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Department of Architecture and Building Science

VICTORIAN SUBURBANISATION OF GLASGOW
1830s - 1910s

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to explore the urban development of the middle class areas of Victorian Glasgow. The developments of these estates may be similar to other contemporary suburban developments throughout the country during the 19th century. However, local conditions, such as existing urban fabric and the legal system also played an important role. To establish the development process, the main analysis was therefore based on individual studies of each estate. A brief historical survey for each estate was carried out, based on documents and historical records. This was followed by a detailed analysis of the transition from agricultural steadings to suburban estates. This analysis was made possible by studying three categories of plans of the development: the original estate plans or old surveys, the feuing design plans, and the 1913 Ordnance Survey. Particular attention was paid to the feuing design stages by analysing how would other constraints such as topography and boundaries of the estate affect the initial design as well as the development process. These studies are further augmented by relating their developments to the wider context of social exclusiveness, which was made possible by the Scottish feuing system. The result of these developments is finally discussed in an overview. This last part will attempt to draw several observations of the process that created the final cohesive urban scenario as known today.

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ABBREVIATION LIST

For the sake of convenience, all illustrations are numbered with an abbreviation of the estate's name, rather than following numerical orders. Hereby is the list of abbreviation of such estates:

KS	Kelvinside
HH	Hillhead
DH	Dowanhill
NP	Northpark
GH	Gilmorehill
HL	Hyndland
PH	Partickhill
BW	Blythswood Estate
CW	Claremont & Southwoodside
KG	Kelvingrove Park
SHS	Small Estates along Sauchiehall Street
GWR	Great Western Road
CH	Crosshill
QP	Queen's Park & Camphill
LS	Langside
PS	Pollokshields
DB	Dumbreck
BH	Bellahouston
SB	Strathbungo
DT	Dennistoun

Similarly, most of the archives materials were also referred to by using abbreviations, rather than quoting the full name every time. The name of such organisation is usually listed as the first item in the reference. The following is the list of such organisations:

SRA	Strathclyde Regional Archives
BRC	Glasgow University Business Record Centre
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
GRM	Mitchell Library Glasgow Room
NMRS	National Monument Records, Scotland, Edinburgh

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to study the urban form history of sub-urban Glasgow during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, i.e., from the 1830s to 1914.

As a consequence of the Industrial Revolution British society saw many intensive developments during this period in almost every field of endeavour. Urban expansion was no exception. In most industrialised cities, the urban core expanded beyond its original medieval boundary during the 19th century. This expansion has attracted research by various historians, geographers and sociologists, and they have attempted to form various models to interpret this phenomenon. These models – or theories – include socio-economic development, urban form context of the 18th century, social and economic advancement, land and property speculation, and ideological desires for social segregation.

This thesis attempts to study Glasgow's varied and complex suburban middle class growth from the perspective of urban form development and without specifically examining the social forces such as the above. But before looking into

this particular aspect there is a question regarding whether Glasgow underwent a similar social development as other British industrial cities, and to what extent did these forces shape the suburbs of Glasgow.

Section 1: Literature Review:

To explore this question, a review of relevant general literature will be carried out, attempting to explore the basic question of social segregation and its relation with industrialisation. Issues such as definition of suburbia and when and why it developed will be examined. Also whether this phenomenon was a truly national one will be scrutinised by referring to the works of Simpson and Lloyd¹, Pooley², Best³, Rodger⁴ and others. Different scholars have proposed different interpretations of the rise of 19th century social segregation and suburban communities on a national and international basis, and these will be presented and explored.

The result will form the basis for a more specific review of literature regarding the case of Glasgow. In modern times, Glasgow was synonymous with heavy industry, as

¹ M A Simpson & T H Lloyd. "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles and Archon Books, GB, 1977

² C G Pooley & J H Johnson, "The Structure of 19th Century Cities", Croom Helm, London, 1982

³ G Best, "Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875", Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1971

⁴ R Rodger & R Morris, "The Victorian City 1820-1914", Longman, GB, 1993

proved by the famous names in Clydeside ship building and other heavy engineering products. The previous commercial base as an entrepôt for tobacco and industrial centre for textile products is also well documented. However, the rate of expansion during the 19th century surpassed that of any previous period, with urban growth – the focus of this thesis – accompanied by industrial growth.

But to understand the events in the 19th century, it is equally important to look back at the history of the pre-industrial expansion of the city, including the first westward development of the Merchant city and Blythswood Hill. Due to the limitations of this thesis, these 'facts' will simply be accepted from various existing sources, while on the other hand more emphasis will be put on the events of social segregation in the 19th century. By referring to the works of Dicks⁵, Simpson⁶, Kellett⁷, Williamson⁸, and Gomme & Walker⁹, an overall literature survey of the development of suburban Glasgow should be covered, and the issue of social segregation as a result of

5 B Dicks, "Choice and Constraint: Further Perspectives on Socio-Residential Segregation in 19th Century Glasgow with Particular Reference to its West End", in G Gordon (ed) "Perspectives of the Scottish City", Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen 1985

6 M A Simpson, "The West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", in M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, op cit., and M A Simpson, "Middle Class Housing and the Growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", unpublished M Litt. Thesis, Glasgow University, 1970.

7 J R Kellett, "Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow 1780-1830", Scottish Journal of Political Economy, vol. VIII, 1961, pp.211-232

8 E Williamson, "Medieval to 20th Century Glasgow", as in E Williamson et al. "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, London 1990.

9 A Gomme & D Walker, "Architecture of Glasgow", Lund Humphries, London, 1987

industrialisation in Glasgow's case will be discussed from these sources.

Section 2: Primary Research Materials:

Whatever the result of this critical review of literature on the development of Glasgow, one will not find sufficient graphical materials in these volumes. Furthermore, as presented in the relevant chapters later, discrepancy will also be inevitable due to the vastly different standpoints of these scholars. As most scholars perceive urban development as a socio-economic-cultural product, the urban and architectural analysis is not always tackled in depth. With a few exceptions, such as Reed¹⁰ and Paton¹¹, most of the works simply lack graphical research materials.

To supplement this knowledge, I have to go back to primary archival materials, such as feu design plans and estate papers, and this will form the major part of the thesis. An explanation will be presented as to how these materials are being involved and basically what these materials are, together with a simple description of the contemporary background of the owners of the lands who were responsible for the middle class urban growth in 19th century Glasgow.

¹⁰ P A Reed. "Glasgow: The Forming of the City". Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, 1993

¹¹ J Paton, "Hyndland", Unpublished MSc Thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1989

Section 3: Background of Development

- The West End and Southside of Glasgow:

Based on the existing literature regarding the suburban development of the city, it is not difficult to formulate a brief outline of the development background of both the West End and the southside. This outline will cover basic descriptions such as topography and access roads, together with any boundary restrictions. Obviously, any precedents in suburban development, such as the development of Blythswood estate, will also be discussed. Regarding the southside of Glasgow, it is interesting to have a general comparison to its West End counterpart, as the differences between them had created a totally different suburban built form.

This outline, nevertheless, will not be sufficient to explain every detail of the development process. These details have to be covered under individual studies of each estate, by combining the primary research materials with any relevant literature.

Section 4: Individual Studies of the Estates:

The main part of the thesis will be the study of individual estates. From the primary research materials we can explore the development in detail, particularly from the estate architect's or estate owner's point of view when these middle class enclaves were produced, down to the formal consequence when realised on site. The research is particularly based on the works of Professor Peter Reed whose papers¹² have provided the foundation for this direction. The analysis presented here, however, would try to encapsulate a wider collection of primary materials, such as plans and feuing documents, as well as building upon Reed's direction of research.

The scope of research, as mentioned above, will only target the middle class areas. Although by using present day standards some of these areas may not fulfil the criteria of being "middle class", the aspirations of the developer will be the means of demarcation. By initial examination, the areas will fall either in the West End or southside (Fig. I.01 and I.02). However, the estate of Dennistoun will also be included due to the similar middle class aspiration of the developer despite the fact that this was not successfully carried out.

A standard format of presentation will apply in each case to present a logical study for each estate:

¹² P. A Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1993; and "Tenement, Terrace e Villa: la costruzione del West End", in Bocchi R (ed) "Glasgow: forma e progetto della citta", Venice: Cluva Editrice, 1990

- The pre-development stages such as farm steadings plans and forces of transport network (if any);
- The first design stage for development, such as feuing plans and disposition documents;
- Subsequent revisions of the design plans (if any);
- The final version as recorded in the 1913 OS map;

More details of this format will also be explained in the start of this section.

Section 5: Observations and Discussions:

From this analysis I will try to derive one or more observations generally applicable to these estates. The observations will be based on a comparative study of the urban form of these estates, although this cannot be isolated from social and economic forces. To what extent these forces have shaped the urban form will also be discussed, together with some discussion of the formal aspect of urban design and the impact of the tenements on the middle class areas. Due to the limit of the thesis, there is no attempt to invent another model for social segregation and middle class development specifically for Glasgow – certain socio-economic analysis as discussed before would simply be abstracted again. Therefore, the emphasis of the conclusion – if any – will primarily be on the formal study of the estates.

SECTION 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Part 1: The Rise of Suburbanisation in General:

Introduction:

The phenomenon of Victorian Suburbanisation during the 19th century is subject to much study and argument by both historians and sociologists, stemming from the works of Dyos in the early 1960s, with his particular research into the suburb of Camberwell¹. As a national phenomenon, suburbia rose between 1815 and 1939, and the term is generally applied to the physically distinct dormitory towns which resulted from the separation of residence and workplace².

In this thesis no attempt is made to repeat the scope and depth of research of those various scholars who have, over the last 30 years, produced such an impressive collection of studies of Victorian Suburbs. However, a brief presentation or summary of these studies will be made as the general background of the Victorian suburbanization of Glasgow in particular.

1 H J Dyos, "Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell", 1961

2 F Thompson, "The Rise of Suburbia", Leicester University Press, GB, 1982, pp.2

The Change of Urban Structure

For historians and sociologists, the 19th century developments in Western Europe and Northern America represented the turning point of social change. Most industrial cities underwent massive urban expansion, and the process of industrialisation reached its highest point. While the export and import arm of most western countries reached deep into the African and Asian continents, bringing wealth and fortune to the new merchant classes, at the same time class tension and poverty at home was on the increase.

Focusing on the change of urban structure, it is generally accepted that in the 19th century there was a new spatial structure which was different from its 18th century pre-industrial predecessor. The pre-industrial structure is basically a compact city, in some cases socially mixed, with vertical segregation between floors of a single building the dominant influence³. In other cases the rich dwelt at the centre and the poor at the periphery, while social segregation was on the basis of ethnicity and occupation rather than socio-economic status⁴. However, in the 19th century socio-economic forces were the leading criteria of residential location and Knox has summarised

³ C G Pooley, "Choice and Constraint in the 19th century: A Basis for Residential Differentiation", as in J Johnston & C Pooley (ed), "The Structure of 19th century Cities", Croom Helm, London, 1982, pp.201

⁴ G Sjoberg, "The Pre-industrial City: Past and Present", Glencoe, Illinois, 1960, pp.5, 91-103

the development of this economic based model with its effect on land use:

.....competition for the best and most accessible sites for the new factories and warehouses, shops and offices which depended on them brought about the first crucial change in land use. Land was given over to uses which could justify the highest rent, rather than being held by a traditional group of users. The factory and commercial sites secured, there sprang up around them large tracts of housing to accommodate the workers and their families. The new urban structure became increasingly differentiated, with homes no longer used as workplaces and residential areas graded according to the rents different sites could command. Social status, newly ascribed in terms of money, became synonymous with rent paying ability, so that neighbourhoods were, in effect, created along status divisions.⁵

A retrospective review of this change of land use was stated as early as late 19th century when one contemporary summed up this as the inter-related process of succession and segregation:

With the increased demand for space for non-residential purposes in the downtown areas, there soon emerged a specialised commercial area dominating the whole of the urban core. As commercial activities succeeded the mixed activities of the downtown area, the well-to-do in adjacent inner city neighbourhoods moved outwards to new houses in the suburbs, creating a second specialist area, quite **segregated** from other social groups.⁶

The Process of Residential Segregation

⁵ P Knox, "Urban Social Geography" 1982. Longman, USA

⁶ Woods, "The city wilderness", Houghton Mifflin, Boston 1898,

Social segregation as a result of urban expansion became a subject of much discussion, and Pooley has argued that it is easy to demonstrate that, by the mid-Victorian period, particular migrant, occupational and social-status groups had become segregated into different portions of the city: that distinct residential areas had emerged. He also indicated that most researchers agreed that during the 19th century an increasing degree of residential differentiation occurred, linked with the growth of industrialization and urbanisation⁷.

However, the exact causal relationship between industrialisation and segregation, which led to distinct social-status residential areas, is the subject of argument among different scholars.

After examining the historical development of various major cities in Britain, especially the city of London, Thompson reckoned that the spatial definition which could be classified as suburbanization did not occur until the early 19th century. For example, the 18th century development of Greater London - namely the spread of south London from Southwark into Newington, Walworth and Lambeth - were all urban in form:

"an extension of established patterns of streets of terrace housing, of squares in more

⁷ C G Pooley, op cit., pp.204

fashionable parts, of close packed courts and alleys and a jumble of tenements in less favoured areas..."⁸.

Even the late 18th century developments of "New Towns" - eg., Hans Town, Somers Town, Pentonville, Camden Town etc - were still only extensions of the "town", with repetitive three or four storey terraces which were too monotonous and unimaginative for the 19th century Victorians. The other overgrown villages of Hackney, Hampstead, Clapham etc, according to Thompson, although being a step closer to the suburban model, were still not essentially suburban. To be more precise, Thompson has cited the residential criteria as the main definition of the suburb:

"....architectural historians are in no doubt that detached and semi-detached houses built for single family occupation are of the suburban essence, and that such houses did not exist before the 19th century.....that it was only in the setting of this kind of house, where the family could distance itself from the outside world in its own private fortress behind its own garden fence and private hedge and yet could make a show of outward appearances that was sure to be noticed by the neighbours, that the suburban life style of individual domesticity and group monitored respectability could take hold."⁹

Thompson's explanation of the rise of suburban housing at this particular time was an *ideological* one. Firstly, on the metaphorical quality of physical fabric, he argued that "town terraces were imitations in gradations of compression and austerity of upper-class town houses, and the semi-

⁸ F Thompson, op cit., pp.7-8

⁹ F Thompson, op cit., pp.8

detached was the ultimate reduction of the country house through intermediate layers of villas¹⁰; this was supported by the example of the estate of St John's Wood, which was a scaled-down and watered-down version of aristocratic housing arrangements made suitable for smaller incomes¹¹. Secondly, he has ruled out the external supply forces such as land value, economic change of income profile and transport factors as the main causes of suburbia, but stressed the importance of the ideology of the demand of the individual:

".....it is natural to suggest that the initiating impulse came from the side of changes in housing demand. The two possibilities are that the desire for a domestic life of privacy and seclusion was a new experience for any sizeable section of the middle class, only gathering force for the first time around the beginning of the 19th century; or that the desire had long been present and that what happened was some change in the means of satisfying it, a shift in effective demand."¹²

To explain this change of demand, Thompson re-iterated the changes of social background of the 19th century and concluded:

"The clear separation of work and home, the insistence on social distancing, the treatment of the home as a feminine domain, the importance attached to domestic privacy and the exclusion of the vulgar prying multitude, can all be seen as parts of a code of individual responsibility, male economic dominance and female domestic subordination, and family-nurtured morality which

¹⁰ F Thompson, op cit., pp.9

¹¹ F Thompson, op cit., pp.9

¹² F Thompson, op cit., pp.12

served to give the bourgeoisie a social identity and mark them off from the upper class and the lower orders."¹³

Hence Thompson's socio-economic approach to segregation is based really on the rise of demand from the middle-class individuals who were acting or behaving within the contemporary social context.

Pooley, on the other hand, devises a more straightforward approach by listing five inter-related processes that led to residential differentiation: the physical growth of the city, the decision-making of an individual regarding residential location, industrial and commercial constraints upon the nature of residential development, the effect of national and local government institutions on residential developments, and the results of 'image' as portrayed by health and medical officers¹⁴.

To a certain extent, Pooley and Thompson shared a similar starting point by choosing the physical growth of the city as their base of evolution of housing demands. Thompson has expressed the concept that given more people must occupy more space, and space within the existing town limits was already full, the only option was to expand into the outskirts of the city¹⁵. However, Pooley has classified this expansion as a social class issue:

¹³ F Thompson, op cit., pp.13

¹⁴ C Pooley, op cit., pp.208

¹⁵ F Thompson, op cit., pp.5

"The development of new middle and high status housing around the urban periphery allowed inner-city property to be vacated by its former residents who moved to the suburbs, while economically less well-off families took their place."¹⁶

The second process of Pooley's approach regarding individual decision-making of residential location is similar to Thompson's 'ideological' explanation of the demand for suburban housing. But Pooley detailed this personal decision as the product of disposable income, and the formation of residential areas in Victorian towns was the result of a process set within a series of *choices and constraints* imposed by the characteristics of the city, the society and the individual. These latter forces were also inter-related, that is, individual decisions tended to reinforce the status quo of existing residential differentiation¹⁷.

Industrial development, which was regarded by most historians and sociologists as the main driving force for literally every aspect of Victorian society, was not examined in detail in Thompson's argument, but Pooley considers that the invasion of inner-city commercial development, the provision of employment with working class housing nearby, and industrial pollution with environmental deterioration, had a profound influence on residential

¹⁶ C Pooley, op cit., pp.205

¹⁷ C Pooley, op cit., pp.206-207

differentiation¹⁸. This reflected the classical approach to Victorian society, i.e., urban transformation as a function of inner city land value, pushing the residential core out towards the fringe of the city, hence supporting the inter-related processes of succession and segregation¹⁹.

Also, Gauldie has explained that one of the effects of industry upon residential differentiation is the inability of the working class to exercise choice in the location of their homes:

"Working people must live near the source of their employment, however scarce or inadequate housing in that area may be...For many town immigrants the choice was between homelessness in the country and crowded conditions in the towns."²⁰

The last of the two processes as presented by Pooley concerns firstly the Bye-laws and institutional improvement schemes which were initiated by philanthropists, and secondly the personal image when various medical and health reports were published regarding inner city conditions. Certainly these two processes had an implicit influence among potential home buyers and the reputation of the city in concern, but as compared to the previous ones these were quite subtle, having a more passive role.

¹⁸ C Pooley, *op cit.*, pp.207

¹⁹ P Knox, *op cit.*

²⁰ E Gauldie, "The Middle Class and Working Class Housing in the 19th century", in A A McLaren (ed), "Social Class in Scotland", John Donald, Edinburgh, pp.12

Pooley also attempted to explain these processes in a theoretical framework, but for this present study this will be not be discussed, as we can see that the approach taken later on for the specific case of Glasgow will be an empirical one: the results of historical documents and graphical images as the basis of analysis of the suburbanization of Glasgow. Before looking specifically into the case of Glasgow, one further interesting aspect discussed by Thompson should be mentioned.

Thompson stressed the importance of the open garden as the basic distinction for middle class suburban housing. Indeed he argued that 'the essential quality of the new suburbs was that they were on the edge of the country with open views beyond.' By citing the development of Nash's scheme for Regent's Park, he claimed that the concept of a garden was transformed from the 18th century stigma of a boorish, backward and hostile backdrop into a cultivated and admired part of a natural and virtuous home²¹. Thus the concept of *rus in urbe* was no longer the monopoly of the upper and aristocratic classes, but became a model not only for developers and builders to imitate, but also a pattern for the ambitious middle class to emulate²², and became a standardized picturesque quality of middle class housing:

"for the middle class, not to be over-looked was important. For the most comfortably placed, high

²¹ F Thompson, *op cit.*, pp.15

²² C Pooley, *op cit.*, pp.207

walls, and railings, ample garden ground,
separated house owners from the lower orders."²³

A Case for Glasgow?

As the second largest city in the British empire in the 19th century, the development of Glasgow to a certain extent could not avoid similar processes of development to those of its industrialized English counterparts. Indeed, just as Manchester could claim to be the 'shock city' in England as described by Asa Briggs²⁴, then Glasgow would be the 'shock city' north of the border.

But how far did Glasgow share its similarities with its English counterparts in the process of middle class suburbanization? Was there a special Scottish case during the 19th century which made Glasgow, or Scottish cities in general, stand out from other British developments? Would the various processes as outlined by Pooley be applicable in Glasgow's case? Would the physical built environment of Glasgow's middle class areas - a semi-cohesive mixture of villa, terraces and tenements - raise the issue of a separate urban morphological development, different from the English suburban *rus in urbe*? Or indeed, would the morphological transformation of Scottish towns, including

²³ E Gauldie, *op cit.*, pp.15

²⁴ Asa Briggs, "Manchester: Symbol of a New Age", as in "Victorian Cities", Penguin Books, 1968

Glasgow, during the 19th century have distinctive Scottish characteristics?²⁵

Before these questions can be answered, it will be helpful to start from a wider perspective and then focus on the Victorian period.

In the next chapter, the first part will present an overview of the history of Glasgow, with particular reference to its development around the late 18th century. This overview will simply be extracted from various sources, but special attention will be paid to the rise of the middle classes during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The second part of the next chapter will be devoted to the rise of 19th century Victorian middle class areas, such as the West End and southside of Glasgow. Issues such as social segregation and urban expansion will be explored by referring to various studies, and I will try to establish the link, if any, between the social developments of the middle class and the built environment.

Although not all the questions will be answered, it is hoped that this probe into such a vast area will provide sufficient background information before the individual

²⁵ This was raised by G Gordon, "The Morphological Development of Scottish Cities from Georgian to Modern Times", in T R Slater (ed), "The Built form of Western Cities", Leicester University Press, GB, 1990

estates come under detailed analysis in Section 4 of the thesis.

SECTION 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Part 2: The Rise of Suburbanization in Glasgow

Introduction:

The suburban development of Glasgow in the 19th century was, without doubt, very much in line with that of other contemporary large industrial cities in Britain. Indeed, the industrialisation and suburbanization processes of Glasgow are always listed among comparative studies of suburban development by various scholars¹, and any study of Glasgow cannot ignore this fact.

However, due to the distinctive historical and social consequences of Scottish history, particularly the legal framework of land usage which is not comparable with the English system, there is probably a unique perspective to the suburbanization of Glasgow. This part of the thesis will therefore attempt to uncover the process of suburbanization in the special case of Glasgow, stemming from the overall background of the previous discussion.

¹ See F Thompson, "The Rise of Suburbia", Leicester University Press, 1982, Chapter 1; ...and M Simpson & T Lloyd, "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles & Archon Books, GB, 1977.

From the Beginning to the Industrial Era:

Before going into the actual events in the 19th century, it will be helpful to have an overall review of the historical facts leading from the start of Glasgow to the pre-industrial era.

The development of Glasgow was relatively slow following the early settlement of Kentigern, also known as St Mungo, who, around AD 543, came to preach Christianity to the Kingdom of Strathclyde². After the death of Kentigern there is a gap in the Episcopal succession until the 11th century³. Glasgow became a burgh under the oversight of the bishop in the 12th century, and gradually grew as a major trading centre along with other ancient burghs such as Dumbarton and Rutherglen. Early politics were dominated by the rivalry between the Dean of Guild (The Craftsmen) and the Deacon Convenor (The Merchants). Eventually the City became a royal burgh in 1611.

The Treaty of Union in 1707 opened a major breakthrough in economic development, giving Glasgow merchants direct access to English markets, as well as monopolising the entrepôt trade of American tobacco merchandise. The natural provision of the River Clyde gradually made Glasgow Cross

² M Keating, "The City that Refused to Die", Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1988, pp. 1

³ E Williamson, A Riches & M Higgs, "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, GB, 1990, pp.36

an important commercial focal point, by having direct access to trading quays off the Clyde. From 1770 onwards the Clyde was dredged and channelled to allow trade to arrive at the centre itself, while Port Glasgow was also developed as the major harbour serving Glasgow trade⁴. These provisions thus established Glasgow's foundation for a long term phase of industrialisation.

Obviously this is a very simplified description spanning 600 years. However, it is not the main interest of this essay to repeat these historical developments, but rather to concentrate on the consequences after the mid-18th century.

The 18th century:

During the 18th century, the tobacco and then cotton industries dominated the development of Glasgow. It may be true to suggest that the city's first ever international trade was indeed in tobacco between Glasgow and Northern America. Previously Glasgow trade was predominantly local and operated on a small scale. This new overseas trade in tobacco further demanded relevant support services which laid down the foundations for subsequent international trade:

⁴ M Keating, op cit., pp.1

.....Glasgow was indebted to those who had carried out the America trade not only for "the extension of commerce" but also "for the establishment and for a considerable time, the support of its manufacture, now so highly advantageous to this kingdom at large"⁵

Based on this argument, we can see that the tobacco industry is not purely dealing with tobacco or tobacco related products, but a whole spectrum of manufacturers' products was exchanged for these tobacco imports:

....Colonial stores were stocked with iron, leather, rope and textile goods and it proved cheaper to manufacture these products than buy them elsewhere.....After this investment it made sound commercial sense to secure supplies of raw materials...⁶

The raw materials referred to were then iron, coal and cotton. It was the last that revived Glasgow's economy when the tobacco trade came to an abrupt end after the outbreak of the American War of Independence.

This explosion of the cotton/ textile industry overshadowed other nominal produce such as timber, rum, sugar and logwoods which still flowed through the Clyde in the latter part of the 18th century, and the effect on the urban landscape was profound in this period:

Cotton ushered in the textile phase of the Industrial Revolution and transformed the urban

⁵ T M Devine, "The Tobacco Lords", John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh, 1975, pp.34

⁶ P Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class in Middle 19th century Glasgow", unpublished PhD Thesis, Glasgow University, 1978, pp.23

and peri-urban landscape with its mills, factories, bleachfields, printworks and workers' tenements, while raw materials and finished products were transported along arterial links of river, canal and railway, giving articulation to the industrial economy.⁷

The Urban Expansion:

The combined effect of both the early tobacco, and later, textile industries, created a series of expansions of urban boundaries. The first expansion was the result of the first segregation of "Tobacco Lords" from their congested downtown commercial sector to the "west-gait" of the old medieval core, westward but still centred around Glasgow Cross. Neat Palladian / Georgian villas sprang up upon new streets, such as Virginia Street, Ingram Street, Wilson Street, Miller Street, Jamaica Street, Queen Street and Buchanan Street. Although these initial developments were not co-ordinated or planned, but rather piecemeal, the importance of a mansion house within a generous orthogonal open ground (rectangular plots) had an overriding influence in the next 150 years on middle class urban morphology. Indeed these new mansion houses which were designed be "occupied by one family from top to bottom as in London"⁸ testified to the taste, wealth and aspirations of the bourgeois classes. Certainly the departure from the tight urban weave of strip fields or 'runrigs' on the east -

⁷ A Gibb, "Glasgow: The Making of a City", Croom Helm, Kent, 1983, pp.82-83

⁸ J Denholm, "The History of the City of Glasgow", Glasgow, 1804, p.135

which had been heavily built up since the end of the 17th century - is very obvious by examining early Glasgow map such as Barry's 1782 map (Fig. G.01). No doubt the concept of social segregation has been spelt out during this 18th century exercise:

A mansion house and an estate was undoubtedly the seal of social success for both merchants and professional people, and in Glasgow, as elsewhere, the new demand was for *rus in urbe* within easy distance of the business centre. The concept was essentially urban with the country confined to a garden and, if possible (though this became increasingly difficult), a view.⁹

Planned Towns in Grids:

Planned town designs were the next stage when the Town Council in 1772 commissioned from James Barry a plan for their lands to the north of the above streets. However, it was Barry's published plan of 1781 that inspired the layout as seen nowadays¹⁰. This latter plan in 1781 formed the basis of westward extension on Ramshorn lands when in 1782 the Town Council Committee decided to lay out 5 streets, from 13 metres to 18 metres wide, with ground reserved for George Square¹¹. Walker has indicated that the determinant factor for this first ever grid-iron plan could have been (in part) the position of an existing factory on the

⁹ B Dicks, "Choice and Constraints: Further Perspectives on Socio-residential Segregation in 19th century. Glasgow", as in G Gordon (ed), "The Perspectives of the Scottish City", Aberdeen University Press, 1985, pp.94

¹⁰ E Williamson et al, op cit., pp.40

¹¹ A Gibb, op cit., pp.96

present Ingram Street¹². The bulk of the lots were sold between 1786 and 1788, many to the proprietors of Glasgow Building Company, who were largely responsible for the developments immediately north, east and south of George Square. Feuing was slow and its lifespan as a residential suburb was limited, due to mounting pressure from the commercial sector's demand for more business accommodation.

The new and truly residential town house development was eventually on Blythswood Hill. It has been suggested that the grid form over the Blythswood estate was a continuation of the earlier Town Council's grid over Meadowflats and Ramshorn lands:

"At right angles to these [Argyle Street and Sauchiehall Street] running south to north was Buchanan Street in the City's Meadowflats land on the eastern edge of the Blythswood estate. Projecting westwards across Buchanan Street, extending the south and north limits of George Square, the beginnings of St Vincent Street and West George Street.... had been planned. All these routes lay in potentially orthogonal relationship, while the development of the first New Town....already provided guidelines for the dimensions of the [Blythswood] street blocks."¹³

Indeed the Corporation's development of Meadowflats went hand in hand with Blythswood estate, as the Senior partner of Glasgow Building Company - the agent responsible for much of Meadowflats development - "took care to co-operate

¹² F A Walker, "The Glasgow Grid", in T A Markus (ed) "Order in Space and Society" Mainstream, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.165-166

¹³ F A Walker, op cit., pp.177

with Colonel Campbell.... to the extent of employing his architect, Mr Craig of Edinburgh, to make the plans of Meadowflats."¹⁴

The grid form over the northern and middle parts of the Blythswood estate was so successful that in the 1820s this grid was carried over the southern part of Blythswood to a plan by James G Graham with subtle variations in its urban block to compensate for steep-sided-drumlin topography¹⁵. However, this southern part was not executed to this design.

Turning to the south of the River Clyde, similar grid developments were also taking place in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, most notably the ambitious development of 47 acres by David Laurie in Lauriston (about 1800). This was conceived on a grand scale, with the very elegant two-part Carlton Terrace as its frontispiece facing the river. However, building activities were slow to start, and it was not until 1826 that the development was completed. By this time, the long period of inactivity had permitted the intrusion of the industrial sector and the middle class aspiration could not be maintained:

Despairing of the lack of social amenities, seeing their property values diminish in the face of ineffective regulations against industry, and tired of paying tolls on their daily trips to

¹⁴ J R Kellett, "Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow 1780-1830", *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol. VIII, 1961, pp.225

¹⁵ F A Walker, *op cit.*, pp.180

places of business in the city, the middle class residents moved out [Laurieston] during the second half of the [19th] century.¹⁶

Other southside estates such as Tradeston and Hutchesontown, because of poorly defined and enforced building and land use regulations, also failed to become successful middle class areas when compared to the westward new towns¹⁷. On the east side of the city from mid-18th century to early 19th century, the four proposed individual middle class areas, ie, St Andrew's Square, Charlotte Street, Montieith Row and Graham Square, flourished and decayed in isolation. Although these areas were scattered around the east end, some close, some at a distance, they nevertheless could not resist the overwhelming pressure of industrial encroachments, which was gathering pace in this direction.

The 19th century Suburbanization:

The 18th century developments of Glasgow's urban structure serve as a background to its 19th century Victorian progress. This gradual but accelerating change is observed by most scholars, but the accounts and interpretation vary.

¹⁶ A Gibb, *op cit.*, pp.100

¹⁷ A Gibb, *op cit.*, pp.100

The most definitive account of Glasgow's Victorian architecture is the work by Gomme and Walker in which a detailed description of the urban architectural qualities is given in terms of individual buildings¹⁸. This does not provide the historical account or the rationale of the West End and southside middle class areas, and their approach of individual buildings without an overall setting of urban development neglects historical insights. Their work was criticised by a scholar as "rather flawed and very personal view of the city", without much substance apart from picturesque descriptions of buildings¹⁹.

Another informative and useful source for the study of Glasgow is the Building of Scotland volume on Glasgow²⁰. But again, this source mostly concentrates on individual buildings, with only a brief introduction to the formation of the estates west and south of the city. This introduction does mention estate names, architects and developers, but describes the process in a rather simplified and brief manner. The summary information provided is, therefore, not adequate for the understanding of the *process* of suburbanization during the Victorian period.

¹⁸ Gomme & Walker, "Architecture of Glasgow". Lund Humphries, London, 1987

¹⁹ N Morgan, "The Development of the West End of Glasgow Reconsidered", Unpublished paper to the Scottish Urban Society Conference on 1 December 1990.

²⁰ E Williamson et al., op cit.

Other approaches to suburbanization are more theoretical. The most quoted example is M A Simpson's unpublished MLitt thesis "Middle Class Housing and the growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914"²¹. Simpson's work revolved around his own training as an economic historian, but he nevertheless balanced his thesis with a detailed historical account of the urban development of the west end estates, particularly the estate of Kelvinside. This resulted in a book which described the wider context of middle class development in 19th century Britain²², and compared Glasgow with other cities, such as Sheffield and Nottingham, and the suburb of Hampstead (which is now part of the Greater London area). His work, however, was criticised as being "based on an entirely one-dimensional view of events, as seen through the issuing of feu charters, a record of a single event or transaction which for all its incidental, illuminating and useful detail does nothing to reveal the process or personality of development"²³.

Suburbanization as Social Segregation:

²¹ M A Simpson, "Middle Class Housing and the growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", unpublished M Litt Thesis, Glasgow University, 1970.

²² M Simpson & T Lloyd, op cit..

²³ N Morgan, op cit.

The process of development was suggested by an article by Brian Dicks²⁴. His work is based on research by another scholar, C G Pooley, who viewed residential segregation "as the outcome of the interaction of those elements of choice and constraint which affected various aspects of residential location"²⁵. By referring to the Georgian landscape of Glasgow, Dicks noted that the first westward expansion was instituted by the tobacco barons who built their mansion houses around the new streets at Glasgow Cross. Later on, the rapid invasion of commerce into these Georgian extensions and the deteriorating urban and social fabric of the old city (owing to encroachment of business and industry) resulted in an aspiration for social advancement and the desire by the middle class to locate in a residentially respectable area.

