneurs, then as now were in business for profit: individual gain

88. Ibid., SRO, Board of Customs and Excise, C.E. 60/1/8, Account of the Admeasuring of Waggons and other carriages used in the shipping of coals for exportation or coastwise within the port of Port Glasgow, June, 1776; Cullen, op. cit.

89. SRO, B.C. I, 29,063, Bill of Advocation for Messrs. Colin Dunlop and Sons, p. 2.

90. Ibid., Answers for James McNair ... p.2.

91. The other coalfields around Glasgow, as will appear, were almost all capitalised by Glasgow colonial merchants; Vide infra,

92. In the future James Dunlop and William Dixon, manager of Govan, were to be the leading lights (together with Robert Gray of Westmuir Colliery) in the Glasgow Coal Co., the Glasgow Coalowners' cartel of the 1790s; see SRO, R.D. 292/758 DUR.

did not always equal general economic good. In fairness, however, it would appear that the Govan-Knightswood complexes had benefitted from untypically large investment in fixed capital. The company may simply have been taking steps to protect this.

After the deaths of Colin Dunlop and Alexander Houston, their eldest sons, James and Andrew respectively, carried on from where their fathers had left off.⁹³ Dunlop's bankruptcy in 1793 prompted Houston to attempt to obtain full ownership. He made payment 'at sundry times', from December, 1794, to John Dunlop and Gilbert Hamilton, Dunlop's trustees. Eventually he had paid £10,700 and acquired Dunlop's share.⁹⁴ On his death his share was taken up by his son, Hugh⁹⁵

In 1792, Robert Houston Rae, Andrew's brother, purchased the coal in the lands of Polmadie from James McNair for £5,850. £1,000 was to be paid down and the remainder was to be supplied in yearly instalments.⁹⁶ Family and merchant control over Glasgow's collieries was thus further extended when, in July 1794, an agreement was entered into between Andrew Houston and Robert to form a company which was to last for eighty years.⁹⁷ Not only were they brothers, but were both partners in Alex. Houston and Co.⁹⁸ Further, Andrew Houston had interests in the Dumbarton Glasswork Co;⁹⁹ the

93. Glasgow Courier, May 15, 1794.

94. SRO, R.D. 292/758 DUR, Disposition and Assignment by James Dunlop to Andrew Houston.

95. NLS, ACC.2346, J.R. to William Lindsay, 14 April, 1807.

96. SRO, Court of Session U.P. 1 Adams Mack S/15/106, Information for James McNair of Greenfield against the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, 13 October, 1808, p. 3.

97. Ibid.

98. SRO, GD 237/139;

99. Vide supra, 335.

In 1792 Dunlop and Houston obtained Wellcroft and Stirlingfold (27 acres) in the Gorbals for mineral development at a yearly feu of £258. The purchase was made on behalf of the Dumbarton Glasswork Co. Abstract of the Rules and Regulations by which Hutcheson's Hospital is governed (Glasgow, 1800), p. 57.

partners of Alex. Houston and Co. were extensively involved in Glasgow's sugar-houses.¹⁰⁰ Both activities needed coal. The agreement signed by Andrew and Robert specified that the company was to be entitled the Govan Coal Company and that Robert was to contribute the Polmadie coal as part of his stock.¹⁰¹

Andrew Houston's son, Hugh, disposed of his father's share in the late 1790s to William McDowall, James McDowall and Robert Houston Rae, Andrew's fellow-partners in Alexander Houston and Co.¹⁰² In 1800 the Govan Colliery was valued at £20,500 and the value of the Little Govan Estate, belonging to Rae, topped the £83,000 mark.¹⁰³ The latter's industrial and agricultural interests were complementary. He had succeeded through his mother, daughter of Colin Rae of Little Govan, to the estate and his coal-mining interests can be seen as an effective attempt to exploit the total assets of his lands. Mineral extraction would fit itself suitably into the dominant agricultural economy of the estate. Miners' families could work on the farms at slack periods of demand for coal; the existence of a relatively dense concentration of labour in the area - 200 were said to be employed by the colliery in 1793¹⁰⁴ - would be likely to act as a vigorous stimulus to the food-producing capacity of the estate. This in turn, increased financial benefit to the landlord through augmented rentals; animals required for transportation both below and above ground could be fed cheaply from the estate's own crops.

100. Vide supra, 326-7.

101. SRO, U.P. 1 Adams Mack S/15/106, Information for James Macnair, p. 3.

102. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

103. PP., Report of the Select Committee on Mr. McDowall's Petition, April 1800, p. 428. When sold in 1800 it fetched £59,361..9..4. See SRO, GD 237/139.

104. OSA., v, 540.

It is very probable that James Dunlop of Garnkirk, the representative of a family whose fortunes had been connected with the tobacco trade for most of the eighteenth century,¹⁰⁵ was the most powerful coalmaster in West Central Scotland at this time. His interests in the giant Govan-Knightswood concerns have already been noted, yet they only formed a segment of his ever-increasing participation in mineral extraction. At his bankruptcy in 1793 it was reckoned that the value of 'utensils', machinery and waggonways at his various collieries was in the region of £30,000.¹⁰⁶ He was regarded as 'uncommonly skilful' in the coal trade.¹⁰⁷ Quite clearly he must be esteemed as a unique type of colonial merchant. His interests in industry extended far beyond the realms of the sleeping partnership; he adopted coal mining, at least from the later 1780s, as his primary concern and apparently regarded it as the essential core and basis of his rapidly multiplying interests in brewing, iron smelting and glass-working.

Dunlop 'engaged ... in merchandise, in shipping, in the coal trade to a great extent and embarked in almost every mercantile undertaking in the West of Scotland'.¹⁰⁸ Each element in his empire, in theory at any rate, knitted closely, one with the other. His interest in the Clyde Ironworks and Dumbarton Glasswork Co.¹⁰⁹ would help to guarantee continuous demand for the output of his collieries and their production in turn would be likely to make effective reductions in what was an important cost in the manufacture of glass and smelting of iron. Dunlop's mining activities

105. ML, MS notes on the Dunlops of Garnkirk, passim.

106. SL, CSP 406/21, Petition of James Dunlop, late of Garnkirk ... 14 June, 1799; GCA, Dunlop Papers, State of the Funds of James Dunlop, 23 March, 1793.

107. Forbes, op. cit., 76.

108. SRO, UP 1 Currie Mack D/5/14, Petition of Gilbert Hamilton ... 16 January, 1798, 61.

109. Vide supra, 334; 245-6.

took two complementary forms. On the one hand he himself purchased coal-bearing land; on the other he leased mineral rights from landlords who were fortunate in the coal-bearing possibilities of their estates, yet unwilling or unable to cope with the hazard, expense and risk of extraction.

At his father's death in 1777, James had been left with an inherited stake in both land and the coal industry. His succession to the paternal share in the Govan and Knightswood Coal Companies has already been described,¹¹⁰ but he was also heir to the rich coal-bearing lands of Carnyle, valued in 1793 at £20,000.¹¹¹ From his father's death until 1793, Dunlop engaged in a prolonged process of land purchase, always with a keen eye to the mineral-producing potential of his investment:

TABLE 33
James Dunlop's Estates, 1793.¹¹²

<u>LANDS</u> (all in Barony of Glasgow, Old and New Monkland)	<u>VALUE</u> (1793)
Garnkirk	£ 8,100
Davidson	2,700
Craigendmuir	1,000
Berryknow	600
Auchengree	1,000
Bedley	21,000
Tadmuir	600
Gartcosh	3,500
Gartferry	5,500
Gartheugh	1,500
Dalbeth	500
Barrowfield	5,500
Ryding	11,000
Tollcross	5,900
Kipps and Gunny	3,100
Hagmuir	700
Remainder of Tollcross	8,550
Sands	2,100
	£ 84,650

Dunlop's banker, Sir William Forbes, maintained that purchase on such a

110. Vide supra, 354.

111. SL, CSP 406/21, Answers for James Dunlop ...

112. SL, CSP 406/21, Appendix, 3.

scale was a direct result of his client's interest in mining:

He had embarked deeply in two branches, which had peace continued and money been plenty must have made his fortune, having largely engaged in the working of coal-mines ... he had reduced these two branches of trade to a system by which he proposed every year to accumulate such a sinking fund as would enable him soon to pay off the great debt he was obliged to contract for them, and then leave him in possession of a clear, solid landed property ... 113

Certainly his newly acquired estates were relatively close to the great urban fuel demand of Glasgow and were renowned for their mineral endowments. Glasgow newspapers reported the year after Dunlop's bankruptcy that Gartferry and Gartheugh were 'full of coal'.¹¹⁴ Kipps, Blackland, Gunny and Ryding also had considerable reserves and all lay in the mineral rich parishes of Old and New Monkland.¹¹⁵ Barrowfield had formerly belonged to the great Glasgow coal magnate, John Orr, and had obvious attractions for Dunlop.¹¹⁶ His largest coal mine within his own estates was that of Fullarton. Within a sixteen year period from 1777 to 1793, Dunlop expended £10,000 in improving the productivity of this single asset.¹¹⁷ On balance, it was suggested in 1793, his mines in New Monkland had been 'wrought to advantage' although his grand strategy crashed in the credit crisis of that year.¹¹⁸ Returns were simply insufficient to keep up steady repayment of the purchase prices of the estates.¹¹⁹

Dunlop was also concerned, either through personal lease, or as a member of a coal company in the exploitation of other areas of West Central

113. Forbes, *op. cit.*, 76.

114. Glasgow Mercury, 20 May, 1794.

115. Glasgow Mercury, 25 October, 1793.

116. SRO, PR8, 24/30.

117. SL, CSP 406/21, Appendix, 4.

118. Glasgow Mercury, 25 October, 1793.

119. This is made clear in the very full statement of Dunlop's financial situation in GCA, Dunlop Papers.

Scotland over which he himself exerted no rights of ownership. Thus his fifty per cent share of the profits of Knightswood-Govan in 1793 was £2,037..14..6.¹²⁰ He also had a three-eighths share in the Elderslie Coal Co., which worked a mine in Renfrewshire; profits from that source in 1793 amounted to £132..16, but since 'the lease was near out and the coal very troublesome to work' no value was put on it.¹²¹ Dunlop held fifty per cent interest (with R.H. Rae as the other partner) in Rutherglen Muir Coal Co., four-fifteenths in the Sandyhills Coal Work and unknown shares in the Banknock, Camlachie and Hamilton Farm Coal Works.¹²² He was the major shareholder in the New Smithills Coalwork, near Paisley.¹²³ When the multifarious activities of this one man, 'one of the most opulent figures in the West',¹²⁴ are thoughtfully considered, his contribution to the eighteenth century Scottish coal industry cannot be overestimated.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.; SRO, PRS (Glasgow) 26/215.

123. Glasgow Journal, 7 January, 1794; Glasgow Courier, 17 December, 1791;

124. SRO, RD 292/158 DUR.

PART III

CHAPTER 8

Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Industry 1770-1815. II

- I Textiles
- II Cotton industry
- III General Analysis

The relationship between profits earned in the colonial trades and economic growth is a subject of special interest as far as the textile industries are concerned. As has been noted,¹ the role of the Glasgow 'tobacco aristocracy' in the establishment and evolution of the cotton industry, the Rostovian 'leading sector', has stimulated much controversy in recent years and historical opinion on the probable interrelationships has undergone considerable modification. It will therefore be a primary aim of this section to carry out an examination of the degree of colonial merchant involvement in the nascent industry and the motives behind any investment that did take place. It is to be hoped that after this exercise a more balanced view of the role of colonial profits in the Scottish Industrial Revolution will emerge.

A necessary preliminary in such a task is to analyse how far tobacco and West India merchants had penetrated the capital structure of the sector out of which the Scottish cotton industry was to grow. This was the fine linen trade of the Glasgow and West of Scotland area. Some examples of merchant interest in the linen industry have been found. The important West India house of Somervell, McCall and Co. under the firm Spreul, Somervell and Co. owned 'a large and commodious warehouse' in Bell's Wynd which was 'completely fitted out for the muslin manufactory'.² George Bogle owned a warehouse in the same area consisting of 'a writing room, a room fit for holding yarn, and an apartment calculated for containing two or three warping-mills'.³ The Buchanan family also appear

1. Vide supra, 316-17.

2. Glasgow Mercury, 19 January, 1790.

3. Ibid., 19 January, 1786.

to have had a connection with the linen trade: Andrew disposed to his son George in 1760 'all and haill the closs and severall houses and buildings and loans of the linnen manufactory belonging to me in the New Street now called Virginia St.'⁴ John Campbell sen. and William and Arch. Coats were said in 1781 to be 'co-partners in a warehouse concern in Glasgow', specialising in linen merchanting.⁵ The same three merchants until 1795 held about one-third of the capital in Lockhart, Jameson and Co. 'manufacturers Bell's Wynd'. This area was the centre of the fine linen trade in Glasgow.⁶ On the dissolution of Archibald and John Newbigging and Co., 'textile manufacturers', the copartnery contained John Campbell sen and James Hopkirk in addition to the two Newbiggings.⁷

These examples, although giving the lie to any view that suggests there were no linkages between the foreign merchant and the domestic trader, hardly add up to a significant contribution to the capital structure of the West of Scotland linen industry. The above were the only cases of personal involvement by Glasgow colonial merchants in linen merchanting and manufacturing units that were found after a search of the Glasgow Register of Deeds, the national Register of Deeds and the Glasgow press in the period c. 1770-1815. Profits from the colonial trades could, of course, have entered this sector by the more indirect means of bank-loans and through personal credit facilities offered by merchants themselves. These, which would be likely to affect each industry, will be

4. GCA, Mitchell, Johnston Collection, 11, Extract Disposition A. Buchanan to G. Buchanan, 14 February, 1760.

5. GCA, B.10/5/8354, Articles of Agreement between J. Campbell and others, 17 September, 1781.

6. Glasgow Courier, 3 March, 1796; Jones's Directory for the years 1790 and 1791 (Glasgow, 1880), 34; Stewart, op. cit., 223, 227.

7. Glasgow Courier, 2 January, 1796.

examined in the conclusion to this chapter.⁸ However, one other method by which funds earned in colonial trade could be absorbed into the linen industry might be examined here.

Linen merchants themselves might expand into trade with colonial areas. One interesting example of such a venture has been uncovered. Joshua Johnston and Co. (John Jamieson, Joshua Johnston, Walter Brock [of Buchanan, Hastie and Co.,] and Adam Smith), hosiery and linen merchants and manufacturers, formed a copartnership with the tobacco importing concern of John Jamieson and Co. in March, 1770. Each firm took a fifty per cent share in the new concern and trade commenced with Maryland.⁹ Johnston appears to have gained from this arrangement for he later joined a similar partnership with Andrew Thomson. This relationship was continued by Johnstone's son, James. Thomson was a partner in George McCall and Co. and Thomson, Snodgrass and Co., Virginia merchants.¹⁰ He became a partner in the important stocking business carried on by Dugald Bannatyne and James Johnstone.¹¹ Johnstone married Thomson's daughter Margaret and proceeded to enter his father-in-law's field of interest, colonial trade. Together with Robert Carrick and Dugald Bannatyne he became interested in 'a Jamaica concern'. With Neil Bannatyne, George Buchanan and Robert Carrick he was a partner in 'a Virginia concern' and with Carrick, William Colhoun and Alex. Wilson owned a plantation on the island of Tobago.¹² Such a series of partnership

8. Vide infra, 402-4.

9. GCA, Mitchell Johnston Coll., 61, Action and Correspondence, Dr. Hugh Mackilwraith against John Johnston, etc., 1-3.

10. Old Country Houses, xvii; C.J. Thompson, 'An Old Glasgow Family of Thompson', Paper read before Members of the Old Glasgow Club, 19 January, 1903, 5.

11. Glasgow Advertiser, 11 September, 1789; SL, CSP 413/28, Petition of A. Thompson and Others, 12 February, 1800, 4.

12. SL, CSP 413/28, Petition of Andrew Thompson and Others, 12 February, 1800, 4-5.

links might be more interesting than typical yet it serves to illustrate one of the many complex routes by which gains from colonial trade could filter back into domestic industry.

However, the basic generalisation made earlier must remain. Colonial merchants did not take the same degree of financial interest in the linen industry as, for instance, they did in sugar-boiling, coal-mining and glass-working. Various explanations can be advanced to account for this neglect. Perhaps the most plausible is that Glasgow and West of Scotland linen merchants had already evolved a relatively self-sufficient commercial structure by the time spectacular profits began to be made from the tobacco trade after the 1740s.¹³ As early as the first two to three decades after the 'Regal Union' of 1603 a group known as 'English merchants' had grown up and prospered by peddling linen cloth south of the Border.¹⁴

Again, linen was not a necessary ancillary industry to foreign trade; it was not a raw material imported from the colonies which had to be further processed before sale. On the contrary, the predominant trading connections with the sources of flax in the South Baltic were through east coast ports.¹⁵ Those Glasgow merchants who did import the raw material (such as David Dale, James Finlay) from France, Flanders and Prussia, appear not to have had any strong connection with the tobacco and West Indian trades.¹⁶ Certainly linen was a commodity which was in much demand in the colonies. The customs accounts reveal that at least

13. Price, loc. cit., 303.

14. T.C. Snout, 'Development and Enterprise of Glasgow 1550-1707', SJPE vii (1960), 194; 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century', SHR XLVII (1968), 55.

15. Hamilton, Economic History, 134.

16. Stewart, op. cit., 45, 79-82; Anon., James Finlay and Co., 1750-1950, (Glasgow, 1951), 7.

in the final three decades of the eighteenth century home-produced linen did form a high percentage of linen exports to these areas.¹⁷ Yet, in the earlier period, Glasgow tobacco merchants found many of their linen cargoes elsewhere. German 'OSNABURGHIS' was the tobacco merchant's standby since most of the import duty on them was refunded on export. Colonial merchants in the 1730s - 40s forcibly opposed the attempts of domestic linen producers to have the drawback discontinued, pointing out that the same manufacturers did not make all the coarser materials required by planters in the colonies.¹⁸

One final possible factor might well be that few areas in the linen industry demanded large amounts of fixed capital. It has been emphasized frequently throughout the previous chapter that the wealth of the colonial merchant often suitably coalesced with the ingenuity, managerial skill and commercial know-how of domestic manufacturers with heavy fixed capital needs. The industry, by and large did not encourage investment in fixed assets. The lint or scutch mill was normally a single-storied building whose only 'machinery' was a series of vertically mounted four-bladed rotors.¹⁹ The first mill to spin yarn for linen cloth was not built until 1787 at Brigton in Angus and further developments along these lines were slow.²⁰ The structure of the industry allowed extensive re-ploughing of capital and Charles Kingan, himself an employer of muslin

17. This is made clear from a sample analysis of linen exports from Port Glasgow, April-October 1778 (SR0, E.504/28/29); of 239,943 yards 'linnen made of hemp or flax', 181,940 yards had been manufactured in Britain, 57,256 yards in Ireland and 747 yards in Germany; 770 yards checked linen, 6,396 sq. yards printed linen, 671½ yards thread gauze and lawns exported in toto, all originated in Britain (excluding Ireland).

18. Hamilton, *Economic History*, 144.

19. Butt, *op. cit.*, 58. There were 252 by 1772.

20. OSA, IX, 207.

weavers, commented on the high rate of upward mobility among handloom weavers,

... there have been more persons risen to wealth and eminence of hand-loom weavers than of all other trades put together in Scotland. I could name 40 or 50 people who were hand-loom weavers who are now men of capital and character filling high positions. Two late Lord Provosts of Glasgow ... were hand-loom weavers in my remembrance. 21

This allowed the industry to flourish in the latter half of the eighteenth century broadly independent of the personal involvement of colonial merchants in linen copartneries.

There was, however, one sector of the industry which did demand relatively large capital inputs - the finishing processes of printing, bleaching and dyeing. The extent of capital required to lease or buy extensive areas of land and the fitting out of these areas with lades and expensive machinery, tended to inhibit the ordinary bleacher and printer. In addition,

in 1733, cloth required five to eight months exposure to bleaching techniques (depending on season) and the amount of capital required to tide the fledgling bleacher over this period was another retarding factor in the development of the industry. 22

It was therefore more than a coincidence that this capital-intensive sector of the linen industry attracted major participation by colonial merchants.

In the 1740s Archibald Ingram, John Glassford and other tobacco merchants laid down a large printfield at Pollokshaws with the ostensible purpose of creating a supply of printed handkerchiefs for Virginia, Maryland and the West Indies.²³ In the early 1770s the printfield, operat-

21. Quoted in Hamilton, *Economic History*, 167.

22. Butt, *op. cit.*, 138.

23. Gibson, *op. cit.*, 244; Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 212-13; Baillie's Inst. Library, Glasgow, *Sederunt Book of Archibald Ingram*.

ing under the firm of William McCormack and Co., was financed by Alexander Speirs (who had £1,933 in the concern in 1773)²⁴ Alexander Houston, Thomas Dunmore, John Campbell sen. and William Cunninghame. The company was managed by McCormack, 'bleacher at Pollocksfields'.²⁵ Success in printing had encouraged diversification into textile production and the Inkle Factory was capitalised by the same group;²⁶ it appears very likely that this joint venture had evolved soon after the establishment of the printing enterprise in the 1740s.²⁷ In 1780 the same partnership group was in control except that Robert Dunmore had taken up the share of his deceased father, Thomas.²⁸ Eleven years later the trustee of Sutherland Colquhoun, 'linen printer at Pollokshaws' sold to Dunmore and John Monteith, linen merchant and manufacturer, 'all and whole the Pollockshaws Printfield and houses and buildings thereon'.²⁹

One of the most important firms in the printing and bleaching industry was that of William Stirling and Sons, which had developed out of the cloth-printing concern established by William Stirling on the Kelvin at Dawsholm in 1750.³⁰ Yet the family's money had been made in colonial trade: John and Walter Stirling were members of 'the great company' which developed 'the trade to Virginia, Carriby Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St. Kitts, Monserrat and Other colonies in America.'³¹ The

24. GCA, Speirs Papers, Ledger 'B', TD 131/4.

25. GCA, Reg. of Sasines, F30-1, 14 March, 1777.

26. GCA, Probative Writs, B.10/12/5, Feu Contract between the Patrons of Hutchison's Hospital and the Partners of the Inkle Factory, 1 December, 1788.

27. Ibid

28. GCA, Mitchell Johnston Coll., 79, Employers v. the Pollockshaws Printfield Company (1780).

29. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 30/216; see Glasgow Advertiser and Evening Intelligencer, 9 October, 1789 for a description of the machinery and layout of the Printfield.

30. Butt, op. cit., 139.

31. McCare, op. cit., 170; see Old Country Houses, xxvi for the history of the Stirling family.

Customs Accounts demonstrate that as late as the 1780s the family was still dealing in the export trade to the West Indies, Charlestown and New York.³² James McGregor, wholesale linen dealer and first Vice-Chairman of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, owned extensive bleachfields in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and was the first to attempt to use chlorine as a bleaching agent in the 1770s; until 1790 he had the capital of James Glassford (later his son Henry) and John McCall to aid him.³³ The following table gives a summary of some other merchant interests in bleachfields, dyeworks and printworks:

TABLE 34

Colonial Merchants and Textile Finishing Processes

<u>Colonial Merchant</u>	<u>Company</u>	<u>Finishing Process</u>
James McDowall	Milton Printfield Co.	Printworks 34
George Crawford	" " "	" "
Robert Dunmore	Endrick Printfield Co.	" 35
James Dennistoun	" " "	" "
Robert Mackay	Stirling, Bell and Co.	Calico Printers 36
Alexander Garden	Henry Monteith and Co.	Bleachers, turkey red dyers, printers 37
Andrew Houston	Kilbarchan Bleachworks	Bleachers 38

Mercantile interest in three other companies connected with the textile finishing processes merit fuller examination. Perhaps the major development in this sector in the eighteenth century was the foundation by Dr John

32. SRO, E.504/15/33 (Greenock, Jan. 1781 - July, 1781).

33. Glasgow Mercury, 19 January, 1790.

34. GCA, B.10/5/9534, Deed of Agreement betwixt G. Crawford and Others.

35. SRO, PRS (Stirling) 32/79. Other partners were John Monteath, Gilbert Hamilton, Will. Dalgleish, R.S. Moncrieff, W.S. Moncrieff.

36. SRO, CC9/7/80/567. Other partners were Walter Stirling, Thomas Bell.

37. Glasgow Courier, 31 December, 1812.

38. NLS, ACC 2346, J.E. to R.H. Rae, 11 September, 1806.

Roebuck of the Prestonpans Vitriol Co. in 1749. The late Professor Hamilton aptly described it as '... an epoch-making step in the history of bleaching...'.³⁹ At some point in the 1760s John Glassford became a member of this enterprise and by 1786 at least he was a joint partner together with Patrick Downie (or Downey), 'merchant in Prestonpans'; they 'professed as their business that of making vitriol and aqua forte'.⁴⁰ On Glassford's death his son Henry took over his share, continued the business and assumed a former partner of his father's in the tobacco trade, James Gordon, into the copartnery.⁴¹ Glassford's capital was still the backbone of the concern because in December 1797 his three fellow partners, Andrew Hepburn, Gordon and Downey owed him respectively £1,199..0..6, £3,437..5..8 and £5,099..10..0.⁴² This was the pretext for the dissolution of the partnership and by the end of that year Glassford was 'Sole Owner and Proprietor of the Oil of Vitriol Works of Prestonpans'.⁴³ His experience in the first copartnery doubtless led him to adopt a relative as a joint partner in 1798. This was Henry Riddell, of Glassford, Gordon, Riddell and Co., another old associate and protégé of his father and who had married Henry's sister, Anne.⁴⁴

The Glassford family had important interests also in the famous Glasgow Cudbear Works managed by George Mackintosh. In 1779 the works were run by Adam Grant 'dyer in Glasgow' and by Mackintosh himself, but most of the finance was provided by John Glassford, James Gordon, George Bogle and

39. Hamilton, Economic History, 140.

40. SRO, BCP II, 38634, Bill of Suspension and Interdiction, Basil Blackburn against Glassford and Co (1786); Reg. of Deeds, 243/458 MACK.

41. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 279/387 DUR.

42. Ibid.

43. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 275/286 MACK.

44. SL, CSP 438/18, Minutes in Process, Henry Riddell and others against John Riddell, 26 February, 1802, Appendix 13-14.

John Robertson.⁴⁵ By 1791 Henry Glassford had taken up his father's share.⁴⁶

James Dunlop, together with Andrew Buchanan of Ardenconnal, was associated in the firm of Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co.⁴⁷ Dunlop's experience in the concern warrants careful study since it illustrates some of the motives, advantages and hazards of mercantile participation in industry. Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co. were 'linen and calico printers', partners in the Lauren Printfield in Glasgow;⁴⁸ in addition, all the partners had been involved in Good, Macbrayne and Co. who had a bleachfield and printwork at Crossmill, near Paisley.⁴⁹ Dunlop, Buchanan, John Stenhouse, Donald and Neil Macbrayne entered into an agreement in 1787,

... to carry on a joint trade and business of manufacturing linen and cotton cloth in the city of Glasgow and bleaching and printing the same at the field and houses of Crossmill.⁵⁰

Stenhouse and the Macbraynes had purchased these assets the previous year at a cost of £3,800; the impression emerges that as a result of this outlay the printers were short of capital. Stenhouse, for example, was to be excused a contribution to the capital stock in 1787 because his funds were so low.⁵¹ In such a situation the wealth of men like Dunlop and Buchanan would have obvious attractions. In addition to his personal funds, the former as 'a major shareholder in the Greenock Bank', would be likely to have access to short-term capital.⁵²

45. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 295/143 DAL; GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/8132, Tack, City of Glasgow to the Cudbear Co., 16 February, 1779.

46. GCA, B.10/5/9009, Bond of Annuity, Cudbear Co. to Adam Grant, 20 April, 1791; SRO, PRS (Glasgow), 26/97.

47. SRO, UP 1 Currie Mack D6/1(1797).

48. GCA, Probative Writs, B.10/12/7/139, Bond, Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co. to Rev. T. Castley, 12 October, 1791.

49. SRO, UP 1 Currie Mack D6/1(1797), Contract of Copartnery betwixt Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co.

50. Ibid., 1.

51. Ibid., 3.

52. SL, CSP, 406/21, Petition of J. Dunlop, 4.

It was thus agreed that the partnership ought to continue for a period of fourteen years and that total capital stock should be £13,000. Dunlop and Buchanan together took twelve twenty-six shares, Donald Macbrayne held five twenty-six parts and Stenhouse and Neil Macbrayne five and two twenty-six shares respectively.⁵³ The two colonial merchants conformed to the typical role of sleeping partners while at the same time contributed the major proportion of the company's stock. Donald Macbrayne was appointed Cashier and Book-Keeper and was also 'to attend regularly at the Company's warehouse in Glasgow' and for this he was to be granted a salary of £60 p.a. John Stenhouse was 'to travel to England or any part in Scotland for taking in orders for goods and promoting the sales of the Company's goods and collecting the prices in the course of his journey.' Unlike Dunlop and Buchanan, these two 'were to devote their whole time and attention to the business'.⁵⁴

The hopes which the linen printers attached to their association with the two wealthy merchants - '... in high reputation both in point of opulence and mercantile knowledge ...'⁵⁵ - were, however, to be dashed. The following description of their relations with James Dunlop illustrates the very real hazards which domestic manufacturers could face in partnership with one whose more ambitious speculations in land purchase rendered his lesser interests subordinate and vulnerable. Stenhouse and the Macbraynes alleged in a lawsuit in 1797 that neither Dunlop nor Buchanan had 'ever paid up one penny of the stock of the Company'. Dunlop, indeed, encouraged his fellow partners to borrow money on his own credit

53. SRO, UP 1 Currie Mack D6/1 (1797), Contract of Copartnery betwixt Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co., 4.

54. Ibid., 6-7.

55. Ibid., Objection by G. Hamilton to the claim given in by Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co., 15 May, 1797, 8.

and that of Andrew Buchanan, and offered to act as the Company's banker.⁵⁶ The firm took up this offer and six years after the signing of the contract of copartnery had left £27,279..3..7 in Dunlop's care. In addition, by 1793, he owed the Company's stock £6,778..12..5.⁵⁷ At the same date he was in debt to the extent of £15,817..12..2 with the Greenock Bank, £9,100..4 with the Royal Bank and £3,500 with one of his other industrial interests, the Dumbarton Glasswork Co.⁵⁸ Plainly Dunlop was exploiting the assets of the varied enterprises in which he had a share to gain funds to continue his massive investment in land and mining.⁵⁹

The wealth of colonial traders might most often be a boon to domestic manufacturers eager for capital and credit. However, as the above example suggests, the relationship could also go sour. One does gain the impression from this case-study that the three linen printers were at once dazzled by Dunlop's huge resources - in 1787, when the contract was signed, his 'property was immense and his credit almost unbounded'⁶⁰ - and at the same time overawed by the social prestige of the two colonial merchants. Only this can explain their commercial obtuseness: from 1790 Stenhouse and the two Macbraynes repeatedly asked that a regular balance of the books be struck, but 'it was always shifted and delayed from time to time until Dunlop's bankruptcy'.⁶¹

The overall contribution of colonial merchant capital to the West of Scotland printing industry was an important one. Andrew Brown

56. Ibid., Answers for Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co. to the objections of G. Hamilton, 5.

57. Ibid., Affidavit of Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co. on James Dunlop's Sequestrated Estate, 30 March, 1793.

58. GCA, Dunlop Papers, state of J. Dunlop's funds, 23 March, 1793.

59. This is made clear from the above. See above, 354-61.

60. SRO, UP 1 Currie Mack D6/1(1797), Answers for Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co. 5.

61. Ibid

calculated that in 1796 there were thirty large print-fields in Glasgow and the neighbouring counties;⁶² the analysis up to this point has revealed that between one-third and one-half of this number obtained at least a proportion of their capital from the resources of West India and tobacco merchants.

62. Brown, op. cit., II, 212-17.

II

It seems fair to suggest that merchant investment in the finishing processes of the linen industry could create a linkage between the cotton industry and colonial trade. It is a well documented fact that a significant proportion of the new cotton spinning firms were capitalised by bleaching, dyeing and printing companies. These firms integrated forwards into the spinning process in order to obtain a steady flow of yarn and cloth and thus utilise to the full their existing investment in expensive printfields and dyeworks.¹

Robert Dunmore's foundation of a factory at Ballindalloch in Stirlingshire is an excellent example of this type of linkage.² Such an investment was a direct outgrowth from Dunmore's estate ownership, his important cotton-importing business of Robert Dunmore and Co., and his existing interests in the finishing processes. He owned various areas in Stirlingshire of which the lands of Ballindalloch in the parish of Balfron was the largest single unit.³ Although classified in most textbooks as a 'Virginia Merchant'⁴ and although plainly interested in the pre-1776 tobacco trade, his major interest in overseas trade had been in commerce with the West Indies. The Greenock customs accounts for 1773-74 reveal that even before the collapse of the tobacco trade in 1775-6, 'Thos and Robert Dunmore and Co.' had stronger connections with Jamaica and Grenada than they had with Virginia and Maryland.⁵ Finally

1. For example Alexander and James Crum of Thornliebank, Stewart, op. cit., 204. See also SL, CSP 209/34, Scott v. Brown and Carrick.

2. Hamilton, Economic History, 172; Campbell, op. cit., 46.

3. Vide infra, 419, 602 and Appendix XIV.

4. Following the example of Stewart, op. cit., 202-3; see Campbell, op. cit., 46.

5. SRO, E.504/15/23, Customs Accounts, Greenock, July 1773 - April 1774.

in 1788, five years before the establishment of the cotton mill, Dunmore had set up on his lands 'an agency for manufacturing calicoes'.⁶ A few years later, together with another West India merchant, James Dennistoun jun., and Gilbert Hamilton, William Dalgleish, R.S. Moncrieff, W.S. Moncrieff and two persons already interested in the cotton industry, James Buchanan and John Monteath, he established the Endrick Printfield.⁷ Thus he had already made contact with commercial and technical experts in linen and cotton; he owned an estate and its potential could be developed by the foundation of a large industrial unit employing much labour; access to raw material was guaranteed through his widespread interests in the Caribbean trade; it was only after 1800 that the cotton-producing American South outstripped the islands of the West Indies, as the main raw material source for the Scottish mills.⁸

In 1790 Dunmore signed articles of copartnership with James and Archibald Buchanan.⁹ He had already had personal experience of the cotton industry having been a partner in George Dempster's ill-fated Spinningdale Cotton Co.¹⁰ and would be likely to have excellent commercial intelligence on the profitability of the industry from his earlier textile investments (in the Inkle Factory and Pollockshaws Printfield Co) and from his association with James Buchanan.¹¹ By linking with the brothers Buchanan, Dunmore could gain the benefit of their expertise in both the cotton manufacture and the textile trade in general. The family had

6. NSA, viii, 292.

7. SR0, PRS (Stirling) 32/79.

8. Hamilton, Economic History, Appendix VII.

9. SL, CSP 368/21, Petition of R. Dunmore, 1.

10. Stewart, op. cit., 79; vide infra, 379-80.

11. GCA, Mitchell Johnston Coll., 79, Employees v. the Pollockshaws Printfield Co. (1780); Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/8028.

been prominent 'English merchants', importing fine yarns from England and distributing them for weaving. They had also established the Adelphi Cotton Works on the Teith in Perthshire in 1785.¹² Archibald Buchanan had been apprenticed to Sir Richard Arkwright at Crawford and his genius for technical improvement and invention was to become a byword in the Scottish cotton industry in the years to come.¹³

The contract of copartnery stipulated that the company was to endure for fourteen years. Each partner was to take a one-third share with 'the management of the business ... committed to the said James and Archibald Buchanan'. Dunmore gave the new firm 'absolute feu-disposition' of his lands of Ballindallech which lay around the mill

together with the benefit and privilege of the water and water-courses leading to the said mill and liberty to take off all or any part of the water of the Endrick.

Any likely destruction of the estate's amenity as a result of the erection of industrial buildings was to be kept to a minimum: areas where construction was forbidden were specifically referred to in the contract of copartnery.¹⁴

For a brief period the venture prospered. By early 1792 the mill had been built to manufacture both cotton and woollen yarn. It employed 100 men from the nearby village of Balfron, a small hamlet which in the early 1780s had contained little more than six or seven families. Clearly labour had been recruited from surrounding areas; at the end of 1792, the parish minister alleged that the works, bleachfields and printfield employed in

12. Stewart, op. cit., 181-2; Hamilton, Economic History, 172.

13. For a discussion of Buchanan's skills see Journal of the Society of Arts, IX (1856), 304 ff.

14. SL, CSP 368/21, Petition of Robert Dunmore, 1-4; SRO, PRS, (Stirling), 33/35.

toto 390 men.¹⁵ This efficiently integrated concern and its optimistic prospects were destined to be sorely hit by the depression of 1793. The two Buchanans fell victim to imprudent personal borrowing, and having contracted debts amounting to £60,000, their assets were sequestrated on 28 July, 1793.¹⁶

Dunmore was also a partner in the Duntocher Cotton Co. This was originally something of a sideline of the Dalnottar Iron Co and specialised in its first few years of existence in the manufacture of heavy textiles. In 1785 the partners of the Iron Company gave a sub-tack of a portion of part of the lands of Auchentoshan, which they held, to James Dunlop of Garnkirk in trust for the Duntocher Wool Co. The partners were to be the existing members of the Dalnottar Co. in addition to James Dunlop, James Dunlop jun., John Paterson and Hector Macombe.¹⁷ The members had determined 'to undertake and carry on in copartnership, a trade and business of spinning wool by engines and manufacturing Heudal cottons.'¹⁸ This original partnership was dissolved in 1788 and an enlarged one established in its place (Table 35). With a capital stock of £8,000 the copartnership was to continue for a period of fourteen years from 31 August, 1788.¹⁹ This company evolved towards a more specialised emphasis in cotton production in 1792 when in October of that year the Wool Co. agreed to dispose of their sub-tack, the mill and equipment for £7,250 to a 'Duntocher Cotton Co' or Lindsay, Dalrymple and Co. 'cotton and flax spinners' at Duntocher. Among the members of this new

15. OSA XVI, 117-118.

16. SL, CSP 368/21, Answers for A. Newbigging ... 3.

17. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 249/834 DUR, Contract of Copartnery of Duntocher Wool Co.

18. *Ibid.*, Edinburgh Advertiser, 20 July, 1787.

19. Ibid

TABLE 35

Partners and Shares in Duntocher Cotton Co.²⁰

<u>Partners</u>		<u>Shares</u>
*Peter Murdoch	} Dalnettar Iron Co.	3/5
*James Gordon		
*Robert Dunmore		
*James McDowall		
John Gillies		
*Neil Jamieson		
*James Dunlop		1/5
*James Murdoch jun.		1/20
John Paterson		1/10
Hector Maccombe		1/20

NB. Asterisk indicates 'merchant involved in colonial trade'.

partnership (John Dunlop of Rosebank, John Lindsay, William Smith, Robert Lindsay, North Dalrymple, John White) three were colonial merchants and a fourth, John White, was experienced in the cotton industry: he was managing partner of John White and Co. which operated a cotton mill at Penicuik, Midlothian.²¹ In 1786 George Dempster of Dunnichen purchased the estate of Skibo near the Dornoch Firth and 'was most assiduous in devising measures for improving the condition of neighbours and tenants'.²² As an energetic member of parliament (for Perth Burghs, 1761-8; 1769-90), Dempster had been associated with Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in the Parliamentary struggle over the Bankruptcy Bill of 1783 and had made the acquaintance of some of the leading colonial merchants in the city.²³

20. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 249/833 DUR.

21. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 274/740 DAL, Contract, Duntocher Wool Co; GCA, Probative Writs, B.10/12/7, Bond Duntocher Cotton Co to R. Baillie of Maryville, 28 April, 1793.

22. Stewart, op. cit., 79.

23. ML. Chamber of Commerce MSS, B/6 ; for a short biography of Dempster see Sir Lewis Namier and J. Brooke, The History of Parliament (London, 1964), VI, 313-15.

His scheme, which grew out of his policy of enlightened self-interest, involved the establishment of a jenny factory on his distant estate in Morayshire. Capital for such a venture was obtained from his friends in Glasgow. The names of the partners usually referred to are those of David Dale and George Mackintosh,²⁴ but it is rarely pointed out that the partnership group was reinforced by six wealthy colonial merchants - William, James and Andrew Robertson, Robert Dunmore, Robert Bogle of Dal-dowie and Robert Mackay.²⁵

On the bankruptcy of the giant West India firm of Alexander Houston and Co in the later 1790s it was noted in the detailed presentation of the partners' assets that the concern had no less than £20,000 in cotton mills.²⁶ An examination of the industrial interests of the company's partners reveals that the vast proportion of this amount was William McDowall III's contribution to the capital stock of Messrs Houston, Burns and Co, cotton spinners in Renfrewshire.²⁷ McDowall's interest in such a venture seems to have been directly inspired by his desire to obtain the highest returns from his various estates in the county.

Renfrewshire was the focal point of the most vigorous development of the cotton industry in late eighteenth century Scotland. By 1787 there were nineteen mills driven by water power in Scotland; of these Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire had four apiece and so shared top position.²⁸ In March, 1788 when McDowall signed a contract of copartnership with

24. For example, Hamilton, Economic History, 172.

25. Stewart, op. cit., 80; GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TD 1/88, Articles of Agreement between J.M. Heywood and R. Mackay and Co.

26. PP,⁵⁵ Report of Select Commtty on McDowall's Petition, April, 1800, 428.

27. Vide infra, 381.

28. Campbell, op. cit., 98-9; N. Macintosh, 'Changing Population Distribution in the Cart Basin', Trans. Inst. of British Geographers (1956)

George Houston, another Renfrewshire landowner (McDowall's son-in-law) and George Burns a 'merchant-manufacturer' in the linen trade,²⁹ there were probably several motives in his mind. Such an enterprise afforded an opportunity to make considerable gains from an increasingly profitable industry. McDowall did obtain returns on his invested capital: in 1809 the last year of his association with the company, his share of the profits was £15,257..17..9½.³⁰ Again, since at least one of the concern's mills was to be established on McDowall's lands at Lechwinnoch, he would hope for the same sort of benefits for his estate economy as Robert Dunmore gained at Ballindalloch.³¹ Accruals might be expected from two sources: increased demand for the food products of his lands and a boost to his rental through leases to the company itself. Newcomers flocked into the area to work in the mills. As the parish minister noted in 1842 when describing the rise in population from 1530 in 1755 to 2613 in 1791, 'the chief reason for the increase was the erection of cotton-mills ... and the stimulus which they gave to every kind of business.'³² His predecessor in 1793 had put the potential benefit to McDowall in explicit terms, 'the rapid increase of manufactures ... must very considerably augment the value of the land'.³³ In addition, the landowner was obtaining £170..2. in 1808 from the lease of the waters of Lechwinnoch.³⁴

As a partner, McDowall would be of considerable benefit to Houston and Burns. For one thing he and Houston were related through marriage;³⁵

29. SRO, GD 237/134, Minute of a Meeting of the Partners of the House of A. Houston and Co., 23 September, 1806, 8.

30. SRO, UP 1 Currie Dal B/11/20.

31. SRO, GD 237/134.

32. NSA, vii, 97.

33. OSA, xy, 75.

34. SRO, UP 1 Currie Dal B/11/20.

35. Glasgow Mercury, 1 March, 1788.

he owned the loch of Lochwinnoch whose waters fed the Cart on which most of the cotton mills were springing up in Renfrewshire. By including the owner in the copartnery the two other partners might hope to keep leases to a low level and minimise the danger of disputes with the controller of the power source for their mills. McDowall, indeed, was not above holding cotton firms to ransom. He had constructed a dam at the point where the loch entered the Cart and, in the early 1790s, he was involved in a court action with the Linwood Cotton Co and the proprietors of the Johnstone and Parkeside Mills. McDowall had refused to allow an adequate supply of water to flow into the Cart until the firms agreed to pay a higher lease to him.³⁶ Again McDowall was a very wealthy man, a leading partner in Alexander Houston and Co., West India merchants, and with a personal fortune of over £280,000.³⁷ His interest in Houstons would also offer a secure supply of cotton well to the company's mills.³⁸

The experience of Peter Speirs in the cotton industry serves as another illustration of the relationship between the landownership of colonial merchants and their investment in cotton. In the summer of 1792, Robert Graham of Gartmore, Peter Speirs, James Murdoch jun., George Provand, James Provand and John and George Crawford, 'all merchants' in Glasgow, agreed 'to be concerned with each other in carrying on a cotton-spinning mill at Culcreuch, in manufacturing calicoes for printing and in a muslin manufactory at Glasgow.'³⁹ This was an instance of two scions of wealthy colonial

36. SRO, GD 237/134, Papers in process, Dunlop (et al) versus W. McDowall.

37. PP., Report on Mr. McDowall's Petition, 428.

38. As has been noted above the West Indies was the major supply area of cotton wool until approximately 1800. Much of this came from Dutch and French sources and was re-exported through British islands. See Harlow, op. cit., II, 290-93.

39. SRO, Cunninghame Graham Muniments, GD 22/1/219, Contract of Copartnery of Culcreuch Cotton Spinning Co., 26 July, 4 August, 1792.

merchant families engaging in the cotton industry. Peter Speirs was second son of Alexander Speirs, 'the mercantile God of Glasgow.'⁴⁰ Archibald, Peter's elder brother had inherited the family estate of Elderslie, and Peter had obtained Culcreuch in Stirlingshire.⁴¹ James Murdoch jun. was grandson of Peter Murdoch and had taken up his share in the Dalnottar Iron Co.⁴² Their fathers had both been involved in the foundation of the Glasgow Arms Bank.⁴³ In addition, the two were related. Martha Murdoch had married Archibald Buchanan of Auchintorlie and a daughter of this marriage, Mary, married Alexander Speirs.⁴⁴ Thus Peter and James were second cousins. It would appear that Speirs's interest in the concern was based on a general policy of estate improvement. He had considerable capital reserves and, according to the parish minister, by 1793 had 'added much to the value of his property and the beauty of the place, by extensive plantations, all of which are now in a thriving condition.'⁴⁵ Partly owing to enclosure, population had dropped from 891 persons in 1755 to 348 in 1791 in the parish in which his land was situated.⁴⁶ Lower rentals and untilled land were the results. Speirs's desire to erect on his estate 'a large cotton factory, which required many hands' could well be seen as an attempt to reverse this trend. The site for the mill was not in itself particularly advantageous for a cotton factory: the factory was eighteen miles from Glasgow and raw cotton had to be carried to it by a very hilly road at great expense.⁴⁷ Nevertheless the

40. Saltov, loc. cit., p. 85.

41. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/8435, Settlement Alex. Speirs esq., 16 December, 1782.

42. SL, CSP, 409/22, Petition of Messrs. Murdoch, Gillies and Co., p. 4.

43. Senex (J.M. Reid) Vol. I, pp. 472-3.

44. Stewart, op. cit., 183-4.

45. O.S.A. Vol. XI, p. 371.

46. Ibid., N.S.A. Vol. VIII, p. 43.

47. N.S.A. Vol. VIII, p. 45.

strategy seems to have succeeded. To accommodate the workers a new village was built and by 1811 population had risen to 1003.⁴⁸

With his fellow partners, Speirs agreed to carry on the business for twelve years from 20 August, 1792. Capital stock was to be £6,000, £4,000 of which was to be advanced immediately.⁴⁹ It was here that the great prestige and the banking connections of the families of Speirs and Murdoch became useful. It was proposed to procure credit for £5,000 at one or other of the Glasgow banks,⁵⁰ and for the following ten years, the partners were able to take advantage of the wealth and standing of Peter's brother, Archibald;

In the course of the said business, the said copartners had occasion to borrow several sums of money upon bond; and in some of these bond ... Archibald Speirs bound himself as a co-obligant with the partners of the Company. 51

In the same period, Robert Graham died and his son, William, left the copartnership.⁵² Owing to the financial mismanagement of James Provand, the company was dissolved in March, 1795;⁵³ by 1800 Peter Speirs and James Murdoch were the sole partners of Culcreuch Cotton Spinning Co.⁵⁴

The examples of Dunmore, Speirs and McDowall represent the sum total of ascertainable cases in which capital earned in colonial trade was channelled into the cotton industry as a result of merchant ownership of estates. Yet direct involvement in cotton copartnerships was not the only possible medium of aiding the expansion of the 'leading sector'. Merchant/landowners

48. N.S.A., Col. VIII, p. 44.

49. SR0, GD 22/1/219, Contract of Copartnership of Culcreuch Cotton Spinning Co. (1792), p. 1.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., Obligation and Discharge, Peter Speirs to William Cunninghame Graham (1802), v. 1.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., Abstract of Deeds between the partners of Messrs. Crawford, Provand and Co., pp. 2-6.

54. Ibid., (Copy) Assignment of W.C. Grahame to Peter Speirs and James Murdoch (1800). Company still operating with these two partners in 1804; GCA, Reg. of Sasines, F.79-81, 17 February, 1804.

might prefer the safer approach of leasing areas of their estates for the construction of mills without necessarily taking upon themselves a proportion of the capital stock and its concomitant risks. More uncommonly the merchant/landowner might build the mill and lease it to persons experienced in the commercial and technical sides of the industry. Thus Archibald Speirs, in the summer of 1792, was vigorously advertising the merits of his Renfrewshire estates as potential areas of development for mills. In the parish of Neilston where Speirs was reckoned 'the greatest proprietor' he was 'very disinterested wishing to encourage manufactures'.⁵⁵ Here he had 'several respectable stances for cotton mills', some of them, on the Water of Levern having a fall of water of more than thirty feet.⁵⁶ Speirs declared that 'he wished nothing for the water ... and will grant a feu on the most reasonable terms for what land may be wanted'. Similar sites and terms were offered on the Water of Old Patrick near Elderslie and Newton.⁵⁷ More interesting is some information gleaned from the Register of Sasines for 1796. In that year Archibald Speirs 'gave the use of the cotton mill at Elderslie' together with the adjacent ground and lade to Corses, Buchanan, Findlater and Co, 'Cotton-Spinners'.⁵⁸ The implication to be drawn from this transaction is that Speirs had built the mill and was now leasing it.

Colonial merchants did not have to own estates which might benefit from the erection of mills to encourage them to invest in the industry. Perhaps the most remarkable success story in the Scottish cotton trade of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the expansion of James Finlay and Co. An analysis of the capital inputs of this firm during Kirkman Finlay's period of control (1790-1842) reveals the crucial

55. OSA, 11, 145.

57. Ibid.

56. Glasgow Courier, 30 August, 1792.

58. SRO, PRS (Renfrew) 37/249.

part played by West Indian merchants in its financial stability.

Until James Finlay's death in 1790, the partners of the firm numbered three - James, his son Kirkman and one James Wright. As Kirkman reminded his son Alexander Struthers Finlay in 1832, he began his business career with 'very little capital'.⁵⁹ Capital stock held by Finlay and Wright in 1789 was £605..12..3 and £78..16..5 respectively.⁶⁰ This increased considerably, so that by 1792 Kirkman had £5,938..6..6 in the concern and Wright £864..0..11½.⁶¹ The firm's overall capital had, however, increased out of all proportion after the inclusion of several important West India merchants in the co-partnery. Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, a rich West Indian merchant,⁶² personally held $\frac{1}{13}$ of the share capital, but owned a much greater proportion through his $\frac{1}{4}$ interest in Leitch and Smith, sugar merchants, who also became partners in 1792.⁶³

By December, 1792 Leitch and Smith had over £3,400 in the Company's stock.⁶⁴ Archibald Smith ended his personal interest in 1797 but the firm of Leitch and Smith continued to be prominent partners until 1823.⁶⁵ Other members of Leitch and Smith included John Gordon of Aitkenhead, his brother Alexander and David Russell of Woodside. John Gordon was also a principal partner in the extensive West India firm of Semervell, Gordon and Co., afterwards Stirling, Gordon and Co. The latter's brother was

59. James Finlay and Co., Glasgow, Finlay MSS, K. Finlay to A.S. Finlay, 29 May, 1832.

60. Ibid., Balance Book of J. Finlay and Co., 1789-1800, p. 1.

61. Ibid., p. 21, State of the Concerns of J. Finlay and Co. on 31 December, 1792.

62. See Stewart, op. cit., p. 237.

63. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers ; Journal of Arch. Smith, merchant, 1790-3, p. 1. Smith had put up £5,000 of the £20,000 capital of Leitch and Smith.

64. Finlay MSS, Balance Book, 1789-1800, p. 21.

65. Ibid., Private Journal, No. 2, p. 5.

also a partner in James Finlay and Co. He was an immensely rich man, known as 'Picture Gorden' on account of his collection of rare and valuable paintings and drawings which were reckoned to be worth over £30,000.⁶⁶ These three men added much to the capital resources of J. Finlay and Co., John Gorden and David Russell contributing over £4,200 each in 1792 and Alex Gordon, £1,000.⁶⁷

It is submitted that by means of these large capital inputs from mercantile profits Kirkman Finlay was enabled to expand his concerns even during the depression of 1793 and to make his most spectacular profits during a period of endemic warfare. In a year when, in the words of Sir William Forbes 'many Glasgow mercantile and manufacturing firms had to acknowledge that they could not fulfill their engagements', the only sign of depression in J. Finlay and Co. was a slight fall in the growth rate of turnover -- only about £3,000 was added in that year.⁶⁸ However, debts owed by the company topped the £21,000 mark at the end of 1793.⁶⁹ It was here that the new sources of capital were of major importance. The key factor in the commercial structure of the cotton trade was the long and complicated pattern of credit and the lengthy period necessary for payment of debts which such a pattern entailed. An industry burgeoning daily, consisting of a large number of firms with slight resources, where several stages of manufacture had to be linked through dealers, agents and various types of middlemen could only be relatively safe if one's liquid capital was extensive and easily accessible.

In addition to this, Finlay, by acquiring these new sources of

66. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-8.

67. Finlay MSS, Balance Book, 1789-1800, p. 21.

68. Forbes, *op. cit.*, 76; Finlay MSS., Balance Book, 1789-1800, pp. 27, 45.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

capital had obtained for his firm the means to attract the most able agents. A firm with such resources more easily guarantees security of employment and high salaries, and Finlay's export to the Continent during wartime demanded representatives of high quality. By 1803 he had 700 such 'correspondents' in Europe.⁷⁰ Again, large firms with substantial cash-backing could protect their trade with large-scale buyers by allowing a price discount on extensive orders. Because of the extent of their capital reserves they could refrain from lowering prices when business was dull. Thus, through his access to mercantile capital, Finlay was able to forge ahead in credit expansion to his customers, a system which, given the hazards of wartime trading (for example, the effect of such political actions as the Berlin and Milan decrees) would have ruined entrepreneurs with smaller resources. Appendix XIII/b gives a more detailed breakdown of the capital structure of Finlays between 1795 and 1800.⁷¹ However, a general statement can be made here about the proportionate stock held by West India merchants in this period. In every year for which figures are available these interests held fifty per cent of the capital although total stock rose from £30,000 in 1795 to £75,000 in 1815 and although new partners holding one-seventh of the stock had been introduced by a new contract of copartnership in 1799.⁷² Clearly colonial capital was playing a fundamental part in the development of this, the single largest cotton firm in Scotland: a unit whose success in international trade was mirrored in its purchase between 1798 and 1808 of three of the biggest water-powered factories in the country. In 1798 Finlays acquired Ballindalloch Cotton

70. PP., Minutes of Evidence of Select Committee on Petitions against the Orders in Council, Vol. III (1812); Evidence of K. Finlay, p. 396.

71. Vide infra,

72. Finlay MSS, Balance Book of J. Finlay and Co. 1789-1800, passim.

Works from the bankrupt estate of the Buchanans and Dunmore;⁷³ three years later the Catrine Mill was added and in 1808 the works at Deanston.⁷⁴ The insurance valuations collected by Dr. S.D. Chapman and Dr. Butt from the Sun Fire Office for Scottish cotton mills in 1795 indicate that Ballindalloch was third highest in valuation (£10,300), Catrine was fourth (£9,900) and Deanston fourteenth (£7,700).⁷⁵

The most famous cotton complex in Scotland was the New Lanark Mills. By 1810, these, together with the Finlay empire, probably represented the greatest production units under single ownership. The New Lanark Twist Co., which had procured New Lanark in 1799 from David Dale, was dissolved in 1809.⁷⁶ A year later control passed to the New Lanark Co. Robert Owen, the managing partner, noted that this would bring 'important and advantageous changes in the Lanark Twist Co.' and that with the new partners he had attracted, the mills 'were likely to be one of the most lucrative concerns in the kingdom'.⁷⁷ Owen was not indulging in typical hyperbole. Through his partners he was able to tap the rich springs of West India profits. In addition to a member of the former copartnery, John Atkinson of Bank, the new partnership was made up of Robert Dennistoun, Alexander and Colin Campbell and Owen himself. The two Campbells were members of the West India firm of John Campbell sen. and Co, and were the two largest stockholders in the concern.⁷⁸ Robert Dennistoun

73. SRO, PRS (Stirling), 35/161.

74. Finlay MSS, Statements and Calculations relating to the works.

75. Chapman, *loc. cit.*, Appendix F, 262-3; transcripts of Scottish insurance valuations, Guildhall Library, kindly lent me by Dr. John Butt.

76. Two studies of Owen's tenure of New Lanark have appeared recently, A.J. Robertson, 'Robert Owen and the Campbell debt 1810-22; *Business History* xi, 25; J. Butt, 'Robert Owen as a Businessman' in J. Butt (ed.) *Robert Owen Prince of Cotton Spinners* (Newton Abbot, 1971), 168-214.

77. SRO, Campbell of Jura Maniments, GD64/1/247, R. Owen to Arch. Campbell, 17 October, 1810.

78. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Contract of Copartnery of J. Campbell sen. and Co., 1812; SRO GD 64/1/247.

was a leading partner in the sugar and cotton importing firm of Dennistoun, Buchanan and Co,⁷⁹ was related to Alexander Campbell through marriage (both had wed daughters of Arch. Campbell of Jura)⁸⁰ and was also involved with Campbell in the Newark Sugar Refinery.⁸¹

In the New Lanark Co., constituted in 1810, the three West Indians held ten of the twenty-six parts of the capital as follows:⁸²

TABLE 36

West India Merchants in New Lanark Co., 1810

Robert Dennistoun	4/26	£28,000
Alex. Campbell	3/26	£21,000
Colin Campbell	3/26	£21,000

Recent research in capital formation has greatly qualified the importance of fixed relative to circulating capital in the cotton industry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁸³ However, as Professor Mathias has stressed large 'lumps' of capital might be required at a given time which could stretch and break the limits of an entrepreneur's available resources.⁸⁴ 1810 was such a time in Robert Owen's business experience. £80,000 had had to be paid to the old New Lanark Twist Co. for the mills, machinery and utensils.⁸⁵ The resultant strains on his personal credit

79. G. Crawford and G. Robertson, History of Renfrewshire (Paisley, 1810), 406.

80. Ibid.

81. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Meeting of trustees of Alexander Campbell, 27 August, 1817.

82. SR0, GD 64/1/274, (Copy), Contract of Copartnery of New Lanark Co., 5 October, 1810.

83. In particular B. Pollard, 'Fixed Capital in the Industrial Revolution in Britain', Journ. Econ Hist. (1964) xxiv; F. Crouzet, 'La Formation du capital en Grande Bretagne pendant la Revolution Industrielle', Proceedings of the Second International Conference in Economic History, Aix-en-Provence (1965), II, 599-642.

84. Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation (London, 1969), 149.

85. SR0, GD 64/1/274 (Copy) Contract of Copartnery of New Lanark Co.

(against a background of wartime trading) resulted in him indulging in what A.J. Robertson has described as 'something very akin to fraudulent conversion'⁸⁶ with the funds entrusted him by Arch. Campbell of Jura. Access to fruitful sources of capital were therefore essential to him. They enabled expansion in investment and overseas commercial contacts to proceed throughout the difficult final years of the Napoleonic Wars.⁸⁷

The interest of the three West India merchants in New Lanark ceased after three years. This came about partly because of the decreased profitability of the cotton trade at the time and partly because of the difficulties of carrying on business with 'Mr. Owen'.⁸⁸ Yet their connection with the mills during this brief period probably led to a later investment in another cotton firm with Robert Humphreys, former under-manager at New Lanark.⁸⁹ He had been recruited by Owen from Manchester but dissatisfied with his terms of employment had left New Lanark in February, 1814 to set up business on his own in Glasgow.⁹⁰ By 1816 Robert Humphrey and Company, cotton-spinners was an established firm with a mill in Hutchesontown and a warehouse at 44 Brunswick St., Glasgow.⁹¹ The concern was of no mean size; the mill had cost £32,000 to erect inclusive of machinery and 'utensils'. Humphreys, however, held only a limited proportion of the stock - £2,000 - while his two partners Dennistoun and Campbell together retained £20,000 between them, with the remaining £10,000 contributed by other parties.⁹² It would appear that with the deaths of the two

86. Robertson, Bus. Hist., 30.

87. Butt, loc. cit., 168-187; for credit difficulties during the latter stages of the war see Creuset, loc. cit., 599-642.

88. SR0, GD 64/1/247, Alex Campbell of Hallyards to John Campbell, 5 July, 1813.

89. SL, CSP 631/17, Humphreys v. Owen, (1815)

90. Ibid., for a discussion of the relations between Owen and Humphreys see Butt, loc. cit., 183-5.

91. The Glasgow Directory from July 1815 till February, 1817 (Glasgow, 1817), 77.

92. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Minute of Meeting of the

premier sources of capital (Campbell in 1817 and Dennistoun before 1820) the business languished, until in 1823 it was advertised for sale at the upset price of £21,000.⁹³

Evidence relating to other mercantile investments in the cotton industry proved more difficult to obtain. Alexander Garden was heavily involved in the West Indies trade through his membership of F. Garden and Co., Garden, King and Co; through his marriage with Rebecca Monteith, he became a partner in his father-in-law's business of Henry Monteith and Co. A related firm, Monteith, Bogle and Co. owned the extensive cotton works at Blantyre.⁹⁴ The career of Andrew Thomson illustrates the relatively unique transition of tobacco merchant to banker and investor in industry. By the 1780s he owned the estate of Faskine in Lanarkshire and had formed the banking company of Andrew George and Andrew Thompson and appeared to be also involved in the West Indies trade with a one-third share in the Windsor Castle Estate in Jamaica.⁹⁵ In 1815 Thomson in copartnership with Douglas, Brown and Co. took over a cotton mill and weaving factory erected in the neighbourhood of Glasgow with a capital stock of £16,000 in equal shares. The venture proved to be abortive: in its first year of operation a loss of £2,500 was incurred 'chiefly in bad debts' and by the end of the second year the Company was bankrupt.⁹⁶

In the 1790s two of the five partners in the firm of James Dunlop and Co. which operated the Linwood Cotton Mill outside Paisley were the

Trustees of Alex. Campbell, 16 April, 1819; Trustees of R. Dennistoun to Campbell's trustees, 15 December, 1823.

93. *Ibid.*, Trustees of Dennistoun to Campbell's trustees, 15 December, 1823.

94. *Glasgow Courier*, 31 December, 1812.

95. ER0, RH 15/232, Report in process, Alexander Garden v. Francis Cameron and Others, 1.

96. *Ibid.*, 3.

brothers Oswald - James and Alexander of Shieldhall.⁹⁷ The Dennistoun family, James sen and jun., together with Gilbert Hamilton held sixty per cent of the share capital in John Monteith and Co. and Teynold, Monteith and Co., Renfrewshire cotton-spinners.⁹⁸

What general conclusions can be made from this detailed survey of the relationship between the colonial trades and the capital structure of the cotton industry? An abstract of colonial merchant interest in the industry might facilitate an answer to this question. Table 37 (pp. 394-5) suggests that there was no comprehensive movement of capital between the tobacco and West Indian trades and the emerging cotton industry. A thorough examination of the extant records of cotton firms, of the local and national registers of deeds, of the local and national registers of sasines of partnership structures in legal processes and of Glasgow newspapers has suggested that a grand total of twenty-five colonial merchants were members of cotton copartnerships in the period 1778-1820. Of this group of twenty-five, five had financial interests in at least two concerns. Although it is emphasised in the analysis to follow, it would be quite wrong to conclude that the contribution of mercantile funds to expansion of any industry can be judged only by the presence of merchants in copartneries, the general trend which Table 37 demonstrates is hardly open to doubt. Even those merchants who did invest in particular firms did not necessarily hold the lion's share of the capital stock. Thus Dummore only owned $\frac{1}{3}$ of Ballindalloch's, William McDowall III $\frac{1}{3}$ in Houston, Burns and Co. and Alexander Garden (although no precise information is available) probably a secondary share of the capital stock in Henry Monteith's cotton

97. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 48/229.

98. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 42/217. See Chapman, *loc. cit.*, 262-3 for the site and insurance valuations of these mills.

TABLE 37

Colonial Merchants and Cotton Firms

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Cotton Copartnery</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>	<u>Period</u>
Alexander Campbell (W.I.)	New Lanark Cotton Co.	3/26 £21,000	1810 - 13
-do-	Robert Humphreys and Co.	app. 1/3 £10,000	1816-17 (d. 1817)
Colin Campbell (W.I.)	New Lanark Cotton Co.	3/26 £21,000	1810-13
James Dennistoun sen. (W.I.)	John Monteith and Co.	?	'1790s'
-do-	Reynolds, Monteith and Co.	?	'1790s'
James Dennistoun jun (W.I.)	John Monteith and Co.	?	'1790s'
Robert Dennistoun (W.I.)	Reynolds, Monteith and Co.	?	'1790s'
-do-	New Lanark Cotton Co.	4/26 £28,000	1810-13
Archibald Douglas (W.I.)	Robert Humphreys and Co.	£10,000	1816- ?
Alexander Garden (W.I.)	Douglas, Brown and Co.	?	1815-17
Robert Dunmore (W.I.)	Henry Monteith and Co.	?	1812- ?
'et al' Dalnottar (T.M.)	Spinningdale Cotton Co.	?	1785- ?
James Dunlop (T.M.)	Ballindalloch Cotton Co.	1/3	1790-97
Alexander Gordon (W.I.)	Duntecher Cotton Co.	3/5 £4,800	1788-97
-do-	James Finlay and Co.	1/5 £1,600	1788-95
John Gordon (W.I.)	-do-	1/30 £1,000	1795-99
-do-	-do-	1/37 £2,000	1799- ?
John Leitch (W.I.)	-do-	app. 1/7 £4,000	1795-99
-do-	-do-	app. 1/9 £8,000	1799- ?
-do-	-do-	Messrs. Leitch & Smith	1795-99
-do-	-do-	£5,000 1/6	
-do-	-do-	Messrs Leitch & Smith	1799- ?
-do-	-do-	app. 1/7 £10,000	

(continued)

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Cotton Copartnery</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>	<u>Period</u>
John Dunlop (T.M.)	Duntocher Cotton Co.	?	1788-
John Lindsay (T.M.)	-do-	?	1788-
William McDowall III (W.I.)	Houston, Burns and Co.	1/3 £6,000	1788-1806
Robert Mackay (W.I.)	Spinningdale Cotton Co.	?	1785-
James Murdoch jun.	Duntocher Cotton Co.	1/20 £400	?
Alexander Oswald (T.M.)	James Dunlop and Co.	?	?
James Oswald (T.M.)	-do-	?	?
James Robertson (W.I.)	Spinningdale Cotton Co.	?	1785-
William Robertson (W.I.)	-do-	?	1785-
David Russell (W.I.)	James Finlay and Co.	app. 1/7 £4,000	1795-99
-do-	-do-	app. 1/7 £8,000	1799-
Archibald Smith (W.I.)	-do-	1/30 (+ interest in share of Leitch and Smith), £1,000	1795-98
Peter Speirs (T.M.)	Culcreuch Cotton Co.	7/16	1792-1800
-do-	-do-	£3,000	1800-
James Murdoch jun. (T.M.)	-do-	?	1792-1800
-do-	-do-	£3,000	1800-
Andrew Thompson	Douglas, Brown and Co.	?	1815-17

(W.I.) - Merchant predominantly interested in the West Indies trade.

(T.M.) - Merchant predominantly interested in the tobacco trade to Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina.

interests. Similarly, in at least three of the firms described merchant involvement was fleeting. The two Campbells and Robert Dennistoun only held their New Lanark stock for three years; the Spinningdale Cotton Co. in which so many tobacco and West Indian merchants were involved fairly quickly came to a disastrous end. Similarly, Douglas, Brown and Co. in which Andrew Thompson and Archibald Douglas were concerned managed to survive for only two years.

An alternative method of measurement would be to examine the relative importance in the cotton industry of those firms which numbered colonial merchants among their partners. Material for such an examination has recently been published for the year 1795.⁹⁹ It could be argued, however, that consideration of this particular year would underestimate the importance of merchant funds in cotton because it predated the interests of the Gordons, the Campbells and others in James Finlay and Co. and in the New Lanark Co. This point will be borne in mind in the later discussion but it can be said here that no serious discrepancy should arise because (a) examination of, say, the year 1810, would mean that such cases as those of William McDowall and the Dennistouns could not be included, their partnerships having lapsed, (b) the industry itself had expanded exceedingly between 1795 and 1810.¹⁰⁰ Thus the contribution of colonial capital would be proportionately less even if the Finlay complex and New Lanark were included. More cogently, criticism has recently been levelled at the material to be utilised in the following examination. It has reasonably been pointed out that figures extracted from insurance valuations underestimate (in some cases quite considerably) the real value

99. Chapman, loc. cit., 262-3.

100. Raw cotton imports rose from 2,147,431 lbs. in 1795 to 7,542,260 lbs in 1801, Hamilton, Economic History, Appendix vii.

of the fixed capital employed.¹⁰¹ For the purpose of this analysis, however, where only crude figures of the relationship between the fixed capital of various units are required, the material is likely to be of more use than to the student interested in constructing a model of total fixed formation in the Scottish cotton industry for the year 1795.

Dr. Chapman estimated that Scottish mills in that year approached £292,280 in their policy valuations with the Sun Fire Insurance Company. Table 38 indicates that all units mentioned above in which colonial merchants were interested were represented in this series of valuations. The valuation of such firms totalled £34,300 of the grand total of £292,280 and in every case the proportionate share of capital held by colonial merchants approximated between one-third and one-half.

Several other points can be made. The oft-quoted relationship between the collapse of the tobacco trade and the foundation of the cotton industry is clearly not proven. Only the Spinningdale Cotton Co, which attracted tobacco merchant capital and was established two years after the end of the war, fits such a model. All the other concerns (except Houston, Burns and Co.) obtained no financial aid from colonial merchants until the 1790s. Perhaps the most damning argument against such a view is the fact that only a tiny minority of those merchants involved in these cotton copartneries did make their fortune in the pre-1776 tobacco trade. Of the twenty-five merchants, seventeen were predominantly interested in commerce with the West Indies.¹⁰² The bias towards West Indian commercial interests is scarcely surprising. The 1780s and 1790s - the first stages of the 'cotton revolution' - witnessed the most spectacular

101. See Sydney Pollard and J.P.P. Higgins, Aspects of Capital Investment in Great Britain 1750-1850 (London, 1971), 108-13.

102. For the information on which this conclusion is based see Appendix I.

TABLE 38

Valuation of Scottish Cotton Mills by the
Sun Fire Office, c. 1795

<u>Name of firm</u>	<u>Location of mill(s)</u>	<u>No. of workshops</u>	<u>No. of mills</u>	<u>Policy valuation (£)</u>
David Dale	New Lanark	-	2	24,400
George Dempster & Co.	Perth	-	2	10,500
§ Ballindalloch Mill Co.	Balfroun, Stirling	-	2	10,300
Claud Alexander & Co.	Catrine, Ayr	-	1	9,900
Wright, Mellis & Co.	Perth	-	1	9,500
Gorden, Barron & Co.	Aberdeen	-	2 ^a	9,300
Corse, Burns & Co.	Paisley	1	1	9,000
Robert Fall & Co.	Dunbar	-	1	8,400
Jas. Monteath & Co.	Anderston	1	1	8,300
Douglas, Dale & McCaul	Newton Douglas	-	1	8,200
Joseph Twigg & Co.	Paisley	-	1	8,000
§ George Houston & Co.	Johnstone, Renfrew	-	1	7,800 ^b
Underwood Co.	Paisley	-	1	7,800
Gideon Bickerdike & Co.	Deanston, Perthshire	-	1	7,700
Archibald Neilson	Kirkland	-	1	7,180
§ Linwood Mill Co.	Paisley	-	1	7,000 ^b
§ Houston, Burns & Co.	Lochwinnoch, Renfrew	-	1	6,900 ^b
John White & Co.	Penicuik, Midlothian	-	2	6,700 ^b
Leys, Brebner & Hadden	Aberdeen	-	1	6,300 ^b
Gillespie, Freeland & Co.	Glasgow	-	1	6,200
Stewart, Dunlops & Co.	Paisley	-	1	5,700
Dale, Clarke & Co.	Ayr	-	1	5,700 ^c
John Melville & Son	Dysart	-	1	5,300
Alex. & Jas. Crum	Glasgow	1	1	5,100
Mackerrel, Laing & Co.	Paisley	-	1	5,000
Fisher, Buchanan & Co.	Rothsay, Bute	-	1	4,800 ^d
McLeod, Twigg & Co.	Paisley	-	1	4,700 ^d
Black, Hastie & Co.	Bridge of Weir, Renfrew	-	1	4,500
Crossley Mill Co.	Houston, Renfrew	-	1	4,300
Fulton, Buchanan & Pollock	Paisley	-	1	4,000 ^d
Scott, Stevenson & Co.	Glasgow	-	1	3,700 ^d
John Austen & Co.	Neilston, Renfrew	-	1	3,500
Pat. & Jas. Aytoun	Kinghorn	-	2	3,200
Campbell, Spiers & Co.	Glasgow	-	1	3,000
§ Reynolds, Monteath & Co.	Glasgow	-	1	2,800 ^c
Joseph Russell & Co.	Kinghorn	-	1	2,500 ^d
St. Mirren Co.	Paisley	-	1	2,000 ^b
Fergus & Russell	Kirkaldy	-	1	2,000 ^f
John Fergus & Sons	Kinghorn	-	1	1,600 ^b
Caldwell & Aitken	Lochwinnoch	1	1	1,300
Cowan & White	Bridge of Weir	-	1	1,200
David Finlay & Co.	Paisley	-	1	1,000

(continued)

<u>Name of firm</u>	<u>Location of mill(s)</u>	<u>No. of workshops</u>	<u>No. of mills</u>	<u>Policy valuation</u> (£)
Birtwhistle & Murray	Gatehouse-of-Fleet	-	2	10,000
John Cochrane & Co.	Neilston	-	3	13,000
Thos. Scott & Co.	Gatehouse-of-Fleet	-	1	8,000
James Doxon	Busby, Glasgow	-	1	5,000

- a = One mill in course of erection
b = 1796 valuation
c = Incomplete valuation
d = 1797 valuation
e = 1794 valuation
g = Company in which colonial merchants had interests

NOTES:

1. Twenty jenny shops for which policies are extant are not listed here.
2. Where duplicating policies were taken out during the year, the higher valuation has been cited.
3. The policies of six firms mention the spinning of flax as well as cotton: Aytown; Dempster; Fall; Finlay; Leys, Brebner & Hadden; and Melville.

SOURCE:

Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XXIII (1970), 262-3.

expansion of the Clyde-Caribbean trade and it was merchants engaged in this commerce who were busily importing the raw cotton on which the industry survived and developed.

While stressing the residual nature of the role of colonial capital in this industry it would be wrong to swing to the opposite extreme and ignore the contribution of colonial merchants altogether. In the largest combine in the industry, James Finlay and Co., the resources of such men played a crucial role. Indeed, there would appear to have been a distinct correlation between size of company and merchant interest. In the 1795 survey

only one such company's mill valuation fell below the £5,000 mark and of the forty-six units enumerated, colonial merchants had interests in the third, twelfth, sixteenth and seventeenth in descending order of size.

III

In this final section it is intended to collate and analyse the findings of the general survey which has been attempted in Chapters 7 and 8. In order to do this coherently, the detailed information on merchant investment in industry has been collected together into a general appendix.¹ Reference may be made to this for illustration of generalisations.

The major conclusion to be drawn from these chapters is that the 'enclave theory' of the relationship between the capital structure of domestic industry and foreign trade is of little relevance as far as the West of Scotland is concerned in the period 1770-1815. Between these dates a minimum number of seventy-seven colonial merchants had a financial interest in industrial copartneries. Twenty-eight held capital in one company, nineteen in two companies, eleven in three companies and nine in four. Of the remainder, three had money in six, one in seven, three in eight, one in nine and two in ten copartneries; the peerless James Dunlop, mainly because of his extensive connections with coal mining, had sums of money of various amounts in no less than seventeen different firms. As Table 39 indicates, and as the text has shown, merchant capital found its way into almost every sector of West of Scotland industry.

1. Appendix XIII/c.

TABLE 39

Gross Total of Industrial Units with some element of
Colonial Merchant Capital in Capital Stock

<u>Industry</u>	<u>No. of Firms</u>
Textiles (silk, linen, wool)	9
" (cotton)	11
" (finishing processes)	10
Iron (malleable)	2
" (pig)	3
Coal	14
Sugarworks	7
Rope and Sailcloth Manufactories	3
Tanworks	3
Bottleworks, glassworks, breweries	5

- NOTES: (1) Where a particular unit operated in two 'industries', e.g. both in linen manufacture and printing or in both pig and malleable iron, the unit was counted in each section.
- (2) A unit whose copartnership was changed and fresh partners recruited was only counted once.

Table 40 points to a similar pattern of widespread mercantile penetration of various industries;

TABLE 40

No. of Colonial Merchants involved in
various Industrial Sectors

<u>Industry</u>	<u>No. of Merchants</u>
Textiles (silk, linen, wool)	17
" (cotton)	25
" (finishing processes)	16
Iron (malleable and pig)	21
Coal	12
Sugarworks	27
Rope and Sailcloth Manufactories	15
Tanworks	6
Bottleworks, glassworks, breweries	12

The detailed analyses which has been carried out throughout these chapters point to a more complex picture as far as the importance of colonial merchant capital to the various sectors is concerned. As has been argued

above, colonial merchants dominated the West of Scotland coal industry,² the sugar industry,³ the glass manufacture⁴ and industries ancillary to foreign trade, such as sailcloth and rope making.⁵ Their proportionate share of the capital pool in cotton was less than in other sectors though this may have been caused by massive increases in contributions from other sources, not because of any diminution in merchant investment itself. Indeed only sugar boiling attracted more personal merchant involvement than cotton.

Extension of credit from merchant interests to domestic manufacturing concerns might also have been an important mechanism for the transfer of colonial profits to the industrial economy. Loans might be offered directly by personal bond or indirectly through the banks. Several interesting examples of loans to industrial companies have been traced. Thus 'a sketch of the affairs of James Somervell' in 1791 shows that although he was only represented on one industrial partnership, that of the Rope Manufactory of Glasgow, he had lent £1,000 on bond to the Cudbear Co. Similar amounts had been borrowed by Henry Hardie and Co., (linen merchants and manufacturers), the Muirkirk Iron Co. and Macbrayne, Stenhouse and Co.⁶ At the same time he extended credit of £3,000 to the Port Glasgow Ropework Co and £700 to Gabriel Gray, coalmaster, on heritable bond.⁷

Robert Dinwiddie, who in 1818 had £4,000 outstanding from the Prestonpans Vitriol Co, had lent £3,000 to Colin Dunlop of the Clyde Ironworks on security of the lands of Carmyle and was owed £3,000 by

2. Vide supra, 348-61.

3. Vide supra, 326-33.

4. Vide supra, 333-8.

5. Vide supra, 325-6.

6. GCA, Sederunt Book of James Somervell, 13.

7. Ibid.

Tennants, Knox and Co. of St. Rollox Chemical Works.⁸

Archibald Speirs of Elderslie had given a subtack of part of his Lanarkshire lands in 1804 to the Shotts Iron Co., allowing them to mine '... coal, ironstone, limestone, fire clay and all other metals and minerals ...'⁹ Six years later a closer association had developed between the two parties. Speirs had allowed the Company £10,000 credit at a time when 'they only wanted capital to enable them successfully to conduct their trade'.¹⁰

It would be unwise to suggest that such examples should be taken as necessarily typical. An examination of the surviving balance book of John Leitch,¹¹ George Oswald¹² and Archibald Smith,¹³ revealed little evidence of such dramatic credit extension to industrial units. Equally, however, such a pattern, if only repeated among a minimal percentage of colonial merchants, would represent a considerable credit flow from foreign trade to the domestic sector. Again the great wealth and prestige of many of the colonial merchant group rendered them desirable as cautioners and co-obligants for loans. The Shotts Iron Co. in 1804 found it necessary to open a credit account with the Royal Bank of Scotland for £1,000; the credit was obtained without any difficulty but only when the partners became personally bound with a cautioner for the security of the bank. The persons selected, 'particular friends' of the partners, were Archibald Buchanan of Auchintorlie and John Hamilton, merchant in Glasgow.¹⁴

8. GCA, Memorandum Book containing copies of documents concerning Capt. W. Lockhart of Germiston, Balance of Books of R. Dinwiddie, 11 Nov., 1818.

9. SRO, PRS (Lanark), 32/171.

10. SL, CSP 239/17, Information for Hugh and Robt. Baird... 6 Oct. 1814,

11. GCA, Journal of J. Leitch, 1798-1806. 18-19.

12. Sederunt Book of the Trust of George Oswald, 1818-28.

13. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TD 1/1-2.

14. SL, CSP 239/17.

The role of Archibald Speirs as co-obligate for the Culcreuch Cotton Co. has already been explored.¹⁵ In the course of expansion, the Company had to borrow 'several sums of money upon bond' and Speirs stood security for them.¹⁶

Glasgow colonial merchants played a central part in the formation of formal credit facilities in the West of Scotland. It is not the intention here to repeat familiar detail on this,¹⁷ but rather to describe those new areas which the author's research has revealed. Before the period under consideration the Houstons and Dunlops had established the Ship Bank (1750); at the same time the Arms Bank, dominated by tobacco merchant capital, was set up. In the 1770s and 80s both these institutions continued to be supplied with colonial merchant funds.¹⁸ Alexander Speirs had £13,347.10.8 in Speirs, Murdoch and Co. as one of its leading partners.¹⁹ In 1761 the Thistle Banking Co. was founded. Apart from a local laird, Sir John Maxwell, the partners of this institution were all tobacco merchants; James Ritchie, John Glassford, John Coats Campbell and John McCall.²⁰ Three decades later John McCall was about to withdraw from the partnership; Glassford had died, but Ritchie and Campbell remained and had been joined by three others, none of whom had any strong connections with colonial commerce.²¹ By 1806 Henry Ritchie

15. Vide supra, 394.

16. SBO, GD 22/1/219, Obligation and Discharge, Peter Speirs to William Cunninghame Graham (1802), 1.

17. The best account is still John Buchanan, 'Banking in Glasgow during the Olden Time', Glasgow Past and Present (Glasgow, 1884).

18. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD 131/4, Ledger B.

19. Ibid., TD 131/15, Ledger C, 30.

20. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/8314, Bond by Sir James Maxwell, James Ritchie and Co.

21. The Glasgow Courier, 24 December, 1791. These were Archibald Graham, Cashier, Robert Scott and James Rowan.

had taken James's place and John Alston had been added to the copartnership.²²

Two other banks were established in Glasgow before the end of the eighteenth century: in the first of these, the Glasgow Merchant Banking Co. (1777) only one of the twenty-eight partners could be designated a 'colonial merchant'. He was John Robertson.²³ Moore, Carrick and Co., the other bank referred to did, however, attract some colonial merchant capital: Andrew Thomson and Thomas Buchanan were members of the first copartnership.²⁴

Glasgow colonial merchants were also associated with banking firms outside the city. James Dunlop, until his bankruptcy in 1793, was a partner in the Greenock Banking Co. and his share of profits in this venture averaged over £700 p.a. from 1786-93.²⁵ He was also agent in Glasgow for the bank, owning offices in one of the wings of the Virginia Mansion.²⁶ At his death, Andrew Houston was a partner in the same concern, Messrs. Dunlop, Houston, Gemmill and Co., and had £4,442..18..11 owed him by it.²⁷ A third partner was James McDowall and the copartnership was completed by James Gemmill, a Greenock merchant and shipowner, who had strong connections with the colonial trades.²⁸ After 1793 the capital supply of the bank was wholly contributed by Greenock shipbuilding and merchant businesses apart from the solitary exception of James Dennistoun.²⁹

22. Glasgow Herald and Advertiser, 2 May, 1806.

23. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/7894, Bond by the Glasgow Merchant Banking Co. to the Public.

24. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/7904, Bond of Obligation by George Moore etc.

25. SRO, UP 1 Currie Mack D/6/1 (1797), Answers for McBrayne, Stenhouse and Co. ...; SL, CSP, 406/21, Petition of James Dunlop, late of Carnkirk, 14 June, 1799, Appendix 6.

26. ML, MS notes on the family of Dunlop of Carnkirk, 66.

27. SRO, CC9/7/78/181.

28. 'Banking in Glasgow in the Olden Time' (in Senex, op. cit.), I, 489.

29. Ibid., 491.

The Speirs family were instrumental in the foundation and development of the Renfrewshire Banking Co. This institution was one of several, such as the Fife Banking Co and the Kilmarnock Banking Co., established in the few years following the financial crisis of 1797.³⁰ The Renfrewshire concern was set up in 1802 and until 1809 Archibald and Peter Speirs were its leading partners, together with two Glasgow West India merchants, Charles Stirling and John Hamilton. The four remaining partners were local lairds and Paisley textile manufacturers.³¹

The relative strength of the various factors encouraging mercantile participation in industry is more difficult to evaluate. However broadly four categories of motivation have been established from the detailed studies carried out:

- (a) The desire to create or safeguard sources of commodity supply for colonial customers. This would appear to have been the most common motivation as far as investments in tanworks (for shoes, saddlery etc.), iron finishing manufactories (for the various tools essential for the exploitation of a plantation economy) and textile finishing processes (which demanded a higher level of fixed capital investment than might normally be forthcoming from the resources of domestic industry.).
- (b) The necessity to process imports from the colonies before domestic sale or re-export. The classic example of this was in sugar-refining, the vast proportion of the capital stock was subscribed by Glasgow (or occasionally Greenock) West India merchants.
- (c) A wish to exploit all the economic possibilities of a landed estate. This was clearly a factor in the extensive mercantile investment in coal-mining and could be also the basis of membership of a cotton copartnery.

30. Hamilton, op. cit., 339.

31. Glasgow Herald and Advertiser, 12 June, 1809.

(d) After integration into industry had already been undertaken a need might develop to create cheap sources of power, raw materials or reliable points of demand for the original investments. Such a mechanism was perhaps important in diversification into glass manufacture and breweries once investment in coal-mining had taken place. Similarly integration into pig-iron production was undertaken by persons primarily interested in the products of foundry and forge.

Merchants with industrial investments almost universally adopted the role of sleeping partners, leaving the day-to-day running of the unit and decisions at the tactical level to a technical expert or an entrepreneur experienced in the particular industry. The latter had much to hope for from the colonial merchant: a secure and steady flow of funds and credit, easier bank loans because of the personal prestige of the colonial merchant and an increased opportunity to sell his products in colonial markets.

Yet one gains the impression that there was a steady decline in the extent of merchant investment in industry from the 1790s (see Table 41). Between 1795 and 1816 colonial merchants took up shares in only nine new copartneries:

TABLE 41

Colonial Merchants and Industry, 1795-1816

<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Date of new copartnership</u>
*James Finlay and Co.	1799
Newark Sugar Refinery	1809
*Clyde Ironworks	1806
New Lanark Cotton Co.	1810
Henry Monteith and Co.	1812
Douglas, Brown and Co.	1812
*Dalnottar Iron Co.	1800
*Prestonpans Vitriol Co.	1799
Shotts Iron Co.	1810

N.B. Asterisk denotes unit where copartnership was being renewed, and where colonial merchant involvement had begun at a previous date.

This figure ought to be compared with the minimum number of 21 new industrial copartneries in which colonial merchants had an interest in the 15

years from 1780-95 inclusive:

TABLE 42

Colonial Merchants and Industry, 1780-95

<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Date of new Copartnership</u>
* South Sugar House	1782
Clyde Iron Co.	1789
Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	1786
*Smithfield Iron Co.	1784
*Bell's Tannery	'1780s'
McBrayne, Stenhouse and Co.	1787
Sugarhouse Co. of Port Glasgow	1789
Houston, Burns and Co.	1788
Linwood Cotton Co.	'1780s'
Spinningdale Cotton Co.	1785
Muirkirk Iron Co.	1787
Ballindalloch Cotton Co.	1790
Culcreuch Cotton Co.	1782
James Finlay and Co.	1793
Dumbarton Glasswork Co.	1789
Elderslie Coal Co.	1792
Fullerton Coal Co.	1780s - early 1790s
Banknock Coal Co.	" "
Hamilton Farm Coal Co.	" "
Sandyhills Coal Co.	" "
Rutherglen Muir Coal Co.	" "

It should also be noted that of the nine units enumerated between 1795 - 1815, four were merely renewals of merchant investments whereas of the twenty-one between 1780-95 only three were re-foundations and/or renewals of merchant interest. It would appear that domestic industry was producing its own financial resources for further expansion by the turn of the century.³²

Again, there would appear to be little evidence for Professor Hamilton's theory that the collapse of the tobacco trade gave a vigorous boost to transfer of funds from colonial trade to industry. The lack of connection between the collapse of the trade and merchant interest in

32. Vide supra, 98.

the cotton industry has already been noted.³³ During the war itself only one development has been traced - the creation of a new copartnership between these West India merchants with investments in the South Sugar House Co.³⁴ Merchant participation in industry had been a commonplace long before the American War: ironworks, tanneries, sugar-houses, ropeworks, breweries, all had attracted their capital. At least 17 such industrial units were founded before the outbreak of the American War in 1775:

TABLE 43

Colonial Merchants and Industry before 1775

<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Date of Copartnership</u>
Smithfield Iron Co.	'1740s'
Anderston Brewery Co.	1763
Glasgow Ironwork Co.	1771
King St. Sugarhouse	'1760s'
Andrew Buchanan and Co. (linen weavers)	Before 1773
Glasgow Ropework Co.	Before 1775
Bell's Tannery	Before 1770
Pollockshaws Printfield Co.	1738
Inkle Manufactory	1763
Dalnottar Iron Co.	
Govan Coal Co.	1767
Knightswood Coal Co.	1767
Prestonpans Vitriol Co.	'1760s'
Greenock Sugarhouse Co.	Before 1775
South Sugar House	Before 1775
Wester Sugar House	Before 1775
Francis Hamilton and Co. (tanners)	1768

When this total is compared with the gross number of concerns founded by colonial merchants in the decade after 1783 it is clear that there was no significant disturbance or acceleration in the flow of funds to industry after the American War, even although the development of the domestic economy was making investment more attractive.

33. Vide supra, 397.

34. Vide supra, 326.

PART III

Glasgow Merchants in Colonial Trade, 1770-1815

CHAPTER 9

Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land, 1770-1815

- I. Extent and methods of land acquisition.
- II. Availability of land in west-central Scotland,
1770-1815.
- III. Reasons for land acquisition.
- IV. Colonial merchants and Agricultural Change.
- V. Colonial merchants and Transport Developments.

Any analysis of the influence and impact of profits from colonial trade on the Scottish economy of the late eighteenth century must lay considerable weight on the place of mercantile fortunes in the gathering momentum of the Scottish 'agricultural revolution'. It is an axiom of Scottish economic history that widespread 'improvement' (as distinct from the dramatic but atypical efforts of the classic improvers of the 1730s-50s) was a feature of the 1770s and especially of the 1780s. The steep upward swing in prices galvanised landowners into introducing the artificial grasses, root crops, improved implements, plantations and enclosures which were the hallmarks of the new agricultural orthodoxy.¹ The part played by colonial merchant-landowners in this essential base for general economic progress was continually commented on by percipient contemporaries. From his Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, Adam Smith sung the praises of such men:

Merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen, and, when they do, they are generally the best of all improvers. A Merchant is accustomed to employ his money chiefly in profitable projects; whereas a mere country gentleman is accustomed to employ it chiefly in expense. The one often sees his money go from him and return to him again with profit; the other, when once he parts with it, very seldom expects to see any more of it. These different habits naturally affect their temper and disposition in every sort of business. The merchant is commonly a bold, a country gentleman a timid undertaker. The one is not afraid to lay out at once a large capital upon the improvement of his lands, when he has a profitable prospect of raising the value of it in proportion to the expense ... 2

1. J.A. Syson, Scottish Farming Past and Present (London, 1959), 136-155; Hamilton, Economic History, 70-87; T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People (London, 1969), 298.

2. J.R. McCulloch (ed.), Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (Edinburgh, 1853), BK. III, 181. Probably Smith is a little too extreme: for the first time 'improvement' became not a mildly eccentric and esoteric activity, but almost a nationwide mania engaging the energies of most landlords. The supposed dich-

Sir John Sinclair, renowned 'improver' and arguably the most knowledgeable man on agricultural matters in the late eighteenth century Scotland, pointed out the impact of mercantile capital on land:

... the opulent merchant and manufacturer, employing part of their capital in the purchase of land and improvement of the soil became most spirited cultivators. 3

More specifically, the activities of such tobacco and West Indian merchants as John Glassford, Alexander Houston, Archibald Smith, the McDowalls, the Speirs and William Cunninghame in their respective estates, encouraged much comment at the time.⁴

It would be wholly crude to present a picture of mercantile profit and vigour disturbing the stagnation of the agriculture of west central Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Yet there seems little doubt that the flow of wealth from commerce into land which took place in this period (as it had done for at least over a century) was a contribution of the first order to the complex of factors which made up the Scottish 'agricultural revolution'. Some effort will be made to evaluate that contribution in the final section of this chapter. Initially, however, it is intended to investigate the extent of landownership among the colonial merchant community of Glasgow in the period, c. 1770-1815 and to ascertain the methods of estate acquisition - whether through purchase, inheritance or through the more romantic means of

etony between 'old' and 'new' landowners is to this extent invalid. The 'country gentlemen' were certainly not 'timid undertakers' in Ayrshire. See Col. William Fullarton, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr (London, 1793), 104; William Aiton, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr (Glasgow, 1811), 115-118; J.T. Ward, 'Ayrshire Landed Estates, 19th Century,' Ayrshire Collections, VIII 2nd ser. (1967-9).

3. Sir John Sinclair, General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1814), I, 27.

4. Vide infra, 449-63.

marrying an eligible heiress. An attempt will also be made to note the favourite areas for land buying and finally to analyse in some depth the series of socio-economic motives which impelled merchants to buy land in extensive quantities.

I

Intensive examination of the national Register of Sasines revealed that at least eighty merchants of the total of 165 owned land at some period during their lifetime. A full breakdown of the information and sources on which this conclusion is based is given in Appendix XIV but certain observations can be made here about it.

It should be emphasised immediately that eighty is a minimum figure. For instance, several of those considered as 'landless' could well have obtained an estate after 1815. The criticism that the figure quoted considerably underestimates mercantile landholding could be especially levelled at the situation of those Glasgow West Indian merchants who reached partnership level at or after the turn of the century. Of those sixty-three merchants who subscribed to the Glasgow West India Association between 1807-15, no less than 40 did not own land according to the sources consulted.⁵ This is not surprising as most of these were in the early stages of their commercial careers and could have obtained the coveted estate later, and thus outwith the provenance of the sources examined. Indeed a rise in landownership among this group would be likely since it will be one of the major themes of this chapter that ownership of land was generally an essential feature of the career of the successful colonial merchant. A second difficulty arises out of

5. M.L., Abstract of Minute Books of West India Association of Glasgow, 1807-15, I, 7-8.

the implications of the word 'land'. For the purposes of this study 'land' will be used in the sense of 'landed acres' of estates in 'the country' rather than of the small 'tenements' of land within the built-up area of Glasgow itself. These changed hands with astonishing rapidity throughout the period and were used for the erection of counting-houses, dwelling houses and small industrial units. That is, neither in extent or function were they 'landed estates' in the classic sense.

A proportion of those merchants who did own such estates were scions of well established mercantile families who in time succeeded to the paternal acres. Thus Robert Dunmore inherited Kelvinside from his father, Thomas, a pioneer in the early eighteenth century Virginia - Glasgow tobacco trade.¹ Significantly the estate had been in merchant hands throughout most of the century, having been conveyed to Dunmore père in 1749 by a daughter of James Peadie, a name as famous in the Glasgow of the later seventeenth century as Buchanan and Dunlop were in the eighteenth.⁷ The sons of men who had made their fortunes earlier in the century came to a similar inheritance. The estate of Jordanhill purchased by the rising colonial merchant, Alexander Houston, between 1750 and 1752, was acquired by his son Andrew in 1775.⁸ Robert Bogle, the elder, had obtained the lands of Daldowie in March, 1731 from the University of Glasgow to add to his first purchase - Whiteinch - acquired in 1720.⁹ From that point on both estates continued in the family. Robert's elder son, George, had the lands made over to him the following year (1732); at his death in 1782, his eldest son, Robert, succeeded to the estate which by this time

6. Old Country Houses, LXII; Brown, op. cit., 179.

7. McCure, op. cit., 170, 228 for information on Peadie.

8. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers TD1/2, Decree of Sales of land and Estate of Jordanhill in favour of Alexander Houston and Co; SRO, PRS (Renfrew) 22/416.

9. M.L. Bogle MSS, Bundle 54, Inventory of writs of Daldowie, 8th April, 1825.

was under trust;¹⁰ only in 1825 did the family seat leave Bogle hands in a symbolic sale: the property of one of the wealthiest and most powerful colonial merchant families passed to a member of the emerging industrialist class, John Dixon of Calder Ironworks.¹¹

The McDowalls of Castleseuple and the Buchanans of Mount Vernon were other examples of colonial merchants with secure hereditary bases in the land. William McDowall II and William III were the beneficiaries of the founder of the 'dynasty', Colonel William McDowall. With the benefit of a lucrative marriage settlement and profits from the West India firm of James Milliken and Company behind him, the Colonel, a younger son of McDowall of Garthland in Wigtonshire, had purchased in 1727 the ancient barony of Castleseuple, Renfrewshire from Hugh, eleventh Lord Semple in whose family it had previously been for several hundred years.¹² Andrew Buchanan fell heir in 1762 to his father George's estate of Windeyedge in Old Monkland and renamed it Mount Vernon in honour of George Washington.¹³ His uncle James was as fortunate, succeeding to Drumpellier on the death of his father Andrew in 1759.¹⁴

This continuity of ownership in a single family could generate an obvious loyalty to a particular estate. At the sequestration of Buchanan, Hastie & Co., in 1777, both Mount Vernon and Drumpellier were sold. At the time of the crash, David Buchanan, Andrew's younger brother, was only seventeen; he seemed to have determined to recover the family lands and

10. SRO, PRS (Lenarks), 446/14.

11. HL Bogle MSS, Bundle 54, Sederunt Book of the Trust Disponees appointed by the Settlements of Robert Bogle of Daldovie, 42.

12. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 377, n.10; Crawford and Robertson, *op. cit.*, 358; SRO, GD237/139.

13. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 207/2/549 DAL.

14. MS Buchanan Family Genealogy in Gartsherrie Parish Church. I am indebted to Mr. R.D. Corrins for this reference.

proceeded to Virginia where by 1802 he had made a considerable fortune. Returning home he purchased Mount Vernon from his brother's trustee.¹⁵ Not content with this he went on to recover one of Andrew's subsidiary properties, Boghead in the Barony of Glasgow and finally, in 1808, purchased Drumpellier.¹⁶

The strongly established and wealthy tobacco aristocracy were always likely to leave an estate to their eldest sons. If landed resources were not sufficient, younger sons and daughters generally received a cash gift. Robert Bogle II inherited the family patrimony of Daldowie, his younger brothers John and George being contented with the not inconsiderable sum of £1,000 each. The cash gifts hardly compare with Robert's inheritance, however, which was valued in 1808 (admittedly during a period of inflated land prices) at little less than £24,000.¹⁷ Where possible, more generous provision could be made for other members of the family. Alexander Speirs settled his major interest, the Barony of Elderslie, on his eldest son Archibald, but by another deed of entail of 1780 conveyed his estate of Calcreuch in Stirlingshire to his second son, Peter. In addition he instructed his trustees '... to lay out and expend the sum of £8,000 in the purchase of lands for behoof of the said Peter'. By a liferent disposition subscribed by Speirs in 1777 his wife Martha was to succeed to his lands of Yoker and Blanarthill in Renfrewshire.¹⁸

Speir's massive wealth was relatively exceptional, however, and the general principle of keeping the estate in the family in a viable condition, could probably best be obtained through single settlement on the

15. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 20.

16. SRO, GRS, 639/184; Old Country Houses, 189-90.

17. ML Bogle MSS, Sederunt Book of Trust Dispones, 27; Bundle 54, Bond of Provision by George Bogle, reg., 1784.

18. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10.5/8435, Settlement, Alexander Speirs esq., 16 December, 1782.

eldest son. Extensive and scattered estates could lead to individual settlement among male offspring, yet action would depend very much on the policy adopted by a particular merchant. William McDowall II owned separate estates in Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire and Wigtonshire yet they all devolved on his eldest son William III.¹⁹ Wives and unmarried daughters could also succeed though more commonly an enticing dowry would attract suitors for the latter and even when the estate changed hands the use of liferent schemes ensured the surviving spouse and spinster daughters an adequate income until their deaths.²⁰

Despite the importance of the individual cases of inheritance which have been traced above, it must be said that a proportionately small number of merchants gained landed property in this way. Indeed, of the eighty merchants designated as landowners, only eighteen acquired at least part of their lands through direct inheritance from a father. Further, several of these went on to acquire still more property through purchase. Here the inherited land could provide a basis for further territorial ambition. James Ritchie succeeded his father John, 'merchant burghess' of Glasgow, in the estate of Craigton, Lanarkshire, bought by the latter in 1746. In 1763 James added to this by obtaining Busby in Ayrshire.²¹ The progressive acquisition of landed power can be nowhere better illustrated than in the case of the McDowalls. Colonel William's purchase of Castlesemple in 1727 had acted not as a climax but as a stimulus and a base from which to buy up more land. William II obtained the family estate of Garthland in Wigtonshire and by the 1790s William III's properties included these in

19. Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooks (eds.), The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1754-90 (London, 1964), III, 82; GCA, Inventory of Garthland title deeds.

20. For liferents, vide infra, 442.

21. Paterson, op. cit., III, 462.

addition to lands in the parish of Dalry in Ayrshire, in the Barony parish of Glasgow and the estates of Auchingray and Caldercruix in the parish of New Monkland, Lanarkshire.²²

Robert Dunmore, owner of Kelvinside by his father's bequest, in 1785 commenced a series of land purchases in Stirlingshire, beginning with Auchinreoch in the barony of Cumbernauld. Through marriage and purchases he had, by 1793, obtained the barony of Ballindalloch and several adjoining areas in Stirlingshire.²³ This would appear to be a planned transfer of landed interests: in 1785 Dunmore had sold Kelvinside to Dr Thomas Lothian of the East India Company.²⁴ Having realised a substantial capital gain from this sale to a wealthy 'nabob', Dunmore was able to purchase the barony of Ballindalloch from Captain William Cunninghame of the 58th Regiment of Foot for £8,000. Dunmore was to pay £6,500 of this sum and the remainder was to be used to supply an annuity for Cunninghame's widowed mother.²⁵ James Dunlop, later to involve himself in landholding on an enormous scale, especially in the coalbearing Monklands in Lanarkshire, was heir to his father Colin in the estate of Carwyle.²⁶ There was no sign of this acting as a hindrance to further land acquisition.²⁷

Indeed, of the eighteen merchant-landowners investigated who had inherited the paternal acres, at least nine added significant tracts to their existing possessions.²⁸ That this was an impressively high proportion is made clear when it is remembered that the estates of James and Andrew Buchanan were sequestrated early in the period under consideration and those of

22. SRO, Reg. of Deeds 280/735 DUR; GRS 517/50.

23. SEO, PRS (Stirling), 29/411.

24. Old Country Houses, LXIII.

25. Ibid.

26. SL, CSP 406/21; Petition of James Dunlop, late of Garnkirk, June 14, 1799, appendix, 2.

27. See Appendix XIV for James Dunlop's landed property.

28. See Appendix XIV for a breakdown of these figures.

George and Robert Bogle were under trust by 1772.²⁹ Extension of landed assets on the part of these four was therefore unlikely.

One could inherit not only from the father, however, and there is evidence of younger sons succeeding through other close relatives. A desirable spouse from the point of view of the rising or successful merchant would be an heiress with the prospect of inheritance to land. The sons of such a marriage often benefited - the elder succeeding to the father's estate and the younger (under the benevolent eye of a landed grandfather) to the mother's present or future inheritance. Thus Robert Dunlop obtained Drumhead from his mother, the daughter of Archibald Buchanan of Auchintorlie.³⁰ Dunlop's good fortune was still not complete. His eldest half-brother, James, died without male heirs and Robert gained his lands of Hensehill.³¹

Much of the same division can be seen in the inheritance of the sons of Alexander Houston. Alexander had married Elizabeth, sister of Colin Rae of Little Govan; Andrew, being the eldest son, succeeded to the Houston patrimony of Jordanhill but Robert, his younger brother, obtained Little Govan through the settlement of his unmarried uncle.³² Again, John Coats Campbell, son of Archibald Coats, inherited Clathie through his mother Jean Campbell, heiress to the lands.³³

Careful matrimonial strategy could also guarantee possession of the coveted estate. By the latter half of the eighteenth century it was even

29. SRO, Currie Dal Sequestration B1/1, Buchanan, Hastie & Co. (1777); M.L. Bogle MSS, Bundle 54, Trustees of Daldowie to George Bogle, 3 March, 1779.

30. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 202.

31. SRO, GRS, 508/176.

32. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers TD1/15, Inventory of Title Deeds belonging to Mr Smith's heirs; SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 251/1/615 DUR, Disposition, Colin Rae to Robert Houston; PRS 31/11 (Renfrew).

33. Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition, 46.

unnecessary to marry into the gentry or nobility to obtain a dowry of land, so widespread had mercantile penetration into the countries around Glasgow become by the 1750s.³⁴ Robert Dunmore wed the only daughter of his partner, John Napier of Ballikinrain. In 1787, Dunmore was able to add the latter estate to his adjacent barony of Ballindalloch, when Napier, in settling Ballikinrain on Dunmore's eldest son, appointed his former partner procurator and attorney of the land until his grandson had attained the age of majority.³⁵ John Dunlop, younger brother of James of Garnkirk was unlikely to succeed his father unless his brother died. John, however, married into the wealthy and influential Murdoch family.³⁶ Through this matrimonial bond, the estate of Rosebank, purchased by Provost George Murdoch in the early 1700s devolved on Dunlop in 1791.³⁷ The marriage contract between William Cross and Ann Buchanan, daughter of Neil Buchanan of Auchintoshan, specified that the lands of those would be settled on the future husband.³⁸

Of the eighty merchants under examination, twenty-five succeeded to at least part of their estates through marriage or inheritance. Of these a minimum figure of fourteen added significantly to their existing landed resources by purchasing further tracts, sometimes to round off their inheritance, but also to take in estates in quite distinct and separate geographical areas.³⁹ An important conclusion from this first section is therefore that the vast bulk of the landed property held by Glasgow colonial merchants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was acquired through purchase. Another interesting point also emerges: a traditional method

34. Lythe, *op. cit.*, 124-5; David Mathew, Scotland under Charles I (London, 1955), 125-6; Smout, *SHR* (1968), 53-71.

35. *SRO, PRS* (Stirling), 29/78.

36. *SRO, GRS*, 489/125.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *SRO, GRS*, 524/270.

39. See Appendix XIV.

of obtaining landed status was - as has been pointed out above - through marriage to a rich heiress. This was not common in eighteenth century Glasgow. Indeed, only these merchants mentioned in the text above obtained land in this way of the eighty designated as landowners. One of these, Robert Dunmore had already inherited an estate from his father. Of the remaining two, John Dunlop and William Cross, only the latter could be categorised as an 'arriviste' in the sense of being a newcomer to mercantile wealth.

II

Given the fact that most of the land held by Glasgow colonial merchants in this period was purchased during the lifetimes of the respective owner, some explanation is needed to account for the consequent availability of such land. It has become very much the established convention of English agrarian history, that the post-1750 period saw a recognisable decline in the inflow of newcomers (lawyers, bankers, merchants) into the ranks of the landed classes. The principal explanation for this trend was that the late eighteenth century land market was narrowing almost to the point of stagnation.¹ This view clearly has limited relevance for the West of Scotland in the period 1770-1815. There, sixty-two colonial merchants were able to obtain estates with very little difficulty. During their lifetime twenty of these owned at least two estates in different counties

1. G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (London and Toronto, 1963), 27-8, 39; H.J. Habbakuk, 'The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century' in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman (eds.), Britain and the Netherlands (London, 1960), 155-65.

and purchase was by and large restricted to counties adjacent to the town of Glasgow.² There is little evidence (at least in the period 1770-1815) that merchants eager to purchase land were forced into looking to distant areas. Of the eighty who owned estates both through purchase and inheritance only six held at least some of their land in counties outside Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire and Ayrshire: the McDowalls with the family property of Garthland in Wigtonshire, Alexander Campbell with Kingledoons and Hallyards in Peeblesshire, Mungo Nutter Campbell with Ballimore in Argyll, John Stirling and John Coats Campbell with Kippendavie and Clathick respectively in Perthshire.³ Apart from these exceptions the following table affords an insight into the location of the respective estates:

TABLE 44

<u>Area</u>	<u>No. of Merchants owning Estates</u>	<u>No. of Estates</u>
Barony of Glasgow	34	40
Lanarkshire	22	37
Renfrewshire	19	36
Dunbartonshire	11	11
Stirlingshire	6	10
Ayrshire	8	11

SOURCE: Information contained in Appendix XIV.

The number of holdings tended to fall as distance from the town increased; there were apparently no insurmountable obstacles in the way of the possession of an estate relatively close to Glasgow.

2. See Appendix XIV.

3. Baillie's Library Glasgow, 'A.H. & Co., Law Papers', Advertisement of Lands; Paterson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 462; M.L., Campbell of Hallyards, MSS Codicil to Settlement by Alex. Campbell, 12th April, 1817; Stewart, *op. cit.*, 184; Old Country Houses, 215-14.

Various factors can be enumerated to account for the availability of land in the west of Scotland at this time. Two coincident events in the 1770s - the failures of the Ayr Bank (Douglas, Heron and Company) and of the ill-fated York Buildings Company - brought considerable areas of land on to the market within a short period:⁴ George Bogle's trustees noted in 1779,

The immense losses that have been incurred by the partners in the bank of Douglas Heron & Company and the sale of the extensive property of the York Building Company will bring a much greater proportion of land into the market for many years to come ... 5

By August, 1775, 114 out of the 226 partners in the Ayr Bank - many of them notable landowners - were insolvent and the determination to repay creditors meant the sale of several estates. One estimate is that land-
ed property to the value of £750,000 changed hands as a result of the
collapse.⁶

The beginning of the American War of Independence in 1776 further lowered land prices. Traditionally, wartime brought a slump in the land market as potential buyers preferred to invest in the Funds; to this weakening of demand was added the factor of increased supply as wartime taxes and high interest rates produced bankruptcies among landholders, especially towards the end of the hostilities.⁷ By 1780 the establishment of a £20 million

4. See H. Hamilton, 'The Failure of the Ayr Bank, 1772', Econ. Hist. Review, Vol. VIII (2nd ser.), 1955-6, 405-18; David Murray, The York Buildings Company (Glasgow, 1883). The Company's lands were still being advertised in 1781, Edinburgh Evening Courant, April 29, 1781.

5. M.L., Bogle MSS, Bundle 54, Trustees of Daldowie to George Bogle, 3 March, 1779.

6. Hamilton, loc. cit., 415; H.S. Rait, History of the Union Bank of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1930), 105; A.W. Kerr, History of Banking in Scotland (Glasgow, 4th edn., 1926), 93.

7. Mingay, op. cit., 38.

loan resulted in subscribers receiving an annuity of £4 to continue for eight years for every £100 paid in and two years later the real permanent interest rate had risen to 5½ per cent.⁸ With such returns the incentive to buy land was reduced and a group of lawyers and bankers commented in 1779 with only some exaggeration:

... the vast demands of government and the high terms they are obliged to offer to procure money occupy all the extensive capital. 9

For any Glasgow merchant eager to purchase land and with the available financial resources to do so, conditions were clearly attractive. William Cunninghame, enriched with the profits of two decades in the Virginia trade and having made a fortune in the selling of tobacco at wartime boom prices purchased the estate of Lainshaw in Ayrshire in 1778 for £26,200.¹⁰ His success and the perilous conditions of colonial commerce during the war would both encourage land purchase as the stringency of credit in the Scotland of 1778 forced bankrupt estates on to the market. By 1775 'the debts affecting the estate of Lainshaw appeared so considerable, that a sale was unavoidable...'¹¹ The owner, J.M. Beaumont was himself approaching bankruptcy.¹² Even after the sale of the estate he had to dispose of the annuity from the lands which he had retained 'because his affairs were in bad order'.¹³

8. 20 Geo. III, c.16 (1780); Macpherson, *op. cit.*, III, 685; Edinburgh Evening Courant, January 21, 1782.

9. M.L., Bogle MSS, Bundle 54, Trustees of Daldowie to George Bogle, 3 March, 1779.

10. SL, CSP 162/3, Information for the Misses Cunninghame against James Dougal ...; SRC, GD247/141, Account showing price of estate of Lainshaw.

11. SRC, GD247/140, Petition of H.R. Cunninghame and others ... December 3, 1784, I.

12. Ibid., 3.

13. Ibid., Answers of W. Cunninghame to Petition of H.R. Cunninghame and others, January 4, 1785, 7.

The situation could not have been more attractive for both parties in 1778. The great magnet of mercantile liquid funds would entice any prospective seller, especially one in such straits as Beaumont. Merchants involved in colonial trade, because of the minimum of fixed capital required and high profits made, were likely to pay a considerable part of the purchase price immediately in cash form.¹⁴ Cunninghame promptly paid down the £20,200 for Lainshaw, quite obviously gaining from the sluggishness of the land market and the eagerness of the owner to sell; the estate had been valued at £24,300 in 1774.¹⁵

It would be unwise, however, to overstress the influence of war in mercantile landbuying. The American War was to some extent atypical because windfall profits in the early years were available for investment but there is little evidence to suggest a marked increase in mercantile land purchase during the period of hostilities. For one thing, most of the prominent tobacco merchants had acquired estates by 1776. The Oswald family had completed the bulk of their pre-1783 purchases of land by 1770.¹⁶ John Glassford had obtained his major estate of Dougalston in Dunbartonshire in 1767.¹⁷ Thomas and Robert Donald, members of an old established family of tobacco importers held Mountblew and Geilston long before the outbreak of the American War.¹⁸ Of the merchants who bought at least part of their land between 1770 and 1815, only three have been identified by the author as having made significant estate purchases during the period of the

14. See, for example, the case of Robert Dunsore and Ballindalloch, SRO, PRS (Stirling), 29/411.

15. SRO, GD247/140, Answers for W. Cunninghame to the Petition of H.R. Cunninghame, January 4, 1785, 5.

16. Crawford and Robertson, *op. cit.*, 341.

17. SRO, PRS (Dunbarton), 12/208.

18. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 198.

American War. These were William Cunninghame, Alexander Speirs and James Somervell - who obtained Hamilton Farm in 1781.¹⁹ Significantly they were among the very wealthiest of the elite tobacco aristocracy.

On the other hand, there was an interesting cluster of purchases in the last few months of war and first few years of peace. Credit conditions were easier and the period 1783-5 was one of moderate boom in the Scottish economy; in addition, as Professor Mingay has pointed out, it was during the final stages of war that bankrupt estates began to flow on to the market: the manifold credit and tax pressures of wartime tended only to bite after a considerable period.²⁰ James Hopkirk, Robert Dunmore, Robert Findlay, Alexander Houston, James Dunlop, William Cunninghame, George Crawford and John Alston jun., were just some of the names involved in estate purchase between 1782 and 1785.²¹

Potential landbuyers clearly felt the need to curtail spending during hostilities. Land's position as the best type of financial security was axiomatic in the eighteenth century and at first glance this would appear to make it an attractive mercantile investment during times of financial instability. Yet there was an ambiguity here. Although the safest, it was also the most illiquid method of holding existing wealth. It was precisely the difficulty of resolving it into hard cash (especially during a period of war) which helped to lead the greatest West India house

19. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD131/5; TD131/13; SRO, PRS (Lanark), 21/216; GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10. 5/8293, Disposition, Trustees of Will, Bogle. In addition to Lainslaw, Cunninghame purchased the smaller estates of Duchree, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Kelluchs in Peebles-shire during the war, see SRO, GD247/139, Memorial and queries for Lainslaw Trustees, 5.

20. Mingay, *op. cit.*, 38.

21. See Appendix XIV for a full breakdown of the land purchases of these merchants.

in eighteenth century Glasgow, Alexander Houston and Company, to bankruptcy during the Napoleonic Wars although landed assets alone between the partners almost equalled ascertainable debts.²² The broader credit base required by colonial merchants during wartime²³ probably stimulated a wary approach to land acquisition during the period 1776-83; only the very wealthy could afford to take less account of changing financial conditions.

Any analysis of the factors behind the availability of land in the areas around Glasgow in the late eighteenth century must take account of what Dr T.C. Smout has called the 'Revolution in Manners'.²⁴ The developing consumer tastes among the aristocracy and landed gentry led several of them to live above their means. More varied leisure activities, more elaborate clothing, 'improvement' of estates, more exotic diets all required an increased income. Such were the pressures of social competition and convention that often desires were fulfilled on very narrow financial margins. Contemporary commentators emphasised how this led to estates changing hands through the lavish expenditure of the 'old' occupier. Colonel William Fullarton noted how in Ayrshire, '... a great proportion of the landed estates have changed their owners in consequence of individual extravagance, expensive engagements ...'²⁵

Later he returned to the same point denouncing the families of 'very ancient standing' for their 'reigning spirit of conviviality and speculation' which obliged them to sell their property. He blamed,

22. Total debts amounted to £554,378..11..7; total funds to £978,115..3..11. Of this latter sum £503,834..18..10 was in landed property; see SBO, GD237/151/5, View of the affairs of Messrs. A. Houston & Co. ...

23. Vide supra, 295-315 for details on this problem.

24. Smout, op. cit., 285-91. See also Graham op. cit., passim.

25. Fullarton, op. cit., 104.

... the natural tendency of counting upon imaginary rentals long before they became real ones, including too, the prevailing course of entertaining, drinking, electioneering, show, equipage and the concomitant attacks upon the purse ... 26

Ten years before, John Knox had pointed out how, although rents had 'mostly trebled' since 1760, the gentry were not wealthier than their forefathers,

On the contrary, the increase of income, though incredibly rapid, hath not amongst the generality of families, corresponded with their taste for the elegancies and luxuries of a more opulent people: inso much that estates are constantly upon sale, the old families gradually disappear and the landed property falls into new hands, especially in the neighbourhood of Glasgow ... 27

The historic penetration of merchant families into the counties around Glasgow also tended to forestall any stagnation in the land market. The extent of merchant bankruptcy meant that there was a continual flow of land to the market.²⁸ This tendency was accelerated by the habit of raising credit on land. James Buchanan mortgaged Drumpellier in its entirety before the crash of Buchanan, Hastie and Company.²⁹ Robert Dummore and William McDowall both gained further time and credit by mortgaging their estates.³⁰ Examples could be multiplied of loans being raised in this way³¹ and several merchants gained land as a result of the misfortune of their fellows. The bankruptcy of Alexander Houston and Company left Andrew Houston's son Hugh with his father's debts. The family estate of Jordanhill was thus offered for sale and bought by Archibald Smith, successful West India merchant and partner in Stirling, Gordon and Company

26. Ibid., 137.

27. Knox, op. cit., I, 97.

28. Vide supra, 54-6.

29. SRO, Reg. of Deeds 218/783 DAL.

30. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 280/735 DUR; GRS 604/69, 384/149.

31. See also SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 290/1/618 MACK; 212/13 DAL.

and Leitch and Smith.³² Moses Steven, leading partner in Buchanan, Steven and Company also gained from the collapse of Houstons. He obtained Polmadie, one of Robert Houston Rae's estates.³³ James Hopkirk of Dalbeth further added to his property on the bankruptcy of Archibald Smellie by buying parts of the latter's estate of Easter Dalbeth in 1783.³⁴

The supply of suitable land for mercantile purchase does not appear to have presented many problems. Therefore, it is now proposed to consider the situation from the demand side and examine the motives for land acquisition by the merchants concerned.

32. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 40/15; GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TD 1/15, Inventory of title deeds belonging to Mr. Smith's heirs.

33. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 61/23; Baillie's Inst., Library, 'A.H. and Co. Law Papers', Advertisement for sale of lands ... 4.

34. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B10.5/8341.

III

There was a whole amalgam of inter-related factors encouraging a merchant to acquire land and any attempt to erect these into a hierarchical order of importance is doomed to failure. It is intended, however, for the sake of analysis to simplify the motivations involved by attempting to isolate each of them for separate consideration.

As has often been said, Scotland, at least until well into the nineteenth century, was dominated by its landowners.¹ The prospect of joining this select band, their estates the symbol and basis of their social prestige and power, must have had considerable attractions for the ambitious colonial merchant. In their position as heritors, from the Patronage Act of 1712, landowners chose the parish minister; political power, both at national and local level, was very much their prerogative - of the twelve gentlemen who represented Glasgow Burghs in the U.K. Parliament between 1707 and 1800, only two, Robert Rodger (1708-10) and Thomas Smith, (1710-15) were not members of the landed gentry.² Moreover as Commissioners of Supply, Lord Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace their authority was visible at every level. William Marshall, writing in 1804, put the landowners' power in a nutshell,

Landed property is the basis on which every other species of material property rest; on it alone mankind can be said to live, to move and to have its being. 3

The immense social prestige that could be attained by the simple expedient of investing one's profits in the purchase of an estate proved

1. For a brief summary of this see T.C. Smout, 'Scottish Landowners and Economic Growth, 1650-1850,' *SJPE*, XI, (1964).

2. Muir, *op. cit.*, 65.

3. Quoted in Perkin, *op. cit.*, 41-2.

irresistible for most merchants particularly as the financial drawbacks to landownership were less obvious in Scotland than in England. Charity rather than regulated subscription controlled the maintenance of the poor and the incidence of the tithe was lower in Scotland than south of the Cheviots; so too was the ubiquitous land tax.⁴ Merchants showed an eagerness to acquire the trappings of landed power. William Cunninghame demonstrated an almost aristocratic solicitude for the retention of the family name in the subsequent ownership of his estates, his testament specifying that,

All heirs whomsoever succeeding to the said lands and estates shall be obliged to use, bear and constantly retain at all times after their succession the surname of Cunninghame and the title and designation of Cunninghame of Duchrae as their proper title and designating their arms from the Lord Lyon's office bearing the proper mark as evidence of the family of ... 5

He went even further, insisting that in the case of a female succession, the young lady would be required 'to marry a gentleman of the surname of Cunninghame ...' or at least a husband who would assume the name of Cunninghame immediately after the succession took place.⁶ Once esconced among the landed elite every effort would be made to retain the prestige which the family name had acquired.

Merchant landowners sought coats of arms to signify their arrival to landed power. Archibald Smith of Jordanhill's arms consisted of "Gules, a Chevron Ermine, between two crescents, in chief and a Garb in base, within a Bordure Engrailed, or; Crest on Eagle's Head erased proper,

4. Saunders, *op. cit.*, 198-9, 21-2. Although poor rate assessment was beginning to break through by 1800, only 92 parishes out of 878 had accepted it by that date. T. Ferguson, The Dawn of the Scottish Welfare, (London, 1948), 5-6, 187.

5. SRO, GD247/139, Scroll of the Tailzie for the estate of Duchrae and others, 9.

6. Ibid.

gorged with a Ducal Coronet".⁷ Andrew Thomson of Faslane in Lanarkshire procured a coat of arms in 1760, the figuration being an interesting combination of pride in commercial success and an accompanying desire for the conventions of the landowning classes. The crest encompassed a hand holding a bunch of lint flowers in bloom, with the motto Industriae Munus.⁸

Successful merchants wished to attain the marks of landed respectability but there is little sign of a simple antithesis between the superiority of the landed estate and the inferiority of the counting-house. One gets an impression of a justifiable pride in mercantile achievement which is hinted at in the legend included in Thomson's coat of arms. It will be pointed out below⁹ how entry into county society was valued by the merchant group, yet, at the same time, how there was a co-existing and vital urban culture. The Literary Society of Glasgow, The Anderson Club, the Buchanan Society, the Sacred Music Society and the Humane Society were all manifestations of this and were well supported by the colonial merchant community.¹⁰ In 'Hints to those who are destined for a mercantile life', a sort of primer for budding merchants, the anonymous commentator spoke glowingly of

... that honourable character, a British merchant, who has acquired opulence with integrity and who is able to enjoy and adorn it with a noble liberality.

and went on to contrast the drawbacks of the life of 'a fine gentleman and... a man of pleasure!', who is 'always adorning his person and frequenting theatres, assemblies and public gardens ...' with the solid

7. Crawford and Robertson, op. cit., 348.

8. C.G. Thomson, 'An Old Glasgow Family of Thomson', Paper read before members of the Old Glasgow Club, 19 January, 1903.

9. Vide infra, 432.

10. Duncan, op. cit., 132; Vide supra, 79-81 ; see lists in the Glasgow Almanack for the 1790s.

virtues of the hard working man of business.¹¹ Likewise the contemporary Glasgow statistician, James Cleland, became fulsomely lyrical over the achievements of commerce:¹²

These are thy blessings, Industry! rough power! Nurse of Art, by thee, the City rear'd in beauteous pride her tower-awarded head; and commerce brought into the public walk the busy market, the big warehouse built; rais'd the strong crane; choak'd up the loaded street. With foreign plenty: All is the gift of industry.