Superficially this migration of the middle classes to suburban areas is similar to that in other large British cities, as indeed "Britain's other large 19th century cities also exhibited increasing socio-residential segregation and the progressive separation, for the more affluent classes at least, of workplace from residence"²⁶ But on the other hand, the power of the landowner in controlling the type of development is different in a Scottish setting:

²⁴ B Dicks, *op cit.*

²⁵ B Dicks, *op cit.*, pp.91

²⁶ B Dicks, *op cit.*, pp.91

Whereas south of border land could be sold outright (freehold) or, after a stipulated period, would be returned in its developed state to its original owner (leasehold), in Scotland the holding of land retained something of its feudal origin. A superior of the land might sell it, but thereafter he would receive an annual feu duty from whomever occupied it. Moreover, the feu contract of sale could impose strict conditions on the way the land could be developed, theoretically in perpetuity.²⁷

Hence development restrictions could be easily inserted into the Feu Charter which would further restrict the freedom of the builder and indirectly limit his choice of potential future buyers. Examples of these influences and restrictions will be discussed in the later part of the thesis when individual estates are examined.

The pattern of Glasgow's estate development, according to Dicks, could be compared with Sheffield's western suburbs where architectural as well as social consistency combined to produce a dramatic middle-class adjunct to its central area²⁸. But when examining the actual landowner, Glasgow lacks the aristocratic ownership which is typical of English middle class suburban developments found in London and Birmingham. Instead, the whole west end of Glasgow, comprising 1250 acres, was under ownership of the merchant class or professional speculators. The only exception to this was the estate of Pollokshields – together with its

²⁷ P A Reed, "Tenement, Terrace e Villa: la costruzione del West End", in Bocchi R (ed) "Glasgow: forma e progetto della citta", Venice: Cluva Editrice, 1990

²⁸ B Dicks, op cit., pp.101

annexe, Dumbreck – which was under the aristocratic Maxwell family²⁹. This merchant class initiative recalls the previous impulse of the tobacco lords' effort of establishing the merchant city during the 18th century, but while the merchants then were solely home-occupiers and built for themselves, now the estates' developers in the west end operated on a more speculative basis, as Dicks has concluded:

...the feuars and builders were anything but free agents being subjected on one hand to the dictates of superiors and on the other hand to the expectations of middle class buyers. Hence it is important to view the quality Victorian suburbs, in Glasgow and elsewhere, as the material manifestation of a complex of lofty ideas, desires and decisions that were inevitably tempered by the prosaic financial tenets that governed supply and demand.³⁰

The influence of the merchant class has attracted the attention of some scholars, such as Simpson and Lloyd, regarding their role in the rise of suburban housing³¹. In Glasgow's case, this has not been well researched, but Simpson has mentioned that the real development of country estates into housing estates came only after mid-19th century and a change of ownership. These new owners were often from the merchant class, although professional and institutional bodies started to be involved, particularly the Town Corporation itself.

²⁹ B Dicks, *op cit.*, pp.102-103

³⁰ B Dicks, *op cit.*, pp.105

³¹ M Simpson & T Lloyd, *op cit.*

Nevertheless the process of segregation of Glasgow's suburban areas did transform the cityscape into "an extensive area with an overall homogeneous tone", and this was not entirely a 19th century phenomenon, where, according to Dicks, "this pattern of westward migration..... had been set earlier, only to increasingly gather momentum as the 19th century progressed"³². Dicks also throughout his article stresses the importance of the self-imposed constraints stemming from middle class aspirations for social advancement and the resulting need to locate in socially respectable areas, while these are reinforced by other factors such as quality of the environment, the establishment of institutions among the suburbs, the recreational and ancillary facilities provided by local councils, and the provision of transport, firstly private, and then public.³³

Conclusion

Although as mentioned at the start of this section, the suburbanization of Glasgow, has much in common with that of other contemporary British industrial cities, Glasgow's remarkable homogeneous and 'exclusive' suburbs have always being distinguished from others. This distinction may be a

³² B Dicks, op cit., pp.120-121

³³ B Dicks, op cit., pp.105- 121

matter of its physical materials, its juxtaposition of villas, terraces and tenements, or by its unified legal system which allowed a 'code' to be restricted upon the final built environment.

However, the question of how this code was being transformed into bricks and mortar - or in the case of Glasgow, lime and stone - requires a detailed examination of the individual estates concerned. In the next part of the thesis, the west end and southside estates will be individually scrutinised under an urban form analysis principle, which will be explained before the detailed examination. By this research, the above account by these economic and social historians will be examined using more graphical and visual evidence. There is no intention of displacing their research by this means, but presenting another dimension of the issue may complement the whole story.

Introduction:

This chapter will look at the various primary sources and materials which I have been going through for the research of this thesis. Although most of these sources are primary ones, i.e., archival materials in various locations, some 19th century secondary materials such as newspaper articles - which would not be discussed here - were also used to complement these.

These primary materials mainly fall into four categories:

1. Materials from 19th century writers' offices;
2. Materials from Estate offices of developers;
3. Materials from the Kyle and Frew Collection;
4. Materials from individual land and housing speculators;

In each case an explanation will be given regarding the origins of these materials, the use of them and the problems or difficulties involved.

1. Materials from Writers' Offices:

The previous chapters have argued that the 19th century middle class development of Glasgow was an accumulation of various social and economic factors. To facilitate such

development a whole variety of service sectors was established or expanded in the 19th century to serve the ever increasing land and housing speculators.

As a result, a large collection of materials regarding property development was accumulated. Nowadays, some of these materials are being transferred from the attic of various service sectors' premises to national/ local authority archives for preservation.

Out of these service sectors' materials, the most important are those from city solicitors' firms, or 'writers' as they used to be called in the 19th century. These 'writers' cooperated with either landowners or property speculators by providing the necessary legal services for property transactions. During the process a large amount of documents was produced, and for the sole purpose of this study here, these documents could be classified into two categories, although in reality they are very much inter-related:

- 1.1 Feuing Documents and
- 1.2 Feuing Design Drawings;

1.1 Feuing Documents:

Property transactions ranged from a single plot of a few square yards to vast farm steadings over several hundred acres. Each transaction had to go through a feuing/

disposition procedure involving various legal documents, such as Feu Charters, Confirmations, Contracts, Sasines, and Inventory etc, in which sometimes a multiplication of over 5 to 6 times of a 10 to 15 page document could be possible for the same few square yards. The whole procedure was complicated by the unique Scottish feuing system in which the feu superior could insert all kinds of restrictions into these feuing documents, resulting in a complicated and much repeated bundle.

As a result, these documents controlled development and planning by implicitly applying these restrictions, controlling the building classification, zoning, building height and plot ratio, vehicle and pedestrian access, time scale of project completion, as well as the 'class' of the development. In particular, the social association was reinforced by restricting business establishments and specifying the minimum development cost, or, in the case of a letting concern, the minimum yearly rental of the proposed building. Examples of these will be illustrated in the next section of the thesis where analysis of individual estates will be presented. An examination of these various documents can therefore provide an insight into the feu superior's aspiration and enable us to see how these specific restriction clauses were carefully imposed to achieve the ultimate middle class status when his estate was finished on site.

But to understand them is no easy task. These documents, being original 19th century, some 18th century, manuscripts, are very difficult to comprehend at the start, partly because of the legal jargon being employed, and partly because of the old fashioned language and writing which was essential during that period, not to mention the dust, the fading ink, and the difficulty even to open them because of the way they were bundled. The easier ones are those which were recorded into a log book format - the Feu Chartulary - in which the documents were recorded in sequential order and better preserved against adverse conditions.

The other practical problem of these materials is the actual location of them. A feu superior had no obligation to employ a single solicitor, and therefore documents regarding one estate could be scattered among several firms. This also happened in sub-feuing when the property was handled by a different firm in each transaction. Therefore it is quite common at present days to discover that different documents regarding the same property could be found in all kinds of locations, such as archives and record houses at national level, to individual private collections of small institutions. For research purposes, this represented the most difficult aspect of material collection, making it impossible to complete the search for even one single estate.

1.2 Feu Design Plans:

Apart from the documentary materials, a large number of solicitor firms accumulated various design drawings from their clients. Whenever a large scale project (sometimes a small scale project as well) was being proposed, the feu superior would try to promote the value of his property to lure his potential buyers by employing an architect to lay out the property. Usually the more prestigious the development the more famous the architect, while less well known architects were employed for other ones. Once these were prepared, the advertisement of these proposals would then appear in the various local papers, accompanied with a brief description of the property and instructions of application method.

For studies of urban form development, these drawings played the most important role. The landowner's aspiration was figuratively spelt out via the design of the architects, sometimes with auxiliary illustrations such as vignettes. The design itself would try to be the best among its competitors in satisfying the Victorians' taste of a good residence. As we can see in the next part of the thesis where most of these drawings are reproduced, the impact of these graphical images - even at the conceptual stage - was so important that they reinforced the ideological visualisation of a Victorian middle class suburb.

Nowadays these important drawings, however, would be most likely to be found in the 'writers' offices' deposits to the Archives, either bundled with the client's files or being kept in separate drawing lists under maps and plans. A few are scattered among the Record House Plans of the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh, especially those that were used as legal documents in court proceedings (The Scottish Record Office Collection has combined drawings from courts' collections with other non-court related drawings).

Over the last 20 years, Strathclyde Regional Council Archives and the Business Records Centre of Glasgow University Archives have been the most likely recipients of these solicitors' firms' records of Glasgow. Obviously the preservation method that has been carried out by archive staff has been much superior to that of the 'writers' themselves, but missing and damaged items before depositing cannot be avoided. Also some items have since gone missing when they have been properly recorded, causing gaps in the collections. Similarly a large number of plans and drawings were not dated and their representations are open to speculation. Nevertheless, surprising findings have been made within these collections. For example, the original feuing design of Langside estate was discovered among the deposit of McGrigor Donald and Co. In this same collection, a design by Alexander Taylor of Partickhill and two designs

of Northpark by Decimus Burton were also unveiled. The list can be never ending, but these two examples illustrate the importance of the solicitors' deposits for the search of design drawings of these middle class estates.

2. Materials from Estate Offices:

It was common in the 19th century to find a landowner of a large estate employing someone permanently on his estate to carry out the managerial aspects of their estate, rather than relying merely on a city centre solicitor firm. Pollok Estate and Blythswood Estates fall within this category. These estate offices dealt with daily matters such as rental from tenants, the yield from the steadings and other minor repairs and maintenance of estate buildings during the pre-feuing period. However, their role became even more important when an estate underwent urbanisation, transforming it into a small community and supporting maybe over one hundred times its original population. Professionals were called in to act as architect, property manager, estate manager and, sometimes, accountant.

In the case of the Pollok Estate, which comprised the whole Pollokshields development, William Colledge was the professional 'writer' who took up the above multi-professional role under the appointment of John Stirling Maxwell. His son continued this role although to a lesser

capacity after his father's death. Although Colledge was based in Hags Castle (the home of the Maxwell family during the 19th century after it was re-built from ruins) he still had his office in the City in Hope Street. But it was the papers from the former estate office, which were deposited into Strathclyde Regional Archives, upon which the study of Pollokshields was based.

Similarly, the Campbell family of Blythswood appointed William Kyle as their 'professional' executive, although it is most likely the Kyles set up a separate 'Blythswood Corner' within their office to deal with all Blythswood documents¹, rather than being physically located on the Blythswood estate. Eventually the Blythswood papers were transferred to the Regional Archive and the majority of these were under the authorship of the Kyles – William Kyle and Thomas Kyle, and later, the Kyle and Frew partnership. The collection included early 19th century drawings showing the feu record of the entire Blythswood estate and a full directory of feu records/ entries. However, as the Kyles were only land surveyors, urban design was not their prime activity, and therefore only a few drawings show any design intention in the form of street layouts. The majority are purely feu plot records, complementing the legal papers of feu disposition and charters. For example, an 1817 feuing record drawing east of the Kelvin – on present date

¹ In the Kyle and Frew drawings, Blythswood drawings are frequently indicated as filed in the "Blythswood Roll", and not filed with other drawings

Woodlands hill and West Princes Street areas - is only a grid with boundary lines shown without any blocks of buildings. Similar plans were in fact made of all parts of the estate and only very few of them show any building intention, except those on a smaller scale which show the extent of the building outline for individual feuing purposes.

Apart from the Pollok and Blythswood estate papers, others are less relevant to this particular study. For example, in the Dixon Estates Papers, despite that fact that the Dixon family was landowner of both Crosshill and Govanhill, the business records took priority over land development records, and scarcely any trace of the development of Crosshill can be found. In another example, the Hutcheson Hospital, which was joint developer with Glasgow Corporation for Govanhill and Camphill, had a greatly diversified interest and did not have a central collection of all their papers in one place, making it difficult to find the overall picture. These two examples illustrate the comparative weakness of estate papers, as they tended to be valued from the estate owner's point of view and did not carry the same emphasis on property transaction as in the case of solicitors' papers.

3. Materials from the Kyle and Frew Collections:

The partnership of Kyle and Frew remained the most dominating landsurveyor firm in Glasgow and the west of Scotland despite various changes in other firms. Their firm's records span from the late 18th century city expansion west of the "Westgait" into the merchant city, to 20th century development of the outlying district of Knightswood and Clydebank, plus many other small towns around the west of Scotland. Their works included standard landsurveying and preparation of feuing plot plans for legal purposes during property transactions, to full estate management and feu recording as in the case of Blythswood estate, encompassing in between the roles of urban designer, arbitrator and quantity surveyor. Their client portfolio included small shop owners to wealthy aristocratic landowner families, and most of the developers as mentioned in this thesis, as well as organised institutions such as church and charity bodies. Nevertheless their main activities were still landsurveying, and the main bulk of their collection consists of survey drawings of estates and excambion proposals.

From these survey drawings there are two aspects which may be important for this study:

- The survey of the estate *before* the feuing stages; and
- The dates of these plans.

The pre-surveying drawings in most cases indicate the pre-development conditions, such as access, infrastructure, areas and boundary features, while in some cases, an actual feuing design might also be shown. This is useful in analysing the design constraints facing the architect in the design process, such as access and boundary problems².

The date of the drawing provides the clue to the timing of the development. This is useful for quite a number of small and obscure developments which were not recorded by other contemporary media. Although most of the Kyle and Frew drawings, which were deposited in the Regional Archive, are missing due to various reasons, the record books of Kyle and Frew do show entry dates for some of the drawings, with references to client and location details. These details are then useful for sorting out some of the missing information regarding the sequence of developments of this particular estate.

Nevertheless, the large number of missing drawings in the collection does render some of the lists useless despite a time consuming search. Also the lack of design intention limits the use of the drawings even when they show the right area at the right time.

² It is very common in 19th century advertisement of land property to stress the near proximity of their site to the centre of Glasgow, either by means of easy access to a 'turnpike road' or, later, by means of a railway line.

4. Materials from Land Speculators:

In most cases the property speculators of 19th century middle class estate developers were landowners themselves. Simpson has studied these people in detail³, and he concluded that the majority of the early estate owners did not transform the estate into middle class residential areas, but retained the steadings as a country residence, complementing their inner city town houses as a means of expressing their status. However, as described earlier in previous chapters, pressure for segregated housing areas became so great that few of the near city estates could resist the temptation of property speculation.

The speculators who acquired and developed these estates were mainly either new merchants, or professionals from the service sectors. Montgomerie and Fleming of Kelvinside belonged to the latter class, and they actually lived on the estate which they bought in 1839 until their death, while owners of the estates of Dennistoun, Dowanhill, Southwoodside, Clairmont, Langside and Crosshill belonged to the former – the new merchant class of the 19th century.

However, there were always exceptions to this pattern of ownership, such as Hillhead and Bellahouston. Both were developed by tenants ('rentallers') who bought their

³ M A Simpson, Middle Class Housing and Management in the West End Communities of Glasgow, Unpublished MLitt Thesis, Glasgow University, 1971, pp. 38-49

property from the previous owner. Another class of ownership was the aristocratic class such as the Maxwell family of Pollokshields. Pollokshields had never changed hands since its ownership was secured by the Maxwell family in the 12th century, and development of Pollokshields was carried out entirely under the supervision of the same Maxwell family, with professional help from William Colledge.

Other major players in property speculations were institutional, including the City Bank of Glasgow, the University of Glasgow, and the largest of all, the City Corporation. The outlying fringe of Northwoodside belonged to the City Bank, while Gilmorehill was synonymous with the University since the 1860s. The largest public parks in both the west end and south side – the Kelvingrove Park and Queens Park respectively – were both the efforts of the Council (Corporation).

The combined documentation legacy of ownership, however, is disappointing as compared with other categories, given the large number of estates involved. Of all these, only Hillhead, Kelvinside and Dowanhill have full corresponding estate papers from the feu superior being transferred through generations to the city's archival collections (Strathclyde Regional Archives and Glasgow University Business Record). Pollokshields papers (including the Pollok Estate papers as mentioned above) were bundled with

the much larger collection of both Stirling of Keirs papers and Maxwell family papers, which makes it difficult to retrieve exact information. Other smaller estates have bits and pieces scattered among solicitor papers, while some, such as Strathbungo, have nothing from its developers.

The exception to this negative finding may be found in the records of the most ambitious developer in Glasgow during the 19th century - the Glasgow Corporation records. As the Corporation was responsible for much of the central 'core' of middle class areas, i.e., Kelvingrove Park and Queen's Park, their involvement did not stop at providing magnificent parks alone. Indeed, in both the West End and southside, the Corporation was responsible for other items, such as hospitals, middle class housing, roads and tramways etc. The records of most of these developments are now kept in the Regional Archives. Due to a systematic catalogue of the Corporation items, it is not too difficult to locate and examine the relevant drawings and documents relating to these middle class building activities. However, this remains an exception rather than the norm, and therefore there was little information from landowners' records which could be used for this present study.

Conclusion:

A brief overview of the background materials from various sources has shown the origins, limits, usage and availability of materials from each category. Most of these materials form the basic framework for this thesis. Gaps are inevitable due to the aforementioned obstacles, and in some cases other secondary materials such as contemporary newspapers and articles may supplement the missing links. As the main purpose of the thesis is focusing on issues of urban form development, not all available materials have been useful. The section on the analysis of the estates will only present materials that are relevant to this present study on an individual basis, without much concern of other non-essential – though sometimes easy available – primary materials.

SECTION 3: BACKGROUND OF DEVELOPMENT

The West End and Southside of Glasgow:

Introduction

The middle class areas in Glasgow are predominantly located in the West End and Southside of the city. For an average Glaswegian, none of the east end or north side districts would be considered "classy", although some districts outlying in the north east, such as Lenzie and Stepps are above the average neighbouring districts. Nevertheless, the high concentration of middle class areas in the West End and Southside could be seen as a result of social segregation over the last hundred years.

The social and historical backgrounds of the middle class areas have been discussed in the previous chapters. In this section, I shall examine and describe the physical environment of the West End and Southside. This discussion would then provide a useful background for the analysis of individual estates in the next part of the thesis.

SECTION 3: BACKGROUND OF DEVELOPMENT

Part 1: The West End of Glasgow

Westward Expansion:

The westward expansion of the city seemed to be the dominant middle class feature from the late 18th century onwards. The first phase of social segregation, resulting in the exclusive merchant city and Meadowflats beyond Trongate, was in this direction. The second phase of regularised grid expansion into the Blythswood estate also followed roughly the west to north-west direction. Although other contemporary southside middle class urban schemes were eventually completed, they were far less successful than their western counterparts.

This is not to say that the rest of the city was static in development. Indeed, in the 19th century, urban areas were expanding around embryonic industrial areas such as Partick, Govan, Bridgeton, Parkhead, Springburn, Maryhill and Port Dundas – a whole circular sweep from the south-west to north-north-west of the old city core. While these catered for the working classes working around coal mines, iron production and industrial manufacturing, the north west direction seemed to be reserved exclusively for the middle classes who found fortune by managing and investing

in these industries. This situation cannot be explained simply by referring to the geological distribution of minerals, because - as we can see later - literally all areas around Glasgow were rich in coal, iron, brick clay, building sand and freestone¹.

Topography and Geography:

The West End of Glasgow stretched for an area about 3 miles long and 1 mile wide, consisting of several drumlins, with the River Kelvin bisecting it from north to south². The estates under examination may be traced over the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. W.01). The obvious feature nowadays is the long and straight thoroughfare of Great Western Road, but this is relatively modern because it was not constructed until 1841. Other more sylvan features such as picturesque landscapes, however, were in place much earlier. As discussed later, the whole West End was initially dotted with country mansions of all sizes before the western suburbs were built, exploiting the beautiful scenery.

Geographically speaking the West End is well defined by various boundaries and significant buffer zones:

¹ M A Simpson & T H Lloyd. "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles & Archon Books, GB, 1977, pp.49

² M A Simpson and T H Lloyd, op cit., pp.47

- the northern boundary is defined by the River Kelvin, the Garscube Highway [Maryhill Road] and the Forth & Clyde Canal. Had the Kelvin not existed, the massive industrial developments in Maryhill in the 19th century near the canal basins would have invaded on to the southern plains during the suburbanization process.
- on the south side, despite industrial developments at Partick as early as the 18th century, the turnpike road to Dumbarton gave it the necessary protection against further northwards encroachment. (This became less efficient during the latter half of the 19th century, however, as more and more land north of Dumbarton Road were given up for working class tenements.)

Simpson stresses the importance of topography in the westward direction of middle class expansion:

..... it is relevant to point out that topography played a large part in the story. The steep-sided drumlins and the even steeper gorge of the River Kelvin, which meandered from north to south across the West End to join the Clyde, affected the growth of Glasgow in two ways..... They were too steep for industry and working class housing..... while alternative flat cheap sites were available industrial development and [working class] housing speculators shunned the rounded, wooded hills.....

The drumlins also played a positive role, for the very features which inhibited development of an industrial or proletarian nature, favoured the growth of middle class housing. Rich in leafy glades, splendid views and clean

air, they had the qualities for which the middle class of Victorian Glasgow were looking³.

Early maps and Ordnance Survey:

Suburban developments did not take place in the west of Glasgow until the 1830s, and therefore all maps before this period only indicated what was there before development took place. By referring to Richardson's Map of 1795 (Fig. W.02), it may be seen that the West End portion of Glasgow was not developed, although a basic and primitive system of access roads was already in existence, mainly to serve the then country estates. Similar to other estates around Glasgow at that time, most of these estates were occupied by merchants who also had town houses in the city. Although this 1795 map was intended to describe a much larger area - the whole county of Lanarkshire - Richardson indicated meticulously the owners of these estates on the map, and quite a number of these people are merchants. Also it is interesting to notice that many of these estate names are preserved in the present day names of the suburban housing areas.

By 1816, Forrest's Map (Fig. W.03), when compared to Richardson's Map, showed a completely different development

³ M A Simpson. "Middle Class Housing & the Growth of Suburban Communities in the West end of Glasgow 1830-1914", Unpublished Glasgow University M Litt Thesis, pp.6-7

density. Most notable was the extension of the urban grid into the Blythswood estate - denoted by the name Willowbank with its owner, [William] Harley Esquire - and over into the Garnethill area just north of Blythswood. The grid also extended south on to the banks of the Clyde, forming strips of long rectangular blocks. Nevertheless, the vast area from the western edge of Blythswood to Anniesland toll bar was still dominated by country estates, with an increased number of access roads. In the next part of the thesis, we will see that these country roads were further developed and became, in some cases, the boundaries between estates. In similar format to Richardson's, Forrest also indicated on his map various estate names and their owners, although the increased information made it less clear. An extracted version of this map (Fig. W.03A) shows more clearly the relevant estate names and the position of mansion houses.

Apart from these two county maps, none of the other early maps of Glasgow showed any details of the West End districts except the Woodside/ Woodlands area. Martin's 1842 Map (Fig. W.04) was regarded as the most comprehensive map before the first Ordnance Survey in 1860, but this map limited itself to the middle portion of Kelvinside.

Nevertheless, several interesting features can be noticed:

- The western urban fringe of the Blythswood estate had moved westward into St George's Cross/ Woodlands/ Woodside area, as proposed by various estate owners around the 1830s. This provided a significant testing

ground for the development of the estates east of the Kelvin;

- Various proposals were 'dotted' on this map; most notable were the estates of Kelvinside - including the newly built Botanic Gardens - and 'Queenspark' [North Woodside]; Hillhead was also delineated but with no outline of buildings. This information revealed the intention of landowners for speculative middle class developments, and coincided with the completion of the Great Western Road;
- In reality, the West End, apart from the eastern fringe of St George's Cross/ Woodside areas, was still in the hands of sparsely distributed individual mansion owners. Country roads were the main dominant access roads, while the newly formed Great Western Road was ready to provide vital support to a new phase of suburban development.

The western edge of the Barony and Parliamentary boundary of the City of Glasgow zig-zagged around Garnethill/ St George's Cross area (depending on which year), and did not encompass any of the western middle class estates that are known today. Hence for this reason and others, the areas west of the Kelvin were not properly surveyed nor recorded until the first Ordnance Survey in the late 1850s/ 1860.

The first Ordnance Survey of Glasgow (Fig. W.05) is the most reliable source of urban studies since Martin's 1842

map. By the 1860s, the development of the West End could be seen in three parts: the development around Partick/ Partickhill, the development around Woodside/ Woodlands, and the development west of the Kelvin at Hillhead / Kelvinside.

These three individual developments gradually merged into a cohesive network of middle class suburbs. The Woodside areas development was dominated by terraces and crescents, including the magnificent Woodlands Hill/ Park Circus crescents. A similar terrace oriented development could also be found at the cluster around the Botanic Gardens and Hillhead, particularly along the Great Western Road. On the other end of the scale of urban framework, villa development predominated in Partickhill and Dowanhill.

This distribution, although based purely on observation, could be related to the framework of topography and accessibility, as I will explain in the next part of the thesis. Also, there were always exceptions to an overall framework, possibly because of lack of co-ordinated measures, or possibly because of ownership and boundary compromises. This was particularly obvious in the Hillhead estate where Reed commented:

"It may be surmised that the gridded layout [on Hillhead] was merely a subdivision of the land into convenient and economic parcels, for there appears to have been no co-ordinating design nor any restriction on building types....The first

Ordnance Survey....confirms the *laissez-faire* nature of contemporary development on Hillhead"⁴

In all the above maps, we find that the pre-defined boundaries of the West End as discussed earlier had a significant purpose here by keeping in the middle class investment and keeping out undesirable forces. This interesting fortress of middle class values led to another question: why was this westward direction being chosen among other competitive contemporary schemes around Glasgow at that time?

Explanation of the Westward Trend:

Various scholars have tried to explain the westward trend of middle class developments. This thesis focuses on the individual estates, but the study of the whole West End as a collective area has been carried out by other scholars. In their research, they have offered explanations of the westward phenomenon. For example, M A Simpson suggested several reasons, all based on the middle class requirements of 'exclusiveness'⁵:

1. The provision of distinct boundaries and preferably buffer zones separating the suburb from inferior city

⁴ P A Reed, (ed), "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, 1983, pp. 70

⁵ M A Simpson and T H Lloyd, op cit., pp.49- 52

areas: for example, the wide turnpike road of Dumbarton on the south, the existing well maintained area of Blythswood, the River Kelvin on the north and the undeveloped land on the west, made the West End areas protected from the perils of the inner city and industrial encroachment from the Clyde;

2. The stringent application of feudal superiors' rights over the use of land and the type of developments: the restrictive clauses of the feu charters permitted the control of a desired middle class without the nuisance of any kind of industrial or commercial elements;
3. The influence of the romantic era of the 18th and 19th centuries made the Victorians appreciate the country side - *rus in urbe* - and the West End provided exactly such breath-taking scenery and views, without any air-pollution from any industrial elements. This was supported by the location of the Observatory and Botanic Gardens, both of them requiring a clean environment to operate;

Reed summarized Simpson's account with regard to the attraction of the West End trend:

"The west End had its particular attractions for the wealthier classes which made it the most extensive and the most impressive of 19th century Glasgow suburbs: it was directly accessible to the centre without the need to travel through areas of destitution; it enjoyed the elevated

benefit of fresh prevailing breezes and southerly prospects across the Clyde; and it was within easy reach of the resorts of Loch Lomond and the Firth of Clyde to the north and west. A healthy situation and fine views were the consistent selling points in what was a highly competitive market."⁶

Other examples of the westward trend of middle class areas can be found in other large British cities, although not all of them were contemporary with Glasgow's West End. Some notable examples were the 18th century development of town houses in London, such as Nash's scheme for Regent's Park and various upper/ middle class areas of Mayfair, Marylebone and Chelsea; and Bath, such as the extensive trail from Queen Square to Royal Crescent. 19th century westward suburban middle class areas, such as the West End of Sheffield, Hampstead in London, and Edgbaston in Birmingham, are also discussed in Simpson's book⁷.

Obviously it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the westward trend of Glasgow's middle class development in any great detail, but from the above we can see that an implied desirability of the westward segregation was deep-rooted in the city's direction of expansion since the 18th century, and indeed the street names have reflected this feeling of 'aristocracy':

⁶ P. A Reed. (Ed) op cit., and "Tenement, Terrace e Villa: la costruzione del West End", in Bocchi R (ed) "Glasgow: forma e progetto della città", Venice: Cluva Editrice, 1990

⁷ Refer to M A Simpson and T H Lloyd, op cit.

'West' appears in a number of street names too: there are West Campbell, George, Nile, Princes and Regent Streets, though rarely an 'east' counterpart. I [Gomme and Walker] do not know the reason for this insistence on the west; possibly it is a distinguishing mark of the area's aristocratic character.⁸

The Development of the Great Western Road:

The success of the West End depends heavily on accessibility to the thriving city centre. Before the Great Western Road was built there was no access to the main heart of the West End between Anniesland Toll Bar and St George's Cross. The only extensive country road in Woodside area were what is now Woodlands Road and North Woodside Road. Between the ford at present day Kelvinbridge and Anniesland Toll Bar, the vast stretch of estates were only accessible either by Dumbarton Road on the south or from the Kelvin or the Canal in the north (Refer to Fig. W.01). Although some estates started to be feued out in the 1830s or earlier they did not gather any substantial momentum and usually came to a halt (refer to later part of the thesis regarding the study of Hillhead). The exception was South Woodside/ Clairmont which benefited from the extension of the Blythswood grid for good access and similar aspirations. Certainly a more centrally placed, direct and

⁸ A Gomme & D Walker, "Architecture of Glasgow", Lund Humphries, London, 1987 (revised), pp.92 footnote 7

all-weather highway to the city was needed before development could be stimulated⁹.

In 1836 an Act of Parliament was passed for the construction of the Anniesland Turnpike Road - Great Western Road - and in 1841 this toll road was completed. The then Trustees of this turnpike road were mostly proprietors of the various estates who hold an interest in land speculation around the West End¹⁰. Although it is not possible here to portray a detailed development of the Great Western Road - further points will be revealed in the study of small estates along Great Western Road later in the next part of the thesis - it is interesting to make a few points:

- a. The road's precedent could be found in a Blythswood feuing plan over the Woodside area, where a portion of the present road was already laid out in the 1810s from St George's Cross to Kelvinbridge (Refer to Fig. GWR.04 in the analysis of Small estates along Great Western Road). When the Great Western Road was developed by the new trustees, the old road level had to be raised to match the levels of the new bridge over the Kelvin. This was not welcomed by certain estate owners, and the

⁹ M A Simpson and T H Lloyd, *op cit.*, pp.52

¹⁰ Refer to "Great Western Road Trustee Minutes", (GWR Minutes), now in Strathclyde Regional Archive, Ref.: SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1

Feu Superior of Blythswood was not co-operative with the Trustees right from the start of this project¹¹.

- b. The outlet of the road near the city terminates at St George's Cross. The only access thereafter to the City was in the hands of Garscube Road Trustees (another turnpike road trustee) who built New City Road via Cowcaddens to the City, and they were quite hostile to this new turnpike road. This gave the Great Western Road Trustees no other option but to adopt St George's Road (Rosehall Street) in their development (Fig. W.06) in order to gain access via Sauchiehall Road to the centre:

"The Great Western Road will be opened up to Anniesland next year [1840]. Its formation has already enhanced the value of the neighbouring properties and I [Trustee Chairman] think it will be continued westwards erelong. *St George's Road will form the principal communication between Great Western Road and Glasgow.*"¹²
(my emphasis)

The result of this new access gradually made Charing Cross one of the most successful commercial parts of the West End.

- c. To provide further access for the western development of the Great Western Road, a Partick branch was also developed by the Trustees over the existing Byres Road.

¹¹ Drawing in SRA (ref.: SRA/ TKF-1/X-1-5b) noted that in June 1836, the Campbell Family of Blythswood - who were Feu Superiors of the old Woodside Road - made out this particular drawing "for the purpose of opposing" Great Western Road.

¹² GWR Minutes, op cit., Jan. 1839

Although Dicks comments that Kelvinside landowners - Montgomerie and Fleming - viewed this branch road to be 'detrimental to their plans for Kelvinside'¹³, in reality it was Montgomerie and Fleming who put up the extra funding for this branch road when the trustees did not have sufficient funds for this important link to Partick Cross¹⁴. This re-building of Byres Road from a humble country road serving only Northpark Estate to a major connection between the two main turnpike roads in the West End districts - i.e., Great Western Road and Dumbarton Road - opened up feuing opportunities for both Hillhead and Dowanhill estates, and made Byres Road the busiest commercial area west of Charing Cross later in the 19th century.

- d. The result of the development of the Great Western Road was not an instant success. Despite its terminal at Anniesland Cross, middle class development did not extend that far. Indeed to 'leap-frog' over the Kelvin was adventurous enough for an average new bourgeois, not to mention as far as Gartnavel and Anniesland (refer to the individual analysis of the Kelvinside Estate in Section 4). The development of the far west was painstakingly slow, and even in the first half of

¹³ B Dicks, "Choice and Constraints: Further Perspectives on Socio-residential Segregation in 19th c. Glasgow", as in G Gordon (ed), "The Perspectives of the Scottish City", Aberdeen University Press, 1985, pp.116

¹⁴ GWR minutes, op cit., vol. 1, pp.228

the 20th century considerable vacant grounds were still available for development purposes.

Conclusion:

The remarkable cohesiveness and exclusiveness of the West End of Glasgow was a result of several important and interdependent factors, but the continuous thread between them was the aspirations of the speculators. To achieve this goal, they put aside competition and achieved one of the most spectacular and picturesque thoroughfares, serving the various sylvan estates. Obviously the story did not end here, as the process of development and re-development continued to take place within estates themselves - a city within a city. If the whole West End could be regarded as a macro-organism of contagious development, the individual urban / suburban framework would be the micro-organic units supporting the overall growth. These individual units - estates - hence will be the subject of study in the next part of the thesis.

SECTION 3: BACKGROUND OF DEVELOPMENT

Part 2: The Southside of Glasgow

The Southside in General:

During the 19th century urban expansion of Glasgow, the southside seemed to achieve considerably less attention than its northern counterpart. Most of the city's municipal establishments were built north of the Clyde during the last two hundred years, while across the river into the Gorbals and Hutchesontown one could only find congested working class housing compacted near industrial sectors.

Whatever the social forces for the failure of the southside to establish itself as the equivalent of the north, this does not imply that nothing was promoted across the river. As discussed earlier, schemes like Lauriston, Tradeston and Hutchesontown were early examples of a grid development comparable with the Blythswood estate. However, as already pointed out, various social forces, or rather the lack of them, together contributed to the failure of these early ambitions.

Compare to the West End:

Despite earlier failures, speculative developers did not give up, but simply moved further afield. Fig. S.01, which is based on the 1860 Ordnance Survey Map, shows the outline of the various middle class estates, mainly divided into two portions:

- the cumulative area of the Maxwell estates, ie, Pollokshields, Bellahouston and Dumbreck;
- the area surrounding Queen's Park, ie, Crosshill, Langside and Strathbungo;

When compared to the West End of Glasgow, the differences are obvious:

- In the West End, a well defined border protected the estates - whether large or small - from industrial encroachment, while the loose edges and proximity to industrial sites on the southside did not provide the same degree of protection;
- Continuity in the West End from St George's Cross to Anniesland Toll was maintained by a clear and trouble free highway, the Great Western Road, while the south side was cut off from the city by 'undesirable' elements:

However, they [south side estates] suffered from an awkward position in relation to the central business district. Commuters have to approach the city via dock and slum areas and across the Clyde over crowded bridges¹.

¹ M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles & Archon Books, GB, 1977, pp.47

The stretch of development between these middle class estates and the River Clyde - the early middle class estates of the 18th century now turned into congested and overcrowded 'made down' houses with cottage industry infills or medium scale industrial operations - thus became an obstacle for favourable developments further south. The only exception was the demand for segregated residential districts for the new managerial middle class who were in control of these industries, and this resulted in relatively smaller scale middle class communities adjacent to south side work places when compared to the West End.

Another observation on the 1860 Ordnance Survey is the prominence of railway lines which literally cut right through the main heartland of the southside. As the development of railways in Glasgow southside was heavily related to industrial development - particularly to the Dixon's conglomeration of iron and coal complex at Govanhill - any middle class developers had to avoid these railway cuttings:

It [Southside] was hemmed in and cut through by railways - by the Glasgow to Greenock railway, following a line close to the canal before swinging north to its terminus on Bridge Street, and by feeders to General Terminus Quay....At this time the landowner turned his attention to the residential development of parts of the

estates to the south of the man-made barriers of canal and railway.²

Therefore these differences had very important consequences for these estates, not to mention other influences by existing geographical and topographical conditions of the southside.

Topography and Geography:

The plains immediately south of the River Clyde were relatively flat, and it was not until the areas of the Pollok estates and Queen's Park/ Camphill that we could find the West End equivalent of picturesque drumlins. Simpson has already argued that industrial developments were more likely to take over flat sites (refer to last chapter on the West End), and in this case the risk of industrialisation was increased by the relative proximity of burgeoning industry and trade coming from north of the river.

The boundaries of the southside were open to any developments in any direction. While the West End had a clear 'wedge' shape as defined by Dumbarton Road and the River Kelvin, no such equivalence could be found in the southside. Instead, we find the existing highway to Paisley

² P A Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Glasgow University Press. 1983. pp.76-77

roughly follows the course of the Clyde to the north, while the other main roads to Pollokshaws and Cathcart/Aitkenhead simply cut right across the centre, bisecting the estates but not strong enough to define exclusivity.

The other important artificial feature was the location of railway lines as discussed above. By referring back to Fig. S.01, the effect of railway lines upon middle class estates location is obvious: most of the estates were located away from direct contact with railway lines, resulting in two main clusters. One of the cluster accumulates round the Pollok estate (Pollokshields, Dumbreck and Kinninghouse) while the other one is situated at the Queen's Park area (Queen's Park proper, Crosshill, Langside, Camphill). Most of these estates were feued *after* the railway lines were in place (with the exception of Kinninghouse), and therefore the detrimental effect of a pre-defined railway line could not be ignored.

The exceptions to this offset of avoiding railway lines were: Strathbungo, which was built in the late 1860s when the railway was more civic than industrial, and Bellahouston, where the railway line bisected the estate. These exceptions will be discussed further when individual estates are being examined later.

The Paisley Canal, similar to railway lines, was equally detrimental for middle class development as this was solely

used for industrial transportation since the late 18th century. A similar situation of the Forth and Clyde Canal existed at Maryhill in the West End, and therefore Maryhill never developed beyond a *petite bourgeoisie* status despite its proximity to a large exclusive estate - Kelvinside. Here, the canal was treated as a barrier against the docklands development of Govan encroaching on to Pollokshields, thus protecting the interest of other similar estates south of the canal.

These features were in existence before mid-19th century development of middle class estates took place, although the earlier developments near the River Clyde were less affected by these constraints, as we can see from early maps.

Early Maps:

Similar to the West End, none of the early maps of Glasgow included the southside estates, as most of them were in the county of Renfrewshire. The only exceptions were, again, Richardson's 1795 map and Forrest's 1816 map.

Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. S.02) showed an infant framework south of the river. Even the quays were not developed by this time, leaving the Gorbals area rather

isolated, although Tradeston and Hutchesontown started to gather momentum in development.

The main artery of Paisley Road, Pollokshaws Road and Cathcart Road was already in place, while the stretch of land between Gorbals Toll to Langside was hardly developed. Only isolated mansion houses, such as Crosshill, Langside, Bellahouston and Dumbreck were existing. "Shiels" - as we can see later in the study of Pollokshields - was only a farm steading. Several villages were also dotted along the main Pollokshaws Road: Strathbungo, Langside (accessed from a branch road off Pollokshaws Road), Crossmyloof and Shawlands.

Despite its serene country appearance, industrial developments had already started. Govan Coal Works near Crosshill signified the influence of industry on southside urban development for the next hundred years, and it gradually merged with other industries along the Clyde in the next century.

Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. S.03) limited itself within the boundary of Lanarkshire, although it is still sufficient to see part of the estates across the boundary. By 1816, the urban grid had pushed across the River, forming extensive housing areas at Laurieston, Tradeston and Hutchesontown - although this might be indicative only, as no buildings (apart from Carlton Place, c.1802) were built in Lauriston

until 1818³. Part of Paisley Road was assimilated within these grids, while the other south-running arteries - Pollokshaws Road, Cathcart Road and Aitkenhead Road - were still identifiable. Another important new element was the insertion of the Paisley Canal on to the Pollok estates, connected to the Ardrossan Canal further west, hinting at further industrialisation around Port Eglinton (the canal terminus) at Gorbals.

However, the estates south of the Toll were still not developed. The vast Pollok estate west of Pollokshaws Road, the southern estates of Crosshill, Camphill and Langside, were all in the hands of individual owners. On the other hand, various industrial sites were gathering pace in Govanhill area. Fire works and coal engines could be found in close proximity to Crosshill and within Govanhill and Larkfield. Therefore, by the turn of the 18th/ 19th century on the southside of Glasgow, proposed urban housing grid, agricultural holdings, industrial mining and country mansions co-existed within close proximity of each other, barely separated by any substantial barriers (Fig. S.03A). A conflict of interest is too obvious to be ignored and for the next fifty years a struggle between speculative landowners and industrial entrepreneurs marked the history of suburban/ urban development on the southside.

³ A Gibb, "Glasgow: The Making of a City", Croom Helm, London, 1983. pp.99

This struggle of industry versus residential developments is more obvious in Martin's 1842 map (Fig. S.04). Although Martin's map does not show any of the potential middle class areas under this study⁴, it indicates the substantial changes happening on the River front. The Glasgow, Greenock and Ayr Railway started to creep into the grid-structure in Kingston, while another line - the Pollok and Govan Railway - was already in place from Govan iron works to South Quay. Large sites around Port Eglinton were given up to industrial development such as gas works, brick and tile works. Dixon furnaces and Govan iron works started to dominate the urban scenario, desperate to gain access to both the canal and the riverside newly formed quays. The existing urban fabric of middle class areas was quickly giving way to industrial infills of backcourts:

A Tradeston feuing plan shows clearly the dominance of canals, railways and large-scale industry in its southern sector, while the railway line running north through the development is paralleled by engineering and cotton works, engine and carriage sheds and workshops.⁵

Under this context of river-front urban development, it is not surprising to find little middle class housing speculation during this period, despite its West End counterpart being on the eve of substantial development.

⁴ Martin's map, however, had small inserts showing that there was no urban development south of its main map boundary.

⁵ A Gibb, op cit., pp.100 - referring to a plan of Tradeston now in Strathclyde Regional Archive

The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

The 1860 Ordnance Survey plan (Fig. S.05) is almost identical to Martin's map, but with an ever increasingly congested river front. Quays and docks have taken over both sides of the river banks, with Broomielaw on the north bank the main warehouses and trading town, supported by industries on hinterlands both north and south of the river. The embryonic Pollokshields estates started to take place on its northern fringe during the 1860s, and a similar situation was developing at Langside between Pollokshaws Roads and Langside Village.

The direction of middle class development thus was taking shape, with the main thoroughfare of Pollokshaws Road bisecting these two dominant clusters. Most of the lands north of the Paisley Canal/ Paisley Railway line became predominantly industrial but held back by the double barrier of the Paisley Canal and Paisley Railway as mentioned above. Further discussions on this will take place when the estates of Pollokshields came under study in the next part. The other middle class developments clustered around Queen's Park (Pathhead on the Ordnance Survey), although the park was not built until the early 1860s. These developments avoided the railway lines by

facing the virgin countryside on the south-east, exploiting the hilly drumlins of Camphill and White Cart River.

Apart from these slight hints, there was nothing substantial or certain when compared to the West End. While the contemporary West End estates were established along the exclusive Great Western road, Pollokshaws Road had already fallen into the hands of industrial users well before any exclusive restrictions could be imposed to guarantee middle class priority.

Conclusion:

The development of the south side of Glasgow was always a difficult task for property speculators since the 18th century. The complex of a trading river front plus industrial settings conflicted with the salubrious requirements of an exclusive residential area, and therefore any such latter attempts needed to be more carefully executed, which was not the case in Glasgow⁶. The 19th century middle class areas further afield from the river front thus suffered from access problems to the city centre as their only access had already deteriorated into slums as a result of industrial developments:

Expansion [of the southside districts] beyond the Maxwell property was handicapped, until the late

⁶ Refer to earlier discussion on the 18th century development of Lauriston etc

90s [1890s], by the absence of good communications with the centre of town - a matter of great importance to the middle class commuter. Moreover, the south side resident had to travel to town through industrial areas, docklands and the former middle class suburbs now Gorbals, Kingston and Laurieston, not the pleasantest of entries to the city.⁷

In most cases the development of these estates was very slow, and the demand of housing type had changed to favour proletarian housings in lieu of the ambitious middle class villas. But to understand fully the details of these changes, a study of the individual estates will be carried out in the next part, and hopefully the above background will assist in the understanding of the individual developments.

⁷ M A Simpson, "Middle Class Housing & the Growth of Suburban Communities in the West end of Glasgow 1830-1914", Unpublished Glasgow University M Litt Thesis, 1970, pp.60

SECTION 4: ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL ESTATES

An Introduction

The main part of the thesis will be individual analysis of the estates under this study. Before such analysis takes place, I will explain the common method of analysis in this introduction. Generally speaking, there are five stages or aspects of development of each estate which I will examine:

1. Historical background;
2. The pre-feuing stages;
3. The feuing stages;
4. The revision of feu design, and
5. The built version as recorded on the 1913 Ordnance Survey.

1. Historical Background:

Each estate was formed under different circumstances. Some were ancient parish grounds of the Church and passed into independent ownership for various political reasons. Some were under the ownership of aristocrats who obtained inheritable rights of their lands under the Crown. Some were simply owned by merchants from mediaeval times and were transferred from generation to generation. A brief overview of this ownership history might reveal some of the more intrinsic relationship of its original owners to its

latter day development. For example, if an estate came in the hands of an institutional developer, one would usually expect a commercial development of housing estates.

To assist in ascertaining the historical pre-feuing information, various **secondary sources** have been used. The most common and authoritative is "Old Country Houses of Glasgow"¹, which comprises detailed description of most of the country estates around Glasgow during the early 19th century. Other secondary documentary materials include: various reports or features in the *Glasgow Herald*, "Glasgow Ancient and Modern"², which has *ad hoc* descriptions of historical events of Glasgow estates, and several volumes of the transactions of the "Regality Club"³, which specialised in the history of some estates of Glasgow. Several other 19th century books also contain information of the early history of the estates, and these will be referred to in the individual studies.

However, the most important reference regarding pre-feuing urban development are **maps**, particularly those of the early 19th century. In Glasgow's case, several important plans were produced before the national Ordnance Survey in the 1860s. Among these, the 1795 Richardson Map and 1816 Forrest Map were based on the large County Scale but

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- 1 J Buchanan & others. "The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry". James Maclehose Publishers, Glasgow, 1878.
 - 2 JFS Gordon, "Glasgow Ancient and Modern", John Tweed Publishers, Glasgow; now collected in Strathclyde Regional Archives
 - 3 "Regality Club", volume I to IV, 1889-1912, published by the Regality Club, Glasgow

surprisingly they were detailed enough to contain individual country estates, even with the names of the 'gentlemen' or landowner of the estate concerned. These two maps have produced useful insight into the initial ownership of the estates, existing ancient country or parish roads, and estate boundaries.

Later on, David Smith produced two maps, one in 1828 and the other in 1839. Both were based on a larger scale and were more detailed than the County Maps, with buildings and street width accurately projected on the drawings. However, the disadvantage of Smith's maps is that they were somewhat limited to around the Woodlands area in the west and Tradeston on the south, producing nothing substantial on the West End and southside estates under consideration.

Around the same time as Smith, another map was produced by Martin in 1842. This map contained quite a large area west of the parliamentary boundary of Glasgow, including some of the areas west of the Kelvin (Kelvinside). Although it concentrated heavily on inner city information, various proposals for the West End estates were either 'outlined' or dotted in, alongside other parts which had already been built. Examples of these will be shown in the study of the estates in question together with other materials such as feuing plans.

Other pre-Ordnance Survey maps, such as Fleming's Map of 1807, Post Office Directory Maps and various other maps, suffer either from accuracy problems or a limited boundary which in most cases does not regard the West End and south side of Glasgow as part of Glasgow at all. This was due to fact that the old boundaries of Glasgow – before the late 19th century and early 20th century – did not incorporate the estates outwith its ancient medieval core. Hence, apart from the occasional reference to Post Office Directory Maps for outstanding gaps, their use is fairly limited.

2. Pre-feuing stages:

The pre-feuing stages basically take the above historical background and examine it again on a microscopic level. Several factors will be examined, such as topographical and geographical features, access arrangements, location of any existing buildings, and boundaries with other estates (either developed or undeveloped), all at the level of the individual estate. The overall emphasis is on the design criteria or constraints which were present when the estate architect started to design his layout. Obviously, as in every capitalist project, economic forces will have an important role, but these site constraints must not be overlooked.

Materials in this case, apart from Richardson's, Forrest's, Smith's and Martin's maps, will include another important source - the Kyle and Frew collection, which provided valuable information of pre-feuing stages of most of the estates. From these 'K & F plans', various early surveys of estate boundaries and sometimes feuing proposals may be discovered, especially for the areas at Charing Cross and near West End. Although in most cases they are only individual plot plans to be attached to Sasines and Feu Contracts, they show details of ownership, dates of property transfers, boundaries' sizes, access roads and sometimes intended proposals. Of course not all the estates were covered by the Kyle and Frew Collection, and while some estates have nothing to ascertain their pre-feuing conditions, others have detailed design plans from its developers/ owners. These plans will, therefore, contribute to the preliminaries of the design which will lead on to the actual design.

3. The feuing stages:

For feuing stages, the estates **feuing plans** are the most important documents for urban analysis. The building type, building block sizes, laying out pattern, street layout, orientation, focal points, landscaping, house sizes and types, topographical influence (or the lack of it), proportion of solid and void, housing density etc, will

most likely be conveyed in these plans. These plans, especially in the 19th century before the invention of photography and multi-media presentation techniques, were the sole means of graphical communication between the landowner/ agent and potential purchasers. Various techniques such as vignettes, labels, explanatory notes, written guarantees, methods of application, graphical presentation of fonts, signature of eminent architects etc were added to the plans, though not all of them in every case. The more detailed the plan, the more we can know about the developer's aspiration. Some developers deliberately adopted a laissez faire approach to feuing design to accommodate flexibility, others presented their design drawings with meticulous details to promote exclusivity. All these will be presented in the individual analysis of the estates in the following chapters.

Apart from the initial feuing design plans, other materials are sometimes available for discussion at this stage. For example, there are often newspaper **advertisements** of these new proposals. It is not uncommon in the 1830s to 1890s in Glasgow to find newspaper articles describing the West End and southside developments by using anonymous names, which in fact may be a cover name of the promoter of the project. The ultimate aim of these articles was to persuade the mass readers, particularly the new middle class, to accept these new developments. Some advertisements will be cited during

the next chapters, especially when they describe the physical conditions of the developments.

Still on the graphical aspect, there might be other **working drawings** associated with the feu designs. For example, drawings were produced by estate architects which showed excambion proposals between estate owners regarding boundary changes. Continuity of urban form across different estates was therefore maintained despite the irregular ancient boundaries and it was this continuity that made the Glasgow suburban landscape so fascinating. Minor excambion proposals were carried out almost as frequently as the feuing rate of building blocks, and these show how intrinsic urban design skill could be.

Where continuity of urban form between different estates created a seamless urban fabric, various **focal points** provided the accents and termination of vistas. Most of these focal points were churches, while others were institutions such as public buildings and schools. The study will examine when and how these focal points were introduced into the suburban landscape, from sources such as various public records of the Corporation or the Presbytery of Glasgow records. Although there is no attempt to study the social and political history of these institutions - one will find these being covered by other scholars - their role as focal point in suburban design will be questioned. Of course, some of these will not be

present at this initial feuing design stage, and therefore their appearance in the late 19th century will be less significant when compared to a planned focus point on the feu design plan.

4. The Revision of the Feu Design:

Feuing was not a straightforward business. Revisions were almost inevitable in most estates, and therefore feuing plans were revised accordingly. The revised feuing plans can then provide insight into the course of changes from the landowners' point of view. Some of these changes were simply technical changes, such as excambion procedures as mentioned above, while others would be more drastic. Each of the available revisions will be discussed for the estate in concern. Obviously not all the revision plans are available - they might simply be missing since the 19th century - and the only source to detect any revisions would be the Ordnance Survey. The three main surveys during late 19th century - the 1860s (the first survey), the 1870s and the 1890s - covered all the areas in this study and therefore should be sufficient for this purpose.

The purpose in studying the revisions is to establish whether there was a change in expectation of the development. This can then be related to a wider perspective such as contemporary economic climate and

social changes. Although it is too early to draw any conclusion at this moment, there is a widespread proposition by other scholars that there was a general down-grading of middle class aspiration in the course of the 19th century. Hence it would be interesting to see whether this could be established, or whether it was simply an individual phenomenon of one or more estates among the whole collection.

5. The final Built Version:

The last scenario of these middle class developments was defined in 1913 when a complete Ordnance Survey was carried out, while the urban fabric had not yet been demolished by the insensitive post war developments. An interesting comparison is carried out between the final product and the initial feuing plans. The comparison is based on similar criteria as in the feu-design stages, but obviously by 1913 there is less guess work because most of the urban structures were built already. A summary may then be made regarding the upward or downward urban forces behind the scenes.

Areas of Study:

As a brief recapitulation here, the areas under study will, of course, be concentrated in the middle class areas, i.e.:

- Areas in the West End: Between Maryhill and Dumbarton Road:
Kelvinside, Dowanhill, Hillhead, Northpark, Gilmorehill, Donaldshill, Hyndland, Partickhill, Woodlands, Woodside, North-Woodside (Wilton Crescent etc only), Southpark, Kelvingrove, Stobcross (St Vincent Crescent);

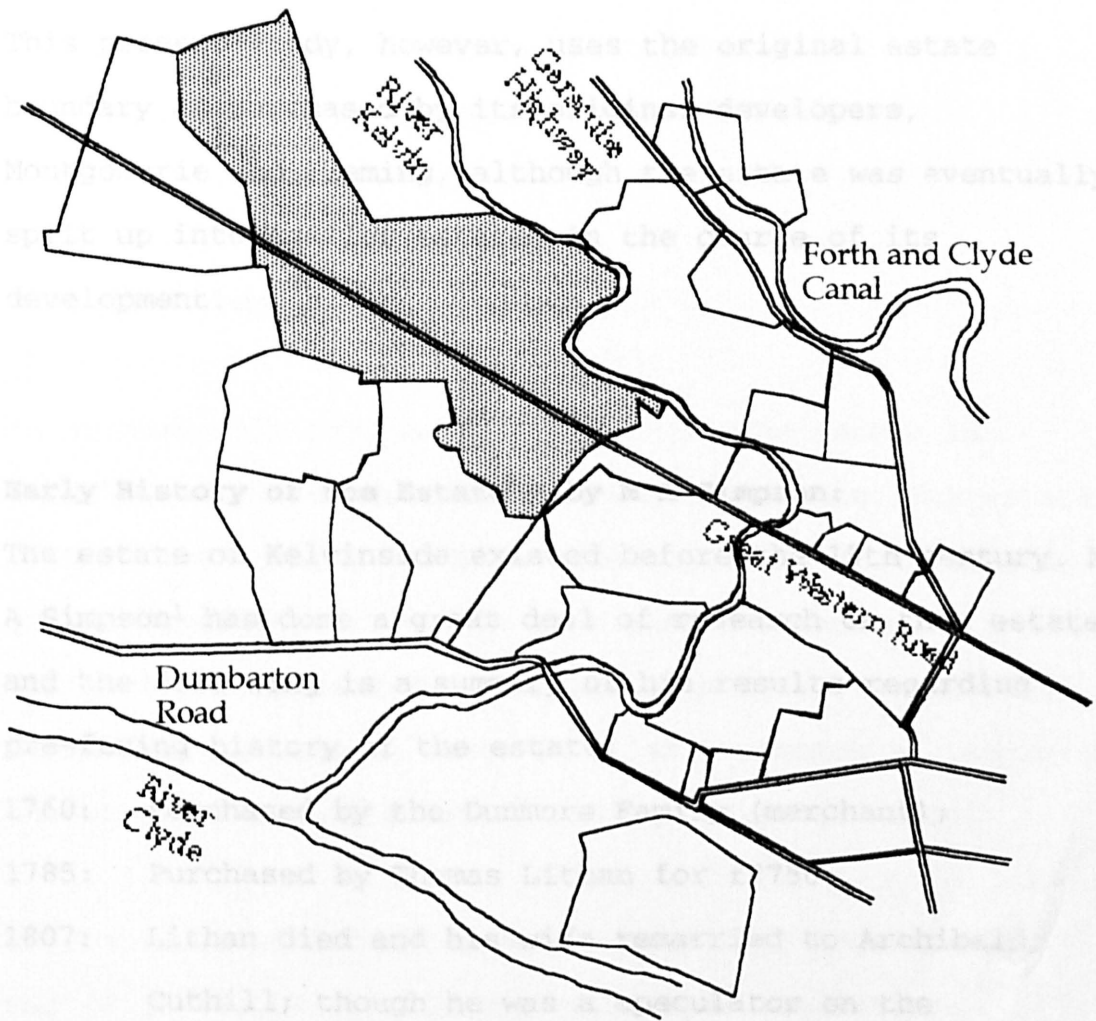
- Areas on the Southside:
Pollokshields (East and West), Langside, Strathbungo, Crosshill, Queen's Park, Bellahouston and Dumbreck;

- Areas which might also be included but not mentioned above:
Kinningpark (Kinninghouse), Dennistoun, Muirhouse (Between Dowanhill and Partickhill), Clayslaps and Kelvinbank (South of Sandyford Road).

Last, but not least, hopefully by looking at such a diversified development of layouts I will be able to detect a certain trend or several observations regarding the urban development which will then be re-examined in detail for the estates west of the Kelvin.

Section 4: Analysis

KELVINSIDE



Location of Kelvinside Estate

Historical Background:

The estate of Kelvinside was the largest West End middle class estate of Glasgow in the 19th century. Its vast area stretched geographically from the River Kelvin on the east to Anniesland Toll on the west, including the picturesque

Botanic Garden and the summit of the old Glasgow Observatory. Nowadays, the estate is generally split up into several parts by modern demarcation, consisting of Kelvinside, North Kelvinside, Kelvindale and Claythorn etc. This present study, however, uses the original estate boundary as purchased by its original developers, Montgomerie and Fleming, although the estate was eventually split up into smaller estates in the course of its development.

Early History of the Estate – by M A Simpson:

The estate of Kelvinside existed before the 19th century. M A Simpson¹ has done a great deal of research on this estate and the following is a summary of his results regarding pre-feuing history of the estate:

- 1760: Purchased by the Dunmore Family (merchant);
- 1785: Purchased by Thomas Lithan for £7750;
- 1807: Lithan died and his wife remarried to Archibald Cuthill; though he was a speculator on the Blythswood estate, he did not develop Kelvinside;
- 1830: After the death of Cuthill in 1826 and his wife in 1830, the estate passed on to her brother and nephew, the Mowbray family of Leith;

¹ M A Simpson, "Middle Class Housing and the growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", unpublished M Litt Thesis, Glasgow University, 1970 p.84-85.

- 1839: Mowbrays sold the whole estate to their agents in Glasgow, Montgomerie and Fleming, and Associate, J B Neilson; paid £52495 (part loan of £22000);
- 1845: Added Gartnavel, 104 acres, for £10450; therefore total area of Kelvinside estates stood at 576 acres, total purchase price: £62945.

Historical background from Maps:

In Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. KS.01), the estate is labelled with the owner indicated as Dr Lithan. The estate of Gartnavel, which was later amalgamated with Kelvinside, is also indicated, but only with a farm steading. Similarly, Lower and Higher Balgrie (Balgray) are also indicated. In between there is a large stretch of land with no estate or steading marked and no districts named.

This stretch of land is named in detail on Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. KS.02), consisting of Kirklee, Bellshaugh, Horslethill. Again, only Kelvinside has its owner - Mr Lithan - indicated on the map. Although Simpson's account for the history of the estate mentions Lithan's name, he does not explain when these individual estates were absorbed to become a vast estate by 1839. It is possible that the individual steadings were not integrated with Kelvinside steading by the turn of the century and remained as separate entities.

When the estate was finally in the hands of its developers, Montgomerie and Fleming, in 1839, a plan by Robert Harvie (Fig. KS.03) was produced at the same time. Judging from the description on the plan, we can assume that this was a survey commissioned by the new owners of the estate.

Harvie's 1839 plan shows several important features:

- The estate was encircled by other main estates such as Garbread (Gairbraid), Hillhead, Hyndland and Dowanhill. The developments of its neighbours may have had a certain influence over the new landowners of Kelvinside. For example, already by the 1830s a grid layout could be found in Hillhead estate, while the new Great Western Road had already bisected the West End in 1839. The terrace development of Southwoodside/Clairmont was already in progress, and similar classical terraces were proposed at St George's Cross as indicated on Harvie's plan. These all served as a reference model of urban design for the new proprietors.
- Harvie's map shows two new building proposals: one is Windsor [Kirklee] Terrace, the other is Kew Terrace. Harvie declared his drawing to be an actual survey of the estate. If that was the case, the presence of these two buildings would not be possible in 1839 when the estate was newly bought over by Montgomerie and Fleming. One possible explanation is that the plan

might have been 'drawn over' during later years – say the 1840s – to indicate the position of these two early proposals.

- Similar to the presence of the above terraces, the grounds for the Botanic Garden and the Observatory were already being reserved. The early presence of these two middle class institutions was important for attracting investment nearby, and this will be discussed later.
- The purpose of Harvie's map must be to indicate the boundary of the estate. By now most of the small estates as indicated on Forrest's Map had been included within the boundary of Kelvinside. Topographically speaking, the aggregation is somewhat arbitrary: there are various small plots over the Canal at the north, while a large area between the Kelvin and the north west ('Lands of Balgray') was not in their possession. Jagged edges existed along most of the southern boundaries where they abut other estates, and the cut by Great Western Road sliced up various steadings artificially.

In 1845 the estate of Gartnavel – minus the site which had already been given up to the new Royal Asylum – was added to Kelvinside. Figure KS.04 shows a feuing document plan (before this transaction) indicating the outline of the part of Gartnavel which was sold to Montgomerie and Fleming.

Pre-feuing Stages and Institutional Development:

Kelvinside, being one of the most prestigious and largest estates, has benefited from two major Victorian institutional attractions, which reinforced its middle class status even before feuing for houses had taken place. The two institutions, namely, the Royal Botanic Garden and the Observatory, occupied prime locations within the estate – the Garden at the entrance to the estate, the observatory at the summit between Kelvinside and Dowanhill. Although the story of their moving from old inner city sites was complicated and took several years to complete, they eventually settled down in Kelvinside much earlier than any other developments.

This was particularly important in the case of the Botanic Gardens. The privately owned Botanic Gardens had its origins in the College grounds behind High Street. Later it found a new site which originally belonged to the Blythswood estate near Kelvinbank lands. The third move to Kelvinside was influenced by two factors: first, a negative westward development along Sandyford Road [Sauchiehall Street] which threatened the pure environment for plants, and secondly, a positive description of the new ground in Kelvinside which was "beautifully undulating, completely rural, and far removed from any of the Public Works which in almost any other quarter would have rendered the

atmosphere too impure for healthy vegetation"². One cannot rule out another possible factor of property speculation, as the old ground became middle class Fitzroy Place in a very short time after the Garden had moved out.

The new location of the Gardens reinforced the westward trend during the time when several directions were under scrutiny by property developers. These other directions included the southside, where the Maxwell Family had an ambitious scheme at Kinninghouse, and the east end where Monteith Row and Charlotte Street were already finished and occupied. The westward trend had just started in Southwoodside – following the Georgian terrace development of the Blythswood Estate – and in Hillhead, which was very slow despite a grid framework which had already been laid out in the mid 1820s by David Smith. The Botanic Gardens at this location on a new highway signified a new impetus in middle class status – the Gardens were privately owned by the same middle class who were seeking new residential locations. In this case the Gardens successfully reinforced the Victorian idea of a segregated middle class residential settlement within a picturesque environment.

Feuing Developments:

² Glasgow Herald 16 April 1841

In 1839, the developers of Kelvinside invited the famous contemporary London architect, Decimus Burton, to design the feuing layout of Kelvinside. Two versions of the design were published, one with a full layout from Botanic Gardens to Anniesland Toll (Fig. KS.05), while another 'shorter' version showed the same proposal from Botanic Gardens to the present Hyndland Road/ Cleveden Road junction (Fig. KS.06).

However, it was suggested that another feuing design plan was produced before Burton's involvement. William Cowie³ has suggested that Charles Wilson had much to do with the actual layout *before* Burton's involvement. This was based much on the fact that the Botanic Gardens and the earliest terrace, Windsor Terrace, were both Wilson's design, and they had *preceded* Burton's feuing proposal. Wilson was also acquainted with both Matthew Montgomerie and John Fleming, and Cowie deduced that Wilson indeed was the initial designer of the part of Kelvinside that contained the Botanic Gardens and the various terraces along Great Western Road. However, Cowie did not produce any crucial proof such as design plans by Wilson, and no such suggestion was given by J P Fleming when he was questioned about the development of the estate during a court case⁴.

³ W Cowie, *Charles Wilson Feu Plan Submission*, Unpublished Report by Westbourne Gardens Residents Association, 1974, Glasgow, p.5

⁴ In this court case J P Fleming was giving evidence regarding the development of the estate; Ref: UGD 8/1/5: Claim for Messrs. Blackie and Bain vs. North Railway Company, 1866. (Court case evidence by J P Fleming);

Therefore Cowie's speculation remains as a speculation without any evidence.

By referring to Burton's feuing plan , several points could be noticed:

a) The 3 vignettes portrayed on the plan (Fig. KS.07) were discussed by P A Reed⁵ and the following is a brief summary:

- The design exemplified Burton's Picturesque vision of a new town as in Regents Park and other Nash's Developments;
- The middle class in a sylvan prospect, embedded in natural surrounding but revealing the discreetly distanced industrial background – a compromise between the symbiotic nature of a capitalist and industrialist middle class;
- An idealisation of the landscape and its inhabitants by which the speculative landowners sought to attract the wealthy to these estates.

b) There is little information of Burton's ideology of urban design to be compared with this plan. His most prominent urban designs were the Calverley Estate (in Tunbridge Wells) and Fleetwood (near Liverpool) (Fig. KS.08). These two estates, however, were relatively small as compared to the vast area of Kelvinside, yet

⁵ P A Reed, "Tenement, Terrace e Villa: la costruzione del West End", in Bocchi R (ed) "Glasgow: forma e progetto della città", Venice: Cluva Editrice, 1990

he had only one building type - villas - to propose in his plans for the latter.