Commerce, and especially colonial trade had a prestige and a validity of its own, yet the merchant elite were also keen to embrace the conventional pursuits of the gentry. There is little to be wondered at here because several of them were the scions of landowning families. They showed considerable interest in that growing obsession of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the preservation of game for sport. Members of the Rutherglen Association to 'preserve the game and fences on their estates' included in the early 1790s, Robert Houston Rae, William McDowall III and James Somervell along with such illustrious 'county' figures as the Duke of Hamilton, Sir John Stuart of Castlemilk and Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood.¹³ James Dunlop, Andrew Buchanan, Robert Bogle and John Buchanan of Ardoch were all members of a 'Game Association' established for the same purposes.¹⁴ A contemporary print of 'a Meet of the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire Foxhounds at Crookston Castle, Renfrewshire' shows a whole array of 'mercantile gentry', James Oswald, William Cunninghame, Robert Dummore, Charles Stirling,

11. Glasgow Courier, September 15, 1791.

12. James Cleland, The Annals of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1817), 344.

13. Glasgow Mercury, September 14, 1790.

14. Glasgow Courier, September 1, 1792.

Alexander Dennistoun and Archibald Bogle.¹⁵

Again the legal and administrative posts, which formed the cornerstone of the landowners' authority, were infiltrated by merchants.

Among those Lanarkshire J.P.s who subscribed an oath of loyalty to the King in 1793, were Andrew Buchanan, William McDowall III, James Hopkirk of Dalbeth, John Campbell of Clathick, James Dunlop of Garnkirk, and Lawrence Dinwiddie of Germiston.¹⁶

Six years earlier, Robert Bogle, James Ritchie, James Corbett, John Wallace, Andrew Houston, John Alston, Robert Dinwiddie, were also designated J.P.s in the same county.¹⁷ Colonial merchants were among those selected to be Deputy Lord Lieutenancies in the 1790s. John McCall of Braehead and Robert Bogle of Daldowie were Deputy Lieutenants for Lanarkshire;¹⁸ William McDowall III was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire in 1793;¹⁹ James Dennistoun of Colgrain, John Buchanan of Ardoch, Archibald Buchanan of Auchintorlie were Deputy Lieutenants of Dunbartonshire during the Napoleonic War period.²⁰ Likewise, George Oswald, James Dennistoun, Archibald Smith, Robert Findlay, John Gordon, Cunninghame Corbett and John Alston had been created land and income commissioners for the counties around Glasgow by the wartime government - probably as much for their accounting experience as

15. Old Glasgow Exhibition Catalogue, 152.

16. Glasgow Journal, January 22, 1793.

17. Reprint of Jones's Directory of Useful Pocket Companion for the 1787 with an introduction and notes of Old Glasgow Celebrities by 'the Rambling Reporter' (Glasgow, 1868).

18. H.B. McCall, Memoirs of My Ancestors (Birmingham, 1884); M.L. Bogle MSS, Bundle 66, Instructions by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton...

19. Crawford and Robertson, op. cit., 358.

20. SR0, Buchanan of Auchintorlie Papers, GD1/512/33, Minutes of the General Meeting of the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies for the County of Dumbarton, 27 July, 1802.

for their 'respectability'.²¹

There is, however, an obvious danger, in overemphasising the degree of mercantile penetration into positions of social and political power. Close examination of the names cited above immediately dispels any notion of wholesale 'bourgeois' conquest of the landed interest's traditional preserves. The merchants quoted represented the very highest echelons of the Glasgow colonial merchant community. Few could equal the income of a McDowall - who owned lands to the value of £287,000 in three counties - or a James Dunlop - whose estates were sold for £88,000 - an Oswald or a Ritchie.²² Almost by definition they were atypical of their fellow merchants. A second point is that the great majority of those who attained offices through possession of a landed estate were themselves related to the gentry around Glasgow or were the sons or grandsons of men who had obtained estates long before the period under consideration: that is, they were as much members of the landowning classes as were the traditional landholders. James Dunlop of Garnkirk could trace his ancestors back to the Dunlops of that ilk in Ayrshire;²³ Archibald Smith was the younger son of a Stirlingshire laird, James Smith of Craigend;²⁴ John Wallace²⁵ and Robert Dunmore were the sons of merchant lairds.²⁶ James Dennistoun was the direct descendant of one of the first Norman knights to settle in Scotland and whose family's 'proud boast', according to a nineteenth century Dunbartenshire historian was '... not that they had

21. Glasgow Courier, November 17, December 8, 1798; August 8, 10, 1799.

22. PP, Report on Mr McDowall's Petition (1800), 428.

23. ML, MS Notes on the Family of Dunlop of Garnkirk, 68.

24. Ibid., 3-4.

25. Old Glasgow Exhibition Catalogue, 75.

26. Anon., View of the Merchants' House of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1866), 531; Brown, op. cit., BK. II, 179.

come of kings, but that kings had come of them ...²⁷ Archibald Buchanan's family had held land for generations and he himself had inherited Auchintorlie from his uncle, George.²⁸ The McDowalls were of ancient lineage in Wigtonshire.²⁹ Cunninghame Corbett was from a family of lesser lairds in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and had fallen heir to Tollcross on the death of his father.³⁰ In fact, of the merchants who had been appointed to the type of office discussed only John McCall and Robert Findlay could be classified as first generation newcomers to landed status.³¹

The powerful force exerted by the factor of prestige in mercantile landbuying cannot be overestimated, but it is submitted that an explanation which explains the movement of merchants into land solely in these terms would be wholly inadequate. 'Rational' economic calculation also played a major role.

Colonial merchants commonly invested in mineral-bearing land. The twin factors of rising demand for coal in the town of Glasgow and the evolution of new transport developments such as the Monkland and Forth and Clyde Canals, turnpikes and waggonways prompted a desire to invest in coal-producing areas.³² Advertisements for the sale of estates, later purchased by colonial merchants, emphasised opportunities for coal exploitation. Thus, when Jordanhill was put up for sale in 1799, the Houston

27. Irving, *op. cit.*, 494.

28. SR0, GD1/512/21, Liferent disposition of the estate of Auchintorlie and others by George Buchanan.

29. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 377, n 10.

30. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 5.

31. For a full breakdown of the estate interests of those concerned see Appendix XIV; for McCall and Findlay see Appendix I.

32. Duckham, *op. cit.*, 217-18.

family's lawyers pointed out how, of the £500 annual rental, £80 was made up of coal royalties paid by William Dixon of the Govan Coal Company.³³ There was an obvious connection between the rising coal prices of the late 1780s and Robert Dunmore's land purchases in Stirlingshire. He bought small areas in the parishes of Kilsyth, Baldernock and Campsie and as an advertisement noted in 1795, his mines were '... most advantageously placed for an extensive sale of both coal and lime.'³⁴ James McCall had purchased Belvidere in 1798. When advertised, it was pointed out that the estate was a mere two miles from Glasgow and that 'the lands abound with coal, which, from the vicinity of Glasgow, may become extremely valuable'.³⁵ Lainshaw, William Cunninghame's large estate in Ayrshire, had 'plenty of coal and limestone in every part of it', and, as has already been noted, Thomas Hopkirk and Archibald Smellie had extensive seams of coal on their lands.³⁶

James Dunlop's post-1783 property purchases all had three elements in common: proximity to Glasgow, cheap transport there, and the availability of extensive mineral resources (both of coal and iron ore) on the lands to be acquired.³⁷ Dunlop was the outstanding example of a merchant buying up mineral-bearing land but he was by no means unique. In the two decades between the ending of the American War of Independence and the turn of the century, Andrew Buchanan of Ardenconnal, William French, John Campbell of Clathick, George Coats and James Hopkirk were all buying

33. Glasgow Courier, November 12, 1799; GCA Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TD1/38/27, George Oswald to Arch. Smith, 23 December, 1800.

34. OSA, XVIII, 239; XV, 331; Glasgow Mercury, January 19, 1796.

35. Glasgow Courier, November 28, 1797.

36. Edinburgh Evening Courant, August 9, 1775; Old Country Houses, sections XXXII, XXXVII.

37. Vide supra, 358-61.

small estates in the mineral-rich parishes of Old and New Monkland and, interestingly enough, purchasing was concentrated in the period after the opening of the Monkland Canal in 1793.³⁸ All were already substantial estate owners and were searching for smaller pieces of land, not for amenity or prestige, but as economic assets. Archibald Speirs held his main estates in Renfrewshire yet he also purchased smaller, if extremely valuable, areas in Lanarkshire and so in 1804 was able to obtain the promise of lucrative royalties when he gave a sub tack to the Shotts Iron Co. '... of the coal, ironstone, lime-stone, fire clay and all other metals and minerals ...' in these lands.³⁹

Another major 'economic' reason making for estate purchase was the rising land values and changing land uses (which put land at a higher premium) of the late eighteenth century. In such a period, the buying of an estate and later the selling of it could lead to substantial capital gains. The evidence for dramatic increases in land values in the areas around Glasgow at this time is quite conclusive. In 1791 an anonymous commentator noted how in Lanarkshire, the prices of many estates had doubled in the previous decade; in Renfrewshire 'The real rent' was '... nearly double, if not more than it was forty years ago', and in the Barony of Glasgow, 'the rents are everywhere rising'.⁴⁰ The Bogle estate of Whitehill, unsaleable in 1778 at £3,200 during a period of great credit stringency, was sold in 1809 for £15,000.⁴¹ To the age-old

38. For Buchanan, see SRO, PRS (Lanarkshire), 25/138; French - SRO, GRS 415/35; Campbell - PRS (Lanarks) 25/164-166; Coates - PRS (Lanarks) 27/87; Hopkirk - PRS (Lanarks) 29/189.

39. SRO, PRS (Lanarks), 32/171.

40. Scots Magazine, LIII (1791), 562-3; OSA, I, 324; XV, 498; VII, 379; XIII, 117; John Naismith, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clydesdale (Glasgow, 1798), 80.

41. ML, Bogle MSS, Bundles 54, 59, Missive Letter upon the sale of Whiteinch, 12 October, 1809.

influx of 'new' landlords, their desire for estates bidding up the price of land, had been added the stimulus of an incipient Industrial Revolution boosting mineral rentals and mill-site values. Again, the 'improving movement' and its essential base, population growth, had encouraged the raising of rentals. This environment led to a fluidity in the land market as particular estates passed from one merchant to another, with capital gains as the end of the operation. James Mackenzie in 1798 purchased from his fellow West Indian merchant, John Gordon, a section of his estate of Cullochfauld, renamed it Craigpark and built an elaborate mansion on it.⁴² Alexander Oswald had obtained Langlands in the parish of Govan in 1782 and two years later sold it to James McCall.⁴³ Peter Murdoch acquired his estate in Renfrewshire by purchase from Archibald Speirs.⁴⁴ Lands adjacent to the main estate, outlying lands or marginal areas of the estate were particularly suitable for such transactions. Such land was simply one of a merchant's many assets to be used judiciously for profit maximisation.

Again, anyone with lands in the immediate vicinity of Glasgow was likely to have a highly remunerative investment in the late eighteenth century. From 1783 onwards the town was in the throes of a virtually continuous building boom which resulted in steady movement outwards from the core of the old town in the area around the Gallowgate.⁴⁵ When the estate of Ibrox was advertised in 1812 to the customary line of '... a desirable purchase as an estate ...' was added '... containing good

42. View of Merchants' House of Glasgow, 535.

43. SR0, GRS, 412/223.

44. SR0, PRS (Renfrewshire), 33/232. See also a similar transfer of outlying lands between James Dunlop and John Mackenzie, SR0, PRS (Glasgow), 22/412.

45. Vide supra, 69.

situations for building ...' and it was pointed out that the area was in an excellent position as 'a speculation for letting out for villas'.⁴⁶ A similar advertisement for Whiteinch, Whitehill and Daldowie appeared when they were put up for sale in 1808-9.⁴⁷ In this period Alexander Oswald of Shieldhall emerged as a relatively new type of merchant landowner - a speculator in land, holding particular areas for brief periods until a profitable sale was possible.⁴⁸ Archibald Smith of Jordanhill and George Oswald of Scotstoun, whose estates were strategically placed in relation to Glasgow's expansion, were congratulating one another in 1800 as they realised that leasing land to farmers or mine-owners was much less remunerative than dividing it up into plots for the construction of villas.⁴⁹ The amenity value of an estate was ruthlessly subordinated to its function as an economic asset by those merchant-landowners fortunate enough to be in the path of urban expansion.

Possession of a viable area of land would also offer the colonial merchant attractive advantages within his own commercial regime. Credit accommodation was more likely to be given those who held the safest assets and it is a commonplace of eighteenth century economic history that land represented the most solid and most enduring security.⁵⁰ Thus traders had a quite powerful motive to acquire this valuable commodity. The Bogles of Daldowie, the family who were among the outstanding pioneers of the Glasgow-Virginia tobacco trade in the late seventeenth

46. Glasgow Courier, March 17, 1812.

47. Glasgow Herald, June 10, 1808; August 14, 28, 1809.

48. R. Reid, Old Glasgow and its Environs (Glasgow, 1864), 28.

49. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill MSS, TD1/38/27, George Oswald to Archibald Smith, 23 December, 1800.

50. B.F. Duckham (op. cit., 194) has pointed out how landed coal-masters '... stood a better chance of cash-credits than many tradesmen'.

century, would almost certainly have had their property sequestrated after the financial crisis of 1772 if credit had not been obtained from George Bogle's friends who were willing to advance loans only if the estates of Daldowie and Whiteinch were offered them in trust as security.⁵¹ Examples could be multiplied of land being utilised in this way. A few must suffice. The partners of Alexander Houston & Co. were able to borrow a total of £304,000 on the security of their landed estates in Scotland between 1794 and 1800.⁵² As the spectre of financial collapse hovered over Buchanan, Hastie & Co. in 1775, James Buchanan raised £2,000 on the security of Drumpellier.⁵³ James Dunlop sen. in 1763 was trying to borrow £10,000 from four other merchants, but no cash was to be transferred until Dunlop's estate of Garnkirk was put up as security.⁵⁴

However, as has been stressed above, there was an ambiguity in land's role as a desirable asset. Broad acres were safe from depreciation but they were also extremely illiquid as a financial asset. The results of this were not entirely detrimental to the merchant-landowner: debtors would be unwilling to bring a creditor's landed security to sale if they were going to experience difficulty in selling it at a price which would at least recoup them for a proportion of their loan. This may well have been a factor in the persistence with which Alexander Houston & Co. survived for nearly ten years although besieged by creditors. The sale of the partners' land (valued in 1800 at over £390,000) would have been self-defeating. It is doubtful if the land market could have absorbed such

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51. ML, Bogle MSS, Bundle 54, Memorandum for Mr. Bogle of Daldowie, 2.
52. SRO, BCP, 1, 58, 514, Answers for William Cunninghame of Craigie... 21-2.
53. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 218/783 DAL, Bond, Buchanan and Naismith to Wm. Clavil, 13 September, 1775.
54. SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 234/699 DUR, Heritable Bond, Dunlop to Dunlop.

quantities during wartime, when liquidity was at a premium, without showing a drastic decline in the price of the estates. Creditors thus restrained themselves: they would have been the losers.⁵⁵ Yet, using the same example, it is just as clear that Houstons would not have found themselves in such an extreme situation if their funds had been more liquid: funds outdistanced debts by over £223,000 at the time of their bankruptcy.⁵⁶ In periods of growing credit restriction when liquid funds were essential to combat the drying up of bank loans, with creditors demanding payment and debtors unwilling or unable to pay and all in the context of a highly volatile and speculative trade, disproportionate investment in land could prove a considerable obstacle to a merchant's successful negotiation of a crisis.

One final likely motive for mercantile penetration into land can be considered now. Land's function as a secure asset made it an excellent method of safeguarding the livelihood of wives, minors and spinster daughters on the decease of a merchant: only returns from government and canal stock could rival it in this regard in the period under examination. Examples can be found of widows investing their savings in merchant houses and industrial units but these were almost certainly not typical. At the failure of Buchanan, Hastie and Co., for instance, John Brown of Moore, Carrick and Co., a leading Glasgow banking firm, pointed out that the Buchanans owed £50,000 'mostly bonded money' in Glasgow and that '... much of the money they owe belongs to orphans and widows that cannot well afford it'.⁵⁷ There are several similar examples of such lending throughout the entries of the Register of Deeds and occasionally

55. Baillie's Inst., Library, A.H. and Co. Law Papers, Advertisement for sale of lands ...

56. Ibid.

57. ML, Bogle MSS, Box XCI, Old John Brown's Recollections Vol. II, 54. For a list of their creditors see SRO, Currie DAL, Seq., BI/I, Buchanan, Hastie & Co. (1777), and below Appendix XI.

an odd reference to a widow's full membership of a copartnership agreement. For instance, Neil Buchanan's widow in 1768 held £500 of the capital stock of the Pollokshaws Printfield Co.⁵⁸

Such investments, though often lucrative, were by their very nature precarious and for the purposes of obtaining a secure long-term income for dependents in the later eighteenth century, Glasgow merchants were still looking to land. The holding of government stock may have been another route to a 'rentier' income yet an examination of the surviving testaments of several of the merchants under discussion reveals only a very narrow and limited investment in such securities. William Cunninghame had an income of over £400 from government funds and East India Co. stock in 1800; a considerable sum, but one which fades a little in comparison with the annual rental from his several landed properties which approached the £3,600 mark.⁵⁹ Andrew Houston at his death had owing him £4,442 - from the Greenock Banking Co., the Dumbarton Glasswork Co., and Alexander Brown & Co. - but there is no mention of income from government stock.⁶⁰ Thomas Hopkirk had investments in concerns as diverse as the Gourock Ropework Co. and the Glasgow Theatre Co. but again there is no reference to government securities.⁶¹ The testaments of George Kippen, John McCall, and John Riddell reveal a similar pattern.⁶²

Return on canal shares in the West of Scotland did offer an

58. SRO, Buchanan of Auchintorlie Papers, GD1/512/14, Memorial submitted to the trustees appointed by the deceased Mrs. Neil Buchanan.

59. SRO, GD247/141, Jotting of income, October 2, 1800.

60. SRO, Commissariat of Glasgow Testaments, 1801-23, CC9/7/78/181.

61. Ibid., CC9/7/80/514.

62. SRO, CC9/7/79/344; CC9/7/650; CC9/7/84/253.

attractive investment. The Forth and Clyde Canal was one of the most profitable of the man-made waterways which traversed central Scotland in the late eighteenth century.⁶³ There is evidence of mercantile involvement both in this venture and in the Monkland Canal but it is doubtful, however, if returns on such interests were at once secure and sufficient enough to meet the needs of clusters of female relatives.⁶⁴

At the same time merchants had a legal obligation to maintain their spouses. Almost universally life-rent provision for wives were written into marriage contracts. When Archibald Ingram wed Rebecca Glassford he consented to pay a life-rent annuity of 2,000 marks 'Scots money' and in his settlement it was emphasised that he had to do with his funds as was set out in his marriage contract.⁶⁵ David Russell obtained a handsome dowry of £1,000 sterling on his marriage to Elizabeth McCall but he also had to promise to pay her a substantial life-rent.⁶⁶ John Riddell was similarly bound before his betrothal to Elizabeth Campbell.⁶⁷

It is within this context of few alternative safe investments and legal obligations to provide for a family in the event of the death of the breadwinner, that much mercantile landbuying must be seen. According to the convention of primogeniture James McCall's estates of Meikle Govan and Deanfield were disposed to Samuel, his eldest son, but only

63. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, 34-7.

64. *Vide infra*, 467-72.

65. Baillie's Inst., Library, Sederunt Book of the Trustees of Arch. Ingram, 4; GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/7332.

66. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/9571, Contract of marriage between David Russell and Elizabeth McCall, 29 April, 1803.

67. *Ibid.*, B.10/5/9715, Contract of marriage between John Riddell and Elizabeth Campbell, 27 December, 1803.

... under the burden of the payments to Sarah Reid my wife of the sum of fifty pounds sterling money at two terms in the year by equal portions beginning the first term's payment at the first of these terms which shall happen after my death and so forth ternly thereafter during her lifetime ... 68

In addition, Samuel McCall had to lay aside £150 from annual rentals to provide three £50 annuities for his unmarried sisters, '... so long as they shall remain unmarried'. Mrs. McCall's share was to cease in the event of her remarrying.⁶⁹

John Alston inherited the estate of Westertoun in Dunbartonshire and Blythwood and Provanside in the Barony of Glasgow from his grandfather, John Millar. As well as being burdened with the expenses of Millar's 'sick bed' debts and funeral charges, Alston had to pay an annuity of £125 to Christine Cork, Millar's wife and a smaller sum to his grandfather's spinster daughters from the income of the estate.⁷⁰

The wealthiest of the merchant community were able to ensure the financial security and continued high status of their closest relatives by buying individual estates for them. James Dunlop of Garnkirk was disposing lands in Old and New Monkland throughout the 1780s to his wife: in the event of any financial disaster she, at least, would have a comfortable income.⁷¹ In the 1800s, the trustees of Alexander Speirs were buying land in Bothwell for the tobacco merchant's two unmarried daughters.⁷² William Cunninghame stipulated that his main estate of Lainshaw was to fall to his eldest son but Duchrae and other lands in

68. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/7587, Settlement of James McCall.

69. Ibid.

70. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/8814, Disposition and settlement by John Millar of Westertoun in favour of John Alston, 12 May, 1788.

71. SRO, GRS 411/64; PRS (Barony of Glasgow), 24/404.

72. SRO, GRS 680/238. For the disposition of Speirs's estates to his two elder sons and his wife, vide supra, 415.

Kirkcudbrightshire (rental £523..10..2d. per annum in 1800 as compared with Lainshaw's £2,123..3..3.) were to be divided to cater for the needs of subsequent children and grandchildren.⁷³

If a husband died without having made due provision for his spouse, a close relative could intervene. In 1800, for example, James Hopkirk, of Dalbeth bought land for his sister in the Old Monkland parish of Lanarkshire; her husband had died in the year previously.⁷⁴ Even when estates owned by merchants were sold, care was often taken to preserve at least a proportion of the widow's income. Archibald Smith purchased Jordanhill in 1801, - an estate owned for almost half a century by the wealthy West Indian merchants, the Houstons. Smith had paid £16,500 for the lands but retained £3,000 of the purchase price which was to be used as the basis for a life annuity for Lillias Clader, wife of Alexander Houston and grandmother of the then heir to the estate, Hugh Houston.⁷⁵ Similarly, the trustees of Alexander Campbell of Hallyards in 1817 considered that his widow '... should be secured in her jointure of Kingledoons...' one of Campbell's lesser properties but when his son Mungo attained majority and succeeded to his estate, Mrs. Campbell was to have '... either security of government stock or land which will yield a free revenue equal to her jointure'.⁷⁶

73. SRO, GD247/139, Scroll of the estate of Duchrae... ; GD247/141, Jotting of income, October 2, 1800.

74. SRO, PRS (Lanark), 29/189.

75. SRO, PRS (Renfrew), 46/15; GCA, Smith of Jordanhill MSS, TD1/15, Inventory of the Title Deeds belonging to Mr. Smith's heirs.

76. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Minute of meeting of trustees of Alex. Campbell of Hallyards, August 27, 1817.

IV

The widespread penetration into the agricultural sector of the lowland economy by colonial merchants could have important results on agrarian advance. A precise evaluation of the impact of mercantile land purchase on the economy of the countryside is, however, fraught with difficulties. To isolate their role in the gathering momentum of the 'agricultural revolution' after 1783 is a task full of immense problems given that, by that period, 'improvement' had become a relatively normal pursuit for most Lowland landowners: myopic concentration on the energetic efforts of merchant-landowners might give, to say the least, a distorted picture. A major pitfall in such an investigation is the very real danger of drawing general conclusions concerning merchants and agricultural change from the known examples cited by agricultural commentators of the time. It must be kept firmly in mind that even in the counties around Glasgow, merchant-landowners were by no means superior in acreage owned or in numbers to the 'older' landlords. Andrew Wight, in his tour of West-Central Scottish estates in the late 1770s, commented on ten lairds and aristocrats for every one 'arriviste' from the booming town of Glasgow.¹

Again, one must avoid the presentation of a simple a priori model of inevitable 'improvement' when a merchant purchased an estate. Professor Mathias has emphasised how persons reared in the skills of accountancy, of seeing outlay in terms of profit and loss and possessing much more fruitful sources of capital than the ordinary landlord would be likely to become very vigorous 'improvers'.² Whatever the general validity of this theory, examination of individual cases some-

1. Wight, op. cit., III, pt. 1, 200-300.

2. P. Mathias, The First Industrial Nation (London, 1969), 54-4.

times renders it less than foolproof. It could be argued, indeed, that newcomers from trade in their eagerness not to feel out of place in landed society might simply adopt the cosy norms of rural behaviour.

On the other hand, it might fairly be insisted that since 'improvement' had by the end of the eighteenth century become commonplace,³ newcomers could be expected to enter into the spirit of things. Yet, examples of stubbornly pedestrian behaviour on the part of merchant-landowners can be found. Andrew Wight criticised Richard Oswald's tenure of Auchencruive; although enclosures had been made before he acquired the estate, Wight concluded that 'this gentleman has more farms in his own hand than can be well managed, unless he were to make farming his ownly business ...'⁴ There was activity but Wight fulminated against Oswald's practice of enclosing with thorns and crabs in the same row which, in his opinion, '... will never thrive'. Even after allowance is made for the well known individuality of Wight's tastes, the impression is not good. He estimated that there was no 'improvement going on so substantial as to bear much additional rent'.⁵

All these obstacles to a judgement of the place of merchant-landowners in the agricultural economy are strengthened by the lack of extant evidence on merchant-owned estates. Manuscript material on landed estates is often embarrassingly rich yet the author was unable to trace a run of estate records for any of the merchants concerned in this analysis. More meagre material had to be utilised: jottings of estate income, fragments of accounts for short periods, and details on landed

3. A. Allardyce, (ed.), Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre (Edinburgh, 1888), II, 236.

4. Wight, op. cit., III, pt. I, 200-02.

5. Ibid.

investment extracted from legal records. Fortunately this was the period of the three great investigations into the agricultural state of Scotland - Wight's own Present State of Husbandry (1778-84), Sir John Sinclair's massive project which eventually bore fruit in the 'Old' Statistical Account (1793-96) and the county reports prepared for the Board of Agriculture and undertaken throughout the 1790s and early 1800s. On the basis of these, and, where possible local histories, an examination of the economic effects of mercantile land purchase was attempted.

The very fact of the extent of estate purchase by colonial merchants described in section one of this chapter must have had a rejuvenating effect on the land markets of Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, and Ayrshire. The more successful a merchant was in his primary interest of importing sugar or tobacco, the more did his landed resources increase in extent and value. By 1773 Alexander Speirs owned the following estates:

TABLE 45: Lands of Alexander Speirs to 1773

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Value</u>
Neilstonside	£14,000
Elderslie	6,000
Kings Inch	7,220
Arkleton	5,520
Deanside	3,944
Craigenfeoch	2,100
Muirhead	2,000
Bogside	1,500
	<hr/>
	£48,006.

SOURCE: GCA, Speirs Papers, TD131/4, Ledger B of A. Speirs, 1773-80.

In the same period, his stock in trade, in concerns ranging from Speirs' French and Co., trading to Maryland, to the Forth and Clyde Navigation

reached £77,631..18..3³/₄.⁶ By 1780 his landed assets had increased to over £100,000 made up as follows:

TABLE 46

Lands of Alexander Speirs to 1780

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Value</u>
Neilstonside	£14,000
Elderslie	9,000
Kings Inch	8,000
Arkleton	5,600
Deanside	4,000
Deanfield	2,750
Craigefeech	2,100
Muirhead	2,000
Bogside	1,500
Fulwood	16,600
Newton	7,750
Culereuch	15,020
Ganderston	8,400
Kilburn	1,000
Blowarthill and Yoker	7,446
Craigton	400
Overglen	2,025
Provenstone	1,365
	<hr/>
	£109,306

SOURCE: GCA, Speirs Papers, TD131/5, Ledger C.

Speirs died in 1783; two years afterwards the total landed property of the family was valued at £174,226.⁷

The extant accounts of other merchant-landowners tell a similar

6. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD131/4, Ledger B of A. Speirs, 1773-80, 1-33.

7. Ibid., TD131/7, Ledger, estate of Alexander Speirs, 41/5.

story. In 1783 James Dunlop had approximately £30,000 in trade and about £22,400 in land.⁸ A decade later three-quarters of his assets of over £174,000 were locked up in estates.⁹ Although James Somervell only received a gross rental of £480 from his lands of Hamilton Farm and had over £31,707 'in trade' in 1791, his trustees were instructed that after his death £20,000 was to be spent on the purchase of estates 'in whatever part of Scotland they may judge proper'.¹⁰ Rental from Alexander Campbell's lands compared favourably with his annual income from John Campbell sen. and Co., West India Merchants and Robert Humphreys and Co., cotton spinners. From the latter two concerns he obtained in 1817 £2,000 in profit and interest and in the same year received a total rental of £1,274..4..10.¹¹

This sample of the proportion of merchant funds held in landed property does give some indication of the wealth flowing into agriculture from trade. As will now be seen, such resources were not allowed to stagnate. The very fact that several of the estates purchased by merchants belonged to bankrupts¹² would imply a renewed vigour in what had formerly been debt-encumbered property. Thus William Cunninghame was able to pay off 'all the debts' on Lainshaw 'to the extent of the unlife-rented parts of the estate'. Within four years, he had achieved 'a small rise in rent' on one farm on the estate but to obtain this he had had to lay out over £100 in buildings 'besides other improvements'. Another farm was so exhausted when the property changed hands that

8. SL, CSP 406/21, Petition of James Dunlop ... appendix 2-3.

9. Dunlop Papers (GCA), Estate of James Dunlop, 23 March, 1793.

10. GCA, Sederunt book of James Somervell.

11. ML, Campbell, of Hallyards Papers, Meeting of trustees of Alex. Campbell, 27 August, 1817.

12. Vide supra, 426-7.

Cunninghame was obliged to keep it in his own possession 'under a course of improvement': as he pointed out, 'a great deal of money must be laid out upon the farm, before it can be safely put into the hands of any tenant'.¹³

Moreover, since some merchants were partly drawn to the land for prestige reasons, it could well be that they might purchase the coveted estate in a less favourably endowed area because their main interest lay in acquiring the social cachet of landownership. However, in the long term positive advances could be made. John Bowman purchased Ashgrove in Ayrshire 'from the motive of its being the place of his nativity'; the soil of the estate, however, was cold wet clay and 'part of it a sort of morass'. Bowman set out to increase the productivity of this 'wet obstinate land' by constructing hellow drains and by laying sand, sea-shells and lime on it 'in abundance'. This was then mixed into the soil by frequent ploughing and harrowing. The experiment on a limited acreage of land was a success and similar techniques were utilised in the later 1770s to improve the remainder of the estate.¹⁴

An examination of the agricultural state of the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton and Ayr illuminates several instances of notable 'improvements' by merchant-landowners. John Naismith in his extensive review of the rural economy of Lanarkshire in the 1790s, while noting 'how the great manufactures and commerce of the Clyde', had had a galvanising effect on demand for agricultural produce, lamented how,

The prospect of a quicker return and great gain,

13. SR0, GD247/140, Answers for W. Cunninghame to Petition of H.D. Cunninghame, 4 January, 1785; GD247/141, Account showing the price of the estate of Lainshaw.

14. Wight, op. cit., III, pt. 1, 281-2.

in traffic or manufacture, withdrew the capital and allured the most enterprising and ingenious part of the inhabitants from the cultivation of land. 15

Naismith, both here, and in the rest of his report to the Board of Agriculture, failed to take account of the reverse flow: the steady seepage of capital from trade and industry to land. The parish ministers of the county were more percipient.

In the late eighteenth century, the two parishes of Old and New Monkland had the reputation of containing some of the most productive land in the West of Scotland. 'A great part' of Old Monkland was enclosed and there were over 1,000 acres of plantations. The parish minister with typical hyperbole depicted a veritable extravaganza of fertility - so extensive were the orchards that '... the stranger is struck with the view: it has the appearance of an immense garden'.¹⁶ The proximity of the large and rapidly developing market of Glasgow was obviously an important factor in encouraging such developments but the local clergyman emphasised another element in the situation,

The reason why this parish is in such a high degree of cultivation is that when a merchant has been successful, he purchases a piece of land, builds an elegant villa and improves his property at the dearest rates. This accounts for the vast number of gentlemen's houses with which this parish is adorned, many of them finished in the greatest taste. 17

More precise evidence relating to two merchants who held property in this area adds a further dimension to these remarks. The Buchanan property of Drumpellier, containing between 900-1000 acres 'of fertile land', when brought to sale in 1806 was said to contain 'many valuable

15. James Naismith, General View of the County of Clydesdale (Glasgow, 1798), 79.

16. OSA, vii, 377.

17. Ibid., 379.

plantations, and to have been 'immensely improved' during the previous owners' tenure.¹⁸ Colin Dunlop acquired the lands of Sandyhill in the same parish. This piece of land was aptly named, 'the surface even to a considerable depth was of sand, almost uncovered with thin, hungry grass'.¹⁹ Dunlop began to plant Scots firs, an example followed by his fellow proprietors and because of these efforts, '... the traveller in a tract of three miles from Cawder water to the Clyde Ironworks sees a beautiful plantation of firs, pines, larches etc.'²⁰

Dunlop's son, James, was equally vigorous. When he took over Carmyle in 1778, 'the buildings ... were all in a ruinous condition, great part of the lands uninclosed, and the fences of the others in a most wretched condition...'.²¹ Taking into account what Dunlop had laid out 'in buildings, repairs and improvements' from then until 1793 it was reckoned that 'he did not draw 2 per cent for his purchase money'.²² The activities of the Buchanans, the Dunlops, and their fellow merchant landowners in these two parishes stimulated 'a spirit of emulation' and this bore fruit in the formation of an agricultural society which met monthly 'to communicate their knowledge and purchase the most proper books relating to their business'.²³

Perhaps the most interesting demonstrations of merchant efforts in land improvement were to be found in Renfrewshire. The centrepiece of the McDowall family's varied properties was the lovely estate of Castle-

18. Glasgow Herald and Advertiser, 10 November, 1806.

19. A. Brown, op. cit., II, 180-1.

20. Ibid., 182.

21. SL, CSP, Petition of James Dunlop ... appendix 5.

22. Ibid.

23. OSA, VII, 378. 'For Sir John Sinclair's praise of 'several opulent merchants who have either retired from business or have invested a part of their capital in land' see Appendix to the General Report of the Agricultural State of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1814) I, 28.

semple situated in that county. When, in 1794, it became necessary to dispose of some of his lands, William McDowall III warned his lawyer that only those estates which 'do not immediately join to Castlesemple' could be sold.²⁴ Whereas Garthland in Wigtonshire had been the family seat for generations, Castlesemple was more desirable from the aesthetic and from a financial point of view. It was set amid the booming textile centres of the Cart Basin and in the 1790s consisted of 502 acres of arable land, 25 acres of pasture and 178 of woodland. Rent accruing from the estate in 1808 was £2,123..10..6.²⁵ Castlesemple witnessed what was perhaps the most spectacular improvement scheme in the West of Scotland in the later eighteenth century.

In the 1770s, the loch of Lochwinnoch on the estate was endangering the surrounding arable land by flooding and itself represented a loss of about 500 acres to the productive capacity of the McDowall landed properties.²⁶ The first McDowall proprietor, Colonel William, made 'some progress' in draining the loch but it was during the lifetime of William II that the most successful attempts were made.²⁷ He decided to subordinate amenity to the effective exploitation of his estate; in his own words, he 'attended more to the soil than to the beauty of the water' and embarked on a project which his fellow landowners considered 'whimsical and chimerical' - the complete drainage of the loch.²⁸ The difficulties in carrying out such a scheme were formidable as a level could not be established except by the construction of a drain several

24. SRO, GD237/151/3, W. McDowall to Arch. Tod, 2 November, 1794.

25. SRO, GD237/139, Estimated rents of the lands of Castlesemple.

26. Wight, *op. cit.*, III, 322.

27. SRO, BCPI, 75756, James Dunlop & Co., versus W. McDowall (1801).

28. SRO, BCP I, 75, 756, Dunlop v. McDowall (1801).

miles long. McDowall thus began to build a canal up to the loch which served to drain several acres and '... as the water subsided, the canal was advanced into the loch which carried off much more water.'²⁹ Despite the sneers of his neighbours, McDowall completed the operation by 1776, 'as far as it could be done'.³⁰ An average of 50-60 men had been employed throughout the task and over £5,000 had been spent on this single improvement.³¹

Although the canal in the long term proved too shallow to drain the loch completely and indeed as the years passed the loch began slowly to fill up, one well informed observer considered that the expense and effort had been worthwhile:

land ... that is gained will do more than defray that expense and he has gained, besides, a very great embellishment, namely the canal, which is the finest serpentine river in Britain, of several miles in length, cut by a private gentleman, entirely at his own expense. 32

McDowall's successor, William III, did allow the loch to fill up, but his motives were probably dominated by a similar determination to gain maximum returns from his estate. He was facing a different set of circumstances from those which had confronted William II: the 1780s saw the first major expansion of the cotton industry in Scotland with Renfrewshire and, in particular, the Cart Basin as important centres.³³ William III did protest at this time that he was interested above all in preserving the loch as 'a fine piece of water, serving to adorn his

29. Wight, op. cit., III, 323.

30. SRO, BCP I, 75, 756, Dunlop v. McDowall (1801).

31. SRO, GD237/139, Notebook of work done at Castlesemple, 1770-78.

32. Wight, op. cit., III, 323.

33. N. Macintosh, 'Changing Population Distribution in the Cart Basin in the 18th and early 19th Centuries', Trans. Inst. of Brit. Geographers (1956).

beautiful seat of Lochwinnoch'.³⁴ Yet, it would be perhaps more accurate to suggest that by possessing the area of water which supplied the River Cart, he would be able to extract lucrative rentals from mill-owners further downstream. Certainly, as has been already noted,³⁵ this was at least one element in his calculations.

The other major investment in Castlesemple was in plantations. In the 1740s, according to the parish minister, there was 'not above thirty acres of natural wood in the parish'.³⁶ William II made considerable extensions to this. Detailed notes of work done in the plantations of the estate survive for the years 1771-88.³⁷ It would be tedious to repeat all the information extracted from these but some examples can be supplied to give an indication of the scale of operation involved. In March 1773, 1,200 birch and 1,200 oak trees were planted.³⁸ In the same year, 5,300 young birch were acquired from George Oswald's estate at Scotstoun and planted at Castlesemple on the Highland Braes, 'where lint and hemp had formerly grown'.³⁹ The following year, 10,000 young birch were planted throughout the estate and the McDowalls made use of their social position by graciously accepting a gift of 200 of these from the Duke of Argyll.⁴⁰ When Andrew Wight visited the property in 1778, he observed how all the 'rising grounds' were 'embellished with clumps of trees' and later in the century, local historians complimented the family for enriching '... the whole territory by extensive and judicious

34. SRO, GD237/134, Papers in process, Dunlop v. McDowall, 3-4.

35. Vide supra, 382.

36. OSA, XV, 67.

37. SRO, GD237/139.

38. SRO, GD237/139, Notebook containing summary of work done at Castlesemple, 24 March, 1773.

39. Ibid., 23 February, 1773.

40. Ibid., calculated from entries for 1774; 10 April, 1776.

planting of wood'.⁴¹

Where, as in the construction of the canal, the efficiency and economic viability of the estate was strengthened, care was also often taken to preserve amenity. Trees were planted along the canal banks, the sides were smoothed, turf laid down and pathways made.⁴² Similarly the extensive commercial plantings were opened up with pretty gravel walks and the impressive avenue leading up to the mansion house dotted at intervals with ash and willow.⁴³ A deer park had been established in one part of the estate, pheasants abounded in the woods 'together with a great variety of game'.⁴⁴ William III stocked the loch with Cape and Canadian geese 'in vast numbers', and with duck, teal and other water fowl.⁴⁵ The gardens of the property ran to nearly eight acres; these were partly used as nursery areas and were sheltered with wood and shrubbery. In addition, there were grape and peach houses under glass and over twelve miles of gravel walks and 'rydings'.⁴⁶ Clearly no effort was spared to cater for the typical leisure activities of the country gentleman. The economic efficiency and aesthetic appeal of the estate were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

When the lands were advertised for sale in 1808, one of their major assets was said to be their excellent network of internal communications and their ease of access to Glasgow and Paisley. Turnpike roads passed through Castlesemple and the Glasgow-Ardrossan Canal intersected it for

⁴¹ Wight op. cit., III, 320; Crawford and Robertson, op. cit., 349.

⁴² SRO, GD237/139, Notebook, 16 July, 1774.

⁴³ Ibid., 3 November, 1772; 7 March, 23 December, 1772.

⁴⁴ SRO, GD237/139, Advertisement of lands of Castlesemple ...

⁴⁵ NSA, VII, 82.

⁴⁶ SRO, GD237/139, Advertisement of lands of Castlesemple ...

about two miles, thereby 'offering a ready and advantageous communication with markets for the disposal of the produce of the lands'.⁴⁷ Much of this system was developed in the period 1771-7. In December 1771, gravel and rock quarries were being opened up to provide material for the roadway through Mercathill Yard.⁴⁸ In the Spring of the following year, this development, originally serving internal estate purposes, was extended to reach the road connecting Kilbarchan with Lochwinnoch.⁴⁹ In 1772-4 three additional roads were constructed to link various sections of the estate.⁵⁰ When the lands were breached by the drainage canal in 1774 a flurry of road-building activity began to connect the arable areas of the estate to it.⁵¹ Finally, during the period 1771-5 no less than three stone bridges were built on Castlesemple.⁵²

The bulk of this discussion of improvements on the McDowall property has been devoted to the activities of William II; however, this may be a reflection of the relative abundance of extant evidence referring to his tenure of the lands rather than of his real importance. His successor, William III may not have been any less energetic: in 1794, for instance, he was looking forward to obtaining 'in a few years' a yield of 8 - 9 per cent on his improvements, while at the same time regretting that 'every ornamental operation in regard to Castlesemple' had now to cease because of the financial difficulties of the Glasgow West India house in which he had an important share.⁵³

47. Ibid.

48. SR0, GD237/139, Notebook, 11 December, 1771.

49. Ibid., 24 March, 1772.

50. Ibid., 22 September, 1772; 13 May, 10 June, 19 July, 1773.

51. Ibid., 6-9 October, 1774; 2-10 August, 1775.

52. Ibid., 4, 9 September, 1772; 11 October, 1775.

53. SR0, GD237/151/3, W. McDowall to Arch. Tod, 2 November, 1794. Turnip-planting was regarded as an 'ornamental operation'.