- c) Burton therefore departed from a classical-focal-point-oriented-layout to adopt a much more picturesque approach, with a non focal-point, anti-grid structure. The framework for this lay in the natural contours ('drumlins') and Burton lined these contours with various crescents, terraces and circuses (Fig. KS.09a). A contemporary comment praised Burton's approach as compared with the earlier development of Blythswood, which has similar landscape, but a totally different urban framework:

".....In this manner [in Kelvinside] the whole of the streets, projected crescents and squares had been laid out with reference to the actual levels of the ground,.....the object being to take full advantage of the beautiful rising grounds, and at the same time to lay down the streets leading to these grounds, so as to secure easy access to all the building stances, and thereby avoiding the errors in that respect committed in laying out the Blythswood grounds, as well as other grounds near the city."⁶

- d) The exception to this picturesque approach was the artificially created Great Western Road, and Burton accommodated this with parallel lines of terraces and villas (Fig. KS.09b).

⁶ Glasgow Herald, 15 March 1850

- e) On the approach to the joint boundaries with other estates, Burton ignored the presence of most of the neighbours and closed off the boundaries with curvilinear lines of houses. A small exception could be found along Byres Road where a small garden is inserted between this part and Hillhead.
- f) Access roads within the estate are carefully controlled, by providing the minimum access network as required by the layout. The entry/ exits of these internal roads were connected to other major highways, such as Garscube [Maryhill] Road, or other estate boundaries-cum-country roads, such as Northwoodside on the east. The main emphasis of access relied on the Great Western Road, while the eastern portions which were adjoining other developing estates were more permeable (Fig. KS.09c).
- g) Burton's design, as mentioned above, consisted mainly of villas. A small number of terraces was disposed along the edges of Great Western Road near the Botanic Gardens. The result was a very low development density - "expensive on land"⁷ - which reflected the initial aspiration of the developers. The overall image is comparable with other sylvan suburban developments found in other contemporary middle class areas of

⁷ M A Simpson and T H Lloyd, "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles & Archon Books, GB, 1977, pp.60

English industrial cities such as St John's Wood in London and Edgbaston in Birmingham, i.e., a predominant *rus in urbe* picturesque setting. Whether this was the appropriate setting for this estate was later questioned by the developers themselves, and eventually led to a change of the design plan.

- h) Also, on Burton's plan there were only two institutional buildings – an isolated Church building next to Windsor [Kirklee] Terrace and another similar church across the River Kelvin. In both cases these did not serve as any particular focus points as in Burton's proposal for Fleetwood in England, but were rather incidental. More emphasis was given to the linearity of terraces following the contours, in keeping with the picturesque principle.

Initial Development – follow up of the feuing plan:

Despite all the drama of Burton's involvement in the feuing design and the advantage of the location of the Royal Botanic Gardens, the middle classes in the 1840s were not prepared to leap frog to the 'far west'. Several options were then tried by the Feu Superior to promote the feuing ability of Kelvinside after their acquisition in 1839.

The building promotion of Windsor Terrace:

Windsor Terrace [Kirklee Terrace] was the first terrace to be built in 1845⁸, not by individual builders or feuars, but by the proprietors themselves. Charles Wilson was the designer, and Windsor Terrace was 10 years earlier than his magnificent Park Circus at Woodlands Hill. This development might be interpreted as a 'model' terrace to induce buyers who had a great deal of choice during the 1840s to search for a 'better' residence.

The proprietors built the first 6 houses and the basement of the others together with sewers and roads for the rest of the terrace⁹. However, feuing was slow: the first feu to be taken up was in 1847, and the last one (house no. 16) was in 1862¹⁰. Certainly this was not commercially viable and therefore no other buildings were built directly by the proprietors again in the estate.

The revision of the feuing plan:

By the 1850s, the proprietors were not satisfied with Burton's low development density design, and decided to

⁸ The actual date of the building of the terrace remains in dispute. In Harvie's 1839 map of Kelvinside, he declared his map was an accurate survey of the estate, and showed Windsor terrace as half completed and half projected. This supports Wm. Cowie's speculation that Wilson was the architect of Kelvinside before Burton, as Windsor Terrace and Botanic Gardens were both Wilson's design around 1839. However, this remained as a speculation, and the Feu Chartularies (still in possession of Montgomerie and Fleming Co.) do not indicate the *building* of the terrace, but only the *feuing* of the terrace: the earliest feu of the terrace (No. 1 Windsor Terrace) does not start until 1847.

⁹ Court case evidence by J P Fleming, op cit.,

¹⁰ Feu Contract number 7 to 14 of Kelvinside Feuing Company, Kelvinside Chartulary vol. 1, still possessed by Montgomerie and Co., Glasgow.

change the density to allow more houses to be built along Great Western Road:

"the portions thereof lying along the Great Western Road had become adapted for buildings in streets or rows and could be more profitably applied for such descriptions of buildings than for villas or detached buildings."¹¹

Accordingly, in 1858 revision plans were submitted by Charles Wilson, James Rochhead and James Salmon¹². Salmon's version was deemed to be the best and was accepted by the proprietors. Salmon recollected later his involvement in the design process:

"My instructions were to lay out the ground as I thought most suitable for feuing at the time. I considered a material change had occurred between time of Burton's plan and mine as to most beneficial mode of laying off said ground [Kelvinside Estate]. The ground had become more valuable and more adapted to rows. Change still progressing at a greater scale [and] I think, at least, still progressing. Purchase of University Buildings helps this ground which is the best site for first class buildings we now have."¹³

Salmon's preference for rows [terraces] rather than villas was clearly described in the following contemporary comment on his Plan:

"We have been shown a beautiful plan prepared by Mr Salmon, the Architect, for feuing 120 acres of the Kelvinside Property. The portion about to be offered for feuing, and for which the plan has been

¹¹ Court case evidence by J P Fleming, op cit.

¹² Court case evidence by J P Fleming, op cit.

¹³ Court Case evidence by James Salmon, UGD 8/1/5: Claim for Blackie and Bain case papers, op cit., pp.15-16

prepared, lies between the Great Western Road and the Kelvin, bounded on the east by the Botanic Gardens. To this portion the plan provides two spacious circular entrances nearly 300 feet in width. Among other features there is a square averaging 500 feet, and consequently endorsing a much larger area than any of our present squares. The quantity of ground set apart for ornament and pleasure is much beyond what is generally given, imparting to the whole the effect rather of country than town. In proof of this, it may be stated that there are two compartments, in each of which the extent of the pleasure ground is not less than 1000 feet by about 200 feet. The site itself is beautiful. From the higher ground, the Vale of Clyde, North Highlands, and hills south and east are under the eye. From the lower ground the diversified landscape of the more immediate neighbourhood, and the charming banks of the Kelvin, present their picturesque and panoramic effects. **The streets are laid out at right angles**, with the exception of those on the higher grounds, where advantage has been taken of a happy natural arrangement of surface, and the streets thrown into **circular rides or terraces** the effect of which, when finished, will be to recall the charms of the "hanging gardens" of Babylon. **These terraces will be more than a quarter of a mile in circumference.** Viewed as a whole, if the plan be carried out, there will be nothing finer in the suburbs of any town in the kingdom."¹⁴ [my emphasis]

On the evidence of the above description, a plan (Fig. KS.10) is shown to be Salmon's. Despite this ambitious classical proposal, the proprietors were under no obligation to carry out this version. Salmon's design was never realised and the above speculative expectation came to nothing. A similar fate also befell Salmon's other ambitious design for the estate of Dennistoun (refer to the analysis of Dennistoun).

¹⁴ Glasgow Herald 27 October 1858

The 1860s: Change of Direction

Feuing activities gradually picked up around the area of the Botanic Gardens. The 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. KS.11) indicates a few terraces already being built. However, these represented merely a tiny portion of the vast estate. By evaluating the progress of feuing activities in the first twenty years since conception, it was difficult to foresee the rest of the estate to be feued out within a reasonable timescale¹⁵. A new direction was therefore adopted by the proprietors - they decided to parcel out the vast estate for individual builders, and then the houses being built would be sub-feued by the builders to the occupiers. In this process the application of the most stringent feu restrictions was the means of controlling the class of houses to be built, including the number of houses per plot (or the size of the house), the exclusion of industry of whatever kind within the boundary of the estate, the extent of sub-feuing by the builder, the site-laying of the houses in relation to roads and lanes, and the maintenance of the property after being occupied to avoid infra-structural deterioration as in the case of earlier southside estates¹⁶.

The important consequence of this decision was that every builder was allowed to employ his own architect, as long as

¹⁵ Simpson has given detailed account of the various financial and economic hardships during the first 30 years of the estate: Ref.: M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles & Archon Books, GB, 1977, pp.66.

¹⁶ M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, *op cit.*, pp.50

their designs conformed to the Estate company's architect's requirements of height, size, compartmentations and finishes. Also, although the previous plans by Burton and Salmon were not carried out in full, the basic strategy of deploying middle or upper class opulent detached or semi-detached houses - though to a lesser degree than intended - was eventually realised in the final built version. Hence the estate literally became a collective showcase of different styles, using different urban strategies in different parts of the estate.

Examples of the parcelled developments:

The following is a summary of the main parcelled developments, (refer Fig. KS.12) with the exception of the few early terraces near the Botanic Gardens¹⁷:

Date	Feuar	Price	Land
1868	J W Anderson	£15586	South Balgray
1868	Victoria Park Co.	£19262	Horslethill
1869	J B Mirrlees	£9703	Redland House plot
1869	J E Walker	£33647	Maryhill/ North of Kelvin
1873	Thomas. Russell	£13249	Kelvinside Gardens
1873	Goodall & Smellie	£421 feu duty	Kirklee/ west of Windsor Terrace

a) J W Anderson: South Balgray:

¹⁷ M A Simpson, op cit., pp.98-103

South Balgray was created by the slicing of the Great Western Road through the original estate of South Balgray which comprised the land north of Gartnavel. North Balgray lay further west along Great Western Road, while West Balgray and Balgray House were never in the possession of the Estate of Kelvinside and remained undeveloped until the 20th century (Fig. KS.13).

The Kelvinside proprietors employed Charles Wilson to lay out the re-configured South Balgray (Fig KS.14) which was within the ground south of Great Western Road. This ground south of Great Western Road stretched from the west of Byres Road to Hyndland Road, including the ground which was later taken up by the Victoria Park Feuing Company¹⁸.

According to J P Fleming, this whole strip of ground of 52 acres was advertised in 1861¹⁹, but it was not until 1866 when another advertisement appeared in the Glasgow Herald that this part of South Balgray was specified:

"Building plans for the greater part of the ground [south of Great Western Road] will be shown, including a plan by the late Charles Wilson, Architect, for about 12 acres immediately west of the now Belhaven Terrace, which Terrace is being rapidly built, and sold off as First Class residences."²⁰

¹⁸ Court Case Evidence by J P Fleming, op cit., pp.5-6

¹⁹ Court Case Evidence by J P Fleming, op cit., pp.8

²⁰ Glasgow Herald, 5 January 1866

Wilson's plan was a simple design by using two elements: a linear terrace responding to Great Western Road, and a crescent backing on to Dowanhill estate. However, this design was not carried out when the plot was sold to J W Anderson in 1868 (Fig KS.15). Anderson subsequently employed his own architects, including Alexander 'Greek' Thomson, to design individual terraces. Once these terraces were completed, the individual houses were feued to the occupiers.

The final result, as indicated on the 1913 Ordnance Survey map (Fig. KS.16 and analysis, Fig. KS.16a), was far more varied than Wilson's design, with a triangular open garden ground and double row of terraces along Great Western Road. On the short side of the triangle (west side) a church was built which visually connected Great Western Road with the garden. Despite the access road from Great Western Road, exclusivity was well maintained by the double-terrace, while a 'room with a view' to the garden was adequately provided for in most of the houses.

b) Victoria Park Feuing Company: Horslethill:

The establishment of this Feuing Company may have been influenced by the various joint stock companies formed in the late 1850s (one example being the Gilmourhill Feuing Company) which specialised in land speculation and feuing. The plot which they eventually invested in was advertised

in 1866 (refer above) with the plot that became south Balgray:

"These 50 acres of First Class Building ground, bounded on the north by Grosvenor, Kew and Belhaven Terraces, and the Great Western Road, on the south by Downhill and Hyndland, on the East by Victoria Street, and on the West by Hyndland Parish Road, and adjoining to the Observatory."²¹

A feu document plan produced by the feuing company for the security of a loan in 1872 (Fig. KS.17) showed the extent of the plot. In 1871 the feuing company produced a proper feuing design plan (Fig. KS.18) and P A Reed has described this plan in detail:

"The feuing plan is mostly a matter of terraces following contours and over-looking pleasure grounds.....The formal procession of streets and crescents in the southern part was replaced by the single open space of Athole Gardens, straight on three sides but curved as it climbs the hill. The architecture is on the grandest scale, with a liberal use of splayed bay-windows."²²

An elevation drawing was found in the Regional Archives, probably the design for the semi-circular crescent in the middle of the estate (Fig. KS.18a). In general, the whole framework was designed well before actual building. A detailed drawing was also produced to show the intended elevation of a terrace facing Dundonald Road, though the

²¹ Glasgow Herald, 5 January 1866.

²² P A Reed, "Glasgow: the forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, 1993, pp. 82.

built version was modified as early as 1876²³ (Fig. KS.19). Several other points could also be noticed when this was recorded on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. KS.20):

- This feuing plan, especially the original 1871 plan, bore some similarity to Burton's design (Fig. KS.21). In both designs, a garden was placed in between the estate and Byres road, with strips of terraces surrounding the garden. However, the latest revision made the garden even deeper, being several layers away from Byres Road, and surrounded on all sides by houses;
- Bowmont Gardens was intended to continue through Dowanhill lands (Fig. KS.22), but, probably due to lack of communication between different estate owners, the only possible exit was already built up on Dowanhill in 1871. Therefore a cul-de-sac was formed;
- Dundonald Road continued the established curvilinear road at Dowanhill (Victoria Circus) - this time more successfully than was the case in Bowmont Gardens by maintaining the same road width and levels;
- The access for Dowanhill's northern areas was resolved by breaking through the north west part of this plot, and connecting up to Great Western Road (refer to the analysis of Dowanhill for details). A triangular plot was sold to T L Paterson (Dowanhill proprietor) (Fig KS.23) to extend the serpentine Kensington gate. Hence

²³ A feu drawing of Athole Gardens dated 1876 was drawn by the Kyle and Frew Partnership showing the revised layout as nowadays; Ref.: SRA/ TKF/ 9/ 2/ 35.

the development of this plot of Kelvinside went hand in hand with the contemporary development of its neighbouring Downhill estate.

c) J B Mirrlees: Redlands House:

This was a rather unusual transaction between a wealthy merchant and the Kelvinside Estate.

Before the transaction between J B Mirrlees and Kelvinside proprietors, the plot (feu Number 25 in the estate) was the subject of a bitter legal battle between the then Caledonian Railway Company and the Estate Company in 1867. The plot was feued to the Kelvinside Free Church for 'religious purposes' - most probably for building the Free Church College which eventually gave up this site and chose Woodland Hills instead. But at the same time a branch line of the Stobcross to Maryhill line was proposed through this plot (Fig KS.24). Obviously the Estate company opposed the proposal, but in an indirect way. They requested that if the railway line were to be built, the Railway Company had to pay compensation - not just for the piece of ground, but also for the loss of land value for the whole estate, as the intended line would "render unfit for any purposes whatever a considerable portion lying to the north-east of the line, and destroying for the description of buildings contemplated the whole of the remaining part of the

property"²⁴. They sought professional valuation from James Salmon and James Thomson to support their claim²⁵. The cost of compensation was eventually so great that the railway company had to abandon this proposal altogether.

Then the Estate Company feued the plot to J B Mirrlees in 1869, initially using the old parish stading boundaries, but a change of road network later resulted in a much larger site, costing about £20,000:

"Mirrlees immediately celebrated this event [finishing his subscription to the new Glasgow University in 1869] by arranging to purchase 10 acres of ground from the Kelvinside Estate Company. Three months later the transaction was revised. Under the new agreement Mirrlees' holding was increased to 24 acres at a cost approaching £20,000. The present day boundaries of this substantial estate are delineated by Great Western road, Cleveden Drive, Bellshaugh Road and Kirklee Road.

.....Having paid dearly for his privacy, Mirrlees refused to allow any further building on his estate for almost 3 decades...."²⁶

Mirrlees' vast plot was right in the middle of the estate, dominated by the single house of Redlands for 30 years (Fig KS.25). Morphologically speaking the urban landscape reverted to the estate's pre-feuing condition of mansion-steadings in the midst of gradual building activities among its neighbours from the 1870s to 1900s. It was not until

²⁴ UGD 8/1/5: Claim for Blackie and Bain papers, op cit.;

²⁵ UGD 8/1/5: Claim for Blackie and Bain papers, op cit.;

²⁶ D A Dow, "Redland House, Hospital and Home", Scottish Ambulance Service, 1985, Glasgow, pp.17

the late 1890s that Lancaster Terrace began to appear with other piecemeal terraces following a feuing laid out by James Thomson²⁷, and various architects were involved in this development which carried on right until the 1920s. The 1913 Ordnance Survey of this area (Fig. KS.26) testified to this piecemeal approach by showing several different layouts of housings.

d) J E Walker: Maryhill/ North of Kelvin:

Originally the Kelvinside Estate was limited to present day North Kelvinside, where the mansion house was built by Lithan near the river banks (refer to Fig. KS.01 which showed the house). Ironically, this part of Kelvinside north of the Kelvin was not taken seriously by Montgomerie and Fleming, probably because of its inaccessibility. In 1869 this whole plot was advertised for feuing. Similar to other Kelvinside plots, it was first feued for quarrying purposes to the Glasgow Iron Company in February 1869 (Fig. KS.27).

In October 1869 J E Walker eventually feued the plot bounded by the Kelvin, Garscube Highway and a rationalised western boundary (Fig KS.28). Walker developed this part with predominantly working class tenements and a few middle class terrace and villas, the latter mainly facing the River Kelvin. Although a sketch feuing plan was prepared

²⁷ This was claimed by Anne Riches in Williamson et al, "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, London, 1990, pp.322

showing the familiar large plots and terraces (Fig. KS.29), the grand villas found in other parts of Kelvinside were rare in North Kelvinside, and even if they were built they were quickly absorbed into a much higher density framework, as indicated in the 1913 Ordnance Survey Map of this area (Fig. KS.30). It therefore suggests that Walker was very much freed from the strict feu restrictions being imposed from the Estate office, resulting in this non-homogeneous development, although any industrial developments were still prohibited within this plot²⁸.

e) Thomas Russell: Kelvinside Gardens:

This part of the Estate was once again under the strict control of the Estate Company. The Estate Company took the first step to improve the road network for this part before commencing any feuing. A Dean of Guild Application was made and approved (Fig. KS.31), showing the change of road network from a random cut by the Great Western Road through the original steadings to a responding structure facing the main thoroughfare: a large crescent being created, and Crossloan Road [Cleveden Road] regularised. J B Mirrlees' Plot was also regularised, giving him a larger area. A neat rectangular plot at an angle to the crescent framed by the new [Cleveden] Drive on the south, and the Balgray boundary on the north, was formed, ready for another phase of feuing (see below).

²⁸ M A Simpson, op cit., pp.102

Possibly John Burnet was the designer of this layout, and the crescent was definitely his design (Fig KS.32), as a detailed layout of the crescent was forwarded by J Burnet to the Kelvinside Estate Office²⁹. The first large plot within this part of the estate was the main rectangular block feued to Thomas Russell in 1873 for the upmarket Kelvinside Gardens, which comprised the largest and most opulent mansion houses in the development of Kelvinside (Fig KS.33). Simpson has cited the feu conditions in Russell's case as even more restricting, in which Russell's developments could only be villas, each of them at £2000, with a minimum area of 2200 square foot, or a pair of villas of at least £3500, sitting in a minimum area of 4400 square foot. Interestingly enough, Russell's feu was conceived as early as 1872 (Fig. KS.34) which must have had substantial influence on the proprietor's decision to modify the existing framework.

f) Goodall and Smellie: West of Windsor [Kirklee]

Terrace:

The last of the parcelled plots feued out in 1873 to Goodall and Smellie, was the small plot west of Windsor [Kirklee] Terrace (Fig. KS.35). The plot had already being taken up by a few home owners who built their own villas along Kirklee Road. Goodall and Smellie, built mainly terrace houses, creating a concave crescent backing on to

²⁹ This was found in the Tracings of Kyle and Frew regarding Kelvinside Estate: Ref.: SRA/ TKF/ 9/ 1/ 66b.

Windsor Terrace, and another convex 'quadrant' facing the corner of Kirklee Road. In between, a few villas were built, but the size of the plot was restricted by the two terraces. The 1913 Ordnance Survey is the only record of this design (Fig. KS.36), and no feuing design plan is available.

Other Feuing Grounds:

Despite the above six parcelled plots, there was a substantial amount of unfeued ground remaining in the hands of the proprietors by the late 1870s. Despite the relative success in the above parcelled lands, a 'super' feuar could not be found again for the remaining land, and the rest of the development was once again firmly in the hands of the feu superior rather than the feuar.

a) Montgomerie Crescent, Kirklee and Bellshaugh:

The ground north of Russell's plot, including the crescents and long strips of villas and terraces between Balgray and Redland House was produced in a separate feuing plan dated 1873 (Fig KS.37). A note on this 1873 feuing plan introduces an interesting degree of flexibility:

"Where terraces are shown villas may be
substituted and vice versa"

Hence the semi-rigid requirement induced more buyers for the estate and eventually many small builders and

speculators³⁰ were attracted to feu out plots and sub-feu to occupiers. However, there was not an overall powerful feu to feu out large plots as in the previous parcels. Therefore the feu superior seemed to have an overall control of the type of houses being built. The 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. KS.38) showed a remarkable similarity to the 1873 feuing plan which proved the careful involvement of the Estate Office with individual builders.

b) Claythorn:

The remaining estate between the Gartnavel Asylum and Great Western Road was not feued until the late 1880s, partly because this was situated at the far west of the estate, making it difficult to persuade people to take up feus in such a remote corner, and partly because of its proximity to quarries at Jordanhill and Anniesland. It was not until the arrival of the North British Railway in 1886 that people were encouraged to move into Claythorn, neighbouring Anniesland and Jordanhill³¹.

The plot was feued in 1869 to James Dunlop, coal master, for quarrying purposes (Fig KS.39) but its development was much later than this plan. According to Simpson, this part of the estate was developed by builders who took up a small number of feus at one time, built the houses and sold them

³⁰ M A Simpson, *op cit.*, pp.105: One of these small speculators was J Norris, Accountant, who built four houses on Montgomerie Drive and seven terrace houses on Bellshaugh Road.

³¹ Williamson et al. *ibid.*, pp.391

off. The profit would then allow them to feu a few more plots, and the same process started again³². Its layout was very similar to its counterpart at Kelvinside Gardens, comprising detached or semi-detached mansion houses, although smaller in size, on a linear layout parallel to Great Western Road. As the original feuing design plan is not available, the only evidence we have nowadays is the Ordnance Survey Records. Only the 1913 Survey (Fig. KS.40) indicates the finished state of the development, as they were relatively later than any other developments.

c) North West Kelvinside:

The most extreme north west of the estate lying to the north of Great Western Road was the most difficult part to be feued, despite the fact that Great Western Road continued right up into Anniesland Toll. In the 1873 feuing plan it is mentioned that this part is "also laid out for feuing" but nothing had been achieved (refer Fig. KS.37). By 1908, a plan showing the Hepburn Sewer by Baptie Shaw and Morton overlaid this part of the estate with a grid street layout with little regard to the contours (Fig. KS.41), but again this was not realised.

Hence the continuity of the Victorian Development came to an abrupt end in this part of the estate. The eventual post First World War development of Kelvindale on this part of

³² M A Simpson, *op cit.*, pp. 106-107; examples of these small builders were P Miller and Lawson, who were both actively building up Whittinghame [Hatfield] Drive and Whittinghame Gardens during 1895-1900.

Kelvinside resembled not at all its previous pre-war Victorian counterpart, either architecturally or socially. The then predominant cottage suburb, much influenced by the English garden city movement, had taken over the Victorian middle class housing scenario and it is not within the scope of this thesis to analyse this development.

Conclusion:

By examining Decimus Burton's design for the estate of Kelvinside, we may understand the level of aspiration of the proprietors. However, as mentioned by Salmon, "a material change" occurred during its development, and eventually various revisions were carried out.

Various parcelled developments either by individual builders or joint stock companies therefore completed the whole estate in a piecemeal fashion. Although strict feu restrictions were applied, variations could not be avoided.

However, the final result is an overwhelmingly coherent urban structure, despite its departure from Burton's design. For example, the various boundaries of different parcelled plots are not easy to detect nowadays. The similarity in building height, building materials and architectural language, despite variations in details and building block forms, helps to create continuity through

different parts of the estate. The picturesque, *rus in urbe* setting still holds true in some parts of the estate, particularly in Kirklee/ Bellshaugh area, while the Great Western Road is lined with rows of terraces with deep set back gardens as inspired by Salmon.

The original idea of a non focal-point layout as envisaged by Burton was also realised, and markers by means of church spires on the Great Western Road were only found on the east of Byres Road. The rows of terraced houses provided the barriers for protection of the less rigid housing layout behind these rows, creating deeply introverted layouts beyond the main access road. Burton's original idea of linking with Maryhill Road was severely altered, and the River Kelvin became the natural boundary of the estate.

North Kelvinside simply took on a different approach from the rest of the estate, especially in those plots which surrounded the canal and which were actually feued for industrial purposes by the Estate Company³³. Gradually the speculators of middle class housing concentrated their efforts on either side of the Great Western Road only, neglecting all the other parts of the estate.

Nevertheless, there was a certain limit to the extent of development even along this main thoroughfare. The extreme north west could not sustain the momentum of development,

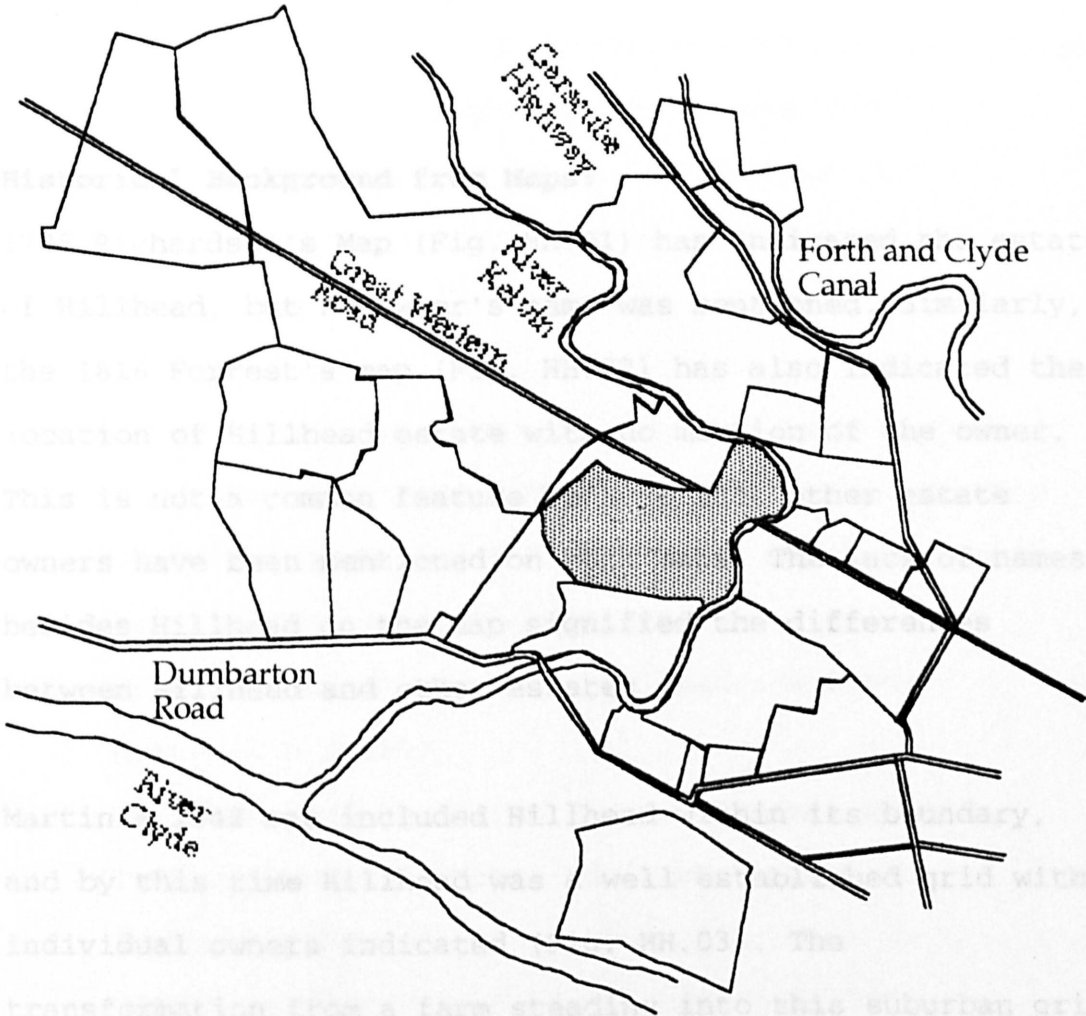
³³ M A Simpson, *op cit.*, pp.95

and before the turn of the 20th century, it ran out of steam, leaving this portion of the estate in the hands of 20th century speculators.

Was it the size of the estate that led to the later downfall of development? Or was it the lack of other forces, such as economic ones, that created this abrupt end? These questions would not be easy to answer simply by examining the graphical evidence.

It might be too early to draw an overall conclusion at this moment, but one thing is certain: the gradual transformation of a designated urban layout did not necessarily create an inferior result, as shown by this. The final result could be as important as its initial intention. The lack of an overall design framework could be compensated for by a written code - the feu restriction in this case. However, there is a physical and spatial limit to this final result, and certainly in the case of Kelvinside, the original boundary was definitely too large to achieve a similar standard of exclusivity. Gradation and downgrading within the estate boundary, which was not envisaged by its original designer, was inevitable.

HILLHEAD



Location of Hillhead Estate

Introduction:

Hillhead estate is the only estate which was completely surrounded by other main west end estates. Hillhead was also different from others in having various individual proprietors and resulted in a complicated 'multi-ownership' situation. The format of its analysis in the following is

slightly different from others due to different available materials, but as we can see later, the final result of the built environment in this estate was well integrated with its neighbouring counterparts.

Historical Background from Maps:

1795 Richardson's Map (Fig. HH.01) has indicated the estate of Hillhead, but no owner's name was mentioned. Similarly, the 1816 Forrest's map (Fig. HH.02) has also indicated the location of Hillhead estate with no mention of the owner. This is not a common feature because most other estate owners have been mentioned on both maps. The lack of names besides Hillhead on the map signified the differences between Hillhead and other estates.

Martin's 1842 map included Hillhead within its boundary, and by this time Hillhead was a well established grid with individual owners indicated (Fig. HH.03). The transformation from a farm steading into this suburban grid happened most likely between 1816 and 1842, and, to establish the events during this period, other sources have to be consulted.

The "Hillhead Album":

One of the most specific sources regarding Hillhead is the book "Hillhead Album" by H B Morton¹, in which a recollection of memoirs by its residents or institutes was compiled. However, the book suffers from severe lack of historical continuity and professional research, resorting only to various personal accounts of events. The only strong feature of this book is its collection of photographs which makes it useful as a compendium of historical pictures.

A brief history of the estate is outlined in this book:

1680: Purchased by Robert Campbell of Northwoodside, son of Colin Campbell (of Blythswood); Hillhead became part of the Blythswood Estate;

1694: Janet Campbell inherited Hillhead (on Robert Campbell's death);

1702: Hillhead sold to Andrew Gibson (Tenant) when J Campbell married Thomas Haliburton, advocate of Dryburgh Abbey;

Gibson as "superiors" of Hillhead till 1855:

1855: James Gibson - sold his portion of Hillhead to lawyer John Wilkie, Hillhead House;

1869: Hillhead became Police Burgh with 9 Commissioners;

Note that there is no account covering the gap between 1702 and 1855, during which time the country steading was transformed into a west end suburban grid. The lack of

¹ H B Morton, "Hillhead Album", Hepburn Trustees, Glasgow, 1973.

secondary information at this point resulted in a search into the most difficult primary documents: the Sasines Records and Feu Chartularies.

Feu Chartularies and Sasines of Hillhead Estate:

Feu Chartularies and Sasines Record are legal documents recording all property transactions and transfer of securities in relation to land property. The latter is a mandatory record under Scottish law, while the former is compiled by individual feu superiors of large estates. In some cases, these became the primary tools for sorting out the historical events of developments which are not recorded in any other contemporary media.

A detailed search into both documents in relation to Hillhead Estate revealed the following important events:

- a. Hillhead lands were always mentioned together with the Byres of Partick. The land between Hillhead and Byres of Partick - Gilmorehill - separated the two, and eventually Byres of Partick was developed more in line with proletarian Partick village than suburban Hillhead;
- b. Gibson ran into financial difficulties in the early 1820s, and his land property was sequestered in 1827².