The estate of Hagtonhill in Renfrewshire had been in merchant hands since William McDowall II obtained it in 1766.⁵⁴ By the early 1800s there had been a change of ownership. Alexander Campbell had bought it after the bankruptcy of the McDowalls.⁵⁵ This gave a renewed stimulus to development on the lands. Campbell 'improved' the farm steadings of Hagtonhill, constructed roads and built bridges: according to his brother Colin, Alexander's total outlay on the estate 'amounted to a very great sum'.⁵⁶ Yet another Renfrewshire property, the lands of Scotstoun, experienced change at the hands of the Glasgow tobacco merchant, George Oswald.⁵⁷ In the eyes of Andrew Wight, Oswald conformed to the classic type of merchant-landowner:

Mr. Oswald of Scotstoun, formerly in trade has turned his thought entirely to a country life, and to the improvement of his land ... to excite his tenants to improve their culture, he gives them lime yearly in proportion to their quantity of fallow, the profit of which will probably lead them to a better practice than what is common; especially as by means of the river [Clyde] they can bring dung from Glasgow at a moderate expense. ⁵⁸

James Milliken, one of the founder members of the firm which was later to develop into Alexander Houston & Co., was described by the minister of Kilbarchan in the 1790s as 'the first who introduced rural improvements' into the parish. Until his death in 1776, he 'spared no expense, esteeming nothing done, while anything remained undone'.⁵⁹ When Alexander Houston acquired Jordanhill in 1750 he began to enclose the whole estate and when the property was advertised for sale in 1800,

54. GCA, General Inventory of McDowall Title Deeds., 46.

55. ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, A. Campbell's estate revenue, August, 1817.

56. Ibid., Colin Campbell to Colin Campbell of Possil, 3 July, 1820.

57. OSA, XVII, 533.

58. Wight, op. cit., III, 288.

59. OSA, XV, 492.

19 of the 285 acres were said to be laid out 'in thriving plantations' and the lands were 'well inclosed and subdivided, partly with ditches and hedges, and partly with stone dykes'.⁶⁰ Developments continued along similar lines under the new landlord, the West India merchant, Archibald Smith.⁶¹

The estate of King's Inch, owned by Alexander Speirs, excited Andrew Wight's imagination as much as Castlesemple had done. In his opinion, they had few equals in Renfrewshire.⁶² As at Castlesemple, Speirs's arable land, though of a rich and deep loam, was liable to flooding from the Clyde. To combat this Speirs constructed a massive embankment.⁶³ However the excavation of the soil for this left a large and unsightly hole on the estate. Thus a canal, at some points 70-90 feet broad and about half a mile in length, was cut to move earth to this spot.⁶⁴

This was clearly an essential element in the comprehensive 'improvement' and ornamentation of the lands. King's Inch had been one of the first of Speirs's estate purchases, bought as early as 1760 for £8,000.⁶⁵ Twenty years later it was valued at £16,000, the increase being solely due, as Speirs himself was eager to point out, to the cash which had been invested in it.⁶⁶ The exertions of Alexander, and his heir, Archibald in this and in their other Renfrewshire properties, attracted the attention of Alexander Martin, author of the 1794 report on agricultural conditions in

60. P.A. Ramsay, Views in Renfrewshire with Historical and Descriptive notices (Edinburgh, 1839); Glasgow Courier, 12 November, 1799.

61. GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TD1/38/27, George Oswald to Arch. Smith, 18 December, 1800.

62. Wight, op. cit., III, 329-30.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD131/5, Ledger C, Valuation of heritable property, 1783.

66. Ibid.

the county. Martin considered that the Speirs family were, by that date, the only proprietors who had begun to enclose in the third division of Renfrew and that Archibald was establishing pleasure grounds at King's Inch by taking in a large field, which 'though consisting of a very wet and thin soil' was being improved by alternate crops of turnips, oats and grass.⁶⁷

The Speirs estate of Elderslie also received attention. In October 1776, 300 ash, 100 elm were planted there and in the following year no less than 3,000 ash, 1,000 beech and 3,000 fir.⁶⁸ Activity reached a climax in 1781, when 20,000 fir, 4,000 ash, 2,600 oak trees, and 700 beech were planted in various areas of the lands.⁶⁹ In addition, there are numerous extant references to Alexander Speir's aid to tenants. Thus, James Barr of the farm of Barmuflock agreed to take a tack of the farm of Blarock from Speirs for 27 years. The first year's rent was to be £30, the second £50 and thereafter was to rise according to agreement. In return, Speirs agreed to build a steading of houses on the farm and pay for 200 chaldrons of lime.⁷⁰ A similar arrangement was concluded with John Speirs sen., except in this instance Alexander was to supply 300 chaldrons of lime.⁷¹ An expert estate factor, David Owen, was employed to supervise all improvements on Speirs's estates and at his employer's death, in 1783, he confirmed that planting, ditching, hedging, fencing, additions to tenants' housing and draining had all been pursued vigorously during Alexander's tenure.⁷²

67. A. Martin, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Renfrew (London, 1794), 8, 13.

68. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD131/1, Cash Book, 1760-1778, entries for October, 19, 1776, 11 March, 1777.

69. Ibid., TD131/10, Diary of A. Speirs, May 1781.

70. Ibid., TD131/1, Cash Book, 1760-1778, 4 April, 1778.

71. GCA, TD131/1, Cash Book of A. Speirs, 1760-78, 4 April, 1778.

72. Ibid., TD131/13, Sederunt Book of the Trustees of A. Speirs, 20-1.

Yet, while stressing Speirs's eagerness to employ his vast wealth to purchase and improve various estates in Renfrewshire, it ought to be added that not all of his outlay found itself into such directly productive uses as have been described above. Full participation in the landlord's way of life demanded that conspicuous consumption should also be undertaken. Thus, between June 1780 and December, 1781, over £9,300 went on the construction of a new country house and in the same period a gross sum of £3,000 was used to purchase furniture for it.⁷³

Renfrewshire might rightly be regarded as the outstanding centre of agricultural innovation by merchant-landowners yet Ayrshire and Dunbartonshire also witnessed signal achievements by them. Immediately after his acquisition of Lainshaw in the former county in 1778, William Cunninghame began to build new farm steadings, the existing accommodation, in his opinion, being '... totally unfit for either man or beast lodging under them'.⁷⁴ Writing to his lawyer in 1786, he confirmed his intention to divide 'by ditch and dyke'.⁷⁵ The heritors of the parish of Kirkmichael in Ayrshire in the late eighteenth century included the Marquis of Ailsa, Sir Charles Dalrymple Ferguson and Sir David Hunter Blair of Blairquan; yet, looking back from the mid nineteenth century, the parish minister considered that Henry Ritchie, a Glasgow tobacco merchant, held 'the first place in this part of the country, as an improver of land'.⁷⁶ His example prompted the clergyman to remark piously,

'... his experience unites with that of other enlightened landowners in establishing the fact that no outlay of capital yields so high and certain a return as what is judiciously applied to the purposes of agricultural improvement. 77

73. Ibid., TD131/5, Ledger C, 42-3.

74. SR0, GD247/140, W. Cunninghame to W. Dick, 25 May, 1786.

75. Ibid.

76. NSA, v, 502.

77. Ibid.

Andrew Wight was particularly impressed by John Glassford's estate at Netherwood in Dumbarton. When the tobacco lord bought it around 1773 the ground was wet and moorish. Glassford, however, drew up an ambitious scheme of 'improvement', because, according to Wight, he was 'accustomed to lay out his money freely on bold adventures in trade'.⁷⁸ Manure was essential for the project and so a cut was made to the Forth and Clyde Canal which brought dung 'in abundance' from Glasgow.⁷⁹ Fortunately, the estate possessed good lime-rock; thus an expert limeburner from East Lothian was hired and the mineral liberally distributed on the land.⁸⁰ The sober Wight waxed lyrical over the results,

Many fields are now like gardens! How delightful the change! If his neighbours be not captivated by it, they deserve not to live. 81

In a letter to Wight, Glassford related how, when he first occupied the estate, the ridges were so very high that he was out 'a great deal of expense' to reduce them.⁸² Characteristically, Glassford confessed that he was unable to answer some of the more technical questions which Wight put to him. His task, as he saw it, was merely to provide 'the necessary means of improvement' for his overseers, '... I know very little myself of the proper management of a farm'. His motive was quite simple, 'I own I have pleasure to see improvements made'.⁸³

John Leitch purchased Kilmardinny in Dumbarton in 1801.⁸⁴ During this and throughout the following two years, Leitch expended £19,757..11..10

78. Wight, op. cit., III, 309.

79. Wight, op. cit., III, 309-15.

80. Glasgow Mercury, 19 February, 1784.

81. Wight, op. cit., III, 310.

82. J. Glassford to A. Wight, 12 September, 1778, in ibid., 314-16.

83. Ibid.

84. SRO, PRS (Dumbarton) 15/374.

on the improvement of this estate.⁸⁵ A comparison of sums spent on 'household furniture' and 'personal expenses' is instructive in this regard:

TABLE 47

John Leitch' Expenditure, 1798-1803

<u>Year</u>	<u>'Personal'</u>	<u>Household</u>	<u>'Improvement'</u>
1798-1802	-	£800	-
1798	£1343.17.10	"	-
1800	595.11. 7½	"	-
1801	175.13.11	"	£5,000
1802	271.11. 2	1,200	6,500
1803	409. 6. 3	-	8,757.11.0.

SOURCE: GCA, Journal of John Leitch, 1798-1806.

85. GCA, Journal of John Leitch, 1798-1806, 103.

V

The intersection of the countryside by road and canal was an outstanding feature of the agricultural and industrial revolutions in West Central Scotland. The activities of colonial merchants in the financing of at least some sections of the developing communications network can be traced. Robert Dunmore and Peter Speirs, for instance, were well to the fore in Stirlingshire in originating additions to social capital as essential bases to their interests in agriculture, mining, textile finishing and cotton-spinning. These two, together with Henry Glassford and John Buchanan of Ardoch, were four of the five organising trustees on the Stockymuir, Strathblane, and Crawford roads in the county.¹ During the winter months the roads in the parish of Balfron had been

1. Glasgow Courier, 10 September, 1803.

'altogether impassible'.² Robert Dunmore was instrumental in the improvement of these roads because he required to create an efficient means of communication between Glasgow and the cotton mill in which he had a share at Ballindalloch.³ His efforts, however, did not go unsupported:

... Those not immediately connected with the mercantile or manufacturing interests, readily afforded him the most liberal and manly support, and thereby materially aided both the particular interests of the manufacturing establishments and the general good of the country. ⁴

Peter Speirs, according to the parish minister, was also to be mentioned 'with honour', in connection with the establishment of communications in the area.⁵ Through their efforts and those of their fellow proprietors, a two-arched bridge was built at Ballindalloch and two turnpike roads constructed, one linking the village of Balfron with the city of Glasgow, the other joining Kippen with Glasgow.⁶

Merchant-landowners were active in other counties. Henry Glassford and Cunninghame Corbett were two of the trustees of the turnpike trust created to link Dinwiddie Green in Dunbartonshire to Elvanfoot in Lanarkshire.⁷ Andrew Buchanan of Ardenconnal, John Alston, Archibald Buchanan of Auchintorlie, James Dennistoun and John Buchanan were five of the twelve trustees of the road from Drymen Bridge to Dumbarton.⁸ The ubiquitous James Dunlop of Garnkirk was convener of the Committee of the Shotts and Airdrie trustees for considering an application for a renewal of their turnpike act: his colleagues included Andrew Stirling, Andrew Buchanan, Robert Bogle of Shettleston, Andrew Houston, Robert Houston Rae and

2. OSA, XVII, 533.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., Glasgow Mercury, 19 January, 1796.

6. Ibid.

7. Glasgow Herald and Advertiser, 23 January, 1809.

8. GCA, Probative Writs, B.10/12/8/51.

Alexander Houston of Rosehall.⁹

Any assessment of the degree of mercantile involvement in canal companies, the other major transport development of the late eighteenth century, encounters the major difficulty of paucity of evidence. The subscription lists for the two major inland waterways - the Forth and Clyde Canal and the Monkland canal - have not been discovered even after a vain search through the extant records of the two companies.¹⁰ Any conclusion therefore reached on the basis of the material unearthed on these two concerns must be treated as very tentative. In the case of the Crinan, Glasgow, Paisley and Ardrossan and Union Canals the records do allow more definite answers to be returned.

In 'a list of the Names of the Proprietors of the Crinan Canal as they stood on the 8th Day of May, 1793', only contributions from Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, the City of Glasgow, William McDowall III, George Oswald, Richard Oswald, Alexander Oswald, Henry Glassford and Henry Riddell could be described as originating from the pockets of colonial merchants.¹¹ Of the 284 subscribers, 61 were Campbells (a reflection of the Argyll interest in creating a cheap and quick route to Glasgow from the slate quarries of Eisdale)¹² and 143 names gave residential addresses in England. Details are given in Table 48 of the amounts subscribed to the venture by Glasgow colonial merchant families.

A similar picture of meagre mercantile interest is presented in the records of the Union Canal Co., and the Glasgow, Paisley and

9. Glasgow Mercury, 17 August, 1790; Glasgow Advertiser and Evening Intelligencer, 12 October, 1789.

10. SRO, BR/FCN/1/1, Forth and Clyde Canal Minute Book; NLS, Delvine Muniments, Papers relating to the Forth and Clyde Canal.

11. SRO, BR/CRI/2/1, Subscription List of Crinan Canal, 1793.

12. Lindsay, op. cit., 114.

TABLE 48Colonial Merchants and the Crinan Canal

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Amount Subscribed</u>	
W. McDowall III	2 shares	£100
Henry Glassford	"	"
George Oswald	"	"
Richard Oswald	"	"
Alexander Oswald	"	"
Henry Riddell	"	"
Total subscribed on first subscription	:	£55,225.
Total subscribed by Glasgow Merchants	:	£600.

SOURCE: SRO, BR/CRI/2/1, Subscription List of Crinan Canal, 1793.

Ardrossan Canal Co. At the various general meetings of the former from 1813 onwards not one Glasgow colonial merchant has been identified as having a share; the vast proportion of stockholders apparently resided in the East of Scotland and belonged, by and large, to the professional and landowning classes in that area. Only two members of the Glasgow business community, Charles Tennant and Henry Monteith, representatives of the emerging industrialist class, appear to have had any interest in it.¹³ Again, of the 158 subscribers to the Glasgow, Paisley and Ardrossan Canal Co., only two were designated 'merchants in Glasgow' and neither of these was recognisable as a colonial trader. Most subscriptions were paid up by groups in Paisley and the immediately adjacent area.¹⁴

13. SRO, BR/EGU/1/1; 4 others gave residential addresses in Glasgow, 3 were lawyers and 1 an engineer.

14. SRO, BR/GPA/1, Extract minutes of the General Assembly of the Co. of Proprietors held at Paisley, 6 November, 1817, 155-6.

The relationship between colonial capital and West of Scotland canal construction might justifiably be regarded as closest in the financing of the Monkland Canal. The venture itself was the direct result of the rapidly rising 'scarcity of coals' in the Glasgow area and the consequent high costs to sugar-houses, bottleworks, and breweries, in all of which colonial merchants had extensive interests.¹⁵ In addition, Glasgow Town Council, at this time dominated by these men, was the prime mover behind the enterprise and had encouraged and commissioned James Watt to carry out his original survey of 1769.¹⁶ Finally, the coal-bearing Monklands had long exerted an attraction for merchants eager to buy themselves into land which would offer solid financial return as well as gains in prestige. The Dunlops, Buchanans and Stirrings all owned estates in the two Monkland parishes.¹⁷ A full breakdown of the original £3,600 subscribed to the canal company in February-March, 1770 gives an impression of the strength of mercantile participation, (Table 49).

Of the total of £3,600 initially subscribed, £1,600 was contributed by colonial merchants, £500 by the town of Glasgow, £1,200 by landowners (most of them with estates in the Monklands), and £300 by non-colonial merchants. Of the remaining £6,400 of the final capital stock of £10,000, £2,200 was paid up by twenty Glasgow 'merchants', some of whom, such as Archibald Ingram, John Campbell and George Buchanan were principally involved in the tobacco trade.¹⁸

With credit difficulties in the Scottish economy, rising material

15. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, 53-4; G. Thomson, 'James Watt and the Monkland Canal', *SHR XXXIX* (1950), 121.

16. Ibid.

17. See generally, Appendix XIV.

18. SL, CSP 457/6.

TABLE 48

Subscribers 'towards defraying the expense of
making a navigable canal from the Coalierys [sic] in
the paroches [sic] of old and new Monkland',

February - March, 1770.

	<u>Subscriber</u>	<u>Subscription</u>
x	James Buchanan of Drumpellier	£700
	John Aitkinson of Russolloch	300
	George Thomson, 'merchant in Glasgow'	100
	John Morthland	100
x	Robert Dreghorn of Ruchill	100
	Robert Coulter of Garthwick	100
x	John Glassford of Dougalston	200
	John Wark of Rinns	100
	Robert Dick of Gartsherrie	200
	Archibald Hamilton of Dalziell	200
	Marion Hamilton, of Dalziell	100
x	Alexander Speirs	200
x	Hugh Wylie	100
	James Grasset 'merchant of Bredisholm'	100
	John Colhoun	100
x	James Buchanan 'by appointment of the Magistrates of Glasgow'	500
	George Hamilton of Provenhall	100
x	James Ritchie	200
x	John McCall	100
		<u>£3,600.</u>

x = merchant with interests in colonial trade.

SOURCE: GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B.10/5/7368.

and labour costs and exhaustion of the original subscription, work came to a halt on the Monkland Canal in 1773. By that date seven miles had been completed.¹⁹ Eight years later the canal was sold by public auction and of the ten new proprietors, four were tobacco merchants - Will-

19. Lindsay, op. cit., 57.

iam French, Alexander Speirs, John Glassford, and William Coats.²⁰ However, by the end of the 1780s, control of the venture had gradually passed to the Stirling brothers who were partners in the Glasgow merchant firm of William Stirling & Co.²¹ The fortune of the Stirling family had first been made in colonial trade.²²

Thus, about 1790 'the whole stock and property' of the Monkland Canal, consisting of 101 original shares, equal to £10,000, was transferred to William Stirling & Sons, and to William Stirling as an individual. The latter held 45 shares and the company (in which William held two-fifths interest, John two-fifths, and James Stirling one-fifth) the remaining 56 shares.²³ William thus possessed more than two-thirds of the stock of the canal. His motives in acquiring such a proportion of the capital seem obvious. He had purchased the lands of Drumpellier in the Monklands in 1777 from the Trustees on the sequestrated estate of his uncle, James Buchanan.²⁴ These were rich in coal; with the completion of a cheap transport system to connect his property with a rapidly expanding fuel demand in Glasgow, lucrative profits from coal mining seemed very probable. After construction ended in 1793, indeed, it was estimated that over seventy-five per cent of the traffic arose out of Stirling's coal trade.²⁵

The Stirlings expended considerable sums on bringing the scheme to

20. Glasgow Mercury, 2 August, 1781; SL, CSP 457/6; the others were Andrew and John Stirling, W. Morthland, W. Craig and the Trades House of Glasgow.

21. SL, CSP 457/6.

22. Old Country Houses, 84-5; SRO, Customs Accounts, Greenock, E.504/15/33; McCure, op. cit., 170.

23. SL, CSP 441/62, Answers for W. Stirling of Drumpellier ... 2.

24. Old Country Houses, 86; Buchanan was the single largest shareholder in the original subscription for the canal.

25. SL, CSP 441/62, Answers for A. Stirling ... 4.

a successful completion. Although they obtained the ownership of the canal in 1792 fairly cheaply because the original company '... were willing to part with it for whatever it would bring', they had a necessary immediate outlay of £12,000 on locks and were at further expense as a result of extending the canal 'into a richer coal district than any before it had passed through.'²⁶

Details on the capital structure of the Forth and Clyde Canal Co. are much more elusive. Subscription accounts do not appear to have survived and the author had to make do with stray references found in the ledgers of individual merchants and with material extracted from the minute book of the company. It seems certain that Glasgow colonial merchants did not have the same proportionate interest in this concern as they had in the Monkland Canal project. For one thing the authorised share capital - £150,000 - considerably dwarfed the original Monkland subscription of £10,000. Again, the more ambitious plan of linking the Forth estuary and the Clyde would be likely to require, as well as to attract, financial backing from a wider scatter of landowning groups.

The early general meetings of the subscribers show only a limited mercantile interest. At the first, held in St. Albans Tavern in London, in May 1767, only one Glasgow subscriber was present. This was Richard Oswald.²⁷ In the committee of thirty appointed then, only Richard and his brother James, could be said to represent the Glasgow merchant community and this weighting may give some idea of the proportionate financial share of this group in the enterprise itself. The vast majority of interested parties were aristocrats such as the Dukes of Bedford and Queensberry and lairds such as Patrick Miller and Sir

26. SL, CSP, 441/62, Answers for A. Stirling ... 3.

27. SRO, BR/FCN/1/1, Meeting of the subscribers for making a Navigable Cut or Canal, St. Albans Tavern, 27 May, 1767.

Robert Dalziel.²⁸ The fact that the meeting was held in London may explain to some extent the relative lack of Glasgow participation but even at the first General Meeting held nearer the city, in November 1768, at Edinburgh, only two Glasgow colonial merchants - Alexander Speirs and John Mackenzie - out of a total of sixty-nine were present.²⁹ Speirs himself had £1,700 invested in the company in 1773 but by 1783 this had been cut back to £1,200.³⁰

In the absence of a detailed subscription list for the Forth and Clyde Canal, the only means by which the degree of mercantile interest could be even approximately assessed was by a close examination of existing merchant wills, sederunt books and balance books, (see Table 50).

The twenty names cited in Table 50 represent a sample of the wealthier section of the Glasgow merchant community, that is of that group who, because of their financial resources and ambition, took part in other ventures in addition to their primary interest in colonial trade. Taken with the evidence of the Forth and Clyde Canal Minute Book, the table does suggest a fairly limited connection between colonial traders and this particular inland navigation.

Only the unwary would care to make a general conclusion on the impact of colonial merchants on the agricultural economy of lowland Scotland on the basis of the detailed study carried out in this chapter. There is no doubt about the objective fact of widespread penetration of merchants into land-ownership around Glasgow throughout our period. It

28. Ibid., passim.

29. Ibid., General Meeting of the subscribers for making a navigation between the Forth and Clyde, 29 November, 1768.

30. GCA, Speirs Papers, TD 131/4, Ledger B, 1773-80, 33; TD 131/5, Ledger C, 35.

TABLE 50

Colonial Merchants and the Forth & Clyde Canal

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Share</u>
Alexander Campbell	ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers	-
John Campbell (Clathic)	SRO, CC9/7/79/623	£200
William Cunninghame	SRO, GD247/141, Income for 1800	-
Lawrence Dinwiddie	SRO, CC9/7/80/479	£325
Robert Dunmore	SRO, GD	-
James Dunlop	GCA, Dunlop Papers, State of the funds of J. Dunlop, 1793	-
William French	SRO, CC9/7/82/150	-
Alexander Grindlay	SRO, CC9/7/81/183	-
John Hamilton	SRO, CC9/7/79/679	-
Archibald Henderson	SRO, CC9/7/84/131	-
Thomas Hopkirk	SRO, CC9/7/80/514	-
Andrew Houston	SRO, CC9/7/78/181	-
Archibald Ingram	Baillie' Inst., Sederunt Book of Ingram's trustees	-
George Kippen	SRO, CC9/7/79/344	-
Robert Mackay	SRO, CC9/7/79/191	-
John McCall	SRO, CC9/7/79/650	-
George Oswald	GCA, Sederunt Book of G. Oswald	-
John Riddell	SRO, CC9/7/84/253	-
Alexander Speirs	GCA, TD131/5.	£1,200 (1780-3)
James Somervell	GCA, Deed of settlement of J. Somervell (1793)	-

has also been established that there were notable feats of agrarian 'improvement' by some of these men though their efforts may have been over-publicised by contemporary commentators. In addition, it is very difficult to suggest whether generally the 'new' landlord was more dynamic than the old. However, in some areas such as Renfrewshire and in the Monkland area of Lanarkshire, there is much convincing evidence that they were. Again, agricultural reporters of the time were not always sympathetic to the 'arriviste' who purchased an estate and their praiseworthy comments on such mercantile 'improvements' as they did come across may be regarded as based on fact.³¹

The accounts of merchant-landowners which have survived point to a generous provision made for estate investment, particularly (as in the case of the Speirs family and the McDowalls) of a type which few who drew their income solely from agricultural sources could easily afford. On the other hand, the discussion on mercantile contribution to the developing communications network on the land stressed their interest in such schemes as directly pertained to their own estates. Thus, the Monkland Canal gained substantial merchant aid. Yet the Union, Crinan and Glasgow-Paisley-Ardrossan schemes were almost totally neglected. As was also found in the examination of the role of colonial merchants in industry, their investment in the domestic economy, though important in specific cases, was by no means comprehensive in its impact.

31. For an example of hostility towards merchant-landowners see William Aiton, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr (Glasgow, 1811), 600.

CONCLUSION

The detailed investigations which have been undertaken throughout this study have yielded several results which cast light on various aspects of the economic historiography of Scotland and the United Kingdom. The Glasgow colonial merchant community in the period 1770-1815 was a small and tight-knit group linked by marriage alliance, partnership connections and kinship loyalties. Although entry into this select body was no easy matter, basically on account of the extent of personal funds required to prosecute colonial commerce, the group was no self-perpetuating elite dominated by the same wealthy families through successive generations. Certainly at any one time economic and social power was concentrated among a few rich merchants and their relatives yet insolvency, even among the most powerful of the community, coupled with mobility away from trade tended to loosen the bonds of any enduring monopoly. Indeed, in the period examined just less than fifty per cent of the merchants came from families who had no ascertainable association with colonial trade. On the other hand, few persons from lower social groups managed to reach full partnership level in a tobacco or West Indian firm. Sons of lairds, large farmers, lawyers, bankers and clergymen were all represented in the community but only two offspring of craftsmen could be counted among its members.

These merchants reached the climax of their economic and social dominance in the 1790s. Whether the criterion of 'decline' is taken as mercantile representation on Town Council, the number of burgesses who operated in colonial trade or the evidence of contemporaries, the same conclusion is reached. Several inter-related factors caused this erosion of power. However, put simply, it may be suggested that the dramatic cut-back in tobacco imports after 1775, the developing

problems of West India commerce in the early 1800s and the emergence of new interests combined to erode the dominance of the older urban elite.

Yet the evolution of the Clyde's tobacco trade to the early 1770s had produced a series of highly sophisticated business institutions and techniques which would be of value to Scottish merchants and manufacturers in later decades. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century this trade was organised in companies. These normally consisted of extended partnership groups which operated under written articles of association. The clauses of these contracts specified the amount of capital stock, the responsibility of partners and conferred several of the benefits which are nowadays associated with limited liability organisations.

Moreover, a fairly elaborate division of labour had been worked out within these firms and the merchants concerned had produced an efficient marketing network - the 'store system' - which caused great savings in transport costs. Many similar characteristics were to be found among West Indian firms though, in the main, their trading methods differed substantially from tobacco companies: they imported on consignment from the Caribbean or carried their own produce from plantations owned by individual partners. Yet, perhaps the most interesting facet of the organisation of Glasgow's colonial trades in this period was the relatively high level of specialisation in them. It was possible, indeed, in the majority of cases, to discern whether an individual's financial interests lay largely in the tobacco or sugar trades.

Part II of the thesis suggested a novel interpretation of the experiences of the colonial merchant group during the American War of Independence. Serious doubts were cast on the often quoted view that

members of the city's tobacco firms anticipated the struggle with the colonies long in advance and because they did so took comprehensive precautions to minimise the commercial catastrophe which might occur if trade was interrupted. It was concluded that merchants were aided by the objective fact of heavy tobacco importations into the Clyde in 1774-75 and the atypically large stocks which they held on the outbreak of war. These mainly arose because of the abundant crops in North America at that time and because of marketing difficulties with the main customers of the Glasgow merchants in the same period: because of these two factors they were perforce left with unsold tobacco in 1775. Conscious stockpiling appears to have been concentrated in the summer of that year.

The failure to realise earlier that a full scale repudiation of British sovereignty was possible also affords one explanation of the large debt owed Glasgow on the outbreak of war. The insurmountable problems implicit in debt collection was a further reason for this. At the same time, although the collapse of the tobacco trade did cause short-term problems of adjustment there was little evidence of widespread commercial disaster. Indeed, the most famous series of bankruptcies of the years 1776-78, those of the Buchanan group of companies, were largely due to manifest failings in management, and were only partly connected with the vicissitudes of the Virginia trade after 1775. For the rest, apart from the notable exception of McCall, Snellie & Company, failure was concentrated among the minor firms whose relatively meagre capital resources exacerbated their vulnerability in the depression of 1778. In the broad perspective of Clyde-North American commercial relations the failures of the American War period were in no way remarkable. The sale of tobacco at War-time boom prices and

long experience in handling a speculative commodity probably account for the relatively mild effect of the trade's collapse.

During the war itself the merchants concerned took few dramatic initiatives as far as movement into fresh areas of overseas commerce or into other sectors of the economy was concerned. By and large, trade with the Caribbean stagnated. While some former tobacco merchants developed interest there, sugar and tobacco importation from the West Indies remained largely in the hands of firms which had specialised in that trade before 1776. Circuitous routes were utilised to send out goods and bring home tobacco from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina but such commerce was very limited in relation to pre-1776 trends. Similarly, there was little evidence of tobacco merchants seeking security in the purchase of landed property as a result of their difficulties. The very wealthy - such as Alexander Speirs and William Cunninghame - did acquire estates during the war but their outlays cannot be said to have been wholly due to the unique stimuli of wartime: they were persisting in a policy of land-buying established before 1776. Indeed, it was suggested that the credit pressures of the American War of Independence interrupted the 'normal' course of land acquisition by colonial merchants.

Perhaps the most important findings of the study relate to the flow of profits earned in colonial trade into the domestic economy. The source of funds for the industrial and agricultural changes of the late eighteenth century is still a subject of great controversy although undoubtedly one of the areas from which capital did come was from merchants

in domestic trade.¹ Here the national pattern varied between West of Scotland linen merchants who played a leading role in the early expansion of the Scottish cotton industry² and Leeds woollen merchants who apparently pursued trade vigorously but did not become involved in industry'.³ Historians have also pointed to instances of overseas merchants investing part of their earnings in industrial projects: the cases of Darby's merchant partners at Coalbrookdale, of Antony Bacon's establishment of major ironworks in South Wales and of the Liverpool merchants who capitalised the Weaver and Sankey Brook Navigations are well known. Again, Professor Minchinton has noted the support given by the Bristol merchant community for a variety of the city's industries.⁴

In Glasgow, however, sugar-boiling, tanning, rope manufacture and bottlemaking were dominated by the capital of colonial merchants. Again, their role was far from negligible in such industries as coal, iron and cotton, which were more in the mainstream of general economic development and which in England⁵ attracted little capital from overseas merchants. Indeed, financial control of the West of Scotland coal industry between the 1760s and early 1790s was almost entirely in their hands. The two malleable ironworks in the West at that time were financed by

1. C. Wilson, 'The Entrepreneur and the Industrial Revolution in Britain', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, VII (1955), 130.

2. For the Scots linen merchants see Hamilton, Economic History, 167-8 and Campbell, op. cit., 98-99.

3. R.G. Wilson, 'The Denisons and Milneses: Eighteenth Century Merchant Landowners' in J.T. Ward and R.G. Wilson (eds.), Land and Industry (Newton Abbot, 1971), 151.

4. Minchinton, loc. cit., 69-89.

5. Flinn, op. cit., 45.

them. It would be correct also to point to colonial merchant funds as one of the important sources of capital for the emerging cotton industry in the Scottish Lowlands; in certain instances, notably in the rise of the Finlay empire, the availability of these funds was crucial to commercial success.

No complete explanation can be offered here for the high degree of integration between colonial trade and domestic industry in the West of Scotland. One factor was probably the difficulty experienced by colonial traders in finding cargoes for outward bound vessels from the existing industrial structure. One solution was to buy in London and Manchester; another was to establish production units for particular commodities in Glasgow and its surrounding area. Yet this explanation satisfies only some of the cases where merchant funds were important. Another factor may have been the lack of domestic capital in eighteenth century Scotland.⁶ The surplus funds of merchants in colonial trade were one of the few sources of finance available to entrepreneurs: the author encountered time and again a marriage between managerial and technical skill on the one hand and mercantile capital on the other.

The contribution of colonial profits to the expansion of the internal Scottish economy can also be discerned in the penetration by successful merchants into landownership around Glasgow. Care was taken not to exaggerate the impact of this movement on the landed economy but enough evidence was produced to suggest that the role of some of these merchants was a significant factor in the complex of forces which

6. Hamilton, Economic History, 306-8.

encouraged agricultural change in late eighteenth century Scotland. Obviously, Glasgow West India traders did not simply re-plough their profits into Caribbean plantations.⁷

7. Professor Pares suggested that this was the case with English West India merchants. See R. Pares, Merchants and Planters (Cambridge, 1960), 38-50.

APPENDIX 1GLASGOW MERCHANTS IN COLONIAL TRADE, 1770-1815

U- Merchant matriculated at Glasgow University

T- Firm primarily concerned in the tobacco trade to North America

WI- Firm primarily concerned in the West Indies trade

ALSTON JOHN jun, 1743-1791, (U) Father not identifiable, but came from established Glasgow merchant family.

Bason, Alston and Co. WI

BAIRD, JAMES, (U) Son of John Baird, merchant in Glasgow.

Baird, Hay and Co. T

BALLANTYNE, JOHN Son of William Ballantyne, merchant in Glasgow.

J. & W. Ballantyne and Co. T

BALLANTYNE, WILLIAM Son of William Ballantyne, merchant in Glasgow.

J. & W. Ballantyne and Co. T

BLACK, JAMES, 1755-1823 Son of William Black of Edinburgh
James Black & Co. WI

BLACKBURN, ANDREW Son of Hugh Blackburn merchant in Glasgow.

Dunmore, Blackburn & Co. T

BLACKBURN JOHN, 1753-1840 (U) Son of Hugh Blackburn merchant in Glasgow.

John Blackburn & Co. WI

BOGLE, GEORGE II, 1701-1784 (U) Son of Robert Bogle of Daldowie, merchant in Glasgow.

Bogle, Graham & Co. WI

Bogle, Scott & Co. WI

BOGLE, MICHAEL- 1734- (U) Son of Robert Bogle of Shettleston
merchant in Glasgow.

Robert Bogle jun & Co. WI

Bogle, Graham & Co. WI

Bogle, Robert (J) Son of George Bogle of Daldowie, merchant
(Daldowie)
in Glasgow.

George Bogle & Co. T

Bogle, Scott & Co. WI

BOGLE? ROBERT (U) Son of Robert Bogle of Shettleston,
(Shettleston)
merchant in Glasgow.

William Cunninghame & Co. T

Cunninghame, Findlay & Co. T

BOGLE, ROBERT jun (U) Son of Archibald Bogle, merchant
(Gilmorhill)
in Glasgow.

Robert Bogle jun & Co. WI

BOGLE, WILLIAM (U) Son of John Bogle, merchant in Glasgow.

Bogle, Jamieson & Co. T

James Jamieson & Co. T

BOWMAN, JOHN (U) Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship
by marriage.

Speirs, French & Co. T

Speirs, Bowman & Co. T

BROCK, WALTER (U) Son of Robert Brock, merchant in Glasgow

Euchanan, Hastie & Co. T

James Jamieson & Co. T

BROWN, JAMES (U) Son of William Brown jun, merchant in
Glasgow.

James Brown & Co. T.

BUCHANAN, ANDREW, ?-1795 (U) Son of George Buchanan,
(Mount Vernon)
merchant in Glasgow.

Buchanan, Hastie & Co. T

G. & A. Buchanan & Co. T

James Jamieson & Co. T

BUCHANAN, ANDREW (U) Son of Archibald Buchanan, merchant
(Arden Connal)
in Glasgow.

Buchanan, Steven & Co. WI

Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. WI

Speirs, Bowman & Co. T

BUCHANAN, JAMES (U) Son of Andrew Buchanan, merchant in
(Drumpellier)
Glasgow.

Buchanan, Hastie & Co. T

Buchanan-James
BUCHANAN, JAMES (U) Son of George Buchanan, farmer in Finnick.
(Cralkston & Dowanhill)

Buchanan, Steven & Co. WI

Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. WI

BUCHANAN, JOHN CROSS (U) ?-1839 Son of William Cross, laird
of Auchintoshan.

John Cross & Co. WI

WILLIAM BUCHANAN (U) Son of John Buchanan, weaver in Glasgow.

Buchanan, Hastie & Co. T

Hastie, Corbett & Co. WI

James Jamieson & Co. T

CAMPBELL, ALBERTUS, 1760-1817 (U) Son of John Campbell
of Whina of Kair, Seirlingubine.

John Campbell sen. & Co. #1

CAMPBELL, SMITH 1782-1863 (U) Son of John Campbell sen.
merchant in Glasgow.

John Campbell sen. & Co. #1

CAMPBELL, JOHN sen. (U) Son of Alexander Campbell captain
in the Black Watch.

John Campbell sen. & Co. #1

John Glasford & Co. #

CAMPBELL, JOHN COATS 1782-1834 (U) Son of Archibald Coats,
merchant in Glasgow.

Archibald & John Coats & Co. #

CAMPBELL, HUNTER, WALTER, 1763-1822 Son of Alexander Campbell
collector of customs at Fort Glasgow.

John Campbell sen. & Co. #1

CAMPBELL, THOMAS, 1700-1886 (U) Son of John Campbell sen.
merchant in Glasgow.

John Campbell sen. & Co. #1

CAMPBELL, JAMES, 1702-1874 (U) Son of John Campbell sen.
merchant in Glasgow.

John Campbell sen. & Co. #1

COATS, WILLIAM (U) Son of Archibald Coats, merchant in
Glasgow.

Archibald & John Coats & Co. #

COCHRANE, ANDREW, 1695-1777 Grandson of Andrew Cochrane,
merchant in Ayr.

William Cunninghame & Co. #

COLQUHOUN, PATRICK, 1745-1820 Son of Adam Colquhoun,
sherriff substitute for Dumbarton.

Patrick Colquhoun & Co. T & WI

CONNELL, ARTHUR 1777-1778 Son of the Rev. Mathew Connell,
Minister at Hamilton.

George Kippen & Co. T

Connell, Somerville & Co. WI

Henderson, McCall & Co. T

CONNELL, JAMES ?-1819(U) Son of Arthur Connell, merchant
in Glasgow.

George Kippen & Co. T

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

CONNELL, THOMAS (J) Son of Arthur Connell, merchant in
Glasgow.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

CORBETT, CUNNINGHAM Son of James Corbett, laird of
Tollcross.

Hastie, Corbett & Co. WI

Corbett, Russell & Co. WI

CRAWFORD, GEORGE Son of Francis Crawford, merchant in
Glasgow.

Thomson, Snodgrass & Co. T

Andrew Thomson & Co. T

CROOKS, ADAM Son of William Crooks, Kilmarnock.

Adam Crooks & Co. WI

CROSS, JOHN, 1710-1778 Son of Robert Cross, merchant
in Glasgow.

Dunlop, Cross & Co. T

CROSS, WILLIAM Son of John Cross, merchant in Glasgow.

John Cross & Co. WI

CUNNINGHAME, WILLIAM Scion of a cadet branch of the
Cunninghames of Caprington, Lairds in Ayrshire.

William Cunninghame & Co. T

Cunninghame, Findlay & Co. T

Cunninghame, Brown & Co. T

Robert Dunmore & Co. WI & T

John Ferguson & Co. WI

DENNISTOUN, JAMES son., ?-1796 (U) Son of James Dennistoun
laird of Colgrain, Dumbarton.

Oswald, Dennistoun & Co. T

McCall, Dennistoun & Co. T

DENNISTOUN, JAMES jun. 1791-1854 Son of James Dennistoun son.
of Colgrain, merchant in Glasgow.

Buchanan, Steven & Co. WI

DENNISTOUN, RICHARD Son of James Dennistoun sen. of Colgrain
merchant in Glasgow.

Findlay, Duncan & Co. T

Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. WI

DENNISTOUN, ROBERT So of James Dennistoun sen. of Co grain,
merchant in Glasgow.

Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. WI

George & Robert Dennistoun & Co. WI

DEWAR, ROBERT Father unknown; obtained burgh - ship by
purchase.

Robert Dewar & Co. WI

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DINWIDDIE, LAWRENCE (U) Son of Robert Dinwiddie, merchant
in Glasgow.

Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co. T

DINWIDDIE, ROBERT ?-1789 (U) Son of Lawrence Dinwiddie,
the elder, merchant in Glasgow.

Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co. T

DONALD, ALEXANDER Son of James Donald, merchant in
Glasgow.

Thomas & Alexander Donald & Co. T

DONALD, ROBERT 1744-1800 Son of James Donald, merchant in
Glasgow.

Thomas Donald & Co. T

DONALD, THOMAS 1745-1799 Son of James Donald, merchant
in Glasgow.

Thomas & Alexander Donald & Co. T

Thomas Donald & Co. T

DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD 1778-1800 Son of John Douglas, merchant
in Glasgow.

John, Thomas & Archibald Douglas & Co. WI

DOUGLAS, JOHN Son of Archibald Douglas, merchant in
Stirling.

John, Thomas & Archibald Douglas & Co. WI

DOUGLAS, THOMAS Son of Archibald Douglas, merchant in
Stirling.

John, Thomas & Archibald Douglas & Co. WI

DREGHORN, ROBERT ?-1804 (U) Son of Robert Dreghorn, merchant
in Glasgow.

Dreghorn, Murdoch & Co. T

James Brown & Co. T

DUNLOP, COLIN, 1776-1777 Son of James Dunlop, of
Garnkirk, merchant in Glasgow.

Colin Dunlop & Sons T

DUNLOP, JAMES Son of Colin Dunlop, merchant in Glasgow.

Colin Dunlop & Sons T

DUNLOP, JOHN (U) Son of Colin Dunlop, merchant in Glasgow.

Colin Dunlop & Sons. T

Hamilton, Hopkirk & Co. VI

DUNLOP, ROBERT (U) Son of Robert Dunlop, of Hauchhill,
merchant in Glasgow.

Dunlop Cross & Co. T

DUNMORE, ROBERT (U) Son of Thomas Dunmore, merchant in
Glasgow.