² Hillhead Feu Chartularies volume 1, pp.13; Ref: SRA/ TD/162/81

The control of the property went into the hands of his Trustee, Andrew Reid;

- c. As early as 1819, the lands of Hillhead and Byres of Partick were already seized by the Trustee for Widows' funds of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow, for £2000. This seizure made it necessary for Gibson to gain permission from the Trustee before any future land deals³;
- d. The relationship between Hillhead and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons went even further in 1828 when Reid (with the consent of Gibson) disposed the whole estate of Hillhead and Byres of Partick to the Faculty in April 1828⁴; certain portions were re-conveyed to Reid in July the same year⁵, while other portions were sold to Malcolm Kerr in 1842⁶;
- e. Plots were sold or feued as early as the 1810s. The earliest feuar/ buyer was the Hamilton Family of Northpark who bought and feued a substantial portion at the north side of the estate to build and establish Northpark Estate (refer to the separate analysis of Northpark); others were sold to various individuals, mainly within the period 1820 to 1840 (Fig. HH.04). The peak period fell within the control of Andrew Reid, who

³ Glasgow Sasines Records, dated 06.10.1819 No. 12738 and 19.08.1825 No. 2934

⁴ Hillhead Feu Chartularies, op cit., pp.1

⁵ Hillhead Feu Chartularies, op cit., pp.13

⁶ Hillhead Feu Chartularies, op cit., dated 10.11.1842

was empowered to sell lands of Hillhead if Gibson could not pay back his debts⁷.

- f. The plots were sold in accordance with a grid design of the estate. This grid was designed by David Smith and became the main controlling tool for selling and feuing the building plots (see below for this design plan);
- g. The Feu Chartulary mainly concerns transactions after the 1840s. A search into this document revealed that a standardized disposition document (Charter) was used throughout every transaction, whether the plot was sold or feued. If the plot was 'sold', feu duty and other expenses were discharged, but all of these would apply if the plot was feued. The main stipulations of the Charters could be summarized in the following:
 - Business restrictions: all based on the feu restrictions per Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons feu to Andrew Reid dated 25, 28 April 1828, these specified that no business was allowed in the estate of Hillhead. Earlier feus allowed exceptions by Gibson to set up steam engines on certain parts;
 - Building restrictions: ashlar front; slate roof; maximum 4 storeys, or 3 storeys with a sunken storey;
 - Suspended iron bridge to Hillhead at present day Gibson Street: all feuars or buyers had to share the maintenance of the bridge and any future

⁷ This was re-collected again in the Disposition when Reid re-conveyed the lands of Hillhead back to Gibson in 1832, Hillhead Feu Chartularies. op cit., dated 11.5.1832

replacement cost in accordance with plot sizes
(note: this share was payable to David Smith -
owner of Westbank, next to the bridge);

- Mineral restrictions: mainly in favour of the
superiors, unless strictly for building purposes by
feuars.

Feuing Design:

Hillhead was one of the earliest estates in the west -
especially west of the Kelvin - to be feued out. Contrary
to the claims by modern scholars that Victorian Glaswegians
were not ready to leap frog across the Kelvin in the early
19th century, Hillhead did gain a certain degree of
momentum in feuing and selling by the 1830s⁸. Its close
proximity to the Blythwood estate (Woodlands area) made it
attractive for some people who were seeking country
residences and that was precisely the building type that
first flourished in Hillhead, followed by speculative
housing. However, the lack of proper feuing evidence
prohibits a direct conclusion from this feuing development,
and again the main evidence has to come from the Feu
Chartularies.

a) Design Plan drawn up by David Smith in 1823-25:

⁸ A retrospective account of the early development of estate mentions that for the first
thirty years of the 19th century, feuing of Hillhead was only on a small scale. When
Gibson built his own first Kelvinbridge (ie, the low level crossing) in 1825,
development of the West End beyond the Kelvin, however, gathered pace. Ref.:
Glasgow Herald 10 April 1890, as collected in SRA/ MP/ 21/ 120/1.

David Smith's involvement in Hillhead was as important as Gibson's. Smith, a well known land surveyor in the early 19th century, resided at Westbank House, the south-east corner of Hillhead, and he also owned lands across the Kelvin along Woodlands Road.

James Gibson married David Smith's daughter, and as a result, a marriage contract trusteeship, consisting of Gibson, Smith and a J P Wilson of Green, was set up in 28 November 1835 to deal with the land property which became part of the marriage contract⁹.

Even before this marriage contract trusteeship, land selling and feuing was actively pursued in Hillhead, all based on a plan drawn up by Smith in 1823-25¹⁰ (Fig. HH.05). A close study of this plan suggests the following observations:

- The grid was superimposed on the drumlins, disregarding the undulating landscape, similar to the design for Blythswood Hill. Again, this was not common among the west end estates, as other designs - though later than Hillhead's - tried to integrate views with topography by adopting a more flexible layout;
- The grid plan was purely for working purposes, and no buildings were indicated on this plan;

⁹ Hillhead Feu Chartularies. op cit., pp.64

¹⁰ Smith's plan was a working plan, with various information added to it at a later date. However, the initial date of this drawing was confirmed by several mentions of this plan in the feu chartulary, being "the design of David Smith date 1823-25"

- Northpark estate by the 1820s was well established on the north-west of the estate, but it continued to expand by taking up more plots from Hillhead;
- Great Western Road did not exist when Smith drew his plan in 1823. The original division of the plots around Great Western Road used a different boundary from the road itself. Only after 1836 - when the road was proposed - were the boundaries of these plots revised to follow the centre of the road (Fig. HH.06);
- The plan could be divided roughly into four segments, each having a slightly different type of layout (Fig. HH.07). The main part (south-east) consisted of the regularised grid form, with urban blocks measuring roughly the same size as those found in the city centre. The north-east part across Great Western Road was divided into long plots running north to south perpendicular to Great Western Road. The south-west was dominated by two large east-west running plots, with various *ad hoc* pieces along Byres Road. The western part south of Northpark Estate was divided into only two large plots, with several smaller plots along Hillhead Street;
- The above division eventually created (or was it specially created by Smith?) several different developments likewise along this division as discussed later.

b) Design Plan of Hillhead by Alexander Taylor:

In the Disposition Contract by Gibson to Malcolm Kerr on 19.12.1842, a "plan of Hillhead designed by Alexander Taylor" is mentioned. Incidentally, Kerr's plot did not include the part of Hillhead as mentioned on Taylor's plan west of Hillhead Street. Taylor's plan is further mentioned in September 1847, when this part of Hillhead was feued to John Wilkie. In this latter feu contract, specific descriptions, such as an elliptical garden with fences, are applied to the plots. On this evidence, a design of the "Plan of Great Western Road" c.1836 (Fig. HH.08) could be this peculiar design¹¹.

The lack of any other evidence makes it very difficult to explain Taylor's involvement. Was it Gibson's idea to employ Taylor as his architect? Or was it Reid's intention to feu/ sell Hillhead according to a more ambitious design, as he saw no chance of Gibson redeeming his property? Or was it a case of complementary co-operation between Smith and Taylor - Smith providing the division of plots, while Taylor was responsible for the actual local level of design of each plot?

Taylor's involvement in the process of feuing is certain, but to what extent remains speculative. Nevertheless, Taylor's design was never realised, with the exception of the four small villa plots along the west side of Hillhead

¹¹ This plan was also reproduced in PA Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", University of Edinburgh Press, 1993, pp.64. Reed concluded that this small oval-shaped design was not executed.

Street (Fig. HH.09) - although they were eventually demolished to make way for Granby Terrace.

1860 Ordnance Survey:

As mentioned before, Martin's 1842 Map has already named the owners of various plots in the estate (refer to Fig. HH.03). However, the urban density remained very low in the 1860s. The 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. HH.10) indicates a picture of various building types scattered across the estate:

- The grid portion was filled with various villas, terraces and tenements. By comparing these plots with Fig. HH.04 - which indicated the plots being *sold* before the 1840s - it is not difficult to see that most of the villas sat on the 'sold' plots, while terraces and tenements appeared in the plots that were feued (Fig. HH.11). Obviously there would always be exceptions, eg, the southern part of Wilson Street was developed as terraces despite the fact that it was sold to Binnie in 1829.
- The south-west was dominated by two large plots, Lilybank and Saughfield. These two plots remained as country estates until the late 1870s when they were eventually developed into terraces (see below). Their separate identity was so strong that some scholars have

even treated them as separate west end estates¹², although in reality they were always part of the estate of Hillhead.

- The north-east remained vacant on the 1860 Ordnance Survey. This area was eventually bought by the City Bank of Glasgow¹³, who were already owners of Northwoodside across the Kelvin at the north of this part of Hillhead in the 1850s. Together with the proprietors of Northwoodside they built an impressive access from Great Western Road to Garscube [Maryhill] Road via Wilton Gardens and Wilton Crescent (see below);
- Northpark gradually acquired more and more plots, particularly on the east and south of the estate; the 1860 Ordnance survey indicates the mature state of the estate - several terraces parallel and perpendicular to Great Western Road were already built. As Northpark was detached from Hillhead as early as in the 18th century, its development is being examined in a separate study. However, the boundary of the estate had changed over time: the estate had adopted Great Western Road as its new boundary, conceding the southern parts to Kerr's plot of Hillhead.

1889 Feu Disposition Plan:

¹² M A Simpson has mentioned that these small estates demonstrated the variety of development in sizes.

¹³ F A Worsdall, notes on Hillhead Estate, and Court Records of an accident at Belmont Crescent, appeared in the Glasgow Herald, 30.12.1870

In 1889 John Baird (II) produced a plan (Fig. HH.12) to record the property of Gibson's marriage contract trust, in order to transfer the feuing rights to Gibson's two daughters (and their trustees). Contrary to Morton's claim, part of Hillhead Estate was still under Gibson's control, although it is only a fraction of the whole area.

A statement of feu duties was produced with this plan and provides some interesting insights into Gibson's plots. Gibson's Trust plots were mainly feued to builders who built terraces and tenements. In some cases, a variety of development could take place in one sub-plot. For example, the sub-plot feued out on 19.04.1845 to John Findlay, on the north-west corner at Bank Street/ Glasgow Street, consisted of four terraces and two tenements¹⁴. However, the feu restriction did not specify such distinction, stipulating a standardized feu restriction (as discussed before) for all buildings on this sub-plot¹⁵.

It is therefore obvious that the feu restriction provided the maximum development density - i.e., a four storey, stone fronted, slate covered building - but builders or feuars could build anything *less* than this, as in this case: two-storey, stone fronted slate covered terraces, or in some other cases, a single two storey villa.

¹⁴ Statement of Feu Duty, 1889, the 2nd feu on the plan, Ref.: SRO/ RHP 6928/2

¹⁵ Hillhead Feu Chartularies, op cit., pp.204

The Development of Other Small Estates within Hillhead:

As indicated above, there are three small estates within Hillhead that need to be mentioned:

a) Lilybank:

Several proposals were made for the land on the west side of Lilybank House. The 1877 Kyle and Frew's proposal (Fig. HH.13a) consisted of a series of simple linear blocks following the curve of its boundary lane turning towards Great George Street. This design was very different from that of the other tenement blocks. The layout was revised in 1881, when Warrie, Colledge and Brand proposed a central garden in between the two long terraces/ tenements (Fig. HH.13b). The latter design was developed further by elongating the central garden right up to Great George Street, creating the picturesque Lilybank Gardens (refer to the 1913 Ordnance Survey in the next section).

b) Saughfield:

Saughfield was much smaller than Lilybank, and its development resulted in the demolition of the mansion house. Kyle and Frew were again the designers of this layout. Their 1882 proposal (Fig. HH.14a) simply outlined the division of roads and building line, allowing direct access to neighbouring Lilybank west. In the 1884 revision (Fig. HH.14b), the emphasis was on the central garden,

resulting in a more introverted layout. Eventually this became University Gardens, and houses were designed by J J Burnet during 1882-4¹⁶, signifying the influence of the University among the latter stages of Hillhead's development.

c) North-east corner of Hillhead:

The artificial bisection by Great Western Road has created a separate small enclave bounded by the Great Western Road and the River Kelvin at the north-east corner of the estate. As mentioned above, this plot was eventually in the hands of the City Bank of Glasgow and they were responsible for the development of Belmont Crescent and Belmont terrace. From a small disposition plan dated 1871 (Fig. HH.15)¹⁷ we can observe that this development in Hillhead was part and parcel of a wider prestigious terraced housing scheme¹⁸ embracing Belmont Crescent/ Terrace, Wilton Street across the river north of this plot, and Wilton Crescent in Northwoodside. Therefore these elements created a linked terrace development from Great Western Road to Garscube [Maryhill] Road via Northwoodside.

Another separate proposal was fronting the Kelvin. Charles Wilson probably proposed a semi-circular crescent facing

¹⁶ Williamson, et al, "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, 1990, pp.349

¹⁷ This plan was not exactly used for feuing the City Bank's plot in Hillhead, but it nevertheless showed the design of the various terraces.

¹⁸ On the Plan, most of the intended building blocks were indicated as "For self contained lodgings and corner tenements" and "Houses to be a class of not less than four rooms and kitchen"

the river (Fig. HH.16), but this was never realised. Instead, the Glasgow Academy (by H & D Barclay)¹⁹ was built in 1878, closing the vista along Colebrook Place.

1913 Ordnance Survey:

The 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. HH.17) has indicated a well integrated urban network spanning from the River Kelvin on the east to the tenemental thoroughfare along Byres Road. However, subtle differentiation within this grid development can still be detected, and by using the segments as mentioned above, the estate can be examined in four different parts:

- a. The main regular grid portion bounded by Great Western road on the north, the Kelvin on the east, University Avenue on the south, and Hillhead street on the west, was developed along the divisions as planned by David Smith. By 1913, most of these plots were taken up by tenements and terraces, with very few villas. Compared to the 1860 Ordnance Survey, it is obvious that the latter type of building – belonging to genteel owners – was gradually diminishing, leaving more room for speculative housing.

- b. The two large estate plots of Lilybank and Saughfield were completely urbanised. Lilybank was heavily built

¹⁹ Williamson et al, *op cit.*, pp.304

upon with varying density of tenements and terraces. In particular, Lilybank Gardens on the west (discussed above) recalled a similar quality found in more picturesque settings such as Kingsborough Gardens and Westbourne Gardens. Saughfield was only partially built, but as testified by modern scholars²⁰, its individually designed houses were much superior to other larger terraces in Hillhead, and probably catered for the more up-market middle classes.

Notice that despite common assumptions, Ashton Terrace actually was not within the boundary of Hillhead - the boundary ran between Ashton Terrace and Lilybank/Saughfield. The triangular plot of Ashton Terrace/University Avenue/ Byres road originally belonged to Donaldshill, but was sold to TL Paterson of Dowanhill, and it therefore appeared on the 1874 Feuing Plan of Dowanhill (refer to the analysis of Dowanhill).

- c. Malcolm Kerr's plot, which was bounded by Hillhead Street/ Great George Street/ Byres Road and Great Western Road, was gradually developed into two portions. The eastern half was formed into long blocks of terraces and tenements running north to south. A school was slotted into one of the blocks, while Granby Terrace (originally the four small villas as part of

²⁰ Refer to Williamson et al. op cit., pp.348-349

Taylor's plan) was not under Kerr's possession - it was under the Gibson's trusteeship.

The western half of Kerr's plot was developed into the conventional tenement grid, with similar sizes to other parts of the estate. Hence continuity was maintained despite the split of ownership.

- d. The north-east corner beyond Great Western Road was developed mainly into terraces, comparable with the earlier developments of Queens Crescent, Southwoodside and neighbouring Northpark. The minor role of tenements in this corner reflected a different class of aspiration by its developer, which seemed to be heavily influenced by its next door neighbour, the Northpark Estate. Great Western Road provided the necessary barrier from the common tenements on the south, although in fact most of the southside of Great Western Road was also lined with terraces.
- e. Institutional buildings were late comers in the estate, most of them built after the 1880s. The 1820s grid layout did not pre-define any spectacular closing of vista by church spires as in some other estate designs, and therefore churches were built within the confines of the urban block. However, the United Free Church on the corner of Byres Road and Great Western road was long regarded as a significant landmark due to its

prime location on two main thoroughfares, while another United Free Church on University Avenue became an interesting monument within the University complex.

Conclusion:

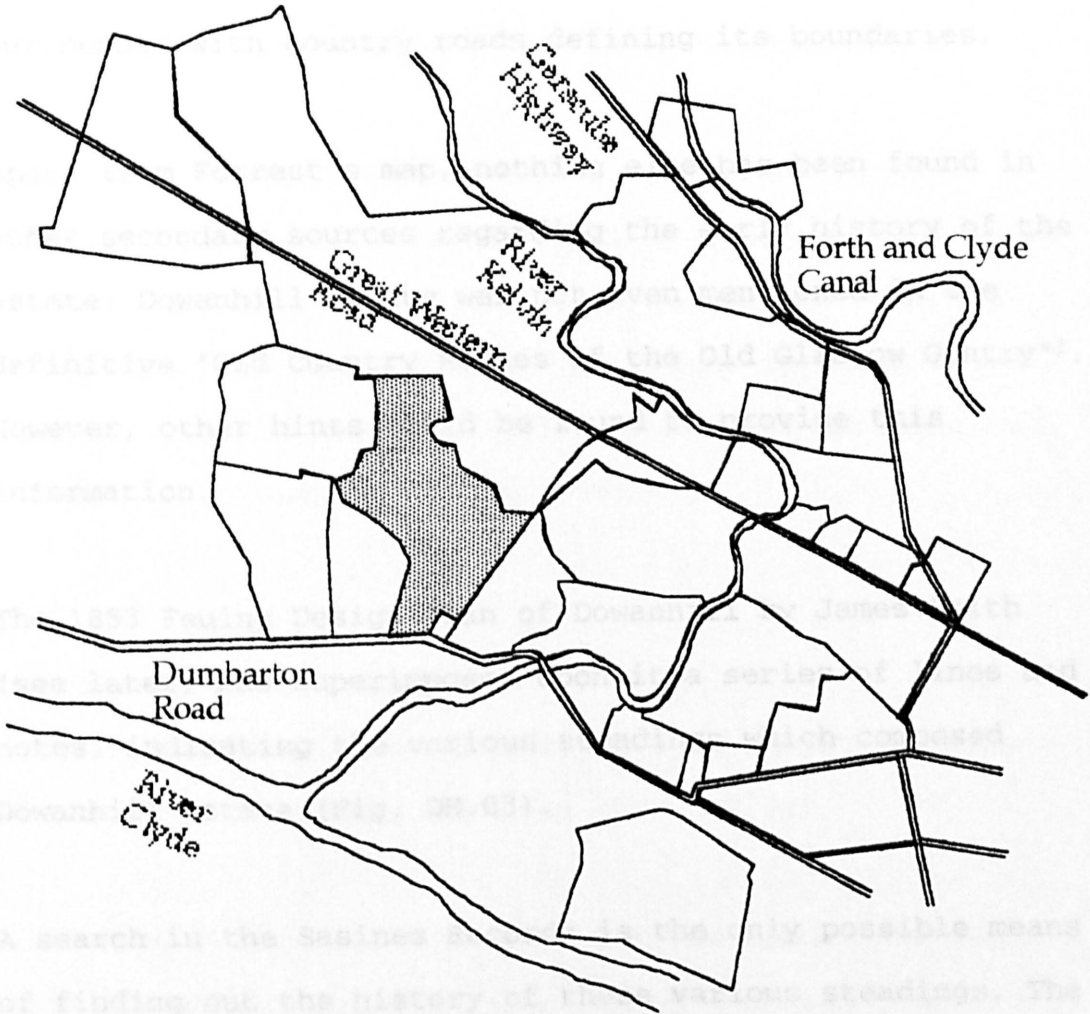
Hillhead estate represented one of the earliest and least controlled developments in the west end. Its design grid by Smith was similar to Blythswood, but on closer examination the differences are obvious. While the main part of Blythswood²¹ was laid out with terraces in mind, Hillhead was dotted with villas in its early days.

The economic circumstances of the Gibson family has created an extra dimension of complexity. With outsiders such as Andrew Reid and the marriage contract Trust, lands were eventually given away to individual feuars and owners who had different intentions of property development. Although the feuing/ selling of these plots were under a uniform and standardized feu restriction, it did not help to create a unified appearance. The lack of unifying feu conditions with the provision of a minimum standard provided an opportunity to build anything between a two-storey villa and a four storey tenement in any area.

²¹ This is only referring to the grid proposal of the Blythswood Estate as laid out by J Gillespie Graham in 1820, as other parts of the estate, such as Garnethill, has villas laid out.

As the business of building became more speculative in nature in the latter half of the 19th century, more and more villas were replaced by terraces and tenements for a greater profit. However, some villas which were purely owner-occupied still survived into the 20th century, resulting in a mixed tapestry of building forms in a single estate. From the north-east corner of Belmont Terrace/ Crescent, down into the mixed terraces/ tenements of the main areas south of Great Western Road, through to the late comers of Lilybank and Saughfield - which provided the more up-market version of terrace housings - the change of urban scenario could not be greater.

DOWANHILL



Location of Dowanhill Estate

Historical Background

Dowanhill did not exist as a distinct estate as late as the 18th century. Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. DH.01) does not indicate Dowanhill along with other steadings in the west end such as Hillhead and Hyndland (Hindland).

By 1816, the situation had changed. Dowanhill is indicated on Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. DH.02) along with other estates, and its owner was Buchanan. The estate was also surrounded with country roads defining its boundaries.

Apart from Forrest's map, nothing else has been found in other secondary sources regarding the early history of the estate. Dowanhill estate was not even mentioned in the definitive "Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry"¹. However, other hints could be found to provide this information.

The 1853 Feuing Design Plan of Dowanhill by James Smith (see later) has superimposed upon it a series of lines and notes, indicating the various steadings which composed Dowanhill estate (Fig. DH.03).

A search in the Sasines Records is the only possible means of finding out the history of these various steadings. The search revealed that in fact Dowanhill was created by amalgamating several individual steadings from Partick and Hillhead estate. These steadings' names, buyer and seller names, dates and areas are summarised in Table DH.01. It is obvious from this table that James Buchanan, whose name is indicated on Forrest's map, was the original initiator of

¹ J Buchanan and others, "Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry", James Maclehose Publisher, Glasgow 1878

Dowanhill. He was also one of the original trustees of the Great Western Road Trust set up in 1838². Despite his involvement in the new Road - an involvement shared by most other property speculators in the West End - the estate of Dowanhill remained undeveloped during his ownership.

The actual developer of Dowanhill was Thomas Lucas Paterson. As an ambitious merchant in Glasgow, he started to be involved in land speculation around the 1850s by acquiring three main estates - Broomloan in Govan (1852), Dowanhill in the West End (1853) from James Buchanan, and Newhall in Bridgeton (before 1856)³.

The Pre-feuing stages:

In 1849 Thomas Kyle was commissioned to survey the estate of Dowanhill for James Buchanan (Fig. DH.04).

The title of this map mentions that the lands of Dowanhill were the property of the 'late' James Buchanan, therefore it is likely that his trustees were trying to sell off his estate at this time. An advertisement was placed in the Glasgow Herald, stressing that the estate is suitable for both feuing and residential purposes:

² Refer to Minutes of the Great Western Road Trust, SRA/ F/ 8/ 3.

³ N Morgan, "The Development of the West End of Glasgow Reconsidered", unpublished conference paper presented to the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1 December 1990.

This well-known Property includes nearly 100 Acres Imperial; and is, in almost its whole extent, admirably adapted for feuing purposes, affording fine situations, and being of easy access on all sides.

The House, Garden, and Offices are in good repair, and form a convenient residence.⁴

A study of this survey plan reveals the following:

- a) The estate is bounded by three main roads to the south - Byres Road on the east, Dumbarton Road on the south and a parish road (later Hyndland Street) on the west. The northern portion directly abuts on to other estates with no existing provision of external access from the city. The internal access of the estate is limited to a small section of country road stretching from the mansion house, which does not extend deep into the northern part.
- b) The uplands of the northern portion are fairly isolated. The only building in this area is the Observatory which had been feued from Kelvinside estate. The mansion house was located on the southern portion with its gardens and stables ("Offices" as they used to be called), presumably because of ease of access to the main thoroughfare of Dumbarton Road and Byres Road.
- c) Although not indicated on this survey plan, by this time the southern portion was in direct contact with

⁴ Glasgow Herald 30 April 1849

the village of Partick which was quickly developing into a base for heavy industries, given its immediate access to the River Clyde. The northern portion, by contrast, was still within pastoral and isolated farm lands with nearby Great Western Road cutting through the neighbouring lands of Kelvinside and Hillhead which were proposed for middle class developments (Fig. DH.05). The social polarity facing the estate of Dowanhill could not be ignored if any design was going to be economically viable.

- d) The topographical terrain is not indicated on the survey plan, but from modern contour maps of Glasgow we can easily see that the northern portion consisted of the hilly slopes, at the top of which sat the Observatory, while the southern portion which contained the mansion house was much smoother and gentler (Fig. DH.06). Hence, the physical differences between north and south also posed a design constraint on housing layout, adding another dimension to the already existing social one.

The Feuing Stages:

In 1853, the estate of Dowanhill was eventually bought by TL Paterson after he had made a small fortune out of his manufacturing business⁵. No secondary sources indicate the

⁵ R M Jarvis, "T L Paterson's Biography". [Typescript by R M Jarvis, great-great granddaughter of TL Paterson].

exact development of the estate at this stage was produced in 1853 (Fig. DH.07). The plan clearly indicates that the designer was James Smith, a land surveyor, although other scholars has attributed this design to James Thompson⁶.

Peter Reed's very detailed comments on this design⁷ can be summarised in the following:

- a) The design principle: different elements were disposed to varying advantages to the site. This conformed with the polarised nature both in terms of existing (or intended) built up areas and the topographical conditions;
- b) The most favoured parts around Observatory Hill and the crown of the secondary drumlin just to its south were laid out with the most expensive design of detached villas, reinforcing the importance of the relationship between picturesque landscape and detached mansion houses (Fig. DH.7a);
- c) The other undulating uplands were laid out with terraces in various forms (Fig. DH.7b);
- d) The more evenly sloping land of the southern portion was divided into a grid-structure of tenements, which meshed well into the existing structure of the three roads along its edges; (Fig. DH.7c)

⁶ E Williamson et al. "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow". Penguin Books, GB, 1990, pp.354. This states that the estate was laid out following a plan devised by James Thomson in 1850. However, Thomson was born in 1835, and it is highly unlikely that he could be in charge of such a large project at the age of 15.

⁷ P A Reed. "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, 1993, pp. 65

e) A buffer zone of public garden was inserted between the formally and socially distinct parts (Fig. DH.7d);

Not many public buildings were conceived at this stage – only two churches were proposed, one at the axis towards the crescent-shaped middle section, the other located on the west edge of the estate. The observatory was an early feu from the Kelvinside estate (c.1840) and therefore it was an isolated building before the feuing of Dowanhill. The location of the two churches seems to be arbitrary on the plan, but eventually the western one became a magnificent landmark in the West End (see below).

Access to the southern portion posed no problem as the grid structure provided a reasonable means of circulation, while the central portion of terraces was also fully accessible via a central spine connected to Byres Road. However, there was only one access point for the whole northern portion (Fig. DH.7e).

This created a dilemma for the estate speculator. The lack of easy access obviously would provide a high degree of exclusivity and privacy which were important to sustain the social context for the development of detached villas as indicated on the design plan. On the other hand, restrictive access would hinder the development of the areas beyond the edges of the estate, making them unfavourable choices among a competitive market. As we can

see later, TL Paterson was more anxious on account of the latter concern, because he "was very desirous that a road on his property of Dowanhill, called the 'Victoria Circus Road', should be connected with roads on Kelvinside, so as to secure a direct access between Dowanhill and the Great Western Road, which lay on the other side of Kelvinside."⁸

This feuing plan did not specify the style of the architecture being dictated by the feu restriction, but from the layout of the plans with its varying degree of indication of vegetation, we can easily observe the contrast in layout between the villas, terraces and tenements. The villas are set well back into the landscape. This was well accepted among the Victorian middle class as a favourable picturesque idea, while the terraces on a plateau are imposing and classical in form, almost as a classical articulated palace frontage. The tenements are totally utilitarian, maximising the available plots with virtually no green space in front of the blocks (Fig. DH.7f); thus architecture has been matched to social distinctions to distinguish the classes of buildings.

4. The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

We can see that by the 1860s – as recorded on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. DH.08) – part of the estate has been built up already, particularly the northern portion where

⁸ Court of Session Records, 18 March 1881, Paterson vs. McEwan's Trustees, pp.647

villas were being established around the Observatory. The detailed sequence of the developments of these villas will not be discussed here, but it is important to note that the most exclusive part of the estate was a success in the early stages of feuing. A contemporary photograph catches the tranquillity of these isolated villas before the terraces hid away their views (Fig. DH.09). These villas were most probably the design of Boucher and Cousland who had produced a handbook of different villa designs of Dowanhill⁹ - in Italian, Gothic, Elizabethan and Tudor styles - for potential buyers (Some of these are shown in Fig. DH.10).

The next item on the Ordnance Survey is the singular terrace of Crown Circus. As this terrace occupied such a prime location of the estate, P A Reed has the following comment on this near monumental edifice:

In otherwise vacant meadowland, isolated villas, terraces and tenements appear in their appointed places, according to their status, with Crown Circus dominating the panorama..... it is difficult to resist interpreting its (then) solitary splendour as an advertisement for what was to come, an inducement to the wealthiest citizens of Glasgow to take up residence on the new estate.¹⁰

This view was captured in a contemporary photograph, showing the extent of the estate from the tenements in the

⁹ "Boucher and Cousland Album", no date, now collected in NMRS, Edinburgh

¹⁰ P A Reed, op cit., pp. 67

south to the villas at the north, exemplifying the solitary terrace of Crown Circus (Fig. DH.11). Reed has further commented on this rather unusual snapshot of the West End:

Across to the right is the hill of the observatory, with its dome; and below it the row, mostly of two storeys, of Victoria Terrace, edged by glimpses of villas. At the centre, on the brow of its own hill, is the grandiose display of Crown Circus, dominating everything..... It faces towards the city, and to Park Terrace and Park Quadrant, its newly completed rivals in the east.¹¹

Therefore, for the property speculators, the timing and locations of the early developments all served as an important marketing tool for their schemes, as the momentum of feuing activities gradually gathered pace in the westward direction during the latter half of the century.

The Revision of Feuing Plan in 1874:

In 1874 a revised feuing plan was published, the architect probably being James Thomson. It is interesting to discover that this particular date was not a mere coincidence: it was very much tied in with Paterson's other interest in mercantile trading.

a) Background of the 1874 plan:

¹¹ P A Reed, "Tenement, Terrace e Villa: la costruzione del West End", in Bocchi R (ed) "Glasgow: forma e progetto della città", Venice: Cluva Editrice, 1990

Although TL Paterson had semi-retired from commercial trading when he went into property development in the 1850s, he was forced to go back into mercantile business in 1863 when he ran into difficulty as a result of his property dealings¹². This return to trade took the form of import/ export trade - sending goods to the far east. By the early 1870s, Paterson's trading fortune was going downhill, combined with "heavy loss due to shipboard fire and inadequate insurance on goods"¹³. As a result, his company, TL Paterson & Co. failed in 1874, with liabilities of over £145000 and assets of only £2800¹⁴.

Paterson's properties then were put in the hands of a Trust set up in 1874 by various creditors in order to offset his business liabilities. His relatives came to the rescue for the immediate debt, while his long term interest in Dowanhill - 3/5 ths of the estate¹⁵ - was sold to Robert Cassells of the Glasgow Iron Works Company to raise part of the money for future development of the estate¹⁶.

Therefore, the 1874 plan signified a new era of the development. From the above background, it is obvious that the revised plan reflected the aspirations not of TL Paterson himself, but of the managers of the new Trust - the Dowanhill Estate Company.

¹² R M Jarvis, *op cit.*

¹³ N Morgan, *op cit.*

¹⁴ N Morgan, *op cit.*

¹⁵ R M Jarvis, *op cit.*

¹⁶ N Morgan, *op cit.*

b) The 1874 Feuing Plan:

The 1874 Feuing Plan (Fig. DH.12) indicates the parts of the estate which had already been built. The villa grounds, and part of the terraces and tenements were finished, particularly those along the edges of Dumbarton Road.

Crown Terrace was already revised before this plan (refer to the 1860 Ordnance Survey, Fig. DH.08), while the central buffer garden was rationalised to a simple rectangle instead of the ornate shape originally proposed. A triangular plot on the east of the estate (formerly belonging to Donaldshill estate) adjoining Byres Road, together with several small villa plots on the west, were now included in the estate boundary. N Morgan, who has researched the development of this estate in great detail, reckons that Paterson bought these additional lands at Donaldshill and Partickhill in the 1860s as barriers to deflect developments that might adversely affect the amenity of the estate¹⁷.

An important access road in the north was projected to link Dowanhill Estate to Great Western Road, as Paterson had always wanted. One should bear in mind that the neighbouring estate of Kelvinside was under progressive development during the early 1870s, particular in the parcelled plot of Horslethill - which became the property

¹⁷ N Morgan, *op cit.*

of the Victoria Park Feuing Company. Probably Paterson took advantage of this new direction of development and proposed his much 'desired' access to Great Western Road, which allowed his wealthier residents to travel from Glasgow directly via this middle class boulevard, without going through the much industrialised Partick section of Dumbarton Road.

Nevertheless, the basic urban framework in this plan is still very similar to its predecessor - the villas, the terraces and the tenements all being developed in keeping with the physical constraints of the estate, at the same time responding to the social polarity of different classes in the south and north. The changes in the fortunes of Paterson did not severely affect this basic concept, despite that fact that Paterson was less and less influential in the decision-making process.

However, according to Morgan, the large terrace houses became unsuitable for the new middle classes, and it was difficult to find buyers for these new houses during the 1880s¹⁸. Paterson therefore incurred more debts and in 1888 he was a personal bankrupt, not being able to pay interest on loans on the building of Crown Terrace¹⁹. The other part of the estate was therefore developed by the Estate Company

¹⁸ N Morgan has quoted from the papers from the Dowanhill Estate Company Papers that by the 1880s, large terrace houses had become a 'white elephant' for some of the occupiers.

¹⁹ N Morgan, op cit.

instead, and such departure can be found in the 1913 Ordnance Survey in the following.

1913 Ordnance Survey of Dowanhill Estate:

By 1913 most of Dowanhill Estate was built up, as indicated on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. DH.13). The northern villa portions were previously built up before 1874 but now the southern and central portion of tenements and terraces are also completed.

On the original feuing plans a small block at the corner of Byres road and Dumbarton Road was not within the estate boundary, but now it is well integrated in the grid structure of the tenements.