Robert Dunmore & Co. VI

Dunmore, Blackburn & Co. T

Richard Marshall & Co. VI

DUNMORE, THOMAS Father unknown; acquired burgh - ship
by purchase.

Thomas & Robert Dunmore & Co. T & VI

ECCLES, JAMES Son of William Eccles, merchant in Ireland.
Robert Eccles & Co. VI

ECCLES, ROBERT Son of William Eccles, merchant in Ireland.

Robert Eccles & Co. VI

ECCLES, THOMAS Son of William Eccles, merchant in Ireland.

Robert Eccles & Co. VI

ELLIOT, DAVID Father unknown; acquired burgh - ship by
marriage.

McCall, Elliot & Co. T

FERGUSON, JOHN (U) Son of Alexander Ferguson, laird of
Cartloch, Fumbarton.

Robert Dunmore & Co. WI

John Ferguson & Co. WI

FINDLAY, ROBERT 1748-1802(U) Son of Rev. Robert Findlay,
Prof. of Divinity, University of Glasgow.

Cunni ghame, Findlay & Co. T

Cunninghame, Brown & Co. T

Findlay, Duncan & Co. WI

Findlay, Hopkirk & Co. T & WI

FRENCH, WILLIAM 1732-? Son of James French, merchant in
Glasgow.

French, Crawford & Co. T

Speirs, French & Co. T

Speirs, Bowman & Co. F

FYFFE, JAMES Son of James Fyffe, banker in Edinburgh.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

GARDEN, ALEXANDER Son of Francis Garden, merchant in
Glasgow.

Francis Garden & Sons WI

Francis Garden & Co. WI

Garden, King & Co. WI

GARDEN, FRANCIS Son of John Garden, laird of Fitterson.

Francis Garden & Co. WI

Francis Garden & Sons WI

Garden, King & Co. WI

Hamilton, Garden & Co. WI

GARDEN, HAMILTON WM. Son of Francis Garden, merchant in
Glasgow.

Francis Garden & Sons WI

Francis Garden & Co. WI

Garden, King & Co. WI

GARDEN, ROBERT Son of Francis Garden, merchant in Glasgow.

Francis Garden & Son WI

Francis Garden & Co. WI

Garden, King & Co. WI

GLASSFORD, HENRY (U) Son of John Glassford, merchant in Glasgow.

John Glassford & Co. T

Glassford, Gordon & Co. T

George Rippen & Co. T

Archibald Henderson & Co. T

Henry Riddell & Co. T.

GLASSFORD, JOHN 1715-1788 (U) So of James Glassford, merchant in Paisley.

John Glassford & Co. T

Glassford, Gordon & Co. T

George Rippen & Co. T

Archibald, Henderson & Co. T

Henderson, McCall & Co. T

GORDON, ALEXANDER 1765-1849 (U) Son of Alexander Gordon, merchant in Glasgow.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

GORDON, JAMES Father uncertain (thought to be the son of a physician in Glasgow, Courlay op cit 47); obtained burghership as serving apprenticeship to John Glassford.

John Glassford & Co. T

Glassford, Gordon & Co. T.

Archibald, Henderson & Co. T
 James Gordon & Co. T.
 Henderson, McCall & Co. T
 Henry, Riddell & Co. T
 Robert Mackay & Co. WI

GORDON, JOHN (U) son of Alexander Gordon, merchant in Glasgow.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI
 John McCall & Sons WI

GRAHAM, DAVID Son of Alexander Graham, merchant in Glasgow.

Patrick Playfair & Co. WI

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GRAY, WILLIAM 1728-1808 (U) Son of William Gray, merchant in Glasgow.

William Gray & Co. F

GRINDLAY, ALEXANDER 7-1796 (U) Son of Charles Grindlay, merchant in Glasgow.

Alexander Grindlay & Co. T

GUTHRIE, JOHN Son of Robert Guthrie, farmer Baldernock Parish, Stirlingshire.

Partnership not ascertainable, but subscribed to the Glasgow West India Association in 1807.

HADDOW Son of John Haddow. maltman in Lanark.

Haddow & Dale WI

HAGART, CHARLES (U) Occupation of father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

Charles Hagart & Co. WI.

HAGART, ROBERT Occupation of father unknown; obtained
burgess-ship by purchase.

Charles Hagart & Co. WI

HAMILTON, A.W. (U) Son of John Hamilton, merchant in Glasgow

John Hamilton & Co. WI

HAMILTON, JOHN 1754-1819 (U) Son of Rev. John Hamilton
(at one time Moderator of the General Assembly of the
Church of Scotland).

John Hamilton Co. WI

Hamilton, Gordon & Co. WI

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HAMILTON, WILLIAM 1786-1857 (U) Son of John Hamilton,
merchant in Glasgow.

John Hamilton & Co. WI

HASTIE, ROBERT Father unknown; obtained burgess-ship
by purchase.

Bogle, Jamieson & Co. T

Buchanan, Hastie & Co. T

HAY, JOHN Son of, John Hay, merchant in Paris.

Eaird, Hay & Co. T

HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD Son of Rev. Archibald Henderson,
Minister at Blantyre.

Archibald, Henderson & Co. T

Henderson, McCall & Co. T

HOPKIRK, JAMES 1749-1836 (U) Son of Thomas Hopkirk II,
merchant in Glasgow.

Hopkirk, Cunninghame & Co. WI

Hamilton, Hopkirk & Co. WI

Findlay, Hopkirk & Co. T

HOPKIRK, THOMAS, 7-1781 (U) Son of Thomas Hopkirk, I merchant in Glasgow.

McCall, Smellie & Co. T

HOUSTON, ALEXANDER Son of Houston of Calderhall.

Alexander Houston & Co. WI

Alexander, Cunningham & Co. T

HOUSTON, ANDREW 7-1800 (U) Son of Alexander Houston, merchant in Glasgow.

Alexander Houston & Co. WI

INGRAM, ARCHIBALD Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by marriage.

INGRAM, KIPPEN & Co. T

George Kippen & Co. T

JAMIESON, JAMES Son of John Jamieson, merchant in Glasgow.

James Jamieson & Co. T

Bogle, Jamieson & Co. T

Duchanan, Hastie & Co. T

JAMIESON, NEIL Son of John Jamieson, merchant in Glasgow.

Classford, Gordon, Montsith & Co. T

KIPPEN, GEORGE (U) Son of George Kippen, merchant in Glasgow.

George Kippen & Co. T

Kippen, Ingram & Co. T

LAMB, JAMES Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

West India merchant (Firm not identifiable but subscribed to the Glasgow West India Association in 1807)

LAIRD, DAVID Son of David Laird, merchant in Port Glasgow.

West India merchant (Firm not identifiable but subscribed to the Glasgow West India Association in 1807)

LEITCH, JOHN Son of Andrew Leitch, merchant in Glasgow.

Leitch & Smith WI

LINDSAY, JOHN Son of James Lindsay, timber merchant in Glasgow.

Colin Dunlop & Sons T

LOW, ALEXANDER 1-1780 Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

John Glassford & Co. T

Glassford, Gordon & Co. T

LYON, JASPER Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by marriage.

Edgar & Lyon WI

MACLEAN, AENEAS Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

Aeneas Maclean & Co. WI

MCCALL, ALEXANDER Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

George Kippen & Co. T

Henderson, McCall & Co. T

McCALL, GEORGE (U) Son of Samuel McCall, merchant in Glasgow.

McCall, Smellie & Co. T

Thomson, Snodgrass & Co. T

George McCall & Co. T

McCALL, JAMES (U) Son of Samuel McCall, merchant in Glasgow.

John McCall & Co. WI

McCALL, JOHN I, 1761-1816 (U) Son of Rev. John McCall, Minister at Whithorn.

John McCall & Co. T

McCall, Elliot & Co. T

McCALL, JOHN II, (U) Son of Samuel McCall, merchant in Glasgow.

John McCall & Co. WI

John McCall & Sons WI

McDOWALL, JAMES (U) Son of William McDowall II, merchant in Glasgow.

Alexander Houston & Co. WI

Thomas & Alexander Donald & Co. T

McDOWALL, JOHN Father unknown; obtained burgess - ship by purchase.

John McDowall & Co. T

Thomas Donald & Co. T

McDOWALL, WILLIAM III (U) Son of William McDowall II, merchant in Glasgow.

Alexander Houston & Co. WI

MACKAY, ROBERT Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

Robert Mackay & Co. WI

Macleans, Mackay & Co. WI

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

Alexander Mackenzie & Co. WI

MACKENZIE, JOHN Son of James Mackenzie, school master

Cunninghame, Mackenzie & Co. T

McIACHLAN, COIN Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

Pindlay, Duncan & Co. T

MACLAE, JAMES SWING 1775-1853 (U) Son of Walter Swing MacLae, merchant in Glasgow.

James Swing & Co. WI

McNEIL, WILLIAM Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship by purchase.

McNeil, Stewart & Co. WI

Alexander Mackenzie & Co. WI

MACCORN, NEIL Son of 'merchant in London'; honorary burghess.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

MONTEITH, WALTER (U) Son of Walter Monteith laird of Kepps.

Glassford, Gordon, Monteith & Co. T

Ramsay, Monteith & Co. T

MARSHALL, RICHARD 1733-1817 (U) Son of Colonel Hubert Marshall of Hull.

Richard Marshall & Co. WI

MUIRHEAD, ALEXANDER (U) Son of Michael Muirhead, merchant
in Paisley.

Michael Muirhead & Son VI

MUIRHEAD, MICHAEL Son of Michael Muirhead, merchant
in Paisley.

Michael Muirhead & Son VI

MUNRO, ALEXANDER (U) Son of Daniel Munro taylor in
Glasgow.

Tobacco Merchant

MUNRO, JOHN SPENCE (U) Son of Rev. Dr. Munro minister
in Rosshire.

Robert Mackay & Co. XI

MURDOCH, JOHN 1762-1841 (U) Son of Peter Murdoch merchant
in Glasgow.

Peter Murdoch & Sons T

William Cunninghame & Co. T

MURDOCH, PETER 1734-1811 (U) Son of Peter Murdoch merchant
in Glasgow.

Peter Murdoch & Sons T

Speirs, Rowman & Co. T

William Cunninghame & Co. T

OSWALD, ALEXANDER Son of Dr. George Oswald minister in
Caithness.

George Oswald & Co. T

OSWALD, GEORGE 1735-1819 Son of Rev. Dr. George Oswald,
minister in Caithness.

George Oswald & Co. T

PLAYFAIR, PATRICK Son of John Playfair, farmer in
Perthshire.

Patrick Playfair & Co. WI

RAMSAY, ANDREW Son of Andrew Ramsay, merchant in Glasgow.
Ramsay, Monteith & Co. T

RAE, ROBERT HOUSTON Son of Alexander Houston, merchant
in Glasgow.

Alexander Houston & Co. WI

RIDDELL, HENRY Son of John Riddell, Writer to the
Signet, Edinburgh.

John Glassford & Co. T

Glassford, Gordon & Co. T

James Gordon & Co. T

Archibald Henderson & Co. T

Henry Riddell & Co. T

RIDDELL, JOHN 7-1794 Father unknown; obtained burghership
by purchase.

McCall, Riddell & Co. T & WI

Robert Mackay & Co. WI

RITCHIE, HENRY 7-1792 (U) Son of John Ritchie, merchant
in Glasgow.

J. & H. Ritchie & Co. T

RITCHIE, JAMES 1722-1789 (U) Son of John Ritchie, merchant
in Glasgow.

J. & H. Ritchie & Co. T

ROBERTSON, JAMES Father unknown; obtained burghership
by purchase.

West India merchant.

ROBERTSON, JOHN Father unknown; obtained burghs - ship by purchase.

Robert Mackay & Co. WI

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM Father unknown; obtained burghs - ship by purchase.

Robert Mackay & Co. WI

RUSSELL, DAVID 1747-? Son of James Russell, Commissary Clerk, Dunblane.

David Russell & Co. WI

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

SCOTT, JOSEPH Son of James Scott, merchant in Glasgow.

Patrick Colquhoun & Co. T & WI

SHARP, ROBERT Father unknown; obtained burghs - ship by purchase.

John & Alexander Mackenzie & Co. I

SHORTBRIDGE, WILLIAM Son of John Shortbridge, merchant in Glasgow.

Henderson, McCall & Co. T

George Kippen & Co. I

SMELLIE, ARCHIBALD Son of John Smellie, merchant in Glasgow.

McCall, Smellie & Co. T

SMITH, ARCHIBALD 1749-1821 (J) Son of James Smith, laird of Craicend, Stirlingshire,

Leitch & Smith WI

SNODGRASS, WILLIAM ?-1815 Father unknown; obtained burghess -
ship by purchase.

Thomson, Snodgrass & Co.

SOVERVELL, JAMES ?-1791 (U) Son of William Somervell,
writer in Glasgow.

Somervell, Gordon & Co. WI

Fogle, Somervell & Co. T

SPEIRS, ALEXANDER 1714-82 Son of John Speirs, merchant
in Edinburgh.

Speirs, French & Co. T

Speirs, Bowman & Co. T

Speirs, Crawford & Co. T

STEWART, ALEXANDER Son of John Stewart, farmer in
Perthshire.

McNeil, Stewart & Co. WI

Alexander Mackenzie & Co. WI

STEVEN, MARGUS Son of John Steven, farmer in Stirlingshire

Euchanan, Steven & Co. WI

STIRLING, CHARLES 1796-1839 Son of William Stirling,
laird of Keir.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

STIRLING, JOHN 1742-1816 Son of William Stirling, merchant
in Glasgow.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

SYM, ANDREW (U) Son of John Sym, writer in Glasgow.

Andrew Sym & Co. T

THOMSON, ANDREW (U) Occupation of father uncertain.

Thomson, Snodgrass & Co. F

Andrew Thomson & Co. T

George McCall & Co. T

URE, JAMES Son of William Ure, farmer in Perthshire.

Ure & Miller WI

WALLACE, ARCHIBALD 1705-1853 (U) Son of Robert Wallace,

surgeon.

Tobacco Merchant.

WALLACE, JAMES MURDOCH Son of James Wallace, merchant

in Glasgow.

Stirling, Gordon & Co. WI

WARDROP, DAVID Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship

by purchase.

David Wardrop & Co. WI

WARDROP, JAMES ?-1789 (U) Son of James Wardrop, merchant

in Glasgow.

James Wardrop & Son T

WIGHTON, ALEXANDER Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship

by purchase.

Watson & Wighton WI

WYLIE, HUGH ?-1788 Father unknown; obtained burghess - ship

by marriage.

Hugh Wylie & Co. T

H. P. For sources see over, p

SOURCES USED IN APPENDIX I

(1) Sources for membership of copartneries are given in Appendix III.

(2) Origins of merchants:

GSA Merchants House of Glasgow, Matriculation Book, 1768-1850.

Glasgow Roll of Burgesses, 1573-1750
1751-1840

Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, 1723-1840.

SRG, Commissariat of Glasgow Testaments

Burke's Landed Gentry (London, 1884 ed.)

George Stewart, Curiosities of Glasgow

Citizenship (Glasgow, 1881)

J.O. Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays (Glasgow, 1885)

APPENDIX IIGLASGOW COLONIAL MERCHANTS COMMUNITY 1770-1815

- (A) Total number of colonial merchants obtaining burghership 1781-1815.
 - (B) Colonial merchant obtaining burghership through purchase, marriage, apprenticeship, nomination, or honorary title.
 - (C) Representation of colonial merchants in Merchant Rank groupings in Glasgow Town Council 1775-1815.
 - (D) Marital relationships of leading colonial merchant families.
-

(A) Total number of colonial merchants obtaining
bursess - ship 1751-1815.

1751	-		1781	3	
1752	8		1782	2	
1753	1		1783	-	
1754	3		1784	1	
1755	2	<u>14</u>	1785	7	<u>14</u>
1756	1		1786	-	
1757	3		1787	2	
1758	-		1788	-	
1759	1		1789	3	
1760	4	<u>17</u>	1790	3	<u>8</u>
1766	5		1791	2	
1767	2		1792	-	
1768	1		1793	-	
1769	4		1794	-	
1770	4	<u>16</u>	1795	2	<u>4</u>
1771	2		1796	1	
1772	-		1797	-	
1773	6		1798	3	
1774	8		1799	1	
1775	6	<u>22</u>	1800	2	<u>7</u>
1776	7		1801	4	
1777	5		1802	-	
1778	3		1803	-	
1779	-		1804	-	
1780	7	<u>31</u>	1805	-	<u>4</u>

1806	-	
1807	-	
1808	6	
1809	-	
<u>1810</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>
1811	-	
1812	-	
1813	1	
1814	1	
<u>1815</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>

Source:- J.R. Anderson (ed.), The Burghesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1848 (Edinburgh, 1935)

(B) Colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship through purchase, marriage, a prenticeship, nomination or honorary title.

1751	-
1752	-
1753	Andrew Thomson, on nomination of James Buchanan, deacon convener.
1754	-
1755	-
1756	-
1757	-
1758	-
1759	James Gordon, as serving apprenticeship with John Glassford.
	Robert Donald, as married Catharine, daughter of Robert Donald.

- 1760 George Oswald, by purchase.
John Leitch, by purchase.
- 1761 -
- 1762 Hugh Wyllie, as married Elizabeth, daughter of James Dunlop of Cardkirk (the elder).
James Ballantyne, by purchase.
- 1763 William Cunningham, as married Joan daughter of Thomas Fuzmore.
- 1764 -
- 1765 -
- 1766 James Oswald, by purchase.
Mungo W. Campbell, as married Helen, daughter of John Campbell sen.
Robert Hastie, by purchase.
James Lindsay, as married daughter of Archibald Cameron.
Archibald Henderson, by purchase.
- 1767 John Alston jun., on nomination of George Murdoch.
- 1768 -
- 1769 -
- 1770 Robert Findlay, as son of Robert Findlay, Minister of the Gospel.
- 1771 Alexander Houston, as married Lillias, daughter of Thomas Calder.
Walter Brock, as married Janet, daughter of Claud Stewart.
- 1772 -
- 1773 George Crawford, as serving apprenticeship with Alexander Spairs.
Alexander McCall, by purchase.

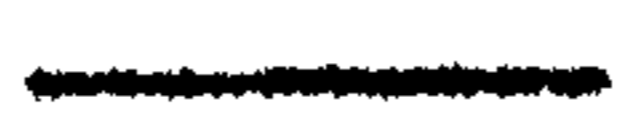
- 1774 Robert Mackay, by purchase.
William Snodgrass, by purchase.
- 1775 John Robertson, as married Elizabeth, daughter of John Murdoch.
- 1776 Cunningham Corbett, by purchase.
Richard Marshall, as married Margaret, daughter of Matthew Bogle.
Alexander Stewart, by nomination.
Robert McCall, by purchase.
Moses Steven, by purchase.
- 1777 -
- 1778 John Ferguson, on nomination of Robert Donald.
- 1779 David Elliot, as married Susana, daughter of Robert Bogle.
- 1780 John Riddell, as serving apprenticeship with John Glassford.
William Robertson, by purchase.
- 1781 Henry Riddell, as married Anne, daughter of John Glassford.
John Bowman, as married Margaret, daughter of James Lock.
Patrick Colquhoun, by purchase.
- 1782 James Black, by purchase.
- 1783 -
- 1784 -
- 1785 Alexander Grindley, as married Elizabeth, daughter of John Young, cooper.
John Hay, as married Jean, daughter of Hugh Wylie.
David Russell, by purchase.
- 1786 -
- 1787 James Pyffe, by purchase.
Neil Malcolm, honorary burgess.

- 1788 -
- 1789 John Spens Muir, son of Rev. Dr. D. Muir,
minister at Fain.
Archibald Wallace, son of Robert Wallace surgeon.
- 1790 William McNeil, by purchase
- 1791 -
- 1792 -
- 1793 -
- 1794 -
- 1795 Michael Muirhead, as married Jean daughter of
David Haston.
Charles Stirling, by purchase.
- 1796 -
- 1797 James Lamb, as married Jean, daughter of William
McCormack.
- 1798 Robert Haddow, son of John Haddow malt-man in
Lanark.
- 1799 Adam Crooke, by purchase.
- 1800 James Jro, by purchase.
- 1801 Robert Haggart, by purchase.
Charles Haggart, by purchase.
Patrick Playfair, by purchase.
- 1802 -
- 1803 -
- 1804 -
- 1805 -
- 1806 -
- 1807 -
- 1808 Joh Guthrie, by purchase.
David Laird, by purchase.
Alexander Wighton, by purchase.

- 1808 Jonas McBean, by purchase.
- 1809 -
- 1810 John Scoles, by purchase.
 Thomas Scoles, by purchase.
- 1811 -
- 1812 -
- 1813 Alexander Muirhead, as married Jear daughter
 of William Hutchinson.
- 1814 -
- 1815 -

APPENDIX

- (1) Colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship by purchase
1751-1815:- 53
- (2) Colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship by marriage
1751-1815:- 19
- (3) Colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship by nomination
1751-1815:- 3
- (4) Colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship through
fathers burghesses of Glasgow but not merchants:- 3
- (5) Colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship through
apprenticeship:- 3
- (6) Number of colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship
through honorary title:- 1
- (7) Number of colonial merchants obtaining burghess - ship
through fathers as burghesses of other Scottish burghs:- 1



(C) Representation of colonial merchants in Merchant Bank
principals 'New Town' 1775-1799

(c) - 'merchant involved in colonial trade.'

Merchant Councillors 1775

Hugh Wylie (c)
 John Clerk
 Robert Donald (c)
 Will Coats (c)
 John Shortridge
 Richard Allan (c)
 John McDowall (c)
 Andrew Buchanan jun. (c)
 John Alston jun. (c)
 James Murdoch (c)
 George Crawford (c)
 John Campbell (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1776

James Buchanan (c)
 Alexander Gordon (c)
 Alex. McCall (c)
 John Clerk
 John Shortridge
 Richard Allan (c)
 John McDowall (c)
 Andrew Buchanan jun. (c)
 James Murdoch (c)
 John Campbell (c)
 Walter Stirling
 Alexander Donald (c)
 John Campbell jun. (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1777

James Buchanan (c)
 Will French (c)
 George Crawford (c)
 John Clerk
 John Shortridge
 John McDowall
 Andrew Buchanan (c)
 John Campbell (c)
 Walt Stirling
 Alexander Donald (c)
 Hugh Wylie (c)
 Richard Marshall (c)
 Alexander McCall (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1778

James Buchanan (c)
 Robert Donald (c)
 Alexander McCall (c)
 James Murdoch (c)
 George Crawford (c)
 John Campbell sen. (c)
 Alexander Donald (c)
 Hugh Wylie (c)
 James McGregor
 Alexander Brown
 Patrick Colquhoun (c)
 Walter Stirling
John Campbell jun. (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1779

Alexander McCall (c)
 James Murdoch (c)
 George Crawford (c)
 John Campbell sen (c)
 Walter Stirling
 John Campbell jun (c)
 Hugh Wylie (c)
 Andrew Buchanan (c)
 Richard Marshall (c)
 James McGregor
 Patrick Colquhoun (c)
 John Douglas
Walter Neilson 9

Merchant Councillors 1780

William French (c)
 Alexander Donald (c)
 Alexander Brown
 Alexander McCall (c)
 James Murdoch (c)
 James Campbell jun. (c)
 Hugh Wylie (c)
 Richard Marshall (c)
 James McGregor
 John Douglas (c)
 Walter Neilson
 John Kiddoll (c)
Robert Dunmore (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1781

Patrick Colquhoun (c)
Walter Stirling
Alexander Brown
John Campbell jun (c)
Richard Marshall (c)
James McGregor
John Douglas
John Riddell (c)
Robert Dunmore (c)
John Campbell son. (c)
William Coats (c)
Robert Findlay (c)
Gilbert Hamilton 8

Merchant Councillors 1782

Alexander McCall (c)
Richard Marshall (c)
James McGregor
John Douglas
Walter Neilson
Robert Dunmore (c)
John Campbell (c)
William Coats (c)
Robert Findlay (c)
Gilbert Hamilton
Henry Ritchie (c)
Joseph Scott (c)
Alexander Low (c) 9

Merchant Councillors 1783

Alexander Brown
John Douglas
Walter Neilson
James McGregor
John Riddell (c)
Robert Dunmore (c)
John Campbell (c)
William Coats (c)
Robert Findlay (c)
Gilbert Hamilton
Alexander Low (c)
Alexander Gordon (c)
John Laurie 7

Merchant Councillors 1784

Patrick Colquhoun (c)
 Robert Findlay (c)
 Joseph Scott (c)
 James McEriker
 John Riddell (c)
 Robert Dunmore (c)
 William Coats (c)
 Gilbert Hamilton
 Walter Neilson
 Alexander Gordon (c)
 John Brown jun.
 John Dunlop (c)
 James McDowall (c) 9

Merchant Councillors 1785

Walter Neilson
 John Riddell (c)
 Robert Dunmore (c)
 Robert Findlay (c)
 William Coats (c)
 Gilbert Hamilton
 Alexander Brown
 Alexander Low (c)
 Joseph Scott (c)
 John Laurie
 James McDowall (c)
 John Campbell (c)
 John Brown jun.
 John Dunlop (c)
 H.S. Moncrieff
 James Gordon (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1787

William Coats (c)
 Alexander Brown
 Alexander Low (c)
 John Campbell jun. (c)
 James McDowall (c)
 John Brown jun.
 John Dunlop (c)
 Richard Marshall (c)
 H.S. Moncrieff
 James Gordon (c)
 Robert Morris
 Dugald Bannatyne
 John Alston jun. (c) 8

Merchant Councillors 1788

William Coats (c)
 Alexander Brown
 James McDowall (c)
 John Riddell (c)
 John Laurie
 Gilbert Hamilton
 Richard Marshall (c)
 R.S. Moncrieff
 James Gordon (c)
 Patrick Colquhoun (c)
 David Dale
 Cunninghame Corbett (c)
John Hamilton jun. (c) 8

Merchant Councillors 1789

Gilbert Hamilton
 John Laurie
 John Dunlop (c)
 Alexander Brown
 Richard Marshall (c)
 James Gordon (c)
 R.S. Moncrieff
 John Alston jun. (c)
 Patrick Colquhoun (c)
 David Dale
 John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Alexander Low (c)
John Gordon (c) 8

Merchant Councillors 1790

John Dunlop (c)
 John Campbell jun. (c)
 Alexander Brown
 James Gordon (c)
 John Alston jun. (c)
 David Dale
 John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Alexander Low (c)
 Robert Houston Rae (c)
 William Shortridge (c)
 James Scott
 John Campbell (c)
John Leitch (c) 10

Merchant Councillors 1791

Alexander Brown
 Richard Marshall (c)
 James Gordon (c)
 John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Alexander Low (c)
 R.H. Rae (c)
 James Scott
 John Campbell (c)
 Lawrence Craigie
 William Bosle (c)
 Robert Muirhead
 Gilbert Hamilton
 John Brown

7

Merchant Councillors 1792

James McEwail (c)
 Richard Marshall (c)
 John Alston (c)
 David Dale
 John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Alexander Low (c)
 R.H. Rae (c)
 James Scott
 John Campbell (c)
 William Bogle (c)
 John Brown
 John Buchanan
 Archibald Smith (c)

9

Merchant Councillors 1793

John Alston (c)
 David Dale
 Alexander Low (c)
 R.H. Rae (c)
 James Scott
 John Campbell (c)
 Lawrence Craigie
 William Bogle (c)
 Robert Muirhead
 John Brown jun.
 John Dunlop (c)
 John Craig
 George Lothian

6

Merchant Councillors 1794

John Hamilton jun. (c)
 R.E. Rae (c)
 James Scott
 John Campbell (c)
 Lawrence Crairie
 Robert Muirhead
 Gilbert Hamilton
 John Brown jun.
 John Buchanan
 George Lothian
 Robert Carrick
 William Wardlaw
George Buchanan jun. (c) 4

Merchant Councillors 1795

David Dale
 R.H. Rae (c)
 John Campbell (c)
 William Forde (c)
 Robert Muirhead
 George Hamilton
 John Brown
 John Buchanan
 Robert Carrick
 William Wardlaw
 George Buchanan jun. (c)
 John Laurie
Thomas Hopkirk (c) 5

Merchant Councillors 1796

John Campbell (c)
 William Forde (c)
 Lawrence Crairie
 Robert Muirhead
 Gilbert Hamilton
 John Brown jun.
 John Buchanan
 John Dunlop (c)
 George Lothian
 George Buchanan jun. (c)
 John Laurie
 Thomas Hopkirk (c)
 Robert Dennistoun (c)
Peter Bald 6

Merchant Councillors 1805

James Mackenzie (c)
 William Muir
 William Smith
 Alexander Stewart (c)
 Archibald Campbell
 Kirkman Finlay
 James Robertson
 William Cuthbertson
 Robert Carrick
 George Hamilton
 John Laurie
 William Jamieson 2

Merchant Councillors 1806

John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Archibald Campbell
 Kirkman Finlay
 James Robertson
 William Cuthbertson
 Robert Carrick
 Gilbert Hamilton
 John McCall
 Daniel McKenzie
 John Laurie
 William Liddell
 Nicol Brown. 2

Merchant Councillors 1797

Lawrence Craige
 Gilbert Hamilton
 John Brown jun.
 John Buchanan
 John Dunlop (c)
 George Lothian
 Robert Carrick
 William Wardlow
 John Laurie
 Thomas Hopkirk (c)
 Peter Bald
 Robert Findlay (c)
 James Black (c) 4

Merchant Councillors 1798

William Bosle (c)
 John Buchanan
 George Lothian
 Robert Carrick
 George Buchanan jun. (c)
 William Wardlow
 John Laurie
 Peter Bald
 Robert Findlay (c)
 James Black (c)
 John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Robert Dennistoun (c)
 J. McDowall (c) 7

Merchant Councillors 1799

William Bosle (c)
 John Buchanan
 George Lothian
 Robert Carrick
 George Buchanan (c)
 William Wardlow
 John Laurie
 Peter Bald
 Robert Findlay (c)
 James Black (c)
 John Hamilton jun. (c)
 Robert Dennistoun (c)
 James McDowall (c) 7

Merchant Councillors 1800

Lawrence Craigie
George Buchanan (c)
John Laurie
Thomas Hopkirk (c)
Robert Findlay (c)
James Black (c)
Archibald Smith (c)
James McDowall (c)
Robert Eogle (c)
David Connell (c)
Robert Dunlop
James McKennie (c)
Robert Muirhead 9

Merchant Councillors 1801

William Wardlaw
John Laurie
Thomas Hopkirk (c)
Peter Fald
Robert Findlay (c)
James Black (c)
Archibald Smith (c)
James McDowall (c)
Robert Dunlop
William Muir
Kirkman Findlay
Archibald Campbell 8

Merchant Councillors 1804

James Mackenzie (c)
Lawrence Craigie
Robert Dunlop
William Muir
William Smith
Alexander Stewart (c)
Archibald Campbell
James Robertson
Robert Carrick
Gilbert Hamilton
Daniel McKenzie
Robert McKenair 8

(D) Marriages between Families of Merchants in Colonial Trade

x- Wife's father and husband involved in same copartnership.

Hopkirk - Glassford: Christine Glassford (daughter of John)- James Hopkirk, Glasgow Mercury, 19th April, 1784

Alston - Donnistoun: Christine Alston (daughter of John)- Richard Donnistoun, Glasgow Mercury, 28th July, 1786.

Buchanan - French: Elizabeth Buchanan (daughter of Andrew)- William French, Old Glasgow Exhibition, Catalogue, Notes, and Indexes, 25.

Dunlop - Eagle: Martha Eagle (daughter of John)- Colin Dunlop, VI, 43. Notes on the family of Dunlop of ~~James~~ Jarnkirk.

Dunlop -, Ronald: Janet Dunlop (daughter of Colin)- Thomas Donald, SRC, Reg. of Deeds, 231/1/958 WACF.

McCall - Russell: Elizabeth McCall (daughter of James)- David Russell, RCA, Reg. of Deeds, 7.19/5/9661.

Buchanan - Gordon: Elizabeth Buchanan (daughter of Thomas)- Alexander Gordon, Old Glasgow Exhibition, 117.

Murdoch - Campbell: Mary Murdoch (daughter of James)- John Campbell sen., Old Glasgow Exhibition, 79.

x Gordon - Glassford: Jane Glassford (daughter of John)- James Gordon, Scots Magazine, XLVI (1785), 312.

Wylie - Hay: Daughter of Hugh Wylie - John Hay, Scots Magazine, XLVI (1785), 415.

Donnistoun - Dreghorn: Margaret Dreghorn (daughter of Robert)- James Donnistoun, Scots Magazine, XLVI (1785) 318.

x Robertson - Mauro: Margaret Robertson (daughter of John)- John Spens Mauro, Glasgow Mercury, 3rd August 1786

x Campbell - Campbell: Helen (daughter of John Campbell sen.)- Mungo Hutter Campbell, Courlay, Provosts of Glasgow, 12th.

Eagle - Hamilton: Helen Eagle (daughter of Archibald)- John Hamilton, Old Glasgow Exhibition, 127.

x Glassford - Middell: Anne Glassford (daughter of John) -
Henry Middell, Scottish Magazine vol. 48, 331

Black - Shortridge: Hannah Shortridge (daughter of John) -
James Black, Old Glasgow Exhibition, 135.

Smith - McCall. Isabella Smith (daughter of Archibald) -
John McCall, H.S. McCall, Memoirs of My Ancestors
(Birmingham 1804) 82.

x McCall - Smellie: Daughter of Archibald Smellie - George
McCall, McCall, op cit, 12.

Bogle - Buchanan: Martha Buchanan (daughter of Neil) -
William Bogle, 870, BCPT, CC, 125, Arch. Speirs v Martha
Bogle (1725).

Speirs - Buchanan: Mary Buchanan (daughter of Arch.
Buchanan of Silverbank) - Alexander Speirs, SL, CSP
160/7/1.

x Speirs - Crawford: Martha Speirs (daughter of Alexander) -
George Crawford, SL, CSP 160/7/4.

x Brock - Jamieson: Margaret Jamieson (daughter of John) -
Walter Brock, GCA, Reg. of Deeds, 310/3/3207.

Findlay - Dunlop: Dorothea Dunlop (daughter of Robert of
Houshill) - Robert Findlay, Old Glasgow Exhibition,

Middell - Campbell: Elizabeth Campbell (daughter of John
Coats) - John Middell, GCA, Reg. of Deeds, 3.10/5/8718.

x Buchanan - Dennistoun: Jane Dennistoun (daughter of James) -
Andrew Buchanan, of Ardenconnal, Old Country Houses, LXXVI.

x Cunninghame - Dunmore: Jean Dunmore (daughter of Thomas
Dunmore) - William Cunninghame, GSBII, 1703.

Ingram - Glassford: Rebecca Glassford (sister of John) -
Archibald Ingram, Mitchell, op cit, 122.

Tyrie - Dunlop: Elizabeth Dunlop (daughter of James) -
Hugh Tyrie, GSBII, 1702.

Robertson - Murdoch: Elizabeth Murdoch (daughter of John) -
John Robertson, GSBII, 1773.

Marshall - Bogle: Margaret Bogle (daughter of Mathew) -
Richard Marshall, GSBII, 1776.

APPENDIX IIICopartnerships in Colonial Trade

- (a) Interlocked partnerships in the tobacco trade.
- (b) Interlocked partnerships in the West Indies Trade.
- (c) Family copartnerships.
- (d) Remaining copartnerships in colonial trade.

(a) INTERESTED PARTIES IN THE WELLS TRAFFIC(1) 'Cunninghame Group'

William Cunninghame and Co.:- W. Cunninghame, Robert Boglo, Andrew Cochran, Peter Murdoch, John Murdoch, James Robinson, William Reid, William Henderson, John Hamilton.

Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.:- W. Cunninghame, Robert Findlay, Robert Boglo, Alexander Houston, James Dougall, David Walker.

Cunninghame, Brown & Co.:- W. Cunninghame, Robert Findlay, James Brown.

Source:- PRO, AO 12/56/292/

(2) 'Glassford Group'

John Glassford & Co.:- John Glassford, James Gordon, John Campbell jun., Henry Riddell, Alexander Low, William Ingram, John Campbell sen., (PRO, AO 12/8/37).

Glassford, Gordon, Montoath & Co.:- John Glassford, James Gordon, Walter Montoath, John Campbell jun., Henry Riddell, Alexander Low, Neil Jamieson, William Ingram.
(Glasgow Mercury, 19th January, 1790).

James Gordon & Co.:- James Gordon, John Glassford, Henry Riddell,
(Glasgow Mercury, 19th January, 1790).

Henderson, McCall & Co.:- Archibald Henderson, John Glassford, Alexander McCall, James Gordon, George Kippen, Arthur Connell, Neil Jamieson, John Lyle, William Shortridge.
(SRO, CEGG/1/10).

Archibald Henderson & Co.:- Archibald Henderson, John Glassford, James Gordon, Henry Riddell,
(Glasgow Mercury, 19th January, 1790).

George Kippen & Co.:- George Kippen, John Glassford, Alexander McCall, William Shortridge, Arthur Connell,
(Glasgow Advertiser, 22nd January, 1790).

(3) 'Spoirs Group'

Spoirs, French & Co.:- Alexander Spoirs, John Bowman, William French, John Crawford, Donald Crawford, James Hopkirk, Archibald Moncrieff, Charles Craikshanks.
(PRO, AD 12/9/53).

Spoirs, Bowman & Co.:- John Bowman Alexander Spoirs, William French, Peter Murdoch, Andrew Buchanan, (Ardennonnal), John Robertson.
(SCA, Spoirs Papers, M131/7, Ledger, 1785-80, 45).

Patrick Colquhoun & Co.:- Patrick Colquhoun, Alexander Spoirs, Joseph Scott, William Carmichael, Alexander Ritchie.
(SCA, Spoirs Papers, M131/10/54).

(4) 'Buchanan - Jamieson Group'

Buchanan, Hastie & Co.:- Andrew Buchanan, Robert Hastie, James Jamieson, Walter Brock, William Buchanan, James Buchanan.
(SCA, Probative Writs, B10/12/4)

Poglo, Jamieson & Co.:- William Poglo, James Jamieson, Robert Hastie, John Buchanan.
(SCA, Reg. of Deeds, B10/3/3345)

James Jamieson & Co.:- James Jamieson, William Poglo, Andrew Buchanan, Robert Hastie, Walter Brock, William Buchanan, John Buchanan, Robert Lawson.
(SCA, Reg. of Deeds, B10/3/3593)

Hastie, Corbett & Co.:- Robert Hastie, Cunningham Corbett, William Buchanan, James Somervell (former leading partner in Poglo, Jamieson & Co.), David Black.
(SCA, Reg. of Deeds, B10/5/247; SRO, Reg. of Deeds, B1/516 WAGW)

(5) 'Thomson - McCall Group'

Thomson, Snodgrass & Co.:- Andrew Thomson, William Snodgrass, George McCall, James and Samuel Crawford, (Greenock), Archibald Bryce, John Snodgrass (Virginia).
(SCA, Probative Writs, B10/12/4)

George McCall & Co.:- George McCall, Henry Mitchell, Andrew Thomson, Robert Fallfour.
(SCA, Probative Writs, B10/12/9)

Andrew Thomson & Co.:- Andrew Thomson, George Crawford.
(SCA, B10/12/3)

McCall, Smellie & Co.:- Archibald Smellie, Richard Smellie, George McCall, Henry Mitchell.
(Glasgow Courier, 10th April, 1794)

(a) 'Donald Group'

Thomas and Alexander Donald & Co.:- Thomas Donald, Alexander Donald, James McDowall, Walter Stirling.
(Glasgow Herald, 14th June, 1811)

Thomas Donald & Co.:- Thomas Donald, Robert Donald, Hugh Colquhoun, John McDowall.
(Glasgow Herald, 7th February, 1811)

(b) INTERLOCKED PARTNERSHIPS IN THE WEST INDIES TRADE.

(1) 'Buchanan - Dennistoun Group'

Buchanan, Steven & Co.:- Andrew Buchanan, Moses Steven, James Dennistoun, George and Robert Dennistoun, Stephen Rowan.
(Glasgow Courier, 15th December, 1796)

Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.:- Richard Dennistoun, Andrew Buchanan, George Buchanan, John Buchanan, James Buchanan, David Laird.
(Mitchell, op cit, 115, n, 5; SHO, CD1/512/27/6.)

(2) 'McNeil - Stewart Group'

Alexander Mackenzie & Co.:- Robert Sharp, John Mackenzie, Alexander Mackenzie, William McNeil, Alexander Stewart, Robert Mitchell, Robert Bryco.
(SI, CSP 615/4/2)

McNeil, Stewart & Co.:- William McNeil, Alexander Stewart, Robert McCall.
(SRO, JP Innes Durie, A/6/6, Petition for Robert Auld, 1)

(3) 'Garden Group'

#5# Francis Garden, D. W. Ruthven, Alexander Garden, Robert Garden, H. W. Garden, David King:- all partners in Francis Garden & Sons, Francis Garden & Co., Garden, King & Co.
(Glasgow Courier, 21st December, 1811)

Hamilton, Garden & Co.:- John Hamilton, John Hamilton Jun.,
Francis Garden.
(Glasgow Courier, 26th May, 1795)

(c) FAMILY PARTNERSHIPS IN DOMESTIC TRADE.

Alexander Houston & Co.:- Alexander Houston, William
McDowall, John Clark, Alexander Creighton (merchant in
London), James McDowall, Andrew Houston, Alexander
Houston II, Robert Houston Esq: in 1777 (MS, 170 770/118)

Peter Murdoch & Sons:- Peter Murdoch, sen., Peter
Murdoch, John Murdoch.
(GSA, Bo- of Deeds, B10/5/7523)

Colin Dunlop & Sons:- James Dunlop, Colin Dunlop,
John Dunlop, John Lindsay.
(GSA, Probative Writs, 71/12/7/348)

John Campbell sen. & Co. (1790):- John Campbell sen.,
Thomas Campbell, Colin Campbell, Alexander Campbell,
Alexander Campbell Jun.
(ML, Campbell of Hallyards Papers, Contract of
Copartnership between the members of J. Campbell sen., and
Co., 1790)

John Campbell sen. & Co. (1814):- Alexander Campbell,
Colin Campbell, Alexander Campbell Jun., Alexander
Campbell of Possil, Munro Witter Campbell, Thomas
Campbell, James Campbell (ML, Campbell of Hallyards
Papers, Contract of June, 1814)

John, Thomas & Archibald Douglas & Co.:- John Douglas,
Thomas Douglas, Archibald Douglas.
(ML, Minute Book of Glasgow West India Association, 6)

George Oswald & Co.:- George Oswald, Alexander Oswald,
James Oswald.
(BRO, GE 60/1/8)

James Ritchie & Co.:- James Ritchie, Henry Ritchie.
(BRO, A.504/27/23.)

(d) PARTNERSHIPS IN CIVILIAN TRADE.

Baird, Hay & Co.:- James Baird, John Hay, Ninian Mensies, Peter Hay, John Hay.
(GCA, Journal of Baird, Hay & Co.)

Dosle, Graham & Co.:- George Dosle, Michael Dosle, Walter Graham, John Kirkmyre.
(GCA, Reg. of Deeds, 10/19/7552, Contract of Copartnership between Messrs. Dosle and Grahame)

James Brown & Co.:- Robert Dreghorn, James Moore, Mathew Orr, John Rowand, James Brown.
(PRC, A012/0/58-01)

Archibald and John Coates & Co.:- John Coats Campbell, William Coats, John Widdell, James Scott, David McCulloch.
(Glasgow Courier, 10th January, 1864)

Corbett, Russell & Co.:- Andrew Buchanan, David Russell, John Leitch, Cunningham Corbett, Ross Corbett, Patrick Northwick.
(GCA, Probative Writs, 110/11/9/241)

Alexander Cunningham & Co.:- Alexander Cunningham, William Cunningham, Alexander Houston, Robert Poole, James Dougall (signed May, 1770)
(SRO, GD247/58/P/1, Copy of Maryland Contract of Copartnership, 9th May, 1770)

Dunmore, Blackburn & Co.:- Thomas Dunmore, Andrew Blackburn, Robert Dunmore, Robert Gilmore, George Logan.
(SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 251/704 MACK)

Edgar, Iven & Co.:- James Edgar, Jasper Lyon.
(Abstract of Minute Books of West India Assoc. of Glasgow, 1807-15, 6-7)

John Ferguson & Co.:- Robert Dunmore, John Ferguson, William Cunningham.
(SRO, GD247/141, Scroll of Soderant of Robert Dunmore & Co.)

Findlay, Duncan & Co.:- Richard Donnistoun, James Buchanan, Robert Findlay, Colin McLachlan, John Duncan jun.
(GCA, Reg. of Deeds, 246/1/600 DAL)

Hamilton, Hopkirk & Co.:- John Dunlop of Carrlyle, Richard Dick, Thomas Hopkirk, George Hamilton.
(GCA, Reg. of Deeds, 110/5/8230.)

Leitch & Smith:- Archibald Smith, John Smith, John
Leitch.

(CCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, F1/S/38, Archibald
Smith to James Black of Craigmaddie, 11th August, 1915)

John McCall & Co.:- John McCall, James Wardrop, Alexander
Elliot, Allan Love,

(CCA, Ref of Deeds, F10/S/8270)

John McCall & Sons:- John McCall sen., John McCall jun.,
John Gordon.

(SRO, SCPII, 62,556 (1821))

Robert Mackay & Co.:- Robert Mackay, James Gordon,
John Riddell, William Robertson, John Robertson,

John Spens Munro.

(SRO, CC9/7/84/253)

Richard Marshall & Co.:- Robert Danmore, Richard
Marshall, John Laird, Peter Blackburn.

(SRO, Ref. of Deeds, 246/1/600 DAI)

Stirling, Gordon & Co.:- John Stirling, John Gordon,
Alexander Gordon, Charles Stirling, James Fyffe, Neil

Malcolm, David Russell, James Murdoch Wallace.

(Old Country Houses, LXIII)

APPENDIX IVTobacco Imports, 1774-1785

(a)	Tobacco Imports into Greenock and Fort Glasgow,	1774.
(b)	" " " " " " " "	, 1775.
(c)	" " " " " " " "	, 1776.
(d)	" " " " " " " "	, 1777.
(e)	" " " " " " " "	, 1778.
(f)	" " " " " " " "	, 1779.
(g)	" " " " " " " "	, 1780.
(h)	" " " " " " " "	, 1781.
(i)	" " " " " " " "	, 1782.

(a) Tobacco Imports, 1774

Port Glasgow

Speirs, French & Co.	}	6131	hogsheds.
Speirs, Crawford & Co.			
William Cunninghame & Co.	}	4918	"
Cunninghame Windlay & Co.			
George Oswald & Co.)	2242	"
Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co.		2129	"
Colin Dunlop & Sons		2070	"
A. & W. Hamilton & Co.		1243	"
Bosle, Jamieson & Co.		1053	"
Archibald Henderson & Co.		1032	"
J. & W. Fallantyne & Co.		835	"
J. & A. Buchanan & Co.		685	"
Dunlops & Crosse		487	"
Alexander Grindley & Co.		482	"
Ramsay, Monteath & Co.		392	"
Scott, Donald & Co.		241	"
Andrew Sym & Co.		100	"
		<u>24,246</u>	"

Greenock

John Glassford & Co.	(2513	hogsheds.
Glassford, Gordon & Co.			
Henderson, McCall & Co.		1034	"
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.		796	"
John McDowall & Co.		445	"
Somervell, Bogle & Co.		425	"
Andrew Thomson & Co.)	294	"
Thomson, Snodgrass & Co.			
McCall, Smellie & Co.		270	"

William Gray & Co.	200	hogsheds
T. & A. Donald & Co.	199	"
Murdoch, Prohorn & Co.	118	"
Hugh Wylie & Co.	96	"
William Donald & Co.	97	"
Wilson, Brown & Co.	90	"
McKenzie, Wylie & Co.	67	"
James Brown & Co.	50	"
Eaird, Hay & Co.	41	"
	<u>6844</u>	hogsheds.

Total for 1774:- 31,090 hogsheds

(b) Tobacco Imports, 1775.

Port Glasgow

William Cunningham & Co.	}	6105	hogsheds
Cunningham, Findlay & Co.			
Speirs, French & Co.	}	3950	"
Speirs, Crawford & Co.			
J. & W. Ballantyne & Co.		1197	"
John Glassford & Co.		959	"
Dinsiddie, Crawford & Co.		906	"
Eagle, Jamieson & Co.		888	"
G. Oswald & Co.		856	"
Alexander Brindley & Co.		856	"
Colin Dunlop & Sons		616	"
Duchanan, Hastie & Co.		473	"
Ramsay, Monteath & Co.		430	"
J. & W. Dunlop & Co.		383	"
Murdoch, Prohorn & Co.		303	"
Andrew Sym		276	"

Hugh Tylie & Co.	255	hogsheds.
J. & W. Hamilton & Co.	184	"
McCall, Smellie & Co.	131	"
Dunlops, Crosse & Co.	27	"
James Jamieson & Co.	19	"
	<u>18,915</u>	hogsheds

Greenock.

John Glassford & Co.	}	5172	hogsheds.
Glassford, Gordon, Monteath & Co.			
Henderson, McCall & Co.	1203	"	
George Kippen & Co.	542	"	
Scott, Donald & Co.	417	"	
William Gray & Co.	410	"	
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.	407	"	
T. & A. Donald & Co.	374	"	
McCall, Elliot & Co.	303	"	
Eagle, Somervell & Co.	260	"	
Thomson, Snodgrass & Co.	352	"	
John McDowall & Co.	345	"	
McCall, Dennistoun & Co.	250	"	
James Brown & Co.	122	"	
	<u>10,417</u>	hogsheds.	

Total for 1775:- 29,330 hogsheds.

(c) Tobacco Imports 1776Port Glasgow.

James Buchanan jun. & Co. 208 hogsheds.

Greenock

McCall, Smellie & Co. 415 hogsheds.

John McDowall & Co. 375 hogsheds.

Glassford, Gordon & Co. 294 "

Henderson McCall & Co.	201 hogsheds.
Ramsay, Monteath & Co.	76 "
Buchanan, Hastie & Co.	30 "
Hugh Wylie & Co.	22 "
	<u>1,313 hogsheds</u>

Total for 1776:- 1,541 (all imported
in the period January-April, 1776)

(d) Tobacco Imports 1777

Port Glasgow.

NONE

Greenock

James Gamrell & Co.	51 hogs heads
Alexander Houston & Co.	35 "
	<u>86 hogsheds.</u>

Total for 1777:- 86 hogsheds.

(e) Tobacco Imports 1778 Greenock.

By Greenock West India Importers	177 hogsheds
G. & J. Buchanan & Co. New York	107 "
Dunmore, Blackburn & Co. "	94 "
Patrick Colquhoun & Co. "	82 "
John Campbell son. & Co. Jamaica	46 "
Gammel, Ritchie & Co. "	44 "
Robert Mackay & Co. "	25 "
J. & H. Ritchie & Co. New York	17 "
Alex. Houston & Co. St. Vincent	11 "
	<u>633 hogsheds.</u>

Port Glasgow.

Patrick Colquhoun & Co. New York	133 hogsheds
Speirs, French & Co. "	133 "

Robert, Dummore & Co. New York		65	hogsheds
J. & T. Dennistoun & Co. "		61	"
Findlay, Fallantyno & Co. "		44	"
W. Cunningham & Co. Prizo		53	"
P. Colquhoun & Co. Antigua		24	"
J. Buchanan & Co. "		12	"
Cunningham, Brown & Co. Granada		7	"
Andrew Brown	Quebec	1	"
		<u>332</u>	hogsheds

Total for 1778:- 1,195 hogsheds

(f) Tobacco Imports 1779

Greenock.

Glassford, Gordon & Co. New York		367	hogsheds
J. & H. Ritchie & Co. "		157	"
T. & A. Donald & Co. "		79	"
James Gamell & Co. "		70	"
Alston, Graham & Co. "		76	"
Robert Stewart & Co. St. Kitts		66	"
Robert Dummore & Co. Charlestown		52	"
Findlay, Fallantyno & Co. New York		46	"
McCall, Riddell & Co. "		39	"
Alexander Houston & Co. St. Vincents		38	"
Dennistoun, Scott & Co. New York		38	"
R. & A. Sinclair	"	35	"
J. & G. Buchanan & Co. "		29	"
Alex McCall & Co. "		27	"
George Rippen & Co. "		25	"
Gordon, Riddell & Co. "		23	"

William Cunningham & Co.	Jamaica	20	hogsheds
T. & J. Hopkirk & Co.	New York	21	"
H. Mackay & Co.	Jamaica	15	"
J. & J. Wardrop & Co.	New York	15	"
C. & H. Campbell	"	10	"
		<u>1,347</u>	hogsheds

Port Glasgow

Speirs, French & Co.	New York	346	hogsheds
Glassford, Gordon & Co.	"	304	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	"	250	"
P. Colquhoun & Co.	"	164	"
John Buchanan & Co.	"	58	"
T. Houston & Co.	"	38	"
George Oswald & Co.	"	46	"
A. Donald & Co.	"	30	"
J. & E. Ritchie & Co.	"	27	"
George Crawford & Co.	"	23	"
Speirs, French & Co.	St. Kitts	13	"
Greenock W.I. Importers	" / Antigua 417 "		
		<u>1,704</u>	hogsheds

Total for 1779:- 3,651 hogsheds

(g) Tobacco Imports, Port Glasgow, Oct. 1780-Dec. 1780
(Greenock 1780, in complete or wanting; Port Glasgow
Jan. 1780-Oct. 1780 wanting.)

W. Cunningham & Co.	New York	10	hogsheds
Speirs, Crawford & Co.	"	20	"
Speirs, French & Co.	"	10	"
Greenock W.I. Importers	St. Kitts	223	"
		<u>302</u>	hogsheds

(h) Tobacco Imports 1781

Greenock

William Cunningham & Co.	Charlestown	280	hogsheds
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A. & J. Stirling & Co.	Charleston	51	hogsheads
W. & J. Stirling & Co.	"	50	"
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.	St. Kitts	50	"
Riddell, Gordon & Co.	Charleston	41	"
David Russell & Co.	St. Kitts	30	"
McCall, Riddell & Co.	New York	34	"
James Gamble & Co.	New York	30	"
T.A. & D. McClure	Charleston	27	"
Rodger, Stewart & Co.	St. Kitts	23	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	"	20	"
Campbell & Stewart & Co.	Charleston	16	"
McDowall, Gordon & Co.	Jamaica	17	"
Colin Dunlop & Sons	St. Kitts	9	"
Gordon, Monteth & Co.	Charleston	8	"
Allan, Blackie & Co.	"	7	"
James Tennistoun & Co.	St. Kitts	6	"
John Brown & Co.	"	4	"

719 hogsheads

Port Glasgow.

John Campbell sen. & Co.	Tortola	72	hogsheads
David Russell & Co.	"	96	"
J. & T. Hopkirk & Co.	"	64	"
William Cunningham & Co.	New York	28	"
Speirs, Bowman & Co.	St. Kitts	19	"
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.	New York	14	"
Colin Dunlop & Sons	St. Kitts	8	"

301 hogsheads

Total for 1781:- 1,015 hogsheads

(1) Tobacco Imports 1782Greenock

David Russell & Co.	Tortola	190	hogsheds
Alexander Houston & Co.	"	182	"
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.	New York	131	"
Hamilton, Cathcart & Co.	"	128	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	Tortola	115	"
Patrick Colquhoun & Co.	New York	90	"
Alston, Ewin & Co.	"	88	"
Glasford, Gordon & Co.	Tortola	60	"
J. & G. Buchanan & Co.	New York	57	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	"	70	"
Hepkirk, Gordon & Co.	Tortola	40	"
W. & J. Dunlop & Co.	"	14	"
Henry Riddell & Co.	New York	22	"
Henry Riddell & Co.	Tortola	15	"
James Gammell & Co.	New York	20	"
A. & J. Stirling & Co.	"	10	"
Robert Dunmore & Co.	"	10	"
McCall, Riddell & Co.	"	0	"
Monteath, Christie & Co.	"	0	"
Walter Colquhoun & Co.	Tortola	14	"
Francis Gordon & Co.	New York	5	"
James Fyfe & Co.	Antigua	4	"
		<u>1,251</u>	<u>hogsheds</u>

Port Glasgow.

David Russell & Co.	Tortola	234	hogsheds
Robert Dunmore & Co.	Tortola	167	"
Speirs, Crawford & Co.	"	154	"

Speirs, French & Co.	Tortola	152	hogsheads
Colin Dunlop & Sons	"	125	"
J. & T. Hopkirk & Co.	"	100	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	"	72	"
Gordon, Middell & Co.	"	50	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	"	31	"
James Black & Co.	New York	30	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	"	28	"
Glasford, Middell & Co.	"	27	"
W. Colquhoun & Co.	Tortola	20	"
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.	"	15	"
J. & H. Ritchie & Co.	New York	14	"
Greenock Firms	"	61	"
		<u>1,396</u>	<u>hogsheads</u>

Total for 1798:- 1,597 hogsheads

Sources:- SR0, Collectors Quarterly Account, Port Glasgow,
E/504/23/23-34

SR0, Collectors Quarterly Account, Greenock,
E/504/15/23-37.

APPENDIX V

- (a) Tobacco Exports to Ireland and the Continent, 1777.
- (b) Quantities of Tobacco remaining in the hands of each Importer at Greenock and Port Glasgow 1776 (5th Aug.)
- (c) Quantities of Tobacco remaining in the hands of each Importer at Greenock and Port Glasgow 1778 (4th Feb.)

(a) Exports from Greenock, 1777

McCall, Dennistoun & Co.	Rotterdam	11	hogsheds
Glasford, Gordon & Co.	Havre de Grace	230	"
McCall, Smollo & Co.	Rotterdam	10	"
T. & A. Donald & Co.	"	5	"
		<u>256</u>	hogsheds

Exports from Port Glasgow, 1777

Speirs, Crawford & Co.	Waterford	60	hogsheds
Wilson, Brown & Co.	Belfast	38	"
Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co.	Dublin	130	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	"	321	"
Speirs, Crawford & Co.	"	105	"
Speirs, Crawford & Co.	Cork	102	"
McCall, Dennistoun & Co.	Rotterdam	30	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	Cork	92	"
Glasford, Gordon & Co.	Halifax	47	"
Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co.	Rotterdam	100	"
Monteath, Gordon & Co.	Dublin	20	"
Andrew Sym & Co.	Rotterdam	11	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	Limerick	40	"
McCall, Dennistoun & Co.	Dublin	21	"
Murdoch, Dreghorn & Co.	"	51	"
Alexander Grindley & Co.	"	125	"
Monteath, Gordon & Co.	"	12	"
Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co.	Halifax	70	"
Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.	Bordeaux	240	"
Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.	Havre de Grace	450	"
Speirs, French & Co.	Bordeaux	160	"
Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.	Londonderry	20	"
Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.	Dioppe	301	"
Dunlops, Grosse & Co.	Dublin	13	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	Drogheda	30	"

W. Cunningham & Co. Opporto 22 hogsheads
1,677 hogsheads

Total Exports 1777:- 2,916 hogsheads

To France:- 1,461 hogsheads

To Ireland:- 1,140 "

To Holland:- 107 "

To others:- 199 "

Source:- SRO, E.504/15/27-28; E.504/23/27-28

(b) 'A' Account of the quantities of Tobacco imported at these Ports remaining in the hands of each importer at 5th August, 1777

<u>Firm</u>	<u>Total Tobacco Held</u>
W. Cunningham & Co. Cunningham, Findlay & Co.)	4,997 hogsheads
John Glassford & Co.) Glassford, Gordon & Co.)	3,313 "
Speirs, French & Co.	1,821 "
George Oswald & Co.	646 "
McCall, Elliot & Co.	371 "
Alexander Urindley & Co.	343 "
McCall, Dennistoun & Co.	327 "
Scott, Donald & Co.	314 "
John & William Fallantym & Co.	250 "
Dreghorn, Murdoch & Co.	246 "
Ramsay, Montcath & Co.	277 "
William Gray & Co.	217 "
Dunlops and Crosse & Co.	174 "
Henderson, McCall & Co.	166 "
William Donald jun. & Co.	140 "
Thomas & Alexander Donald & Co.	127 "
James Donald & Co.	97 "
Andrew Sym & Co.	70 "

James Brown & Co.	67	hogsheads
James Buchanan jun. & Co.	49	"
McCall, Wardrop & Co.	49	"
John McCaul & Co.	40	"
William Bogle & Co.	40	"
McCall, Smellie & Co.	45	"
Alexander McCall & Co.	35	"
George and Andrew Buchanan & Co.	32	"
Robert Dunmore & Co.	23	"
Buchanan, Hastie & Co.	31	"
Hugh Tylio & Co.	8	"
James Jamieson & Co.	5	"
James Brown & Co.	5	"
	<u>14,404</u>	<u>hogsheads</u>

Source:- SRO, GE60/1/9, Account of Quantities of Tobacco held at Greenock, and Port Glasgow reported to HM's Board of Customs and Excise, 5th August, 1776

(c) 'Account of Tobacco remaining in merchant hands of Greenock, and Port Glasgow, 4th February, 1776'

John Glassford & Co.	149	hogsheads
William Cunninghame & Co.	124	"
Speirs, French & Co.	117	"
John McCall & Co.	117	"
Henderson, McCall & Co.	57	"
Alexander Grindley & Co.	44	"
George Oswald & Co.	12	"
William Donald jun. & Co.	15	"
Murdoch, Droghorn & Co.	11	"
Alexander McCall & Co.	7	"
Thomas & Alexander Donald & Co.	7	"

McCall, Wardrop & Co.	6	hogsheads
James Dennistoun Jun. & Co.	5	"
Scott, Donald & Co.	5	"
James McCall & Co.	1	"
James Brown & Co.	1	"
Robert Dunmore & Co.	2	"
	<u>20</u>	<u>hogsheads</u>

Source- SRO, CE60/1/10, Collector Greenock and Port Glasgow to HM's Board of Customs and Excise, 4th February, 1778.

APPENDIX VISUGAR IMPORTS, 1773-1785

- (a) Sugar imported into Greenock and Port Glasgow, April-December, 1773.
- (b) Sugar imported into Greenock, and Port Glasgow 1774.
- (c) Sugar imported into Greenock, and Port Glasgow, 1776.
- (d) Sugar imported into Greenock and Port Glasgow, 1776.
- (e) Sugar imported into Greenock and Port Glasgow, 1779.
- (f) Sugar imported into Greenock and Port Glasgow, 1781.
- (g) Sugar imported into Greenock and Port Glasgow, 1782.
- (h) Sugar imported into Greenock and Port Glasgow, 1785.

(a) Sugar imports, 1773Greenock

Connell, Somervell & Co.	Jamaica	660	hogsheds
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Kitts	296	"
Thomas & Robert Dummore	Jamaica	222	"
George Bogle & Co.	"	176	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Granada	169	"
Walter & John Fitchie & Co.	"	150	"
Neil & Colin Campbell & Co.	Jamaica	136	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Vincent	140	"
Johnston, Carrick & Co.	Granada	98	"
Ewing, Alston & Co.	Jamaica	97	"
Ewing, Alston & Co.	Antigua	53	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Jamaica	40	"
George Scott & Son	"	20	"
		<u>2,226</u>	<u>hogsheds</u>

Port Glasgow

Various firms	Jamaica	235	hogsheds
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Total for 1773:- 2,511 hogsheds

(b) Sugar Imports, 1774Greenock

Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Kitts	603	hogsheds
Connell, Somervell & Co.	Jamaica	295	"
Thomas & Robert Dummore & Co.	"	239	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Vincent	234	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Granada	185	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Jamaica	20	"
Dunlop, Smellie & Co.	Antigua	10	"
		<u>1,486</u>	<u>hogsheds</u>

Port Glasgow

Neil & John Campbell	Jamaica	168	hogsheds
John Dunlop & Co.	Antigua	155	"
Laird, Cunningham & Co.	Nevis	60	"
Miller, Smellie & Co.	Antigua	20	"
John Mackenzie & Co.	"	13	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Nevis	10	"
		<u>424</u>	hogsheds

Total for 1774:- 1,900 hogsheds

(c) Sugar Imports, 1776Greenock

Alexander Houston & Co.	972	hogsheds
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	675	"
Robert Mackay & Co.	248	"
Coats, Whitelaw & Co.	132	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	119	"
G. & J. Buchanan & Co.	82	"
Robert Dunmore & Co.	40	"
George Bosle & Co.	12	"
Orr, Ritchie & Co.	10	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	10	"
Kippen, Campbell & Co.	8	"
J. & S. Crawford & Co.	6	"
	<u>2,314</u>	hogsheds

Port Glasgow.

W. & R. Donaldson & Co.	212	hogsheds
John Cross & Co.	60	"
James Donnistoun & Co.	60	"
James Donnistoun jun. & Co.	64	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	12	"
	<u>448</u>	hogsheds

Total for 1776:- 2,762 hogsheds

(d) Sugar Imports, 1778Greenock

John Campbell sen. & Co.	Jamaica	2,670	hogsheds
Robert Mackay & Co.	"	784	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Vincent	573	"
Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	338	"
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	"	299	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Granada	168	"
George Fogle & Co.	Jamaica	101	"
Ewing, Alston & Co.	Antigua	70	"
Hamilton, Milne & Co.	"	67	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Tobago	62	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Jamaica	59	"
Patrick Colquhoun & Co.	Antigua	25	"
		<u>5,416</u>	<u>hogsheds</u>

Port Glasgow.

Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	566	hogsheds
Alexander Houston & Co.	"	150	"
Patrick Hunter & Co.	"	78	"
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	"	60	"
J. Dennistoun jun. & Co.	"	39	"
Smellie, King & Co.	"	35	"
W. Cunningham & Co.	"	20	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	"	12	"
		<u>958</u>	<u>hogsheds</u>

Total for 1778:- 6,374 hogsheds.

(e) Sugar Imports, 1779Greenock

John Campbell sen. & Co.	Jamaica	991	hogsheds
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	"	543	"
R. Mackay & Co.	"	360	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Kitts	304	"

Alexander Houston & Co.	Jamaica	251	hogsheads
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Vincents	251	"
Robert Gordon & Co.	Jamaica	194	"
George Eagle & Co.	"	103	"
Wallace, Donald & Co.	"	100	"
Coats, Whitelaw & Co.	"	94	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Granada	94	"
Ewins, Alston & Co.	St. Kitts	54	"
		<u>3,388</u>	<u>hogsheads</u>

Port Glasgow.

Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	1,034	hogsheads
Findlay, Johnston & Co.	"	199	"
John Crawford & Co.	"	182	"
J. Campbell sen. & Co.	"	76	"
Andrew Sym & Co.	St. Kitts	27	"
J. Donnistoun jun. & Co.	St. Kitts	23	"
George Eagle & Co.	Jamaica	20	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Kitts	13	"
		<u>1,594</u>	<u>hogsheads</u>

Total for 1779:- 4,982 hogsheads

(f) Sugar Imports, 1781

<u>Greenock</u>			
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Lucia	365	hogsheads
Francis Gordon & Co.	Jamaica	312	"
R. Mackay & Co.	"	300	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Kitts	257	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Tortola	198	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	St. Lucia	152	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Kitts	145	"
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	Jamaica	135	"

John Black & Co.	Jamaica	116	hogsheds
John Campbell son. & Co.	"	122	"
John Wallace & Co.	"	121	"
Fullarton, Monteat & Co.	Barbadoes	111	"
George Bogie & Co.	Jamaica	60	"
Robert Stewart & Co.	St. Kitts	55	"
John Alton & Co.	St. Kitts	60	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Lucia	42	"
Kippon, Smellie & Co.	St. Kitts	33	"
Walter Ritchie & Co.	Jamaica	30	"
Francis Gardon & Co.	Barbadoes	10	"
John Crawford & Son	St. Kitts	6	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Tobago	5	"
		<u>2,644</u>	hogsheds

Port Glasgow.

Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	468	hogsheds
William Cunninghame & Co.	St. Kitts	50	"
Patrick Colquhoun & Co.	Antigua	20	"
		<u>538</u>	hogsheds

Total for 1781:- 3,180 hogsheds

(g) Sugar Imports, 1782

<u>Greenock</u>			
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	Jamaica	833	hogsheds
A. Houston & Co.	"	638	"
Robert Mackay & Co.	"	615	"
Francis Gardon & Co.	St. Lucia	270	"
Ewing, Alston & Co.	Antigua	150	"
Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	68	"

Rodger Stewart & Co.	Jamaica	78	hogsheds
John Buchanan & Co.	"	50	"
Campbell, Macaulay & Co.	"	38	"
Patrick Colquhoun & Co.	Antigua	30	"
J. & C. Wilson	St. Lucia	26	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	Tortola	25	"
Hamilton, McUan & Co.	Jamaica	22	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	"	20	"
James Wyffe & Co.	Antigua	8	"
		<hr/> 2,631 hogsheds	

Port Glasgow

Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	401	hogsheds
Greenock Importers	"	110	"
"	Antigua	50	"
John Crawford & Son	St. Lucia	135	"
Mentcath, Dunlop	Jamaica	118	"
Robert Findlay & Co.	"	69	"
James Donnistoun jun. & Co.	Tortola	69	"
Colin Dunlop & Sons	Jamaica	44	"
George Bogie & Co.	"	40	"
Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co.	Tortola	15	"
McAlpine, Fleming & Co.	Jamaica	4	"
		<hr/> 1,170 hogsheds	

Total for 1782- 4,010 hogsheds

(h) Sugar Imports, 1783

<u>Greenock</u>			
Bomervell, Gordon & Co.	Jamaica	921	hogsheds
Francis Garden & Co.	"	498	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	"	606	"

Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Lucia	279	hogsheds
John Campbell sen. & Co.	Grenada	268	"
Robert Macray & Co.	Jamaica	197	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Tortola	168	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	St. Vincent	152	"
J. & W. Dunlop	Jamaica	77	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	Grenada	78	"
J. & H. Alexander	Jamaica	46	"
Humphreys, Lyon & Co.	Tortola	25	"
Alexander Houston & Co.	Grenada	25	"
Alexander Dunlop & Co.	Tortola	19	"
Walter Ritchie & Co.	Jamaica	11	"
Francis Carder & Co.	Dominica	10	"
		<u>3,828</u>	hogsheds

Port Glasgow

Robert Dunmore & Co.	Jamaica	1,147	hogsheds
Walter Monteath	"	317	"
Somervell, Gordon & Co.	"	260	"
A. Houston & Co.	"	240	"
John Campbell sen. & Co.	Tortola	163	"
George Egle & Co.	Jamaica	133	"
Robert Findlay & Co.	"	69	"
Egle, McDowall & Co.	Antigua	30	"
Greenock Importers	Tortola	47	"
Gilbert Hamilton	Jamaica	12	"
James McDowall	Tortola	6	"
		<u>2,429</u>	hogsheds

Total for 1783:- 6,327 hogsheds

APPENDIX VII

Destination of vessels outwards from Port Glasgow, and Greenock for North American and West Indian ports, 1776-1782

<u>DATE</u>	<u>DESTINATION</u>	<u>N. OF SHIPS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Jan-April, 1776	Jamaica	9	
	Grenada	5	
	Honduras	1	West Indies - 10
	Barbados	2	
	St. Kitts	2	
	Antigua	1	
	Halifax, Nova Scotia	2	N. America - 2
Jan-April, 1777	Jamaica	7	
	Grenada	2	
	Honduras	-	West Indies - 10
	St. Kitts	1	
	Québec	2	
	New York	1	
	Halifax, Nova Scotia	5	N. America - 8

DATE

April-August, 1778

DESTINATION

Jamaica

Grenada

Tobago

St. Kitts

Barbados

Antigua

Dominica

New Foundland

New York

Philadelphia

Halifax

St. Augustine

NO. OF SHIPS

6

1

2

1

1

1

1

3

4

2

3

1

7

1

1

TOTAL

West Indies - 15

N. America - 15

Jan-April, 1779

Jamaica

Grenada

Barbados

<u>DATE</u>	<u>DESTINATION</u>	<u>NO. OF SHIPS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Jan-April, 1779 (cont'd)	Antigua	3	West Indies - 14 N. America - 11
	St. Kitts	1	
	New York	4	
	Halifax	2	
	St. Augustine	4	
	Pensacola	1	
July-Dec., 1788	Jamaica	3	West Indies - 18 N. America - 1
	Tortola	3	
	St. Lucia	1	
	Antigua	9	
	St. Thomas	3	
	New York	1	

APPENDIX VIII

Claims for fixed property compensation by Glasgow Tobacco Firms, in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, 1775-1783.

Source:- Petitions and Compensations of American Loyalists, 1775-1779, PBC, AO.12-15.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>SUM APPLIED FOR</u>	<u>STRE OBTAINED</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Dunmore, Blackburn	22,594	6700	AO12/124/167
James Jamieson	1,350	?	AO12/124/170
William Cunningham Cunninghame, Finlay	3,832) 14,376)	27,620	AO12/106/832-3
Colin Dunlop & Sons	1,704	921	AO12/126/2207
Glasford, Gordon	22,785	2,265	AO12/152/2222
Henderson, McCall	2,649	397	AO12/166/42
Holl Jamieson & Co.	5,655	3,900	AO12/100/11
John McDowall	449	425	AO12/112/2279
Murdoch, Donald	2,475	1,000	AO12/112/2203
Oswald, Dennistoun	1,511	?	AO12/250/91
James & Henry Ritchie	1,104	1,104	AO12/250/2303
David Russell	600	480	AO12/160/2308

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>SUM APPLIED FOR</u>	<u>SUM OBTAINED</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Scott, Donald	21,459	21,400	AO12/278/2313
Speirs, Bowman	3,547	2,650	AO12/276/2313
Speirs, French	3,950	?	AO12/290/56
Thomson, Snodgrass	600	250	AO12/84/85
John Brown & Co.	2,513	1,300	AO12/9/61

APPENDIX IXScale of Depreciation of Paper Money in the State of Virginia, 1777-1781Source:- Glasgow Mercury, 24th J no, 1784.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>1777</u>	<u>1778</u>	<u>1779</u>	<u>1780</u>	<u>1781</u>
January	1½	4	6	42	75
February	1½	5	10	45	80
March	2	5	20	50	90
April	2½	5	16	60	100
May	2½	5	20	60	150
June	2½	5	20	65	200
July	3	5	21	65	400
August	3	5	22	70	500
September	3	5	24	72	600
October	3	5	25	75	700
November	3	6	30	74	800
December	4	6	40	75	1000

APPENDIX X

SURVIVAL AND BANKRUPTCY OF GLASSON TOBACCO FIRMS DURING THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>TOBACCO IMPORTS, 1774</u>	<u>SURVIVAL</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Speirs, French & Co.	6151 households	YES	CCA, TD131/15, Secretant Book of the Trustees of A. Speirs.
Speirs, Townan & Co.	"	"	PRO, A014/50/009
W. Cunningham & Co.	5018	"	
Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.	"	"	
Cunninghame, Brown & Co.	"	"	
John Glassford, & Co.	3555	"	WVI, Mercantile Accounts, Virginia and Maryland, Correspondence of Glassford, Gordon & Co.
Glassford, Gordon & Co.	"	"	
Glassford, Henderson & Co.	"	"	
George Oswald & Co.	5242	"	PRO, A014/533/91
Oswald Dennistoun & Co.	"	"	

FIRM

TOPACCC IMPORTS, 1774

SURVIVAL

S UNCE

Dimmock, Crawford & Co.

2129 hogsheds

PCA, Memorandum Book containing copies of documents concerning Capt. W. Lockhart of Germiston

Colin Dunlop & Sons

2070

PCA, Dunlop Papers, State of the Funds of James Dunlop, Esq. Arch, 1793

A. & T. Hamilton & Co.

1245

SFO, Customs Accounts, 1762. E.564/16/23-6

Henderson, McCall & Co.

1034

Glasgow Mercury, Sat Jan., 17...

Boslo, Jameson & Co.

1053

SFO, JPI Currio Del BS/O, Thomas Buchanan v Toile and Somervell.

J. & W. Ballantyne

855

UOS, Chamber of Commerce Minute Books, 53.

NO

YES

YES

"

"

"

NO

YES

THE FIRMTODACCO IMPORTS, 1774SURVIVALSOURCE

<u>THE FIRM</u>	<u>TODACCO IMPORTS, 1774</u>	<u>SURVIVAL</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
J. & H. Ritchie	796 hogsheds	YES	SRO, E. 504/20/34.
G. & A. Buchanan	695 "	"	SRO, E. 504/28/35.
Dunlops & Grosso	487 "	"	JLS, Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 33
A. Crindley & Co.	482 "	"	SRO, E. 504/28/36.
John McDowell & Co.	445 "	"	PRO, A012/212/2273
<u>Somervell, Forrie & Co.</u>	425 "	<u>NO</u>	SRO, UP, 1 Currie Dal 85/8, nos. Buchanan versus Forrie and Somervell
Ramsay, Monteath	582 "	YES	JLS, Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, 33
<u>Buchanan, Hastie & Co.</u>	300 "	<u>NO</u>	SRO, Currie Dal SEQ, 31/1, Buchanan, Hastie & Co. (1777)
Andrew Thomson & Co.	294 "	YES	C. G. Thomson, 'An old Glasgow Family called Thomson', Paper read before the Old Glasgow Society.

FIRMTOBACCO IMPORTS, 1774SURVIVALSOURCEMcCall, Swallow
& Co.

270

NOCCA, Reg of Deeds,
B.10/5/8339, disposition
of Arch. Grahame as factor
on the sequestrated estate
of Messrs. Swallow, 6th
July, 1781.William Gray
& Co.

200

?

No details

Thomas and Alexander
Donald

199

YES

Glasgow Herald, 7th
February, 1812

Andrew Sym

200

YES

Jarvison, Johnston

200

NOC.A, Reg. of Deeds,
B.10/5/9593

Will. Donald

97

YES

SCW, .504/20/83

Murdoch, Proghorn

110

YES

U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Minute Book, 33Wilson, Brown
& Co.

80

YES

SCW, 11447/140, Information
for W. Dunmore 2^o 10. 20th
December, 1776, 10

<u>FIRM</u>	<u>TOBACCO TRUCKS, 1774</u>	<u>SURVIVAL</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
<u>Hugh Wyllie & Co., Wofensilo, Wyllie & Co.</u>	103	<u>NO</u>	CCA, Mitchell Johnston Coll., Position of John Wofensilo, Merchant in Glasgow to the Lord Ordinary, 15th August, 1777. CCA, Ref of Peeds, 1810/5/1420, settlement, Hugh Wyllie, 30th December, 1702.
<u>James Brown & Co.</u>	60	YES	PRC, A012/9/50.
<u>Paired, Hay & Co.</u>	41	<u>NO</u>	CCA, Journal of Paired, Hay & Co.

APPENDIX XIList of Creditors of Buchanan, Hastie & Co., and its Individual Partners.

Source:- SR, Currie Dal Seq. Bl/1, Buchanan, Hastie & Co., 1777.

(1) Creditors of Buchanan, Hastie & Co.

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u>	
		s.	d.
John Alexander	652	5	10
Advocates	100	0	6
Isobel Finning	105	5	8
Daniel Baxter	652	5	10
Gen. John Beckwith	1305	12	4
Thomas Pollock of Greenyards	689	10	4
John Mamanno	202	5	10
John Brown, Mason	1503	5	2
Margaret Jamieson (Mrs. Froom)	783	12	7
Jean Blackwood (Mrs Maclean)	260	5	10
British Linen Co.	2010	5	7
Archibald & John Coats	253	17	-
Dr. William Craig	630	6	7
Rumphrey Colquhoun	410	9	3
John Colquhoun of Cassatoun	792	-	3
James Colquhoun	634	-	0
Robert Carrick	1701	8	5
Cochran, Murdoch & Co.	2250	2	0
James Coulter	450	10	8
Mrs. Cathcart	941	6	10

<u>Creditors</u>	<u>Amount</u>		
	£	s.	d.
James Douglas	164	2	0
James Dennistoun	544	2	1
Thomas Dunlop	1457	13	-
William Fulton	252	4	4
James Fleming, Copper-smith	116	3	8
James Jamieson & Co.	580	19	3
Joshua Johnston & Co. (old concern)	411	5	1
Joshua Johnston & Co. (new concern)	1744	3	2
Robert Graham of Gartmore	391	10	3
Alexander Calloway	547	16	9
Thomas Gilzean's heirs	265	16	2
John Murray of Blackbarony	406	6	3
Mrs. Mary Stewart	165	18	2
Peter Shillison	1291	7	-
Alexander, Peter	949	12	5
John Yuill	654	16	1
Robert Stewart, New Vains	1142	1	-
Moore, Carrick & Co.	1650	9	14
Jamieson, Johnston & Co.	2582	19	-
Thistle Bank	1221	7	9
John Paterson, Craigtown	933	-	7
Miss Spreu's	1304	7	8
Alexander Stevenson	556	15	4
Dr. George Montgomerie	924	10	1

<u>Creditors</u>	<u>Amount</u>		
	£	s.	d.
Miss Wardrop	762	12	7
Tanwork Company	427	15	7
John Napier, Ballikinrain 732		12	7
David Watson	512	1	-
Robert Lochhead	598	14	3
Andrew Sym	665	16	5
Arch. Torrance & Co.	35	3	3
Mary Stevon	78	4	11
Susan Stevon	78	4	11
Alexander Buchanan	132	18	7
Dr. Mackilraith	1305	9	7
John Tassie	79	12	10
Robert Witherspoon	1325	10	4
J. & W. Calloway	230	17	6
John Orr, Virginia	79	9	10
Richard Oswald	1339	3	7
Cunninghame, Corbett & Co 1465		-	5
John McAlaster	80	11	7
Edward & Reno Payne	820	11	11
Henrietta Wood	309	15	9
Alex. McKeezie, P. Glas 421		12	7
Richard Hunter	307	13	4
Miss McClechrist	604	3	5
James Hastie	375	5	7
John Richards, Birmingham 103		6	-

<u>Creditors</u>	<u>Amount</u>		
	£	s.	d.
James Clark's heirs	134	5	1
T. & F. Manders, Wakefield	£80	-	-
Math., Thos. & J. Phillips	140	3	6
James Mercer	30	14	4
Patrick Yates	39	10	3
Pemberton & J. Milnes	391	14	11
John McLean	391	6	3
Trustees of P. Simpson	£59	18	10
George Proven	144	14	8
W. Buchanan & Co.	1976	10	7
John Wilson, Balquharrago	1557	15	4
Andrew Park	131	5	1
George Graham	1343	-	3
James Smollet of Fonthill	139	17	-
Alex. Thomson	516	4	4
Robert Hunter, Thurston	1329	-	10
Robert Gray	71	14	9
Sir Archibald Kope	667	6	6
Merchant Bank	457	6	-
Miss Douglasses	467	2	7
Miss Gunning	134	17	6
C. & W. Steer	323	16	9
Andrew Houston of Calderhall	680	9	7
Boyle Jamieson & Co.	436	5	11
Allan, Scott and Douglas	316	9	3
	<u>£62,541</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>

(2) Creditors of John Lindsay

<u>Creditors</u>	<u>Amount</u>		
	£	s.	d.
Buchanan, Hastie & Co., trustee	62,541	6	-

(3) Creditors of Andrew Buchanan

<u>Creditors</u>	<u>Amount</u>		
	£	s.	d.
James Weir, Greenock	204	14	9
Miss McGilchrist	110	17	6
Daniel Baxter	617	18	4
David Pollock	290	3	1
James and Robert Buchanan	118	13	6
James Colquhoun, Greenock	361	7	7
James Dobie	61	10	8
Flax Dressers Society	70	-	7
David Potour's heirs	398	14	3
Dr. N. McIlwraith	1870	11	2
Robert Lyon, London	92	12	4
Alexander Thompson	65	18	7
Cochran, Murdoch & Co.	678	9	7
Trustees of James Jamieson & Co.	6177	1	11
James Ritchie & Co.	58	16	8
Marquis of Annandale	1552	9	4
Buchanan, Hastie & Co. trustee	62541	6	-
	<u>£77,505</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>

(4) Creditors of William Buchanan

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amounts</u> s.	d.
James Weir, Greenock	104	14	0
James Alston & Co.	6	9	-
J. & R. Buchanan	65	-	3
Flax Dressers Society	70	-	7
Weavers	391	6	3
Trustees of J. Jamieson & Co.	8177	1	11
Marquis of Annandale	1552	0	4
Buchanan, Hastie & Co. trustee	62541	6	-
	273,068	8	1

(5) Creditors of James Jamieson

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u> s.	d.
Robert Wallace	280	17	6
Daniel Baxter	617	18	4
Mrs. Jamieson	49	6	2
Merchant Bank	347	11	11
J. & R. Buchanan	131	8	7
R. Buchanan for J. Briscoe	131	8	7
Dunlop and Crosse	123	2	6
Andrew Buchanan	40	5	11
James Somervell	2102	8	9
James Somervell	212	10	0
Weavers	391	6	3
James Wilson & Sons	557	18	2
George Grierson	332	0	2

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u>	
		s.	d.
John Robertson	2891	12	4
J.J. & W. Robertson	511	1	11
John Johnston	537	4	11
William Coats	74	-	-
Dr. McIlwraith	£ 74	18	8
Mrs. Brock	1042	5	10
John Dunn	1279	-	10
Margaret Blackwell	258	12	-
Merchants House	90	0	7
Cochran, Murdoch & Co.	678	9	7
Cochran, Murdoch & Co.	267	5	1
James Jamieson's trustees	8177	1	11
James Ritchie & Co.	117	13	5
Catherine Clark	40	15	4
Cochrane, Murdoch	550	11	8
Bowie, Jamieson & Co.	9082	10	-
Marquis of Anandale	1552	0	4
Buchanan, Hartie & Co. trustees	6254	6	-
	<u>£97,669</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>

(6) Creditors of Walter Brock

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u>	
		s.	d.
Robert Wallace	£60	17	0
Miss Isabel Jamieson	130	6	10
Mrs. Jamieson sen.	129	13	11
J. & R. Buchanan	130	-	6
Dunlop and Crosse	65	1	2
Mrs. Wilson, Baikuharava	91	16	6
Weavers	391	6	3

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u>	
		s.	d.
Dr. David Patoun's heirs	308	14	3
George Grierson for Mary W'ro	352	8	2
John Robertsen	1092	-	6
John Johnstone	557	4	1
James Jackson	36	12	3
Margaret Blackwell	258	12	-
Helen Wilson	195	13	1
John Wilson	160	1	2
Merchants House	90	6	7
John McAulian	8	8	-
Cochran, Murdoch & Co.	67	9	7
Trustees of James Jamieson & Co.	2177	1	11
John Duncan, Fannochside	1279	-	10
Catherine Clark	40	15	4
Cochrane, Murdoch & Co.	550	11	8
Marquis of Annandale	1552	9	4
Buchanan, Hastie & Co. trustees	62641	6	-
	£79,126	18	5

(7) Creditors of James Buchanan

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u>	
		s.	d.
William Hamilton, Wishaw	857	14	11
George Hamilton, Provan	137	4	-
W. Craig, Timber Merchant	315	-	10
James Alston & Co.	68	13	5

<u>Creditors</u>	£	<u>Amount</u> s.	d.
John Boyes, Hamilton	147	2	6
Alexander Buchanan	110	15	3
W. Fullerton, Carstairs	154	18	2
Robert Carrick	78	3	5
Earl of Morton	939	3	3
John Hepburn	675	26	2
William Coats	204	12	11
George Kippen & Co.	35	3	0
Marquis of Annandale	1532	9	4
Buchanan, Hastie & Co. trustees	<u>62541</u>	8	-
	£67,405	4	11

APPENDIX XII

- (a) Insurance Premium Rates, Clyde-West Indies, 1776-80
" " West Indies-Clyde, 1777-80
- (b) Insurance Subscriptions, 1779.
- (c) Alexander Houston & Company's Freight Charges for
Sugar, 1776-79 (West Indies-Glasgow)
- (d) Prices of West Indian Commodities, 1776-1780.
- (e) Provision Prices in Barbados, Jamaica and the Leeward
Islands, 1776-1783.