There are several changes as compared to the 1874 feuing plan (Fig. DH.14):

- a. A concave terrace house development – Prince's Gardens – was created along Crown Circus Road North, giving a twist to its original streamlined bullet-shaped block. The proposed sizes of the houses of this terrace in 1887 – by Wharrie, Brand & Colledge – were similar to Crown Terrace on the other side (Fig. DH.15a), but by 1889 the sizes were considerably reduced (Fig. DH.15b).

- This conformed with Morgan's research that smaller houses were preferable by the close of the century;
- b. The central garden in Highburgh Road was reduced to the size of a 'grid' block, although it still acted as a buffer zone between the different developments;
 - c. Large tenements have largely taken over the eastern side of Crown Circus between Albion Street [Dowanside Road] and Highburgh Road, although these tenements were among the most generous during that period, comparable with the tenements found in Hyndland. These obviously were very different from the earlier and utilitarian type found south of the pleasure garden near Partick. Was this the result of the change of demand during late 19th century, when large terrace houses were abandoned in favour of the relatively smaller tenemental flat?
 - d. The extreme northern plots changed from the original villa plots to terrace developments, resulting in two very interesting sets of buildings:
 - * Lorraine Gardens: an additional access was projected through this terrace to Westbourne Gardens (Fig. DH.16a & 16b), which was never intended by Paterson. The terrace itself was a contrast among the successful villas built in the mid-1850s, and suggested that a change in housing demand was really taking place, which favoured the smaller house type;
 - * Kensington Gate: this is the most unusual design of terrace found in Glasgow, in which a serpentine

structure was tightly fitted within an awkward corner between two estates. Also, the original land for this terrace is interesting in that it consisted of a plot left over from Dowanhill and another plot purchased from Kelvinside (refer to Fig. KS.18 & 19). Both the Victoria Park Feuing Company feuing plan of 1873 and the Dowanhill Feuing Plan of 1874 project the corresponding access from Dowanhill to Great Western Road alongside the plots. An early proposal indicates the awkward situation between the two estates (Fig. DH.17). However, the final built version overcame this situation, while providing a 'room with a view' for most of the houses (refer to the 1913 Ordnance Survey, Fig. DH.13).

- e. Excambions were proposed between Hyndland and Dowanhill to allow the continuation the terraces along Prince Albert road and Crown Circus Road North into Hyndland Estate (Fig. DH.18). However, these were not carried out, and, apart from the rationalisation of access roads, no buildings were built on these boundaries.
- f. Although the majority of the plots were for housing, quite a number of churches eventually moved into Dowanhill. A Roman Catholic Church occupied a site in Wood Street and Hyndland Street, which was a rarity in the west end. The other two churches, both United Free Church, occupied sites in Lawrence Street and the corner between Hyndland Street and Hyndland Road

respectively. The latter had already been built when the 1874 plan was produced (Architect: William Leiper, 1856-6²⁰), and became an important landmark when approached from the south (Fig. DH.19). Its magnificent church spire closed off the otherwise uninteresting vistas along Havelock Street and Crown Circus. There was another proposed church at Victoria Crescent Road on the original feuing plans, but this was not realised.

7. Conclusion

The design of Dowanhill was very much inspired by both topographical and social factors.

Topographically speaking, the summit of the estate was reserved for the more up-market building types of villas and terraces, while the lower portion was laid out with tenements. Different building types were then allocated with different degrees of accessibility: the northern part being secluded and restricted, while a permeable standard grid interwove with the tenements. In between there is a gradual transition of terraces of various forms and direction, together with the buffer zone of a public park and public school. Eventually the grid structure of the lower part was extended to the neighbouring lands of

²⁰ E Williamson et al. *op cit.*, pp. 356

Partick, Partickhill and Gilmorehill during the ever increasing development of the tenement city.

Design changes of the estate were limited to isolated and localised blocks, and the overall concept had not been altered - villas, terraces, and tenements were still disposed along physical and social gradation from the north to the south of the estate. Nevertheless, minor changes were inevitable. Size of houses and the design of blocks were altered, and some plots were never taken up by feuars in the 19th century.

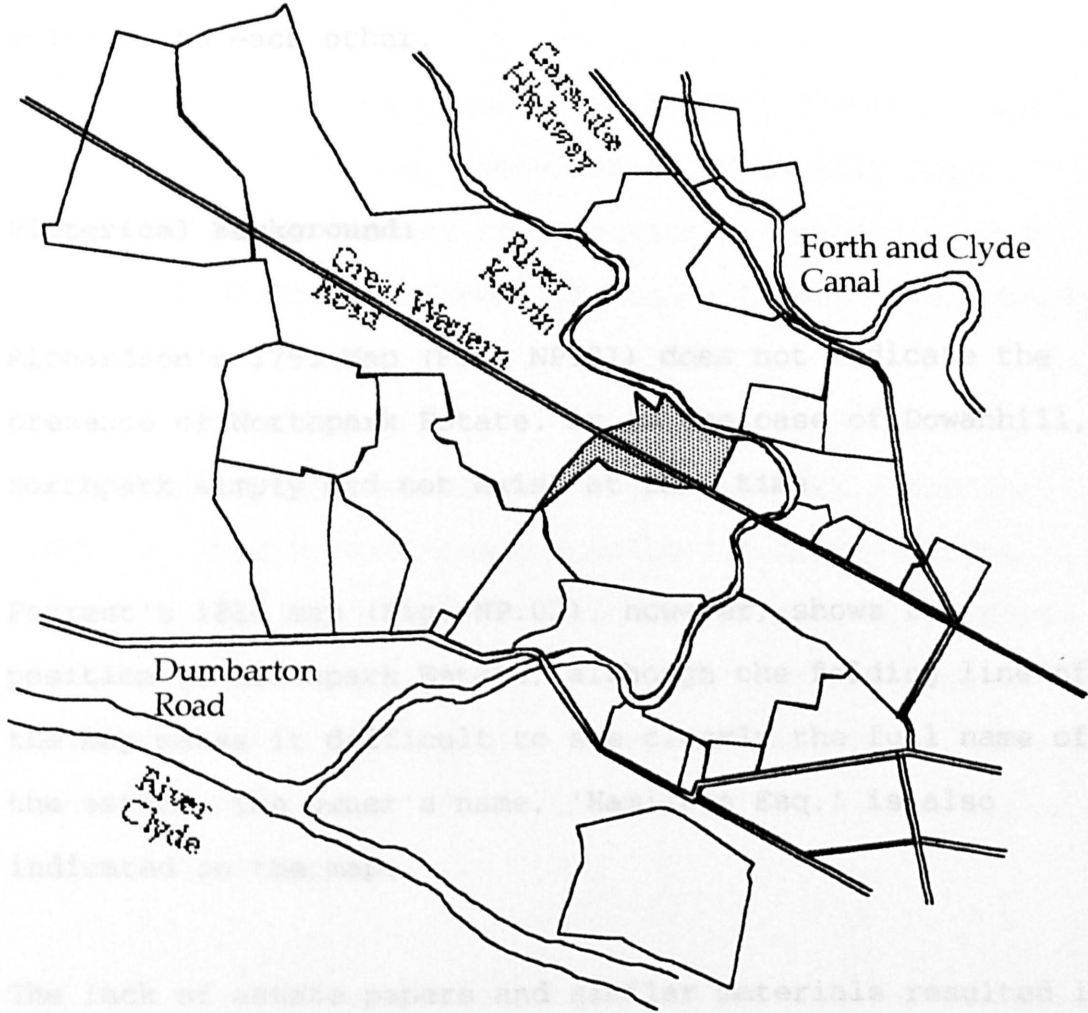
Hence by 1913, the Partick Cross part of Dowanhill had become an amalgamation of tenement blocks, making it hard to believe that this once belonged to the same estate which also contained those grand houses up the hill. The latter middle class villas were not only well differentiated from the tenements in terms of building type, but also well screened off any main roads around the estate, making them visually secluded from the outside world - the true spirit of *rus in urbe*.

Whether the development of Dowanhill was a successful venture or not is a matter for economic historians to judge. But from the point of view of urban design, despite the time taken - over 60 years, and still not completed - the basic design criteria set out in 1853 were carried throughout this period without a drastic deviation. This

was largely attributed to the personal perseverance of TL Paterson, who, despite financial difficulties, was totally obsessed with the development of the estate in accordance with the original design plan²¹.

²¹ R M Jarvis, op cit.: The development of Dowanhill did not deviate from its original design until late 1880s when further financial difficulties forced Paterson to hand over everything, including the estate and his own house, to his Creditors' solicitors and Robert Cassells.

NORTHPARK



Location of Northpark Estate

Introduction:

Northpark Estate is one of the smallest estates in the West End. Although it was naturally separated from the northern estates of Garrioch-Kelvinside by the River Kelvin, its close proximity to Hillhead Estate and Kelvinside Estate makes it impossible to separate the overall historical

events which were common to all three of them. However, a closer examination reveals that the differences between them are still obvious, despite the fact that they are adjacent to each other.

Historical Background:

Richardson's 1795 Map (Fig. NP.01) does not indicate the presence of Northpark Estate. As in the case of Downahill, Northpark simply did not exist at that time.

Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. NP.02), however, shows the position of Northpark Estate, although the folding line of the map makes it difficult to see clearly the full name of the estate. The owner's name, 'Hamilton Esq.' is also indicated on the map.

The lack of estate papers and similar materials resulted in a search through the Sasines Records (refer to Hillhead Estate for details of these materials). By tracing the owner, the Hamilton Family, a first entry of the estate was recorded in 1799, when John Hamilton junior "seized" a plot of land of 9 acres 37 falls, plus a piece of ground for a private road, from Hillhead lands. The plot was eventually commonly called 'Northpark', while the road became an important northern extension of Byres Road. The peculiar boundaries gave rise to confusion as it is unusual to have

such an extended private access (see below for the estate plan), indicating the upper class status of the Hamilton family.

The main plot was only feued, not bought, from the then proprietor of Hillhead, James Gibson. Gradually the Hamilton family expanded their estate by acquiring more lands from Hillhead estate, some being feued, others being bought.

By 1842, Northpark was already completed with a mansion house, a large area of land, a defined boundary, and a private access road continued off the ancient Byres Road. It occupied the river bank site at the north-west of Hillhead Estate, neighbouring Kelvinside Estate on the west. The arrangement of the three estates is recorded on Martin's 1842 map (Fig. NP.03).

Martin's map follows closely the Feuing Design of Hillhead by David Smith, dated 1823-25 (refer to Hillhead Estate), by indicating several strips of ground running north to south on the east side of the Northpark Mansion House. At this time, Great Western Road was already finished and opened. The road cut right through the estate of Northpark, segregating some of the southside plots from the main heart of the estate. No wonder that even Simpson and Dicks have mistakenly taken the Great Western Road as the southern

boundary of the estate, rather than the bend further south¹.

Martin's map does not record the sequence of the expansion of the estate, neither do other contemporary documents, such as the definitive "Old Country Houses of Glasgow of the Old Glasgow Gentry"². To understand the development of the estate, a further search through the Sasines Record and Hillhead Feu Chartularies was necessary.

The search revealed that Northpark was actually built up from various plots that originally belonged to Hillhead Estate and Partick. This process of building up, together with the dates of the plots acquired, is summarised in Fig. NP.04 (which uses Martin's map and Hillhead Feuing Plan as its basis).

The Pre-feuing Stages:

The expansion of Northpark Estate raises the question of the owner's intention. There are two possible explanations of this, both pointing towards the direction of property speculation. First, the Hamilton family was inter-related

¹ Refer to accompanying illustrations in the works of:
M A Simpson, "Middle Class Housings and the Growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", Unpublished MLitt thesis, Glasgow University, 1970; and:
B Dicks, "Choice and Constraint", as in G Gordon, "Perspectives of the Scottish City", Aberdeen University Press, 1985, pp.102

² J Buchanan & others, "Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry", James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1878.

with the Bogle family of Gilmorehill by marriage³, and certainly the Bogles were engaged in land speculation by the mid-19th century, despite their failures at Gilmorehill. Secondly, the feuing development of both Hillhead and Kelvinside, which started in the early 19th century - 1820s and 1840s respectively - might have persuaded the Hamiltons to join in the business of property development. These might be the possible reasons for its speculative expansion during the 1820s.

No matter what may have been the reason behind the progressive expansion of the estate, Martin's map of 1842 already indicates the projected grid of Hillhead into Northpark (refer above), implying that the slicing up of the plots for feuing purposes could not be avoided.

Feuing Stages:

The feuing intention by the owner became obvious in the early 1840s. The owner invited an eminent architect from London, Decimus Burton - shortly after he had drawn up his feuing design of Kelvinside Estate, to design the layout of Northpark Estate for feuing purposes. In 1841, two versions of feu design were produced by him (Fig. NP.05a & 05b). Both designs are very similar, with a mixture of terraces

³ The actual relationship is too complicated to be described here, but one could refer to J Buchanan & others, *op cit.*, chapter 78.

and villas. By examining the designs, the following summary can be made:

- In both designs, the existing layout of the mansion house and access roads is totally obliterated, with a new access road from Great Western Road, and creating an internal road on the northern portion; the internal road remains introverted, only servicing the houses and terraces, with no communication with the north, nor the east;
- In both designs, there are three sets of terraces:
 - a. the main set is along both sides of Great Western Road, creating a boulevard between Kelvinside on the west and other parts of Hillhead estate on the east;
 - b. another long terrace turns west along Byres Road - together with a widened access from Byres Road proper;
 - c. The other cluster is on the hinterland at the northern edge, facing the River Kelvin;
- Apart from these terraces, various villas are scattered around the pockets of the remaining lands;
- In option A (Fig. NP.05a), the terrace facing the Kelvin has a clear view over the river bank, and the terraces along Great Western Road suggest some kind of palatial front treatment, with corner and central emphasis;
- In option B (Fig. NP.05b), more villas are disposed along the picturesque river bank on the northern edge

between the river and the north terrace; in this option, the terraces along Great Western Road also seem to be less articulated - without the treatment as indicated in option A.

The overall arrangement of the terraces here were strikingly similar to Burton's previous design for the Kelvinside estate, particularly the cluster of terraces near the Botanic Gardens. The provision of *pro indiviso* gardens in front of the main terraces along Great Western Road, and the deep back gardens with stables were very familiar to Estate owners at that time, especially when one could find such examples in South Woodside, Clairmont and Kelvinside since the late 1830s.

Therefore, Burton was not creating a new urban morphology for this small estate. Instead, Northpark provided the link between the Kelvinside estate on the west, especially the various terraces juxtaposing Northpark, and the other terraces/ tenements along Great Western Road in Hillhead Estate in the east.

Although the design development of other plots along Great Western Road was considerably later than those in Kelvinside and Northpark, the actual physical building of terraces along this thoroughfare was very much confined within the mid-19th century. Hence the early terrace designs around the Botanic Gardens and Northpark must have

influenced the other developments along the whole spectrum of Great Western Road from Byres Road to St George's Cross.

The Revision of the Feuing Designs:

Another feuing design plan was produced in 1856, by David Smith, for a Mr Corbett (Fig. NP.06). The involvement of Corbett in Northpark is not documented by any other secondary sources, and we may assume that Corbett was one of Hamilton's feuars⁴, who feued a substantial amount of land within the estate.

By 1856, both Buckingham Terrace and St James Terrace were already built, and they followed closely the layout by Burton. However, none of the villas was realised. Smith's 1856 plan includes the majority of the eastern half of the estate, and in it further proposals are made for development along the north and south sides of Hamilton Drive and a small pocket at the north-east - which later became part of St James Street. The strip of ground at the mansion house area has been left blank, with pencil indications of further terrace houses.

However, Smith's plan does not include the rest of the estate, and it is difficult to see to what extent Burton's

⁴ This was confirmed by one of the 'factors' (agent) of one of the houses in Hamilton Drive, who said that the name "Corbett" appears on most of the title deeds of the houses.

proposal was realised. But it is obvious that the plan for villas along the eastern strip was abandoned by the 1850s, and when the first Ordnance Survey was carried out in the late 1850s, terraces had become the dominant feature of the estate.

1860 Ordnance Survey and beyond:

a) The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

The 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. NP.07) indicates a totally different picture from Burton's proposals. The villas are virtually non-existent. The north side of Great Western Road is already lined with three blocks of terraces, and another one is running perpendicular to it at St James Street. Northpark House itself is flanked by two terraces on both sides, and therefore completing the rectangular urban block of terraces.

None of the terraces as proposed on the south of Great Western Road has yet been built, although the offset southside boundary of Northpark estate is still visible, as the terraces in Hillhead Street and Cecil Street stop short before this line, leaving a blank gap between the last house of the terrace and Great Western Road. However, Belgrave Terrace (between Bank Street and Wilson Street) has been completed on this side of the main road,

suggesting the influence of terrace development as discussed above.

b) The 1868 Feu Record Plan:

The southside portions of the estate did not stay long within the estate. By 1868, when a feuing record plan was drafted up by David Smith (Fig. NP.08), none of the southern parts of the estate was indicated. Since this feu record plan was quite important for the feu superior, its record must be very reliable, and therefore there is no doubt that the lands south of Great Western Road must have been absorbed into Hillhead Estate, disappearing from this plan, and outwith the control of the owners of Northpark Estate.

The final layout of the estate as indicated on this 1868 plan is very similar to the 1860 Ordnance Survey, but far from the original proposal by Burton. Instead of the scattered villas, the majority of the estate is filled with terraces: the two main clusters of north-south running strips perpendicular to Great Western Road, and another small portion in St James Street. The latter was deliberately made to turn east along the river front, and eventually joining up with La Crosse Terrace in neighbouring Hillhead Estate (refer to the 1913 OS as discussed below), evidence of a co-operative planning between the two parties concerned.

Most of the plots are divided into individual houses, although there are no records of the names of the feuars on this plan. There are still two main undeveloped plots: one is the old Northpark House plot, the other is the substantial unfeued ground at the north-west corner.

c) Feuing of Northpark Mansion House Plot:

The mansion house plot eventually gave way to terraced house development, and in 1863 a plan by Kyle and Frew was drawn up to show the divisions of this plot (Fig. NP.09), although the actual design of the terraced houses was by Alexander "Greek" Thomson in around 1866⁵. The design followed the existing building line of Hamilton Park Terrace (i.e., the two terraces on both sides of the mansion house), but retained the existing access to the mansion house from Hamilton Drive.

d) The new Northpark House:

The unfeued portion of the estate on the north-west corner was unoccupied for quite some time. A bridge facing the old Northpark House was built in 1860 over the Kelvin to join up to Kelvinside Crescent in North Kelvinside⁶, which was developed by J E Walker. The remaining enclosure between the bridge, the River, and Kelvinside Estate border, formed a secluded and heavily wooded plot which attracted the

⁵ R McFadzean, "The Life and Works of Alexander Thomson", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979, pp.156-157; and:

Gomme & Walker, "Architecture of Glasgow", Lund Humphries, London, 1987, pp.140

⁶ D P Walker, "Northpark House", unpublished article in SRA (Ref: SRA/ AGN/ 2145).

attention of the Bell brothers, who were involved in pottery manufacturing at that time. They bought the site and built the new Northpark House in 1869, of which John Honeyman was the architect and they lived there until they died in the late 1870s⁷.

In 1883 Queen Margaret College was established. The governing body of the College acquired the then vacant Northpark House in the following year, and subsequent alterations to the building were carried out in several phases. In 1894, a new medical wing was added to the building by Honeyman & Keppie (John Honeyman being the original architect), but there is clear evidence that their new young draughtsman, C R Mackintosh, was involved in this addition⁸.

Therefore, the new Northpark House became the only "villa" in the whole Northpark Estate, despite Burton's original intention of having a handful of them along the river bank. The new Northpark House also occupied part of the awkward triangular plot adjacent to the Botanic Gardens which the Hamiltons originally feued from Kelvinside Estate.

1913 Ordnance Survey and Beyond:

⁷ D P Walker, *op cit*.

⁸ T Howarth, "Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. 1977, pp.63-65

By 1913, the estate was fully built up as recorded on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. NP.10). The neat arrangement of terraces parallel to Great Western Road, confined within the rectangular enclosure of Hamilton Drive, St James Street and Great Western Road, has made them detached from the villa plot of the new Northpark House. The other terrace along St James Street has been integrated with the larger development of Belmont Crescent/ Terrace at Hillhead Estate, with the boundary of Northpark and Hillhead disappearing altogether.

The portion of the estate on the south side of Great Western Road has been completely absorbed into Hillhead Estate, with little trace of the original boundary. However, a small section of the original boundary existed behind Alfred Terrace. Was Alfred Terrace the only part of Northpark developed south of Great Western Road? There is no obvious evidence of this, but the angle of the boundary line likely suggests this exception. All the other southern portions of Northpark Estate, however, were integrated within the Hillhead grid, with no trace of the original angled boundary.

Although this thesis does not cover events after the 1910s, one further 20th century development in Northpark may be worth mentioning. Access to the northern urban areas of Maryhill became more important in the 20th century. By the 1920s, the Corporation proposed a new tram route through

Northpark to Maryhill, which involved the demolition of the new Northpark House. Obviously the University - which became the owner of this house when Queen Margaret College was amalgamated with the University in 1892 - objected to this proposal. Hence further proposals were made, one being for a route round the west side of the Kibble Palace, and the other for a route in between the Kibble Palace and new Northpark House (Fig. NP.11). The latter one was chosen and built, which resulted in a re-alignment of the estate again. Gone is the irregular Northpark-Kelvinside boundary, but the rationalized main thoroughfare, extending the traffic of the Byres Road/ Great Western Road junction into Maryhill via a new Queen Margaret Drive, separated the two estates artificially.

A new bridge was also necessary to span the River Kelvin, allowing a more direct connection further north. The new bridge (constructed in concrete, 1926-9⁹) was also outlined on the proposed plans, and, after completion, its role gradually superseded the original Queen Margaret Bridge. The latter fell into disuse after the post war years, and was demolished when new Northpark House was taken over by the BBC.

Conclusion:

⁹ E Williamson et al, "The Buildings of Scotland. Glasgow", Penguin Books, GB, 1990, pp.629-630

The small estate of Northpark, which was surrounded by 'big brothers' such as Kelvinside and Hillhead, kept pace with the developments of the latter two estates. This was supported by the feuing design proposals following right after the same exercise in Kelvinside, by the same architect. This could not be a matter of coincidence, but definitely a deliberate attempt at joining the trend of property speculation.

The feuing proposals by Burton, however, suffered from the same defect as in Kelvinside, by simply being over optimistic about the development density. The final result was that, instead of the picturesque *rus in urbe* villas on the river bank, rows of terrace houses in a strictly rationalized block layout were built. Also the secluded layout as envisaged by Burton was never realised, and eventually a co-operative development with Hillhead and North Kelvinside appeared in the built version.

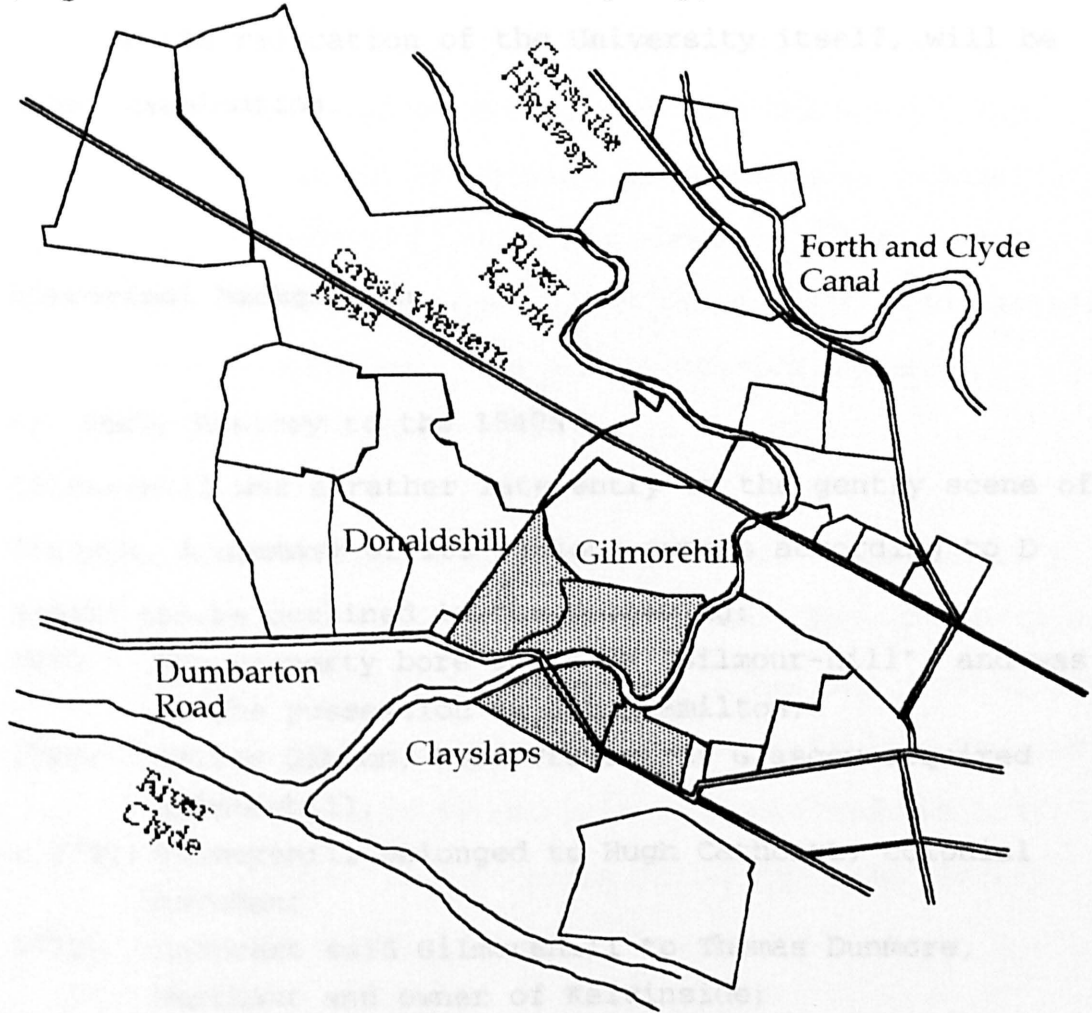
The tight urban morphology of the terrace development did not allow for substantial private gardens, but the set back of terraces from the main road with *pro indiviso* front gardens, comparable with other terraces found in Kelvinside and Southwoodside/ Clairmont, provided the compromise.

The artificial cut created by Great Western Road and Queen Margaret Drive re-aligned the physical boundary of the

estate, by cutting off its large southern portion, and separating the estate from the Botanic Gardens in Kelvinside respectively. Nevertheless, despite these artificial segregation, we can see that the urbanisation of Northpark Estate made the estate indistinguishable from the urban grid which encompasses its south and west counterparts.

GILMOREHILL

(together with Donaldshill & Clayslap)



Location of Gilmorehill, Donaldshill and Clayslaps

Introduction:

Gilmorehill nowadays is synonymous with Glasgow University and the Western Infirmary, with little residential area within the original estate boundary. However, this was not the intended development when the estate was ripe for land

speculation in the 1850s. The final result as seen today was due to a deliberate action mainly by the College of Glasgow to move to Gilmorehill in 1867. In the following analysis, the pre-University development of the estate, as well as the relocation of the University itself, will be under examination.

Historical Background:

a) Early History to the 1840s:

Gilmorehill was a rather late entry in the gentry scene of Glasgow. A summary of its various owners according to D Small¹ can be outlined in the following:

- 1650: The property bore the name "Gilmour-hill", and was in the possession of John Hamilton;
- 1720: Walter Gibson, Lord Provost of Glasgow acquired Gilmorehill;
- c.1742: Gilmorehill belonged to Hugh Cathcart, colonial merchant
- 1771: Cathcart sold Gilmorehill to Thomas Dunmore, merchant and owner of Kelvinside;
- 1780: Dunmore sold Gilmorehill, along with Kelvinside, to Thomas Lithan;
- 1800: Robert Bogle, West Indian Merchant, bought Gilmorehill (together with Donaldshill) for £8500 from Lithan, and erected Gilmorehill House in 1802;
- 1822: Archibald Bogle (son of Robert Bogle) inherited Gilmorehill;
- 1845: Gilmorehill was acquired by a joint stock company, with the intention of developing it as a cemetery.

¹ D Small, "Bygone Glasgow", 1896, Morrison Brothers Publisher, Glasgow, Chapter 31

b) Information from Maps:

Because Gilmorehill House was not built until 1802, Richardson's 1795 Map (Fig. GH.01) did not indicate any sign of Gilmorehill despite its independent status since the 17th century. Richardson's Map also missed out any present known parish roads such as "University Avenue" or "Byres Road", although Byres was shown in close vicinity to the village of *Partik*. Instead, a large plain from Partick to Kelvinside with only the single mansion house of Hillhead was indicated.

By 1816, when Forrest's Map was published, Gilmorehill's identity was much clearer. Forrest's Map (Fig. GH.02) has a detailed indication of the estate with all the present day boundaries of the estate, such as River Kelvin on the east and south, Byres Road on the west, and the "Dobbie Loan" [University Avenue] on the north, plus the name "Bogle Esquire" as its owner.

The estate of Gilmorehill remained as a country residence for the Bogle family for the early part of the 19th century. When Martin's Map was published in 1842 (Fig. GH.03), nothing had changed on the estate - the boundaries were virtually the same, though a quarry was opened up on the annexed Donaldshill estate.

c) Neighbouring Donaldshill Estate:

Despite being surrounded by other large estates, Donaldshill remained as a separate entity until the early 19th century. An account regarding the history of this small estate, compiled by J F Gordon², is outlined in the following:

no date: Donaldshill originally belonged to the Greys of Dalmarnock;

1786: Feued to William Ross of Stobcross who then feued to William Robb, Bleacher – that is why for a long time Donaldshill was called "Bleachfield";

1793: Sold to John Mair, merchant

1803: Sold to Robert Bogle (of Gilmorehill) and amalgamated with Gilmorehill estate;

d) 1860 Ordnance Survey:

When the national survey was carried out in the late 1850s, changes were inevitable in the West End of Glasgow. The 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. GH.04) of Gilmorehill Estate has the same layout as on Martin's map, but behind the picturesque landscape as indicated, its proprietors, the newly established joint stock company, were trying hard to make a profit out of land speculation (see below).

Pre-feuing Stages:

a) The Joint Stock Company of Gilmorehill:

By 1845, Gilmorehill lands together with Donaldshill were sold to a Joint Stock Company by Robert Bogle's eldest son.

² J F Gordon, "The History of Glasgow: Glasghu Facies", Glasgow, 1872, pp.1143-4

The author of the book "Old Country Houses"³, describes the year 1845 as 'memorable for the mania which prevailed for all sorts of Joint-Stock Company' and Gilmorehill estate came under one of these speculative undertakings. However, the nature of the undertaking at Gilmorehill was a peculiar one: a rural cemetery – the western counterpart of the Necropolis at Glasgow Cathedral. Even the name of the joint-stock company was called the "The Glasgow Western Cemetery Company", although it was changed to "The Gilmorehill Company" afterwards.

However, the scheme did not succeed. A sudden panic went through the money market, and most of the embryonic companies collapsed because of excessive speculations, terminating the future of the Gilmorehill Company. However, the company did not immediately sell off the grounds, and the estate was held under the shareholders, speculating an eventual rise of land value in the years to come⁴.

b) The Attempted Feuing of Grounds:

During the quiet years, the mansion house and grounds were rented out, while the company changed its direction to real estate speculation instead of pursuing their plans for the cemetery. Feuing Plans for building purposes, dated from the late 1840s to the early 1860s (Fig. GH.05 a-f inclusive), were found among the archives of Glasgow

³ J Buchanan and others, *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, 1878, James MacLehose Publisher, Glasgow, pp.122.

⁴ J F Gordon, *op cit.*, pp.1145

University, proving the company's intention of feuing out its ground. Not many details are indicated on these drawings, but it is quite obvious that they were submitted to the Gilmorehill Feuing Company. Some of them appeared under pseudonyms, suggesting that it was a competition rather than an actual development by the Company.

In fact, as early as 1851, a design by Charles Wilson integrated the estates of Woodlands, Gilmorehill, Southwoodside and Kelvinbank as a speculative proposal for middle class housing, with the West End park spreading along the line of the River Kelvin (Fig. GH.06). Eventually the West End Park was realised in 1856, and pressure remained for the land west of the Kelvin in Gilmorehill to be developed along the same principle. Therefore it is not surprising to find that in some of the competition entries, a large portion of the estate reserved for park purposes, as well as all sorts of picturesque layouts for housing.

The layouts of these proposals can be summarised in the following sets of categories:

- Boundary generated / grid structure referring to University Avenue;
- Centralised feature - Crescents, Circus, Squares, geometrical layouts etc;
- Picturesque developments - landscaped villas and curvilinear layouts, some on peripherals, some as main features;

Nevertheless, none of these was realised. By the 1860s, the land was earmarked for a different purposes – the development of the New University of Glasgow.

The Development of Glasgow University in Gilmorehill:

a) Relocation of the College to Gilmorehill:

The College of Glasgow in High Street had been attempting to move out from its old premises since the 1840s. However, the first proposal to relocate to Woodlands Hill fell through, because the railway company, which promised to purchase the old site and fund the relocation, collapsed financially. Details of this proposal may be found in the section which examines the development of Kelvingrove Park.

By the early 1860s, a survey was carried out on the old premises in High Street, and the Commissioners of the University concluded that:

.....the buildings were utterly unfit for the purposes of the University, and were 'placed in a quarter of the town densely peopled with the lowest of the population, and in an atmosphere darkened with the smoke and polluted by the effluvia of chemical and other manufactories', so that 'it would be difficult to select an academic seat less eligible or attractive.'⁵

⁵ J Coutts, "A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1909". James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1909, pp.443

The Commissioners also re-valued the 26-acre site and found that while the grounds were of great commercial value, they were most unsuitable for the purposes of the University, and urged the expediency of removal to a new site.