(a) Insurance Premium Rates, Clyde-West Indies, 1776-80

Date	Per centage premium	Per centage return for convoy and safe arrival
Oct 1776	7 guineas	No details
May 1777	10 "	"
June 1777	8-10 "	4 guineas
Oct 1778	20 "	10 "
April 1779	15 "	5-6 "

Insurance Premium Rates, West Indies-Clyde, 1777-80

June 1777	15 guineas	5 guineas
Dec 1777	15 "	5 "
March 1778	20-25 "	10 "
May 1778	20 "	10 "
Oct 1778	25 "	10 "
April 1779	20 "	10 "
August 1780	25 "	10 "
Oct 1780	18 "	8 "

Source:- HIS MSS 6703-4, 8750.

SRO CD 241/1, Insurance Notes, 1779

(b) Subscription to Policy of Ship The Friends (Greenock-Dublin-West Indies), 11th December, 1779

<u>Subscribers</u>	<u>Amount Subscribed</u>
John Hamilton	£500 st.
George Pennistoun	200
George Cranford	200
James Johnston	300
Richard Allan, jun.	300
John Gordon	400
John Douglas	100
Henry Ritchie	300
Allan Morie	200
David Cresso	200
Alexander Donald	200
Allan McLean	100
John Campbell	100
John Robertson	200
James Gordon	300.
Henry Riddell	150
Joseph Scott	200
John Laurie	100
George Hamilton .	100
John Hamilton jun.	50
Andrew Buchanan jun.	200
Archibald Boyle	100
James Murdoch	50
James Melchese	200
David Russell	<u>50</u> £4,650

(all merchants resident in Glasgow, Port Glasgow, Greenock).

Subscription to Policy of Ship Blanford (Olyce-
Cork-Jamaica, 6th December, 1779)

<u>Subscribers</u>	<u>Amount Subscribed</u>
John Hamilton Jun.	£300 st.
Richard Allan	300
Hugh Wylie	100
John Robertson	100
Allan Melcan	100
George Campbell	100
John Campbell son.	100
George Dennistoun	100
George Crawford	100
David Crosse	200
John Alston	100
Henry Ritchie	300
James Johnston	100
John Middell	100
James Gordon	300
George Buchanan	100
David Elliot	300
Thomas Scott	50
James Melchese	<u>150</u> £3,000

(All merchants resident in Glasgow, Port Glasgow, Greenock)

Source:- SRC OF 241/1, Insurance Notes, 1779.

(c) Alex Houston and Company's ~~Freight~~ Freight Charges for
~~the West Indies (1775-79)~~

Month	Year	Island	Freight Charge 'Per Cask'
October	1775	Jamaica	3s. 9d.
July	1776	St Kitts	3s. 6d.
September	1776	"	3s. 6d.
November	"	Jamaica	3s. 9d.
May	1777	Grenada	5s. 0d.
August	"	"	5s. 0d.
"	"	Tobago	4s. 6d.
September	"	"	5s. 0d.
October	"	Grenada	4s. 6d.
"	"	St. Vincent	4s. 6d.
"	"	Jamaica	5s. 0d.
August	1778	St. Vincent	5s. 0d.
"	"	Nevis	6s. 0d.
September	"	St. Kitts	6s. 0d.
November	"	Jamaica	8s. 0d.
March	1779	St. Kitts	6s. 0d.

Source:- NLS, MS B799, Sale book C of Alexander Houston
& Co., September 1775- August, 1779.

(d) Prices of West Indian Commodities, 1776-1780

Month	Year	Sugar	Cotton (per lb)	Rum (per gal)
October	1776	-	20 ^s - 21 ^d	1s6d - 1s6d
December	"	38s - 48s	"	2s6d - 1s9d
January	1777	42s - 50s	-	2s9d - 3s
July	"	37s - 40s	17 ^s - 10 ^d	2s
December	"	50s - 68s	16 ^d - 18 ^d	1s5d - 2s4d
January	1778	35s - 40s	'perfectly unsaleable'	-
March	"	58s - 60s	'cotton unsaleable'	-
April	"	-	1s - 1s	-
June	"	43s.-44s	1s - 1s	-
August	"	Market very dull for all West India produce'		
October	"	40s. -45s	1s - 14 ^d	'no demand'
February	1780	50s.	10 ^d - 18 ^d	1s6d
August	"	50s - 64s	10 ^d - 20 ^d	3s - 3s6d

Source:- NLS, MSS B783-4; SHO, CD 247/159, Duncrore-Dunneigham
Correspondence

(c) Provision Prices in Barbados, Jamaica and the Leeward Is 1775-1795.

1. Market Quotations in Barbados:-

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Quotations 1774-5</u>	<u>Prices in 1776</u>
Flour per cwt.	15s - 20s	30s - 37s6d
Indian corn per barrell	2s6d - 3s9d	10s - 13s
Salt fish per quintal	12s6d - 15s	33s - 4 s
Salt beef per barr.	60s - 70s	90s - 15 s
" pork "	70s - 100s	10 s - 150s
" herrings "	25s - 32s6d	45s - 50s

2. Prices in Jamaica:-

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>'Before war'</u>	<u>'During war'</u>
Rice per cwt.	13s9d - 20s	40s - 80s
Indian corn per barr.	1s6d - 6s6d	6s9d - 17s6d
Common flour per cwt.	15s - 20s	20s - 50s
Shingles per M	22s6d - 45s	80s - 140s
White oak per M	100s - 300s	400s - 1000s

3. Prices in the Leeward Islands:-

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>'Before War'</u>	<u>'During War'</u>
Rice per cwt.	18s - 24s	50s - 55s
Indian Corn per barr.	4s - 8s	12s - 16s6d
Beef per barrell	50s - 80s	120s - 160s
Pork " "	65s - 90s	132s - 198s
Flour per cwt.	20s.- 30s	50s - 60s

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>'Before War'</u>	<u>'During War'</u>
Lumber per M	£5 - 28	£20 - £40
Shingles per M	18s - 30s	60s - 100s
White Oak Staves per M	£7 - £10	£10 - £40
Red Oak Staves per M	£5 - 18	£10 10s - £33

Source:- L.J. Hagatz, The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1863 (New York, London, 1916), pp. 155-6

APPENDIX XIII

Colonial Merchant Capital and Industry

- (a) Shares in Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 1780-1815.
- (b) Shares in James Finlay & Co., 1785-1801.
- (c) Abstract : Colonial Merchants and Industry.

(a) Shares in Dunbarton Glasswork Co., 1799-1815.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Partner</u>	<u>Share</u>	<u>Value</u>
Jan 1st 1799	James Dunlop	20/40	£10,400
	Andrew Houston	4/40	£1,600
	John Dickson sen.	4/40	1,600
	William Dickson	4/40	1,600
	John Dickson jun.	2/40	<u>800</u> £10,800
Dec. 31st 1794	Alexander Houston (of Clerkington)	20/40	£10,000
	Andrew Houston	2/40	2,000
	John Dickson sen.	2/40	2,000
	William Dickson	3/40	2,500
	John Dickson jun.	2/40	2,000
	Jacob Dickson	1/40	1,000
	John Anderson	1/40	<u>1,000</u> £10,500
Dec. 31st. 1799	Alexander Houston (of Clerkington)	20/40	
	John Dickson sen.	4/40	
	John Dickson jun.	3/40	
	Jacob Dickson	2/40	
May End 1804	Alexander Houston (of Clerkington)	17/40	
	John Dickson jun.	3/40	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Partner</u>	<u>Share</u>	<u>Value</u>
May 1st 1804	Jacob Dickson	7/40	
	John Dickson sen.	4/40	
	Adam Setton	5/40	
	Anthony Dickson	1/40	
July 1st 1813	Alex Houston	17/41	£54,850
	John Dickson sen.	4/41	2,200
	John Dickson jun.	8/41	16,400
	Jacob Dickson	8/41	16,400
	Adam Setton	3/41	6,150
	James Hartley	1/41	<u>2,500</u> £84,050
Oct. 10th 1814	Alexander Houston	10/21	£48,000
	John Dickson jun.	10/21	24,000
	James Hartley	1/21	<u>2,400</u> £74,400
Oct. 12th 1815	Alexander Houston	$13\frac{1}{3}$	£32,000
	John Dickson jun.	$13\frac{1}{3}$	32,000
	Jacob Dickson	$13\frac{1}{3}$	32,000
	James Hartley	1	<u>2,400</u> £98,400

Source:- SRO, UPL Currie Mack D/5/14.

SRO, Adams Mack, Misc. 22, Balance Book of Dumbarton Glasswork Co., 1804-15; Pay Book of Dumbarton Glasswork Co. 1793-1803.

(b) Shares in James Finlay & Co. 1795-1801

<u>Year</u>	<u>Partner</u>	<u>Stock</u>
1795	Kirkman Finlay	22,000
	William Finlay	5,000
	J.F. Corock	2,500
	(c) Messrs. Leitch & Smith	5,000
	(c) David Russell	4,000
	(c) John Gordon	4,000
	(c) Alex Gordon	1,000
	(c) Archibald Smith	1,000
		<u>250,000</u>
1796	As for 1795	
1797	"	
1798	"	
1799	Kirkman Finlay	16,000
	William Finlay	6,000
	John Wright	3,000
	J.F. Corock	3,000
	(c) Messrs Leitch & Smith	10,000
	(c) David Russell	8,000
	(c) John Gordon	8,000
	(c) Alexander Gordon	2,000
	J.W. Aubin	3,000
	Lewis Titerghion	1,000
	George Cruden	1,000
	James Stewart	2,000
		<u>275,000</u>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Partner</u>	<u>Stock</u>
1888	Walter Finlay	10,000
	William Finlay	6,000
	John Wright	5,000
	A.P. Corcock	3,000
	Messrs Leitch (a) & Smith	10,000
	(c) David Russell	8,000
	(c) John Gordon	8,000
	(c) Alexander Gordon	8,000
	J.W. Eubin	5,000
	Iosie Tiborghien	1,000
	George Cruden	1,000
	James Stewart	2,000
		<u>275,000</u>

Source:- James Finlay & Co. Glasgow, Finlay MSS,
State of the Concerns of James Finlay &
Co., 1795-1801.

(c) Abstracts Colonial Merchants and Industry.

<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
JOHN AUSTIN JUN.	Silk Shop	?
JOHN BLAIR	Shotts Iron Co.	?
GEORGE DUNNIE (Daldowie)	Easter Sugar House Cudbear Works	? ?
NICHOLAS DOGIE	Greenock Ropework Co.	1/3
ROBERT DOGIE (Shotloston)	Glasgow Tanwork Co. Smithfield Iron Co. Huirkirk Iron Co. Spinningdale Cotton Co.	? ? ? ?
ROBERT DOGIE JUN. (Gilmorhill)	Shotts Iron Co.	?
WILLIAM DOGIE	Anderston Brewery Co.	?
JOHN DODD	Bell's Tannery	1/5
ANDREW BUCHANAN (Ardonconnal)	McBrayne, Stenhouse & Co., Printers & Linen Manufacturers	?
ANDREW BUCHANAN (Mount Vernon)	King St. Sugar House Andrew Buchanan & Co., Linen Weavers.	? ?
JAMES BUCHANAN	King Street Sugar House	?
GEORGE BUCHANAN JUN.	Glasgow Ropework Co. Sugar House Co. of Port Glasgow. Smithfield Iron Co.	? ? ?
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL	Greenock Ropework Co. £1,000 Newark Sugar Refinery New Lanark Cotton Co. Robert Humphreys & Co. Cotton Spinners	1/3 3/25 £21,000. 10,000
COLIN CAMPBELL	New Lanark Cotton Co.	3/25 £21,000.

<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
JOHN COATES CAMPBELL	Roll's Tannery	1/6
	Glasgow Tansork Co.	?
	Greenock Sugar House	?
	Pollockshaw Printfield Co.	?
	Inkle Factory	?
	Duntoshor Cotton Co.	?
	A. & J. Newbigging, Textile Manufacturers	?
JAMES CAMPBELL	Newark Sugar Refinery	1/3
WILLIAM COATES	Glasgow Tansork Co.	?
ARTHUR CONNELL	Rope Manufactory of Glasgow	1/15
	Greenock Sugar House	?
GEORGE CRAWFORD	Port Glasgow Sugar House	1/12
	Milton Print Works	?
JOHN CROSS	Rope Manufactory of Glasgow	1/20
WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM	Port Glasgow Sugar House	1/12
	Pollockshaw Printfield Co.	?
	Dalnottar Iron Co. (1769-1774)	3/20
	" " " (1774-1787)	3/16
JAMES DENNISTON SEN.	Glasgow Ropesork Co.	?
	Sandyhills Coal Co.	?
	Camelachie Coal Co.	?
	Dunmore Coal Co.	?
	Reynolds, Montcath & Co.	?
	Cotton Spinners	?
	John Montcath & Co.	?
	Cotton Spinners	?
JAMES DENNISTON JUN.	Sandyhills Coal Co.	?
	Camelachie Coal Co.	?
	Dunmore Coal Co.	?
	Reynolds, Montcath & Co.	?
	John Montcath & Co.	?
	Endrick Printfield Co.	?

<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
MICHAEL DENNISTOUN	John Hay & Co., Soap & Candle Manufacturers	?
	Sugar House Co., of Fort Glasgow.	?
	Dalnottar Iron Co.	?
ROBERT DENNISTOUN	Newark Sugar Refinery	1/3
	Dalnottar Iron Co.	?
	New Lanark Cotton Co.	4/10 20,000
	Robert Sushroys & Co., Cotton Spinners.	?
JAIRUCE DUNNIE	Bell's Tannery	1/6
ROBERT DUNNIE	Delfthouse Co. of Glasgow.	?
ARCHIBALD DUNNIE	Douglas, Brown & Co., Cotton Spinners	?
C ILL DUNLOP	Rope Manufactory of Glasgow.	2/20
	Govan Coal Co.	?
	Knightwood Coal Co.	?
JAMES DUNLOP	Bell's Tannery	1/6
	Ropework Manufactory of Glasgow	1/20
	Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	?
	Dumbarton Glasswork Co.	28/40 210,400
	Duntocher Cotton Co.	1/3
	Govan Coal Co.	?
	Knightwood Coal Co.	?
	Elderslie Coal Co.	?
	Fullerton Coal Co.	?
	Banknock Coal Co.	?
	Hamilton Farm Coal Co.	?
	Sandyhills Coal Co.	4/15
	Rutherslon Muir Coal Co.	?
	Camelachie Coal Co.	?
	Skaerig Coal Co.	?
	Macbrayne, Stenhouse & Co. Linen Printers and Manufacturers	6/25 15,000
JOHN DUNLOP	Duntocher Cotton Co.	?

<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
THOMAS DONALD	Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	?
	Smithfield Iron Co.	?
ROBERT DUNN	Ropeworks Manufactory of Glasgow.	1/20
	Port Glasgow Sugar House	1/12
	Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	?
	Dalnotter Iron Co.	?
	Muirkirk Iron Co.	?
	Pollockshaw Printfield Co.	?
	Inkle Manufactory	?
	Ballindalloch Cotton Co.	1/3
	Spinningdale Cotton Co.	?
Endrick Printfield Co.	?	
THOMAS DUNMORE	Rope Manufactory of Glasgow.	?
	Dalnotter Iron Co.	?
	Pollockshaw Printfield Co.	?
WILLIAM FRENCH	Easter Barrachney Coal Co.	1/2
ALEXANDER GARDEN	Henry Monteith & Co. (Cotton Spinners, Dyers, and Bleachers)	?
JOHN GILLESPIE	Anderston Brewery Co.	?
	Pollockshaw Printfield Co.	?
	Graham, Liddell & Co. (Stocking Weavers)	?
	Glasgow Cudbear Co.	?
	James McGregor & Co. (Linen Dealers, and Bleachers)	?
	Prestonpann Vitriol Co.	1/2
ALEXANDER GORDON	James Findlay & Co. (Cotton Manufacturers)	£1,000 1793-1799.
		1,000 1799-?
JAMES GORDON	Anderston Brewery Co.	?
	J. Hervéy & Co. (Brewers in Paisley)	?
	Greenock Sugar House Co.	?
	Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	?
	Dalnotter Iron Co.	3/20
	Graham Liddell & Co. (Stocking Manufacturers)	?

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
JAMES GATTON	Glasgow Cudbear Co.	?
	Frostonpans Nitric Co.	?
JOHN GORDON	Sugar House Co. of Port Glasgow.	?
	James Finlay & Co. (Cotton Manufacturers)	£4,000 1775-1790
		8,000 1790-
		?
ALEXANDER GRIMSHAW	Campbell, Dale & Co. (Ink Factory)	?
JAMES H. HEWITT	Anderston Brewery Co.	?
	J. Hervey & Co. (Drogers in Paisley)	?
	Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	?
THOMAS HOPEWELL	Anderston Brewery Co.	?
	Greenock Sugar House Co.	1/7
	Dalbeth Coal Works	
ALEXANDER HUTTON	Pollockshaws Printfield Co.	?
	Covan Coal Co.	?
	Knightwood Coal Co.	?
ANDREW HUTTON	South Sugar House Co.	3/16
	King St. Sugar House Co.	?
	Glasgow Bottleneck Co.	?
	Dumbarton Glasswork Co.	4/40 £1000 ? - 1795
		2/40 £2,000 1795-1798
	Dumbarton Brewery Co.	?
	Covan Coal Co.	?
	Knightwood Coal Co.	?
	Kilbarchan Bleachfield Co.	2/3
ARCHIBALD INGRAM	Pollockshaws Printfield Co.	?
	Ink Factory	?
	Graham, Liddell & Co. (Stocking Manufacturers)	?
		?
<u>NEIL JAMESON</u>	Dalnottar Iron Co.	?
	Muirkirk Iron Co.	?
	Duntocher Cotton Co.	?

<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
GEORGE KIPPEN	Dalnottar Iron Co.	?
JOHN LEITCH	Sugar House Co. of Fort Glasgow. James Finlay & Co. (Cotton Manufacturers)	? Leitch & Smith held 1/6 of capital stock (£, . . . 1783- 1788. Leitch and Smith held 1/7 of capital stock (£10, . . .), 1788-?
JOHN LINDSAY	Duntocher Cotton Co.	?
JOHN MCCALL	Anderston Brewery Co. John McGregor & Co. (Linen Dealers, and Bleachers)	? ?
JAMES McDONNELL	W. Buchanan & Co. (Soap and Candle Manufacturers) Glasgow Ropework Co. South Sugar House Co. King St. Sugar House Co. Dalnottar Iron Co. Muirkirk Iron Co. Milton Printworks Duntocher Cotton Co. John Renfrew & Co. (Linen Manufacturers)	? ? ? ? 1/6 ? ? ? ?
WILLIAM McDONNELL III	South Sugar House Co. King St. Sugar House Co. Houston, Burns & Co. (Cotton Spinners) George Houston & Co. (Cotton Spinners)	1/2 £4,000 ? 1/3 1/3
COLIN MOLACHIAT	Dalnottar Iron Co.	?
ROBERT MACKAY	Stirling, Bell & Co. (Ink Factory) Spinningdale Cotton Co.	1/3 ?

<u>MERCHANTS</u>	<u>INDUSTRIAL UNIT</u>	<u>SHARE (IF KNOWN)</u>
WALTER MONTGOMERY	Glasgow Fanwork Co.	?
JOHN SPENS MURDOCH	Smithfield Iron Co. Wuirkirk Iron Co.	? ?
GEORGE MURDOCH	Rope Manufacturer of Glasgow Dalnottar Iron Co.	1/20 5/2
JAMES MURDOCH JUN.	Duntocher Cotton Co. Culterouch Cotton Co.	? ?
PETER MURDOCH	Wuirkirk Iron Co. Anderston Brewery Co. Glasgow Bottlewark Co. Dalnottar Iron Co.	? ? ? 5/20 (1768- 1774) 1/10 (1774- 1777) 1/6 (1777- 1786)
ALEXANDER OSWALD	South Sugar House Co. Linwood Cotton Co.	1/9 ?
GEORGE OSWALD	South Sugar House Co. Pollockshaw Printfield Co. Smithfield Iron Co.	1/9 ? ?
JAMES OSWALD	South Sugar House Co. Linwood Cotton Co.	1/9 ?
HENRY RIDDELL	Prestonpans Vitriol Co.	1/4
HENRY RITCHIE	Greenock Ropework Co.	1/4
JAMES RITCHIE	Greenock Ropework Co. Smithfield Iron Co.	1/4 ?
JOHN ROBERTSON	Smithfield Iron Co. Wuirkirk Iron Co. Spinningsdale Cotton Co. Glasgow Gunbear Co.	1/4 ? ? ?

<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Industrial Unit</u>	<u>Share (if known)</u>
WILLIAM ROBERTSON	Smithfield Iron Co. Muirkirk Iron Co. Spinningdale Cotton Co.	? ? ?
ROBERT HUTTON RAE	Walter Buchanan & Co. (Soap and Candle Manufacturers) South Sugar House King St. Sugar House Co. Cowan Coal Co.	? ? ? ?
DAVID TERRY	James Finlay & Co. (Cotton Manufacturers)	£4,000 (1700- 1700) £7,000 (1700- ?)
JAMES SOMERVELL	Hope Manufactory of Glasgow	1/20
ARCHIBALD SMITH	James Finlay & Co. (Cotton Manufacturers)	
ALEXANDER SPEIRS	Bell's Tannery Glasgow Tanwork Co. Wester Sugar House Smithfield Iron Co. Port Glasgow Ropework Hat Manufactory Silk Shop Pollockshaw Printfield Co. Inkle Manufactory	1/6 ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
ANDREW THOMSON	Johnstone, Bannatyne & Co. (Stocking Manufacturers)	
ARCHIBALD WALLACE	Glasgow Bottleneck Co. Dunmore Coal Co.	? ?
HUGH WYLIE	Francis Hamilton & Co. (Tanners) Rope Manufactory of Glasgow	1/4 B. 1/15

Sources - As indicated in Chapter

APPENDIX XIV

MANUFACTURING BY GLASGOW COLONIAL MERCHANTS, 1778-1818

<u>Merchant & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
JOHN ALSTON JUN. Westertown, Blythswood, Provanside Raiston	I	Dumbarton	1780	SCA., Rep of Needs
	I	Bar. of Glasgow	1788	B. 10/15/16.
	I	"	1796	SR0, PMS (Renfrew
	P	Renfrew	1785	25/37
JAMES BLACK Craigheadie	P	Stirling	1798	G. Stewart, Curiositys of Glasgow Citizenship (Glasgow,), 176.
	P	Stirling	?	Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition (Glasgow 1894), 144.
JOHN BLACKBURN Killoarn	P	Stirling		
GEORGE POOLE II Baldowie and Whiteloch	I	Dunbar	First purchase by family. 172 and 1751	VI Poole MS, Bundle 54. Inventory of Poole of Baldowie, April, 1818, 1-5.

Merchants & Estates

ROBERT FORBES
Daldisle and
Whitfinch

Purchase or
Inheritance

I

Lanark

Date of
Acquisition

1787

Sources

HL, Boole 133, Curlio
54, Bond of Provision
by D. Boole in favour
of his younger children.
SFO, PHS (Lanark) 446/14

ROBERT DOGLE IV
Shettleston

I

Bar. of Glasgow ?

Old Country uses, 76-7

JOHN BOWMAN
Ashgrove
Mongroeman

P

Ayr

?

Ordinance Gazetteer, I, 79
A. Wight, Present State of
Ayrshire I. Scotland
Edinburgh 177-84) III, 302

ANDREW BUCHANAN
Mount Vernon,
Rorhead
Sandyhills,
Chryston
Lanark

I
I
I
I
I

Bar. of Glasgow
Lanark
"
"
"

1770
"
"
"
"

SFO, Rec. of Deeds 207/2/
549DHI, Disposition George
Buchanan to his eldest son
17th June, 1773.
SFO, CRS639/164.

ANDREW BUCHANAN JUN.
Ardenconnal
Lanark
Lochhead Auchinray

P
P
P

Dumfries
Lanark
Lanark

1735
1791
1793

SFO, 713 4.5/30
SFO, PHS 25/142.
SFO, PHS 25/155;
SFO, 713 25/164, 166.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL Hallyards, Kingsleons Cadenmuir Ballonbridge Hagtonhill	P P P P P	Peebles " " " Renfrew	? ? ? ? 1816	HL, Campbell of Hallyards Papers: Alexander Campbell's estate, Augus. 1817; Instrument of Sasine in favour of John Anderson's Trustees, 27th June, 1814; J. Hill to A. Clason, 14th May, 1817.
COLIN CAMPBELL Furk	P	Renfrew	?	Old Country Houses, 214.
JAMES CAMPBELL Moro Park	P	"	?	Old Country Houses, 215.
JOHN CAMPBELL SEN. Morriston	P	Inverclyde	1796	SFO, 183 (Inverc), 17/18.
MUNGO NUTTER CAMPBELL Belvidere Ballinore	P P	Bar. of Clackmann Argyll	? ?	Old Country Houses, 213-4.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
JOHN COATS CANPHEIL Clothic, Kilfermont Fydon & Cartmillan	I I P	Forth Dumbarton Inark	1796 1796 1793	SRO, GR5562/41
ANDREW COCHRAN Brighouse	?	Ayr	?	The Cochran <u>Correspondence regarding the affairs of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1836), IX-XI</u>
PATRICK COLCUCUCHOVI Kelvingrove	P	Ear. of Glasgow	1782- 1793	SRO, PRS(Glasgow) 24/34 SRO, PRS(Glasgow) 24/373.
CUMMINTHASE CORBETT Tollcross Uddingston	I	Glasgow Inark	? ?	Stewart, op cit, 191 SRO PRS (Inark) 22/27
ARTHUR COMPELLI Enoch Bank	P	Ear. of Glasgow	?	<u>Scots Magazine, Vol. 54, 363.</u>

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
GEORGE CHAMFORD Michael Pobbs of Barony of Houston	P P	Renfrew "	1784 1795	SRO, PMS (Renfrew), 15/45. SRO, PMS (Renfrew), 15/265.
WILLIAM CUMMINGHAM Lindsay Kirkwood Bridgchuse Duchas Kilbueho Temple Riccarton Clarkland	P P P P P P P	Ayr " Stewarty of Kirkcaldbright Ayr	1778 ? ? ? 1784	SRO, GD247/140, answers for William Cunningham...5. Duch SRO, GR247/159 scroll of the Tailzie for estate of Duchas and others SRO, PMS (Ayr), 28/54 SRO, PMS (Ayr), 28/436 SRO, PMS (Ayr), 30/72; PMS, (Ayr) 30/315.
JAMES DENNISTON SEN Colcroft	I	Dumbarton	1750	SRO, PMS (Dumbarton) 15/76.
NICKLAS PENNINGTON Forrylands of Cardross Melvingrove	P P	Dumbarton Clackos	1806 ?	SRO, PMS (Dumbarton), 16/89 SRO, GD1/512/6, Andron Buchanan to Arch. Buchanan 1.8 July, 1815.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
LAWRENCE DIRTYDIE Gormiston	I	Bar. of Glasgow	?	SRO, Ref. of Deeds 220/601 NACK.
ROBERT DIRTYDIE Whistleberry	P	Lanark	?	SRO, CCS/7/73/34.
THOMAS DONALD Collinton	P	Dumbarton	?	Glasgow Mercury, <u>15th August, 1787</u>
ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS Glenferrat	P	Perth	?	Matriculation Albums of The University of Glasgow.
ROBERT DUCHURAN RUCHILL Ruchill	P	Bar. of Glasgow	?	CCA, Ref. of Deeds
COLLY DUNLOP Cartylo	P	Lanark	?	MS, MS Notes on the Family of Dunlop of Garnkirk.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
JAMES DUNLOP Garnkirk	P	Ear. of Glasgow	1793	SRO, PRS (Glasgow) 24/202.
Carmyle	I	Lanark	1779	SRO, Reg. of Deeds 283/1/959MACK, Disposition Colln Dunlop to James Dunlop, 26th March, 1779. SRO, OPS 404/157
Kippa	P	Lanark	1799	
Auchinloch	P	Bar. of Glasgow	1783	SRO, PRS (Glasgow) 24/201.
Cartcosh	P	"	1799	SRO, PRS (Glasgow) 28/82.
Fuillarton	P	"	1790	SRO, PRS 29/387
Parts of Tollcross	P	"	1792	SRO, PRS 32/264
Glenhead	P	"	1787-1791	SRO, PRS 57/147; Glasgow Mercury, 20th May, 1794, 25th October, 1793; SL, CSP 406/21.
Shanks	P	"	"	
Blackland	P	"	"	
Cunny	P	"	"	
Byding	P	Lanark	"	
Cartmellan	P	"	"	
Bedloy	P	"	"	
Cartferry	P	"	"	
Barrosfield	P	"	"	
Scnds	P	"	"	

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
JOHN DUNLOP Esobank Parts of Coates Carmylehill	P P P	Lenark " Glasgow	1791 1791 1792	SRC, PMS, 49/125 SRC, GRS 499/121 SRC, PMS, (Lenark) 23/255
ROBERT DUNLOP Househill Drumhead	P I	Renfrew ?	? ?	SRO, GRS 508/176. Stewart, Op cit, 202.
ROBERT DUNMORE Kelvinside Auchinreoch Barony of Fallisdulloch	I P P	Clackmann Stirling "	? 1785 1787- 1792	A. Brown, History of Glasgow (Glasgow) 1783-7, Bk. II, 179. SRC, PMS 426/206. SRO, PMS (Stirling) 29/411 SRO, PMS (Stirling), 50/561 SRC, PMS (Stirling), 52/78 SRO, PMS (Stirling), 52/79 PMS, GRS 504/226. SRO, GRS, 517/50.
THOMAS DUNMORE Kelvinside	P	Bar. of Glasgow	1749	Old Country Houses, LXII; Brown, op cit Bk. I, 179.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
JAMES SWIND MACLAE Strathleven	P	Dumbarton	?	Old Country Houses, XXI.
ROBERT FIEDLAX Easterhouse	P	Glasgow	1784	SR., PRS (Glasgow), 25/116
WILLIAM FRENCH Parts of Carnylo	P	Par. of Glasgow	1784	SR., PRS (Glasgow), 29/36
Ballicreston	P	London	?	SR., PRS (Glasgow), 27/14
ALEXANDER CARTER Croy	P	Dumbarton	1810	Provosts of Glasgow, 131.
HENRY GLASSFORD Estates owned by his Father John (below)	I	As Below	1783-1784	SR., PRS (Dumbarton) 14/20
JOHN GLASSFORD Dougalston	P	Dumbarton	1787	SR., PRS (Dumbarton) 12/200
Wetherwood	P	Stirling	?	Glasgow Mercury, 16th Dec., 174.
Hilmanor	P	"	?	SR., PRS 416/1.
Whitchill (sold 1759)	P	Par. of Glasgow	?	Ann., View of the Merchant's House of Glasgow (Glasgow, 180, 530.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
JOHN GORDON Aikenhead Whitehill	P P	Inverclyde Glasgow	? ?	Old Glasgow Exhibition, Notes and Indexes, 135. GCA, Reg. of Deeds, B. 10/5/9232.
ARCHIBALD HAMILTON Woodside	P	Glasgow	?	Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, Matric. No. 5875.
JOHN HAMILTON Northpark	P	Glasgow	1799	Process of Glasgow, 112
ARCHIBALD HENDERSON Nether and Over Middleton	P	Renfrew	?	SRO, Reg. of Deeds, 213/74 MACK.
JAMES HOPKIN Dalbeth Easter Dalbeth	I P	Glasgow	1781 1783	Old Country Houses, XXXII. SRO, PRS (Glasgow) 14/219.
THOMAS HOPKIN Dalbeth	P	Glasgow	1784	Old Country Houses, XXXII.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
ALEXANDER HIGUSTON Jordanhill	P	Renfrew	1750-52	GCA, Smith of Jordanhill Papers, TPI/2, Deceet of sale of the land and Estate of Jordanhill in favour of Alex. Houston.
ANDREW HIGUSTON Jordanhill	I	Renfrew	1781	SRO, PRS (Renfrew) 24/416.
JOHN LEITCH Kilmargidny	P	Dumbarton	1801	SRO, PRS (Dumbarton) 15/374
JAMES MCCALL Bolvidero	P	Glasgow	?	C. G. Thomson, <u>An Old Glasgow Family of Thomson (Glasgow, 15.5)</u> 4.
JOHN MCCALL Braehead	P	Lanark	?	Stewart, op cit, 22.
JAMES MCDONALI Hagtonhill Blair, Willtown etc.	I I	Renfrew	? 1770	GCA, Inventory of rights and titles belonging to Wm. Colwall of Carthland, 46. <u>Glasgow Mercury</u> , 50t Oct. 1782.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
WILLIAM MCDONNELL III Castlesomero Carthland Provan, Carthburgh Fergushill Auchingroy, Caldercruix	I I I P P	Perth Winton Glasgow Ayr Innaris	? ? 1737 1782 ?	SRO, MS257/159, Disposition in Security of Wm. McDonald 3rd Nov, 1729 SRO, PRS (Innaris), 27/151 SRO, PRS 398/75 SFC, PRS 104/69
JAMES MACPHERIE Craigpark	P	Glasgow	1798	Provosts of Glasgow, 114.
WILLIAM MURPHY Murdistoun Hayfield	P P	Innaris Glasgow	1811 ?	SRO, PRS (Innaris) 29, 398 SRO, UP Adams Dal 10/51 (1808).
MURRAY MURPHY Pollock	P	?	?	Old Country Houses, XIII
DAVID MURPHY Ford	I	Perth	?	Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, Matric. No. 1573.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
JOHN SPENS MURDO Carthart and Others	P	Lanark	1792	SRO, GR5515/286
JOHN MURDOCH Robank	P	Lanark	?	SRO, TR3533/197
PETER MURDOCH Pitrotholm "lands in town and country" belonging to his uncle, George Murdoch	P	Renfrew	?	SRO, PRS(Renfrew) 33/432
ALEXANDER OSWALD Shieldhall	P	Lanark	1783	SRO, PRS407/44
	I	?	1776	SRC, Rog. of Deeds, 210/232 MACK, Bond of Obligation by Provost Murdoch to Peter Murdoch, 11th July, 1770

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
GEORGE OSWALD Scotstoun	I	Renfrew	?	Crawford & Robertson, op cit. 317.
Langside Auchencruive	P I	" Ayr	1792 ?	SRO, PPS (Renfrew) 33/35 James Kirkwood 'Auchencruive House' Ayrshire Collections III, 1850-1855.
Parts of W. McDouall's estates (valued at 253,190) P		Renfrew, Dunbart.	Ayr 1800.	Baillies' Inst. Library, A.H. & Co. Law papers, Sale of Lands, 12.
JAMES RITCHIE Craigton Eunzio	I I	Lanark Lanark- Renfrew	? 1793	James Robertson, History of the Counties of Ayr and Winton (Edinburgh, 1868), III, 402.
JOHN ROBERTSON Plantation (Craiglehall)	P	Glasgow	1793	Stewart, op cit, 145-9.
WILLIAM ROBERTSON Brookholme	P	Glasgow	?	SRO, CD, 257/152/3.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sources</u>
DAVID ROSSBELL Woodside Part of barony of Torwoodhead Hamilton Farm	P P P	Glasgow Stirling Stirling	? 1801 1801	SRO, PMS (Glasgow) 51/101. SHO, GTS 640/187. SRO, PMS (Stirling) 57/93.
ROBERT HOUSTON BAE Little Govan Shawfield-Polcaddie	I I	Renfrew	1791 1791	SRO, PMS, (Renfrew), 31/11. SR, PMS 2237/134, Memorial for Arch. Graham...2.
ARCHIBALD SMITH Easterhill	P	Glasgow	1750	SRO, PMS (Glasgow), 24/10; 25/126.
ARCHIBALD SMITH Jordannahill	P	Renfrew	1801	SRO, PMS (Renfrew) 40/15; GCA, Smith of Jordannahill Papers, MDI/15, Inventory of title Deeds belonging to Mr. Smith's heirs.
JOHN SMITH Craighead	P	Inverclyde	'early 1800's	Old Country Houses, XXVII.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Acquisition</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
JAMES SOMERVILLE	P	Lanark	1781.	SRC, PMS21/116.
Hamilton Farm	P	Lanark	1787	SRC, PMS, 22/442.
Parts of Scotstoun Gorn	P	Ayr	1795	Helen J. Steven, Scott Parish: Its <u>History and Associations</u> (Kilmarock, 1888), 34-5.
ALEXANDER SPEIRS	P	Renfrew	before 1775	CCA, Reg. of Deeds B.10/5/2435.
Hollistonside	P	"	1769	OLD Country Houses, XI. 134/11, JFB.
Elcorzlie	P	"	1760	"
King's Inch	P	"	before 1775	CCA, Speirs Papers, M151/4.
Arkleston	P	"	"	"
Downside	P	"	"	"
Craigendfeoch	P	"	"	"
Muirhead	P	"	"	"
Boeside	P	"	"	"
Fulwood	P	"	1779	"
Newton	P	"	"	"
Gandorato	P	"	1780	CCA, Speirs Papers, M151/5.
Kilbarn	P	"	"	"
Overglon	P	"	"	"
Provenstone	P	"	1781	"
Houston	P	"	1782-3	CCA, Speirs Papers, M151/13.
Culcreuch	P	Stirlings	1779	CCA, Speirs Papers, M151/6.
Yokor & Blenarthill	P	Lanark	1776	"

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
MOSES STEVEN Polzadie	P	Renfrew	1805	Shaw, PMS (Renfrew) 61/14
CHARLES STIRLING Cadder Garcunnoch Kensculph	I P P	Lanark ? ?	1816 ? 1800	Old Country Houses, XIV. Catalogue of Old Glasgow Exhibition, 117. Old Country Houses, LXIII.
JOHN STIRLING Tilliclebowen Kippenross Kippendavie	P P I	Dumbarton ? Perth	1792 ? 1775	Irving, op cit, 358. Old Glasgow Exhibition, Catalogue, 117. "
ANDREW THOMSON Paskine	P	Lanark	1763	C. G. Thomson, op cit, 5.
JOHN WALLACE Cessnock Kolly Mellistonside Whitethill	P P P P	Ayrshire Renfrew " Glasgow	? ? ? 1759	Crawford & Robertson, op cit, 429. " " View of the Merchants' House, 561, 5.

<u>Merchants & Estates</u>	<u>Purchase or Inheritance</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date of Acquisition</u>	<u>Source</u>
JAMES W. ANDERSON Springbank	I	Glasgow	1785	S. 10/5/8440, 405/55.
HUGH WYLIE Broomfield	P	Glasgow	?	CCA, Ref. of Leeds, D. 10/5/8440.
Ballornock	P	"	?	" " " "

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"	"	"	"	, Dumbarton	"	"
"	"	"	"	, Stirling	"	"
"	"	"	"	, Ayr	"	"
"	"	"	"	, Perth	1781-1810.	
"	"	"	"	, Argyll	"	"

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