Also in 1863, the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company came forward to purchase the College buildings and grounds. The Railway Company obtained an Act of Parliament, stipulating the possession of these grounds before 1869, with an offer of £100,000. After gaining a further Parliamentary grant as agreed by the Treasury, a Removal Committee was set up by the University to deal with the rest of the matters involved in relocating the College⁶.

Eventually in 1864, the land of Gilmorehill was bought from the shareholders of the Gilmorehill Company, with the following details:

<u>Land</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Price</u>
Gilmorehill	43 acres	£65,000
Donaldshill	14 acres	£16,000
Claylaps	5 to 6 acres	£17,400
Total:	<u>62 acres</u>	<u>£98,400</u>

(Source: J Coutts, "A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1909", James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1909, pp.444)

Hence the price they paid to the Gilmorehill Company for the lands of Gilmorehill and Donaldshill, £81,000, was

⁶ J Coutts, op cit., pp.443-444

about a ten fold increase compared with what Robert Bogle paid in 1803⁷.

After purchasing the grounds, the University was then busy preparing its new buildings, by appointing the English architect Gilbert Scott despite strong opposition from local architects. They were also negotiating a deal to sell off the surplus ground at the south of the estate near the River Kelvin to the Corporation as an extension to Kelvingrove Park.

b): The New University Buildings:

On the old site in High Street the buildings of the college were restricted to a medieval building line with maximum building up to this line. Despite the open College gardens behind the facade, nothing was exposed along the main elevation (Fig. GH.07).

In Gilmorehill a totally different site constraint was imposed. Given the historical position of the old Gilmorehill mansion house, which commanded great views over vast areas, it is not surprising to find that the new buildings were located on the same spot as this house, with similar commanding views:

.....The Architect had a good opportunity to produce a stately and symmetrical building, being unfettered by previous conditions, such as the existence of neighbouring edifices with which the

⁷ J F Gordon, op cit., pp.1146

new building must be brought into relation or harmony. He had also a commanding site, with ample clear space around to give a full view of the structure, which was placed on the crest of an eminence overlooking the Kelvin and the West End Park and sloping steeply towards the river, which here forms a strong curve on its way through the park, subtending both the eastern and the southern aspect of Gilmorehill⁸.

However, some initial designs of the University did not fully appreciate this quality. Two early sketches (Fig. GH.08 and GH.09) showed an intended 'wall' of housing along Hillhead Road [University Avenue], reminiscent of the High Street urban morphology. Nevertheless these were not accepted and finally the open site option as described above was adopted. In any case, the view from the newly established West End Park [Kelvingrove Park], even nowadays, possesses a calibre of majesty which is uncommon among other universities (Fig. GH.10a & 10b).

The building itself was Gothic in style, but the plan was based on the classical tradition of Oxbridge's quadrangle system, which was the accepted, approved and safest design for contemporary 19th century academic buildings.

Much ink has been spilt over the other aspects of the University Buildings⁹, and there is no attempt to repeat

⁸ J Coutts, op cit., pp.446

⁹ Refer to:
Gomme & Walker, "Architecture of Glasgow", Lund Humphries, 1968, London, pp.169;
University of Glasgow. "University of Glasgow: Through Five Centuries", University of Glasgow, 1951; and
J Coutts, op cit.

those descriptions here. However, the tower - which was completed in 1888 - deserves to be mentioned for its importance to the skyline of the West End of Glasgow:

"The compelling impression is of great size with plenty of Gothic detail, dominated by the mighty central tower and fanciful open spire. The tower, although infinitely larger, is distantly related to those often attached to tolbooths..... with a corona similar to that on the Tron Steeple clamped over it."¹⁰

c) The Involvement of Glasgow Corporation in Gilmorehill:

The initial involvement of the Corporation came from the original speculative proposal by some citizens for the West End Park in 1851 in which a proposed design was drawn by Charles Wilson (refer to Fig. GH.06).

After the University bought the estates of Gilmorehill, Donaldshill and Clayslaps, various meetings were held during 1866 to 1867 between the representatives of the University and the Corporation regarding a deal between them for the lands of Gilmorehill. The main idea was that the University would buy their [the whole] site at full price, and the remaining ground (with the exception of Clayslaps which was reserved for the new teaching hospital) should be taken up by the City at the same rate per square yard as the ground obtained by the University. The University looked upon the whole business of relocating to the West End "not merely as a scheme for the University, but as a great general improvement to the city"¹¹. The University even threatened that if an arrangement could not be made regarding the land deal, they "would require to review their whole position.....and that might involve the

¹⁰ Williamson et al. "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, Great Britain, 1990, pp.338

¹¹ 1866 Minutes of the Town Council and their Committees on the University Buildings, ref.: SRA/ MP/3/129

erection of an inferior set of houses on the low ground besides the river"¹²

Obviously neither the city nor the middle classes in the West End wanted any inferior developments, and eventually after much negotiation, in 1867 a plan was produced to set out the agreed arrangement, with clear indications of boundaries and ownership (Fig. GH.11). The city bought the surplus lands from the University, amounting to 20.5 acres (106192 sq. yd), for the price of £19,966 for the extension of West End Park, and another 16 acres of Donaldshill for housing purposes. The University retained 21 acres for their own use.

Fringe Developments and the Western Infirmary:

The other parts of the development of Gilmorehill mainly dealt with two small estates: Clayslap and Donaldshill.

a) Clayslap:

Being on both sides of the River Kelvin and in close proximity to Partick, Clayslap had a complex of mills built upon the river banks since the 18th century (refer to Forrest's 1816 map, Fig. GH.02). The New Dumbarton Road cut right across the estate as indicated on Martin's 1842 map, and the southern part was still occupied by mills even when the northern part was disposed of to the University in

¹² 1866 Minutes, op cit.

1864. The site, which the University acquired, was dedicated for "a new hospital intended to supply curative relief to the sick poor in the Western part of the City, and to be available for Clinical Instruction in the Medical School of the University"¹³.

However, this arrangement did not last very long. The separation between the University and the Hospital by the new portion of the West End Park was obviously inconvenient, and therefore another excambion took place¹⁴. This excambion was based on the Corporation exchanging its lands of Donaldshill for the lands of Clayslap, and the Hospital being built on Donaldshill. The building of the Hospital started in 1874¹⁵.

Clayslap, being in the vicinity of Kelvingrove Park, was then developed as a continuation of the Corporation's dedication to the public. In fact the Gilmorehill portion of West End Park [Kelvingrove Park], a block of ground at Kelvinbank, and the estate of Clayslap became the venue of the 1888, 1901 and 1911 International Exhibitions (Fig. GH.12a and 12b)

¹³ J F Gordon, op cit., pp.1145

¹⁴ Despite thorough research, none of the Corporation documents nor secondary materials in the archives have revealed the exact date of this second excambion

¹⁵ Williamson et al, op cit., pp.347

Details of the International Exhibitions could be found in other references¹⁶ and will not be repeated here. The physical extent of these exhibitions varied, but the southern half of Gilmorehill and Clayslap was always used, together with part of Kelvinbank as mentioned. In each case, a whole new approach of architectural style was promoted, and, for the West End of Glasgow, the most treasured legacies left behind are the Art Gallery and Kelvin Hall.

In 1886 the Corporation set up a committee to promote the building of an Art Gallery etc, and after the 1888 International Exhibition the present building of Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum was opened in 1901¹⁷ to coincide with the Exhibition of the same date. The 1901 exhibition also saw the retention of the Industrial Hall to be converted into Kelvin Hall, although the majority of the other buildings did not survive.

b) Donaldshill:

The Corporation's intention to develop Donaldshill as another housing adventure was obvious from the plan mentioned before regarding the land deal between them and the University (refer to Fig. GH.11). From a wider context it is fair to assume that the housing intention in Donaldshill might have been influenced by its surrounding

¹⁶ CA Oakley, "The Second City: The Story of Glasgow", Blackie & Son Ltd. Glasgow, 1990, pp.116-117 & pp.209-213

¹⁷ Williamson et al, op cit., pp.277

estates such as Hillhead, Dowanhill and the village of Partick. The plan indicates the typical 'tenemental block' as the subdivisions of the estate which was common in the mid-1850s in the West End urbanised grid of Hillhead.

Eventually none of the proposed houses was built on Donaldshill – the grounds were given up for the Western Infirmary as the teaching hospital for the University. The Hospital, being the second largest institution in the West End, was designed by John Burnet Senior in 1867, but a reduced version was built in 1874¹⁸. Even then, an early photograph shows the spectacular hospital building in an uncluttered scenario (Fig. GH.13), similarly imposing as the University itself. An early plan (Fig. GH.14) shows the intended mixture of housing with hospital buildings, but eventually the demand for the hospital became the dominating force for the whole site, and only a few blocks of tenements were realised on the south west corner along Church Street (refer to the 1913 OS, Fig. GH.15).

1913 OS Map:

On the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. GH.15), the three estates of Gilmorehill, Donaldshill, and Clayslaps are almost covered with institutions. With the exception of the small block at the junction between University Avenue and Gibson

¹⁸ Williamson et al, *op cit.*, pp.277

Street where two churches and a few tenements were built, the rest of the grounds were occupied by the largest conglomeration of public institutions in the West End of Glasgow. The small collection of buildings on the north-east corner were in fact built on the small mansion plot of Westbank, which David Smith had sold to Bogle in the 1850s.

On the Ordnance Survey, it is quite clear that University Avenue and Dumbarton Road (Argyle Street on the Survey) became the physical boundary on the north and south side respectively, while Byres Road provided the western boundary. However, the eastern boundary with Kelvingrove Park was totally integrated with the Woodlands portion of the same park, creating a leisure garden stretching from Woodside Crescent on the east to Partick Bridge on the west.

Although a main artery (now called Kelvin Way) cutting through the park at Gilmorehill in order to connect Sauchiehall Street to University Avenue was indicated on the 1867 plan (refer to Fig. GH.11), this was not realised until after 1914, and a fountain was built on this access (Fig. GH.16) as part of the 1888 International Exhibition .

The University has also expanded considerably since its original relocation in 1867. Its expansion was mainly on the east side of the main block, with a few more detached blocks on the west and south (Fig. GH.17). Ironically, the

remaining wing on the west quadrangle as designed by Gilbert Scott was never completed. The demand for more space gradually led into an *ad hoc* expansion within its own boundary of Gilmorehill and into neighbouring Hillhead, destroying the cohesiveness of the urban fabric of the latter. However, it is not the scope of this thesis to go into any further details of this 20th-century act of vandalism.

Similarly the Western Infirmary could not escape the gradual increase of demand for its services. Its cruciform plan was still standing within a landscaped approach in 1913, but the uncontrolled over-building behind the main facade was clear even by then. Nowadays the whole site is cluttered with new buildings, making it hard to visualise the original impact as intended by its designer, John Burnet.

Conclusion:

The original development of Gilmorehill was never intended to be institutionalised. However, a twist of fate allowed the University to re-locate on this estate, together with the building of the largest hospital second to Royal Infirmary in Glasgow. The interest of the City Corporation was also unexpected until the proposal of the West End

Park, although the park really started off as a private speculation.

The change of circumstances was so dramatic that none of the typical West End residential developments was realised in this estate. Even the small housing along Church Street gave way to the massive Western Infirmary in the 20th century, although the small cluster at the former Westbank estate survived. Public developments did not even stop at 1913. A new road was cut through the estate, forming the impressive Kelvin way, while Dumbarton Road was again being diverted, with a new modernized and widened Partick Bridge spanning the Kelvin (Fig. GH.18) in 1875.

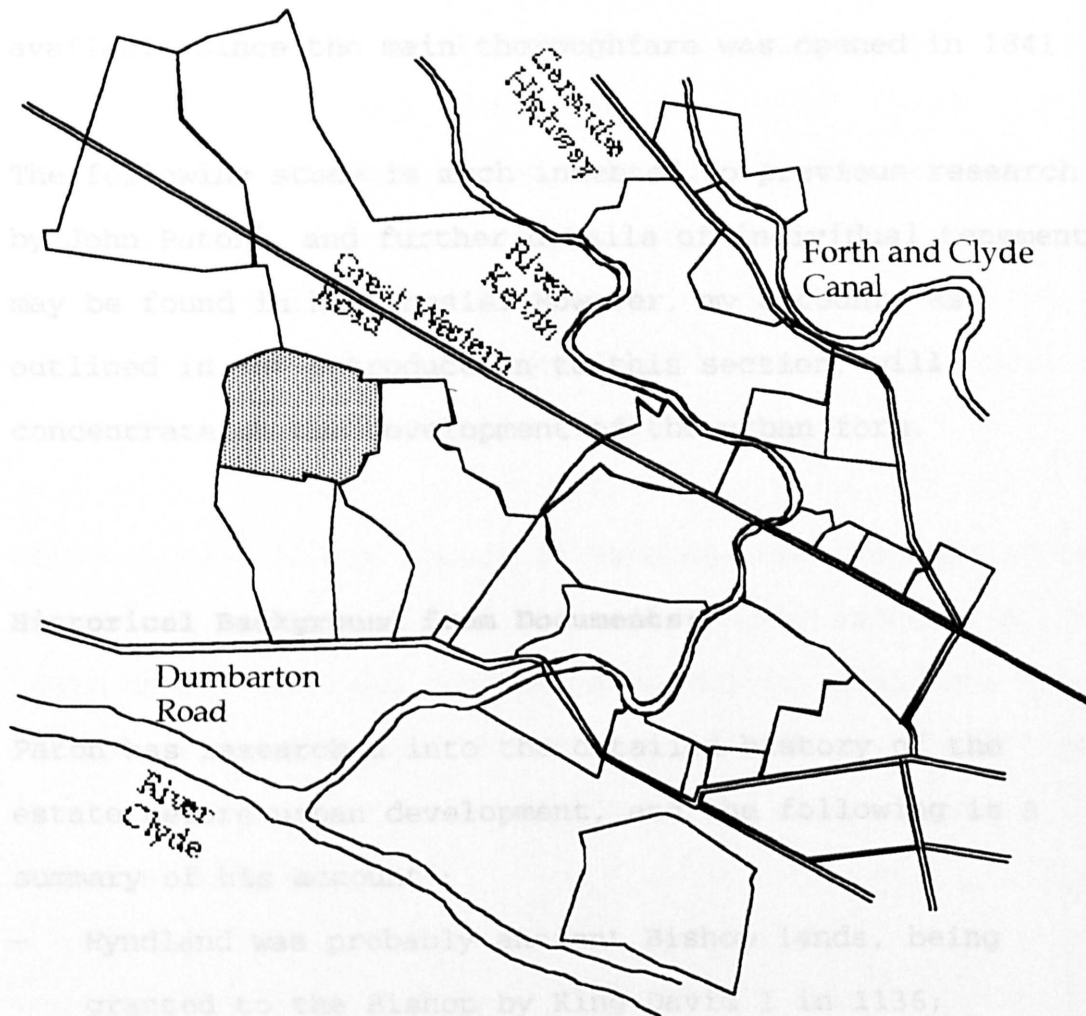
It is interesting to evaluate how much effort the City Corporation and other Institutions had put into the West End of Glasgow by judging the importance of the buildings in Gilmorehill. The collection of buildings served the educational (University), health (Western Infirmary), recreational (Art Gallery and Museum) and greenery (Kelvingrove Park) functions of the city, creating the hub of culture and leisure among the built up middle class developments of the West End.

Indeed, the Corporation also benefited considerably by the location of the University and the Infirmary in its picturesque Kelvingrove Park:

"The imposing structure of the University and Western Infirmary, which crown the heights of Gilmorehill and Donaldshill, along with the varied architecture of the numerous Churches, and stately mansions, and other less pretentious buildings, which surrounded its somewhat irregular boundary, give, when combined with its natural attractions, a distinctive character to Kelvingrove Park..."¹⁹

¹⁹ 1884 Recollection of the Development of Public Parks in Glasgow, by J Carrick, Ref: SRA/ MP/ 10/ 599

HYNDLAND



Location of Hyndland Estate

Introduction:

Hyndland Estate was the last West End estate to be suburbanised. It existed as a country estate for a long time despite neighbouring Downhill and Partickhill being almost fully developed when development started to take place in Hyndland in the late 1880s.

1 J. Paton, 'Hyndland' unpublished MSc Dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1989.

2 J. Paton, op. cit., Chapter 1, pp.1

Hyndland was also the most distant estate from the city centre in the 19th century, although indirect access via Great Western Road and Crossloan Road [Hyndland Road] was available since the main thoroughfare was opened in 1841.

The following study is much indebted to previous research by John Paton¹, and further details of individual tenements may be found in his thesis. However, my account, as outlined in the introduction to this section, will concentrate on the development of the urban form.

Historical Background from Documents:

Paton has researched into the detailed history of the estate before urban development, and the following is a summary of his account²:

- Hyndland was probably ancient Bishop lands, being granted to the Bishop by King David I in 1136;
- After the Reformation, "Hind Land" and Balgrie passed through several owners, including William Anderson;
- 1688: After the death of Anderson, Walter Gibson, who already owned Partick, Whiteinch and Balshagrie, purchased Hind Land and Balgrie;

¹ J Paton, "Hyndland", Unpublished MSc Dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1989.

² J Paton, *op cit.*, Chapter 1, pp.1

- 1720: Hind Land, Balshagrie and Balgrie were sold to Matthew Crawford, and passed on to his son, William Crawford, in 1741;
- 1759: Alexander Oswald added these lands to his existing ownership of Scotstoun;
- 1799: Rae Crawford bought the individual estate of Hind Land, which was eventually inherited by William Stuart Stirling Crawford in 1828;
- 1876: WSS Crawford sold Hyndland Estate to the Bruce Brothers, who developed this estate.

Although most of the owners of Hyndland were merchants, the estate was never developed as a speculative venture in their hands. Hyndland remained as a country residence without any alterations to its steadings boundary until the development by the commercial enterprise of the Bruce Brothers in 1876.

Historical Background from Maps and Plans:

Richardson's 1795 map indicates the location of Hyndland ("Hind Land") steading (Fig. HL.01). At that time, Hyndland was under the ownership of the Oswald family who resided in Scotstoun, therefore no owner's name was indicated on Richardson's map.

By 1816, nothing had changed on the estate physically. Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. HL.02) indicates the same terrain as on Richardson's map, but with an extra indication of a small burn (stream) between Hyndland and Banochill (Bannochhill). A country road (Hyndland Road) still runs across the estate in front of the steading house.

The state of the steading remained static for the next 40 years. When the national survey was carried out in the late 1850s, the estate was still undeveloped, as indicated on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. HL.03). On the east and south of Hyndland Estate, developments were already taking place in Dowanhill and Partickhill, although the former was still in an embryonic stage. Further to the north and west of Hyndland, apart from several farm steadings, only the Asylum in Gartnavel was built.

From the above three general maps, we can see that the estate was in quiet isolation from the excitement of West End development of Glasgow during the mid-19th century. However, the expansion of the city was inevitable, and eventually the estate was laid out for feuing in the late 1870s.

Pre-feuing Stages:

The development of Hyndland was primarily due to WSS Crawford's intention to engage in speculative feuing. The Crawford family purchased Hyndland from the Oswald family in 1799, and a survey was carried out in 1803 (and 1824) to ascertain their property (Fig. HL.04). This survey indicated the divisions of the steadings within the estate, with areas marked on each stading. Clearly the Crawfords did not buy the whole estate at the one time. Some plots were directly bought from the owner at an earlier stage, while some were exchanged ("in excambion") between the seller and buyers with other lands in 1824³.

The physical constraints of the estate included a country road cutting through the estate, creating a vertical east-west division of 1:3. A small burn ran along the western boundary separating the estate from Bannochhill on the west. However, there was no physical separation from other estates on any other edge.

The close proximity to other estates suggests a continual development in line with its neighbours during the course of urbanisation in the 19th century. However, no such development took place until the latter half of the century.

³ The portions that were excambioned are marked with a date "24 April 1824", and the Table of Contents of Areas on the right indicates that these plots in 1803 were still owned by Mr Oswald. Therefore it is possible to assume that the plots which were in excambion were transferred to the Crawfords sometime between 1803 and 1824.

Feuing Stages:

a) 1875 Feuing Proposal:

The first feuing proposal, according to Paton, was in 1875 when the City Architect John Carrick proposed a feuing design for the owner, WSS Crawford.

Unfortunately, the original feuing plan cannot be traced. There is only a simple entry in the Kyle and Frew Drawing Index that proves such plan did exist at one time:

"Hyndland: Roll containing old plan of it [Hyndland], and small feuing plan proposed by John Carrick, also various sheets of sections of proposed roads laid out prior to the sale of the lands by WSS Crawford, Esq., of Milton"⁴

An 1878 Post Office Directory Map, which usually includes *proposed* street layouts, indicates the most probable intended layout as designed by Carrick (Fig. HL.05), although it is not absolutely confirmed due to the lack of the original drawing.

Paton, in his thesis, has a detailed description of the design as illustrated in the above Post Office Directory Map. The following is based on Paton's comments⁵:

⁴ Kyle and Frew Drawings index, volume 4.1 (TKF 4), Strathclyde Regional Archives.
⁵ J Paton, op cit., pp.12-14

- The estate was divided into two parts along Hyndland Road;
- The eastern part was laid out with two short access roads north and south (Hanover Terrace and Royal Quadrant) and an internal gardened plot (Kingsborough Gardens). Paton has found out that most of the eastern part was implemented following this layout, and they were all terraces, probably influenced by similar terrace developments in nearby Kelvinside and Dowanhill estates.
- The western part was laid out on a grid format, with Hyndland Avenue as the central spine. Two additional entry streets (York Gate and Lancaster Gate) were also planned near the north and south boundaries. Two sets of "garden" streets and two sets of "terrace" streets, all parallel to Hyndland Road, completed the grid layout.
- There were two departures from this grid. The western projection of Queensberry Circus might be intended to reach the extremity at this point to create more possible feuing plots, while the slight inflexion of Lancaster Gate would have taken advantage of the slight deviation of the southern boundary.
- The type of development, without the original feuing details, can only be speculated about from the names of the streets. In this proposal, the street names comprised five "Gardens", seven "Terraces", two "Gates", an "Avenue" and a "Royal Quadrant", all which

were used in the Estate of Kelvinside. Therefore Paton suggests that terraces would have predominated, possibly set in the gardens as mentioned above, with a similar style as in Westbourne Gardens, Kelvinside.

Nevertheless, despite the ambitious intentions of the seller – and buyers – of the estate, apart from a section of terraces in the eastern part (built between 1879-1882) in Hanover Terrace, and the new Hyndland Parish Church (1886), nothing substantial was realised. Paton has pointed out that the failure of City Bank of Glasgow in 1878 and competition from other more accessible sites were the two main factors which slowed down the development of Hyndland Estate⁶, and the investors had to wait for another boom in the building business in the late 1880s.

b) 1896 Ordnance Survey:

Before the second feuing design plan of Hyndland in 1897, there were considerable changes in and around the estate. An Ordnance Survey in 1896 (the second edition since 1860) (Fig. HL.06), portrays these infrastructures, including:

- The old country road (Crossloan Road) was widened and regularised in 1869 (Fig. HL.07) to become a formal traffic thoroughfare, joining up Great Western Road and Dumbarton Road, and serving the estates of Hyndland, Partickhill and Dowanhill;

⁶ J Paton, *op cit.*, pp.14-15

- A new railway connection from the City Centre to Hyndland was completed, providing new means of access apart from Great Western Road. Therefore, the railway was eventually accepted by the middle class as a proper means of transport, with dedicated stations specifically serving the West End;
- The neighbouring estates of Dowanhill, Partickhill and Kelvinside were almost completed, leaving Hyndland as the final choice for building speculation;
- Institutional facilities, such as Hospitals, University, Schools (Glasgow Academy and Kelvinside Academy), and recreational facilities (Art Gallery, West End Park and Victoria Park) were all firmly established in the West End, confirming the advantage of middle class developments in this particular direction;
- Though not indicated on the Ordnance Survey, other means of transport and utilities were also improved by the 1890s. Horse trams were reaching the Hyndland end of Great Western Road, while electricity and gas supply was available from the early 1890s⁷.

All these improvements made feuing speculations in Hyndland Estate highly favourable, and in 1897 a second feuing design was proposed by the surveyor, James Barr.

c) 1897 Feuing Plan:

⁷ J Paton, *op cit.*, pp.15

Barr's Feuing Design Plan of 1897 (Fig. HL.08) retained the grid structure as proposed by Carrick. The eastern portion was designed to integrate with the already built up corner of Hanover Terrace and Kingsborough Gardens – the latter was extended further south. Paton suggests that this extension was to link Kingsborough Gardens to the concave Princes Gardens in Dowanhill Estate, creating a ceremonial linking of the two developments⁸.

On the western side of Hyndland Road, the familiar grid structure was the dominating urban form. However, when compared to Carrick's proposal, several differences are noticeable:

- Barr proposed a hierarchy of structure, consisting of primary and secondary routes, denoted by the width of the road (Fig. HL.08a);
- All these routes, whether primary or secondary, were laid out with central gardens, and their intersections were emphasized by an island feature (Fig. HL.08b);
- The grid was strictly regularised, without any deviations as in Carrick's proposal, except a very subtle off-set along the north boundary. The grid was so regularised, that it did not take account of its southern boundary with Partickhill Estate – it simply stopped short when reaching this boundary (Fig. HL.08c);

⁸ J Paton, *op cit.*, pp.15

- Access to the estate from Hyndland Drive [Hyndland Road] was well conceived as in Carrick's proposal, but now there are clearer indications on other boundaries. On the north and west there was a long continuous block stretching along most of the two edges, literally fencing off the estate from the sights and sound of the railway line. This long line of urban block is only broken by one single access point for a 'contemplated road' [Clarence Drive] which goes under the railway bridge (Fig. HL.08d). Ironically, it was the introduction of the railway service which allowed Hyndland Estate to be attractive to developers, but obviously, the benefits of the railway did not justify the presence of the actual railway line being visible among its beneficiaries.

d) 1897 Feuing Plan Memorandum

The actual intention of building types is not clear from the drawing, but a Memorandum⁹ accompanying the feuing plan has clear stipulations of the intended proposals. A summary from this 'memo' is in the following:

- East of Hyndland Drive: intended for 'self-contained houses [terraced houses] in continuation of Kingsborough Gardens and Hanover Terrace', although the Drive will be fronted with 'tenements of from three to five apartments';

⁹ 1897 Feuing Plan and Memorandum of Hyndland Estate, Hill's Collection/ Maps and Plans volume IV, Royal Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow.

- The whole of the west of Hyndland Drive 'is to be devoted to tenements of dwelling houses of from two to five apartments'. Therefore, it is quite clear that the developers provided flexibility in accommodation sizes from small one-bedroom flats (two apartments) to large five-apartment flats from the very beginning. The tenement building type formed the basis of flexibility by allowing the internal divisions to be arranged according to the demand of the market;
- The plots would be either feued out or sold off. In all cases, whether it was 'self-contained houses' (terraced houses) or tenements, they have to be 'of suitable character and conformity of design according to plans and elevations to be approved of by the Superiors, with suitable enclosures for ornamental ground, boundary walls, and fences'. Therefore, the traditional role of the feu superior was not compromised in this different specification of building type;
- Typical mineral and business restrictions applied in this Estate, although 'the Superiors reserve to themselves the right to devote parts of the ground to the erection of business premises if a demand for such should arise'. Also, although the Superiors had the right to all minerals, no accesses or shafts were allowed in the lands. This made Hyndland free from a mine-ridden substructure which was common in other earlier West End estates.

- The Superiors reserved full right for amending the conditions of feu and their feuing plan – which probably explains the deviations found in the 1913 Ordnance Survey (see the following).

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

By examining the 1913 Ordnance Survey, we may notice several departures from the 1897 proposal (see below). There are no other revised feuing design plans available to understand the actual reason for these departures, although Paton has conducted his research into Dean of Guild Drawings and individual Feu Restrictions in the Sasines Records to speculate on these reasons¹⁰.

a) General Observations:

On the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. HL.09), there are still several major feus which have not been taken up. Nevertheless, the overall development of the rest of the estate makes it possible to summarise the following observations:

- The tenements became the dominating urban structure, with only a few terraces in the eastern side of the estate;
- Only Queensborough Gardens and Lauderdale Gardens have retained Barr's ambitious procession with central

¹⁰ J Paton, *op cit.*, pp.20-23

gardens, while the rest of the roads were simply 80 feet wide with none of the central gardens;

- The most dramatic departure from Barr's proposal is the central Bowling Green. The Bowling Green acted as a central focal point of the axial intersection of Queensborough Gardens with other secondary streets, while the feature itself socially promoted this outdoor leisure activity;
- Although the long continuous block of York [Novar] Drive was not completed in 1913, it is obvious that at least Barr's intention of creating a barrier to fence off the railway line was accepted, although an additional puncture was created along the western end of Queensborough Gardens.

b) Boundary Problems:

Partickhill's Boundary:

The southern boundary with Partickhill revolves along the linear interface between the two estates. North Partickhill was completed by the 1880s (refer to Fig. HL.08 which shows this part of Partickhill when Hyndland was laid out for feuing in 1897), and obviously the villas layout of the former did not match the tenement grid of Hyndland. Similar tenements were also proposed in the nearby Hillside Estate (attached to the eastern boundary of Partickhill), and the latter were also completed before the actual laying out of Hyndland.

The final version as in the 1913 Ordnance Survey shows that the building line of the villas in Partickhill was totally ignored by developers of both Hillside and Hyndland, resulting in villas of Partickhill being surrounded by the back walls of four storey tenements (refer to Paton's sketch analysis - produced here as Fig. HL.10). Lauderdale Gardens in Hyndland stopped short on the boundary, although part of Dudley Drive and Airlie Drive managed to cross over the boundary and joined up with Minard [Turnberry] Road. The latter was most probably an effort by the developer of Hyndland, because the original boundary was a continuous line in the centre of the blocks (refer to the analysis of Partickhill Estate). This boundary is still preserved on the 1913 Ordnance Survey as the County Burgh Boundary ("Co. Burgh Bdy"), despite the fact that it passes through the middle of some tenements.

Dowanhill's Boundary

Another boundary problem occurs along the cross angle boundary between Hyndland and Dowanhill - at the southern edges of Kingsborough Gardens.

Paton has suggested that Barr proposed to relate Kingsborough Gardens to the newly built concave Princes Garden (refer to section 4.2 above). However, other earlier excambion proposals in 1878 and 1886, drafted up by the proprietors of Dowanhill Estate (refer to Fig. DH.18 in the

study of Dowanhill Estate), show a complete urban block, probably terraced houses, crossing a regularised boundary of the two estates, and brought out to the edge of Hyndland Road. These were intended to be carried out under an excambion proposal between the proprietors of the two estates. However, this was probably ignored by the proprietors of Hyndland estate, and Barr's design shows a continuous urban block along the left hand side of Hyndland Road right down to the boundary line. These contradictory proposals explain the existence of a rather isolated and incomplete block on the north side of Crown Circus Road North in Dowanhill Estate, together with similar incomplete vacant land at the area around Kingsborough Gate along their mutual boundary.

Conclusion:

As a late comer in the urbanisation scenario, Hyndland became a special estate by having exclusively high quality tenement developments on a unified scale. Although the social implications of tenements as an acceptable urban / suburban structure for the middle classes could be discussed in detail by sociologist and historians, the urban form of unified tenements in this estate differs considerably from its neighbours which have a greater mix of urban forms, such as terraces and villas.

The external features of these tenements are also remarkably coherent. An underlying code of style, building material and building scale was most likely understood and commonly accepted by the various architects who worked on the estate, although there was no concrete evidence of such code during the research¹¹.

The highly organised proposal by James Barr with central gardens, however, has reduced to a more pragmatic level with a standard street width, rendering the urban plan not dissimilar to other contemporary tenement clusters in and around Glasgow. Nevertheless, the up-market status of Hyndland, probably achieved by the actual fabric, sizes and detailing of the individual houses, distinguishes itself socially and architecturally from other utilitarian classes of tenements.

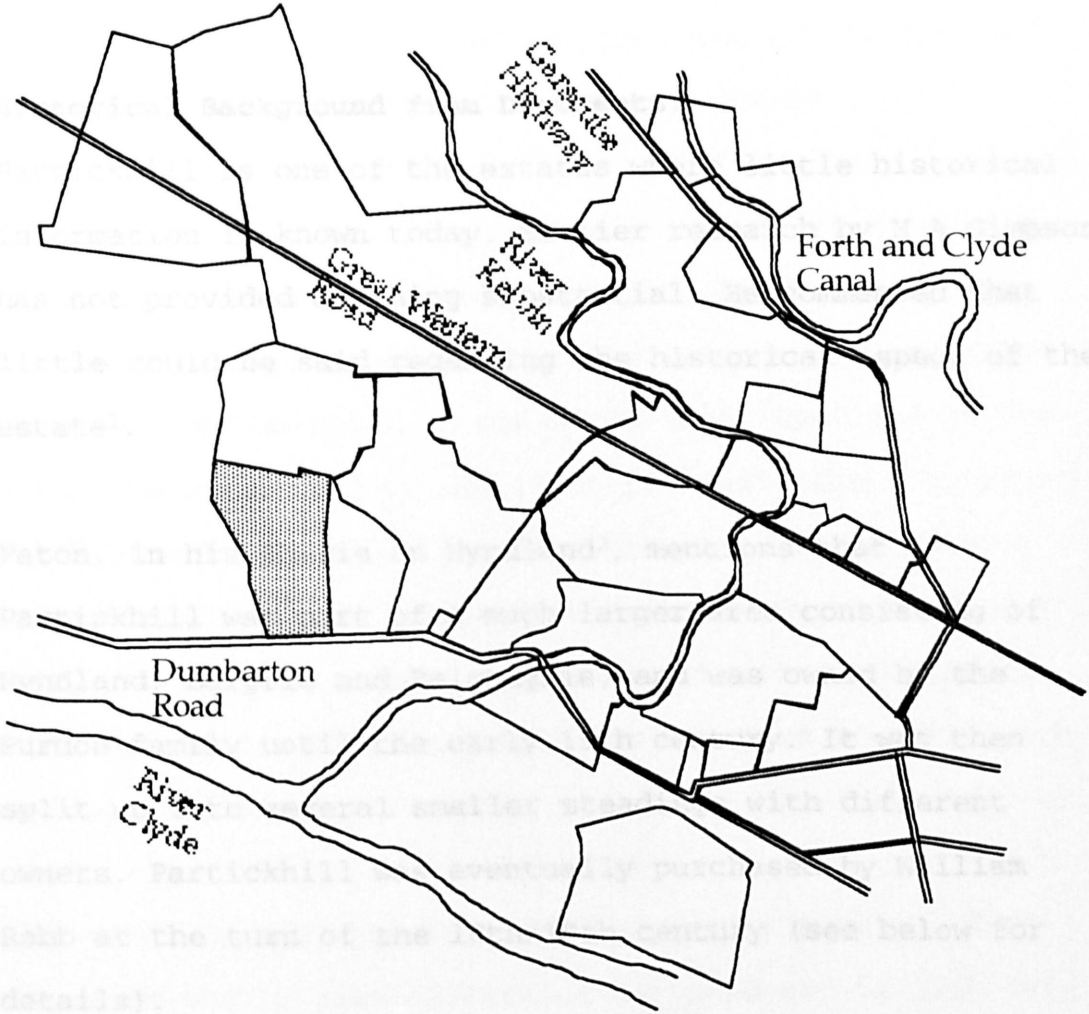
Despite its open access as a result of its grid structure, certain elements definitely had to be screened off. The railway line and other dissimilar urban structures, such as villas in Partickhill and terraces in Kingsborough Gardens, were either screened off by the solid four storey tenements (as in the former), or hid away to provide privacy (as in the latter).

¹¹ Paton has described the corner treatments and frontage ornaments of each individual block in the estate, although in his research he could not find any documents "that stipulated that corners had to be emphasised, that bay windows were mandatory, or that string courses were to match those on adjoining buildings", J Paton, op cit., pp.20, 31-33

The prominence of the Bowling Green as the centre of the estate emphasized another aspect of the Victorian middle classes of Glasgow: outdoor leisure activities. Again this was unusual in the West End where other similar leisure grounds were always an afterthought rather than a deliberately planned focal point. Here, we may observe that by the late 19th century a more comprehensive urban structure was integrated from the beginning, combining leisure (Bowling Green), transport (railway line and individual servicing point), religious service (the two churches in Hanover Terrace and Kingsborough Gardens), and high status living environment (larger than average, well serviced tenements). This integrated structure was augmented further in the 20th century by a school in Clarence Drive and a few shops along the main thoroughfares.

If the early development of Kelvinside Estate represents the most idealistic approach to suburban design, Hyndland is the pragmatic version by acknowledging flexibility and diversity when the design intention of the above comprehensive structure was released to potential buyers. This late 19th century pragmatic approach was largely made possible by the intrinsic quality of the grid structure and the urban form of tenements.

PARTICKHILL



Location of Partickhill Estate

Introduction:

Partickhill was one of the earliest developed estates in the West End. Despite its remoteness from the centre of Glasgow, it was fairly complete by the 1860s when the first Ordnance Survey was carried out. Hence it is quite obvious that the development of Partickhill was more related to

Partick than to Glasgow, as the name of the estate suggests.

Historical Background from Documents:

Partickhill is one of the estates where little historical information is known today. Earlier research by M A Simpson has not provided anything substantial. He commented that little could be said regarding the historical aspect of the estate¹.

Paton, in his thesis on Hyndland², mentions that Partickhill was part of a much larger area consisting of Hyndland, Balgrie and Balshagrie, and was owned by the Purdon family until the early 19th century. It was then split up into several smaller steadings with different owners. Partickhill was eventually purchased by William Robb at the turn of the 18th/19th century (see below for details).

Historical Background from Maps:

Richardson's 1795 Map did not indicate the exact estate name but approximately in the present position of Partickhill, there is a mansion house named "Hillhead" with

¹ M A Simpson, "Middle Class Housing and the Growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", Unpublished M Litt Thesis, 1970, Glasgow University, p.61

² J Paton, "Hyndland", Unpublished MSc Dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1989, pp.2-3

the owner indicated as "Mr Robe Esquire" (Fig. PH.01). Therefore we can assume that the name 'Partickhill' had not come into effect at that time, and the name 'Hillhead' is used because of the geographical position of the mansion house in relation to the surrounding contours.

In Forrest's 1816 Map, the name over the mansion house has changed to 'Partickhillhead', occupied by Mr Rob (Robb), and its neighbouring estates gradually appeared as well. These include Muirpark on the south-east, Hyndland on the north, Banochill and Broomhill on the west (Fig. PH.02). There is also a visible country road through the estate, connecting Dumbarton Road on the south to Byres Road on the west. The western boundary as defined by the Hay Burn is also indicated on this map, but its northern boundary with Hyndland is less clear.

Partickhill was always regarded as part of Partick, and therefore when a plan of Partick was produced in 1820 (Fig. PH.03), part of the estates north of Dumbarton Road was also indicated. This plan shows the contrast on the two sides of Dumbarton Road: on the south is the embryonic industrial clutter of the old village of Partick, while across the road acres of countryside still dominate. Apart from ground on the east where the old brewlands of Donaldshill are indicated, the rest is mainly taken up by country residences, comprising Dowanhill, Stewartville, Muirpark and Partickhill.

Pre-feuing Stages:

A plan of Partickhill was produced in 1919 when a legal case involving Glasgow University was in progress. Although the background of the legal case is not clear, on this plan there are clear indications of the subdivisions of the plots of Partickhill which were acquired by James Robb from 1799 to 1811 (Fig. PH.04). Most of the information on this map concerns the teinds (tithe) of the lands, but the areas and dates of acquisition are indicated. By using this information, a summary of its acquisition is set out in Table PH.01.

It is obvious from this table that Partickhill was carved out of the much larger estates of Purdon's land and Allan Craig's land. Internal access roads were created by further acquisition from these former landowners, while its physical boundary was limited by the Hay burn on the west, Dumbarton Road on the south and other estates on its north and west boundaries.

A survey plan of Partickhill estate, carried out by Thomas Richardson in 1815, indicates these conditions much more clearly (Fig. PH.05). Although there are discrepancies between this survey plan and the 1919 plan, Richardson's plan also shows the various individual plots which were

accumulated by its owner. The areas of these plots are clearly indicated, with additional revisions by Thomas Kyle in 1838.

Similar to Forrest's map, Richardson's survey also shows the neighbouring estates, such as Hyndland on the north, Muirpark on the east, Dumbarton Road on the South, and Balshagrie lands on the west, with the Hay Burn as their mutual boundary. In addition, the details of access are also indicated. Access to the mansion house was by means of a lane (Partickhill Avenue) branching off from Crossloan [Hyndland Road]. Alternative indirect accesses from Dumbarton Road and the north east corner was also possible, although no clear routes are indicated on this survey plan (Fig. PH.06). These latter indirect accesses played an important role when the estate was laid out for feuing in 1840.

Feuing Development:

In 1838, a re-calculation of the areas of Partickhill was carried out by Thomas Kyle, and the figures were added to Richardson's 1815 survey map (refer Fig. PH.05). This preparatory step suggested that the estate was ready to be feued out for speculative development.

In 1840, Alexander Taylor designed the feuing plan for Partickhill (Fig. PH.07), which was then under the ownership of William Hamilton. The feuing design plan itself is full of interesting details with full graphic representation of the proposed houses as well as the landscape/ environment. A close examination of the feuing design can reveal the following:

a) The Northern section:

In Richardson's 1795 map we observe that the contours of this part of the estate, flow from the highest point near Hyndland gradually down towards the River Clyde (refer to Fig. PH.01). Here Taylor proposed a contour inspired layout on the northern section, with four concentric rings of villas following the drumlins. The 4th ring continued southwards, turning south as it eventually formed the eastern boundary of the southern section. This last ring provided the continuity between the northern and southern sections, while it also turned its back to the neighbouring Muirpark (Fig. PH.7a).

The gaps at the extreme north and north east were lined with villas looking inwards, although several plots were looking outwards (Fig. PH.7b), which were intended to line the proposed access road joining Dumbarton Road to Great Western Road (see below).

b) The Southern Section:

The southern section was laid out on a more rigid basis, with three distinct elements. The eastern and western edges are lined with rows of villas, the former being a continuation from the north as discussed above. The middle part is an outward-looking square layout of back to back villas. Finally the southern boundary facing onto Dumbarton Road was lined with a row of terraces, set well back from the main road by deep gardens (Fig. PH.7c).

The resulting design thus provided a contrast between the picturesque and contour inspired northern section of villas with the regularised square-layout of the southern plain. An overall integrity was maintained by means of the same language of landscaping, plot sizes, proportion between void and solid, and the privacy of access to individual households. The only exception to this was the line of terraces on Dumbarton Road, which seemed to be a deliberate barrier to protect the privacy of the houses behind it.

c) Accessibility:

Access to the estate was also increased. Apart from the original two accesses from Cross Loan Road – one in the middle of the east boundary, and the other at the north-east on its boundary with Hyndland – three more accesses were provided. One was the grand access via the terraces from Dumbarton Road, where linear roads gave way to curvilinear access half way up the estate, the second one on the western boundary which was designated to join up

with Great Western Road³, and the third one expected to be obtained via Hyndland Estate (Fig. PH.7d).

These proposals would certainly improve the access to the whole estate in general, but the northern part remained exclusive from the main roads. This is because these accesses were only going *into* the estate and not *through* the estate, and therefore on the whole its exclusivity was maintained.

Also, proposed access roads from other adjoining estates really depended on other landowners. Unless a mutual agreement has been obtained beforehand (as in the case of Claremont and South Woodside), neighbouring landowners have no obligation to follow such proposals. In this case, Hyndland Estate on the north was not developed until the late 1870s, and the northern access to this estate would not be very significant during the 1840s.

d) Individual plots:

Taylor's design plan is one of the most interesting design drawings produced in the early 19th century. Apart from its

³ On the 1840 feuing plan a note was indicated as in the following:
"The red line represent a proposed road 60 feet wide leading from Dumbarton Road to the Great Western Road forming an excambion between the lands of Balshagrie and Partickhill. In the event of this road being carried into execution the feuars of the various lots connected therewith to become bound to set back their fences to the red line and in the event of it not being done the road in front of Nos. 27, 28, 29 and 30 to be formed on the east side of the march hedge, in which case the line of the front of these houses may be set further back."
Hence we can see that this was only a proposal with no certainty, and therefore the lots in question (those on the extreme north-west) were designed to be flexible in any outcome.

technical information regarding plot sizes, access and layout, the feuing plan also indicates meticulously in each plot the details of the siting of the house and landscaping (Fig. PH.7e). This could be attributed to Taylor's style of presentation, but it could also reflect the aspirations of the developer, who envisioned his estate to be filled with opulent villas set in grand landscaped gardens – the ultimate *rus in urbe*.

Feuing Development follow up:

On the 1840 Feuing Plan a number of plots were indicated as 'feued'. These 'occupation notes' were probably added on later with their corresponding feuing dates as in the following:

Feu Plot Number	Feuar	Date
II	G McCall	Mar 1840
LXIII	J Reid	Oct 1840
III	A Wood	Feb 1841
I	J Kirkwood	Jan 1843
LXIV	G Richardson	May 1843
LXII	D McGibbon	Sept 1843
V	Alexander Taylor	Dec 1843
IV	J Kirkwood	Mar 1844
LXXXII	D Todd	Sept 1844
LXV	Wm Milroy	Dec 1845
LXI	Moses Hunter	Dec 1845

These were the earliest plots to be feued out, with two plots even feued out in the same year as the feuing design. All these early plots were the best ones occupying the crown of the drumlins at the northern part of the estate.

The reason for this early success is not too difficult to surmise. As Partick gradually became the centre of industrial development west of the city, the lack of suitable houses for the managerial classes in this area became apparent. The supply of these houses in Partickhill would therefore fulfil the demand of this new bourgeoisie, who could live close enough to their workplaces, yet be distinctively separated from the lower classes, both socially and physically.

By 1852 when a Map of Govan parish was produced by Thomas Kyle (Fig. PH.08), Partickhill was outlined as a series of proposed streets on this simple map. The configuration still retained the resemblance of the 1840 feuing plan without any major revisions, but the southern square plain was sliced up into a series of streets.

The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

Twenty years after the 1840 design proposal, the first Ordnance Survey in 1860 shows that Partickhill was only partially developed (Fig. PH.09). Three out of four of the northern rings have been mostly developed, and the 4th ring has continued down indeed to line up between Muirpark and Partickhill. Other parts were not so successful. Large empty plots still existed on the north, north-west, west, and the southern central plain. In the latter area, only the edge buildings of tenements along Dumbarton Road were

completed at that time. Nevertheless, the parts which had been developed followed closely Taylor's 1840 design without any significant deviations.

The 1913 Ordnance Survey Map:

In 1913 another Ordnance Survey was carried out (Fig. PH.10). Close examination of this survey reveals the following:

- Out of the four rings of villas, only three were developed in this way; the fourth outer ring was developed into tenements of much higher population density (see below);
- Only the original 1840s feued plots were kept to their original plot sizes; other plots were sliced into two or three parts, raising the overall development density;
- North-west: partly sold to Hyndland for tenement development, and other parts were also revised to become tenements or terraces;
- Southern central square: feued (sold?) to a Cricket Club, therefore the original villas proposal came to nothing;
- South boundary: the deep set-back terraces were dropped, replaced by tenements of full urban block size, fronting onto Dumbarton Road. Partick Burgh Hall

- (designed by William Leiper in 1865 and built in 1872⁴) was located here, suggesting that the southern part of Partickhill gradually became an integral part of proletarian Partick, drifting away from its middle class origins as proposed in the 1840 feuing plan;
- The most important difference is that the proposed access road on the western boundary to Great Western Road did not materialise. The Stobcross line of the North British Railway took over the ancient line of Hay Burn and the proposed road link. Probably it was this railway development that caused the developer to replace the proposed tranquil villas on the western edge with relatively higher density tenements, creating a barrier along this edge.
 - As tenement developments in neighbouring estates were relatively later than the development of villas in Partickhill, the distinctive boundary line with other estates on the east and north resulted in some awkward transitions between them. The grid lines of Muirpark on the east were cut short when they hit the boundary with Partickhill, creating only 'half-urban blocks'. Similarly two-storey villas at Minard [Turnberry] Road near Hyndland Road were peculiarly surrounded by the back walls of four-storey tenements. The building frontage line along Partickhill Road also suddenly

⁴ E Williamson et al.: "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, 1990, London, pp.371

recessed backwards when tenements in Muirpark abutted villas in Partickhill.

Conclusion:

Partickhill started off as a simple exercise in land speculation of high-class villas in the 1840s. It was relatively successful during its early years, with most of its northern villa plots being feued off within the first twenty years.

However, the post-1860s' development, as well as some of the later villa plots, deviated from the original design plan. Plots were being subdivided into smaller units, villas being replaced by terraces and tenements, and there was a total abandonment of the fronting terraces along Dumbarton Road.

In the course of development, the massive railway line took over the land between the western boundary and Crow Road, forcing the developer to downgrade yet more upmarket villa plots on this western edge to terraces or tenements.

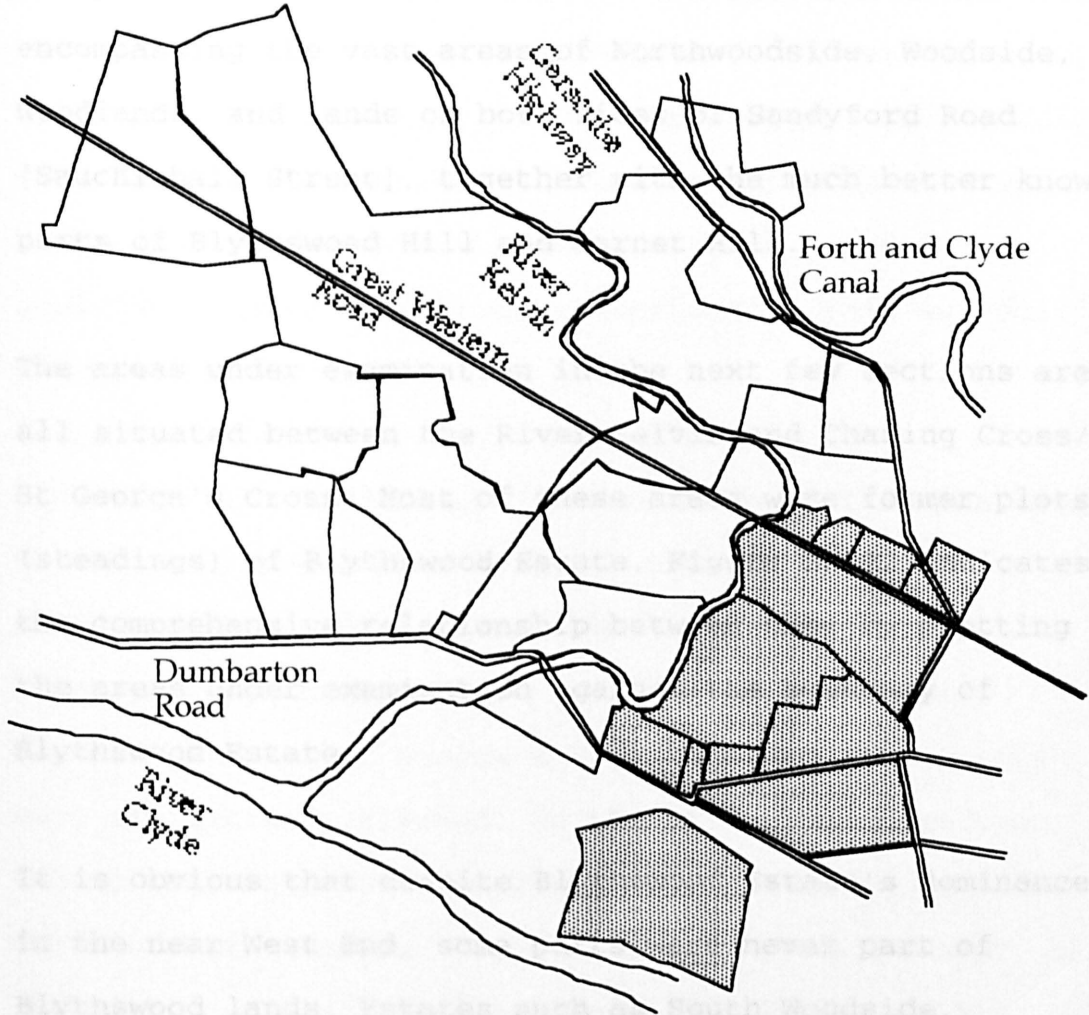
Gradually, the existing contrast between the sylvan villas on the north and the rigid tenements on the south and west was further polarised by other neighbouring estates which were undergoing tenement developments of all kinds. These

latter tenements ranged from the rich and opulent ones in Hyndland to the utilitarian working class 'single-ends' in Partick proper.

The final urban scenario, as portrayed in the 1913 Ordnance Survey, is a single cluster of early picturesque villas inserted among tenement grids of various angles and sizes. The latter became the dominant urban form in and around the Partick area.

The only other exception to this dominant tenement area was the development of Dowanhill, which was not far away from Partickhill. Indeed the success of Partickhill in the early 1840s might even have been an enticement for the developer of Dowanhill, especially when one looks at the similarity of a contour inspired villa northern section and a regularised southern plain.

ESTATES EAST OF THE KELVIN: AN INTRODUCTION



Location of small estates east of the Kelvin

Western sector of the Blythswood Estate:

The area of Blythswood Estate, contrary to common belief, did not limit itself to the surroundings of present day Blythswood Square. A map of Blythswood Estate, dated 1841, indicates the original extent (Fig. BW.01), although by this date a large number of individual plots were either being feued out or sold off already. From

this map, we can see that the western boundary of Blythswood Estate stretched from Garscube Highway [Maryhill Road] along the River Kelvin to Dumbarton Road, encompassing the vast areas of Northwoodside, Woodside, Woodlands, and lands on both sides of Sandyford Road [Sauchiehall Street], together with the much better known parts of Blythswood Hill and Garnet Hill.

The areas under examination in the next few sections are all situated between the River Kelvin and Charing Cross/ St George's Cross. Most of these areas were former plots (steadings) of Blythswood Estate. Figure BW.02 indicates the comprehensive relationship between them by plotting the areas under examination against the boundary of Blythswood Estate.

It is obvious that despite Blythswood Estate's dominance in the near West End, some parts were never part of Blythswood lands. Estates such as South Woodside, Claremont, and Kelvinbank were independent, although surrounded by Blythswood lands. Northwoodside and Stobcross were too far out, although development on Blythswood lands might have a certain influence upon them.

To understand the background of these small estates east of the Kelvin, earlier Blythswood plans provide a vital key.

Early Blythswood Maps and others:

An 1817 plan of Blythswood shows the specific areas between Woodside Street [now part of Great Western Road] and Woodlands Road (Fig. BW.03). As compared to the 1841 map (Fig. BW.01), we can see that as early as 1817 most of the plots around this area were feued out to individual owners, although a substantial part was still unfeued even in 1841.

Comparing this 1817 plan with Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. BW.04), we can see that although Sauchiehall Street, Sandyford Road and Woodlands Road existed as early country roads (as indicated on Richardson's map), Rosehall Street [St George's Road] and Woodside Street were artificially created. On the 1817 plan these two latter thoroughfares became the main reference line for divisions of steadings beyond the main road. However, the divisions south of Woodlands Road upon Woodlands Hill were more arbitrary, possible influenced by topography rather than conformity to a grid structure.

Another map of Blythswood Estate, dated 1836 (Fig. BW.05), also illustrates the various feuing records of the West End of Blythswood estate. The orthogonal divisions, although not in a restrained orthodox manner, were still the main device at the junction of Rosehall Street [St George's Road] and Woodside Street [Great

Western Road], i.e., present day St George's Cross. There are even further proposals for this quasi-grid to be extended into the unfeued sections south of Woodside Street – as indicated by pencil sketches over the map. However, beyond the spine of Woodside Street, other plots on Woodlands Hill were following a topographically oriented set of divisions, similar to the 1817 plan.

The Main Accesses:

The main accesses in this area are Woodside Street [part of Great Western Road], Woodlands Road, and Sandyford Road [part of Sauchiehall Street].

Detailed development of these roads will be discussed in the relevant sections later, but it is evident from the above maps and plans, that all these main thoroughfares were either existing or planned at the beginning of the 19th century.

Woodside Street, which was one of the main planned roads in the western part of Blythswood Estate, remained as the most interesting one. On the 1841 plan (Fig. BW.01) it is obvious that the street was projected from Garscube Road near Cowcaddens to the eastern bank of the River Kelvin¹. The eastern part was later renamed as New City Road, which was elongated and took a detour at St George's

¹ This layout dated back to the early 19th century – as indicated on the 1817 Blythswood Plan (refer to Fig. BW.03).

Cross to join Garscube Road at Queens Cross, while the western part was adapted by the Great Western Road Trustees to become part of their new turnpike road from St George's Cross to Anniesland Toll in 1838.

The Discussion to be followed:

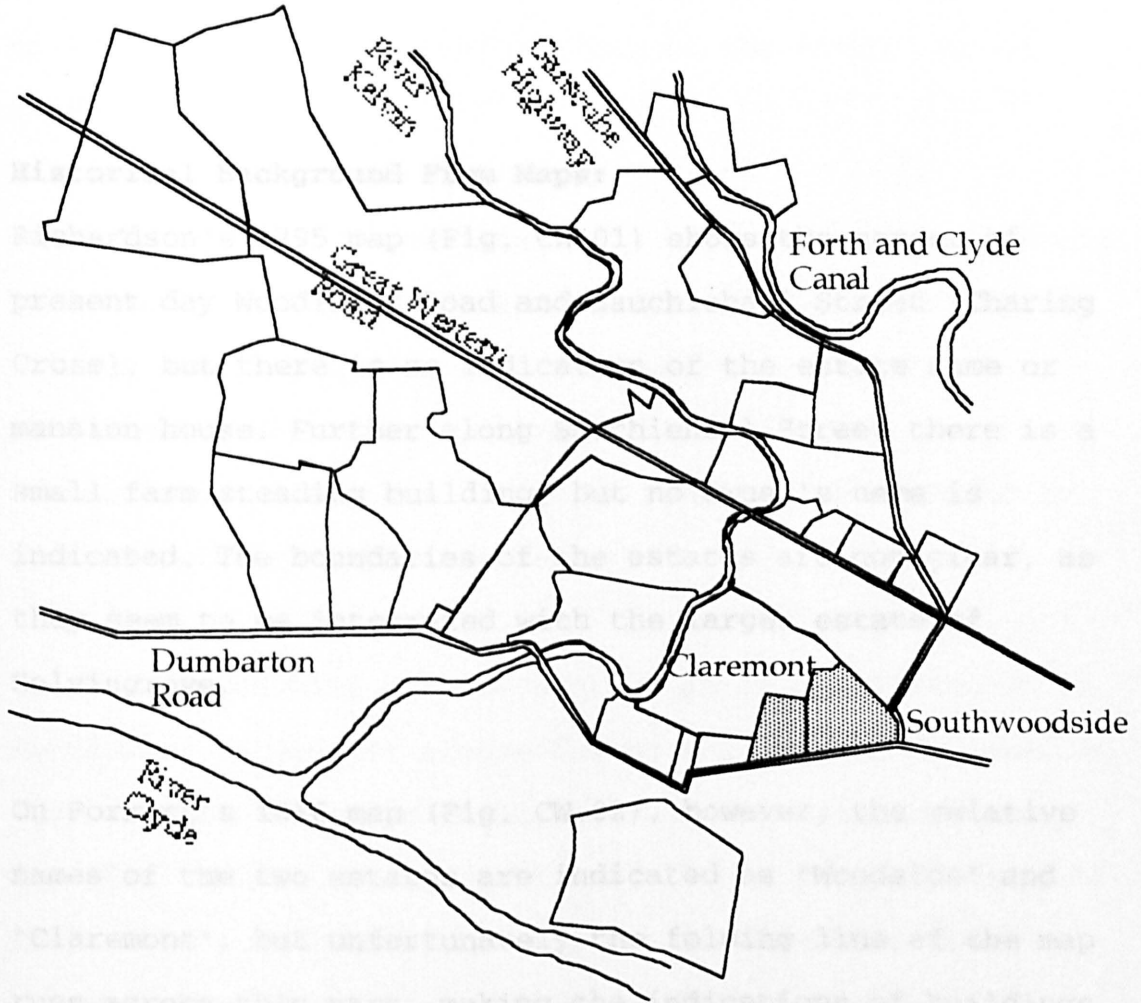
As the individual plots of the former Blythswood Estate are too small to be discussed individually, it would be more practical to group them together according to their geographical locations.

The following sections after this introduction are divided mainly into four groups: the small estates along Great Western Road, the small estates along Sauchiehall Street, Kelvingrove Park, and other individual estates.

The estates along Great Western Road will be limited to those between the River Kelvin at Kelvinbridge and St George's Cross, while those along Sauchiehall Street only include the westward developments between Sauchiehall Street and St Vincent Street.

Kelvingrove Park, which was the largest development in this area, will deserve its own separate examination. This will also apply to another important development of Claremont and Southwoodside.

CLAREMONT & SOUTHWOODSIDE



Location of Claremont and Southwoodside Estates

Introduction:

Claremont and Southwoodside were originally two separate estates in the West End of Glasgow. Despite their proximity to the Blythswood Estate, they were not within its boundary. However, their development, such as the predominant terrace form, was heavily influenced by similar urban forms of Blythswood Estate. These two small estates

were also exceptional (in terms of estate development) by integrating with each other, while each retaining a separate architect for its own design.

Historical Background From Maps:

Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. CW.01) shows the corner of present day Woodlands Road and Sauchiehall Street [Charing Cross], but there is no indication of the estate name or mansion house. Further along Sauchiehall Street there is a small farm steading building, but no owner's name is indicated. The boundaries of the estates are not clear, as they seem to be integrated with the larger estate of Kelvingrove.

On Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. CW.02), however, the relative names of the two estates are indicated as "Woodside" and "Claremont", but unfortunately the folding line of the map runs across this part, making the indications of buildings illegible. There are some signs of buildings along the main frontage (Sauchiehall Street), which might be the early siting of their mansion houses.

In 1828, the local landsurveyor, David Smith, produced a city plan, which includes the western extreme of Blythswood Estate (Fig. CW.03). On this plan, Southwoodside is indicated with an intended layout, with streets being named and set out responding to both Woodlands Road and

Sauchiehall Street. The long unbroken blocks suggest that a terrace development might have been planned, although it is possible for villas to be laid out within an oblong block, as in the case of the small villas on the south side of Sauchiehall Street.

Peter Reed has mentioned that this early scheme in 1828 was laid out by the speculative developer of Blythswood Estate, William Hamilton Garden, who was bankrupted by the promotion of Blythswood Square¹. This scheme in Southwoodside also came to naught, and was re-designed by the new owner in 1830 (see below).

The close proximity of both Southwoodside and Claremont to Blythswood Estate has always raised the question of whether they actually belonged to Blythswood. The 1841 Blythswood map (Fig. CW.04) - which contains all the entailed lands of the estate - indicates that neither Southwoodside nor Claremont were part of Blythswood. However, constant purchases were carried out by both estate owners to enlarge and rationalise their estates, therefore the plots along Woodlands Road were eventually sold off to Southwoodside (Richard Gillespie was then the owner of Southwoodside).

Historical Background from Documents:

¹ P A Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", University of Edinburgh Press, 1993, pp.61

Originally both Southwoodside and Claremont were one estate belonging to the Purdons of Partick². The boundary of Southwoodside extended from the eastern apex at present day Charing Cross to a line running north from Sauchiehall Street midway between Newton Place and Somerset Place. Claremont occupied the other western half between this line and the boundary of Kelvingrove Estate. By the late 18th century the estates were sold off to different owners.

a) Southwoodside:

The original extent of 11 acres of Southwoodside was acquired by Richard Gillespie in 1798 from the successors of William Purdon. Another 10 acres - feued from Blythswood - was also added to his estate, but he sold off 3 acres of these 10 acres to the proprietor of Woodlands Hill³.

Gillespie kept the remaining 18 acre-estate as his country residence, laying out the estate with trees and boundary walls along Sandyford Road [Sauchiehall Street]. He also intended to build a large mansion on the high ground, but that was not realised⁴. Eventually the estate was sold to the Mitchell brothers by his Trustees in 1815, and by them it was sold to William Hamilton Garden in 1825.

Garden was already the developer of Blythswood Square, and therefore he also laid out Southwoodside for feuing

² This was mentioned indirectly in Regality Club, volume I, p.164.

³ Regality Club, volume I, p.164

⁴ Regality Club, volume III, p.5

purposes, as illustrated in the 1828 Smith's map of Glasgow (refer to Fig. CW.03). However, this scheme was not realised, possibly due to the bankruptcy caused by his Blythswood Square speculations.

In 1829, the estate was acquired by J McHardy and A Fullerton, who developed it to its present state.

b) Claremont:

Claremont, comprising 11 acres, was purchased by Hugh Cross probably at the turn of the 18th/ 19th century, and he built a house in 1803 near present day Clifton Street⁵. John Black purchased the estate in 1815, and then John Fleming became the owner in 1822.

Fleming, unlike the previous owners, not only planned the estate for his own residential purposes, but also prepared the ground for feuing purposes. First, he laid out the ground, erecting gate lodges at Elderslie Street and Claremont Streets⁶. Secondly, he planned the location of his mansion house, as the old one built by Cross had now long disappeared. The new mansion house was built as a centre piece of a row of terrace⁷, although it was at first isolated and conspicuous.

⁵ L Buchanan, "The West End of Glasgow 1825", as in Old Glasgow Club Transaction, 1927/28, Glasgow, p.16

⁶ Buchanan, op cit., p.16

⁷ "People wondered that it [the mansion house] should have been built so like a street house. But Mr Fleming firmly believed that Glasgow would come out to Clairmont, and planned his house for the centre of a row.", refer to: J Buchanan and others.

Feuing Stages:

In 1830, a feuing design plan for both Southwoodside and Claremont was published. This feuing design (Fig. CW.05) was special on its own by having two different architects working for two different groups of landowners, yet producing a cohesive and integrated urban structure.

The feuing design of these two estates signified a new direction for property speculators, which was previously confined to the central areas and Blythswood estate of Glasgow.

a) Architects of the Feuing Design:

The involvement of the two particular architects, according to MA Simpson, was also impressive in those days:

" The owners of Southwoodside, the first estate to be opened up, commissioned George Smith, fresh from work in the New Town of Edinburgh to lay it out, while the neighbouring proprietor, J Fleming of Claremont, retained J Baird (I), a leading Glasgow architect, to draw up a feuing plan in harmony with Smith's design"⁸

The development of the New Town of Edinburgh must have been well known throughout the country, and employing an architect who has experience in such prestigious projects

"Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry", James Maclehose Publisher, Glasgow, 1878, Chapter 61, pp.145

⁸ MA Simpson & T H Lloyd, "Middle Class Housing in Britain", David Charles and Archon Books, GB, 1977, p.59

to be involved in another scheme in Glasgow must have been a sign of prestige for both land speculators.

b) Idea of Proximity and Exclusivity:

Simpson also commented that the success of this scheme depended on their proximity to an already developed scheme - the Blythswood Estate. This was proven by the advertisement of their scheme which stated that it was "in contact with the newest and most fashionable part of Glasgow"⁹. On the other hand, the developers also paid attention to the middle class demands of exclusivity:

" The lands of Southwoodside are, from the state of the surrounding property, effectively secured against any kind of nuisance, while the form into which the pleasure grounds, and openings of the lands has been thrown, is such as to exclude the possibility of disturbance from carting carriage drawing, or any foreign intrusion whatever,....."¹⁰

Indeed Simpson concluded that:

"everything the middle class, and the builders who catered for it, wanted to see in a suburb was there - a firm link with the existing built-up area, tight planning controls, scenic beauty and a truly suburban environment."¹¹

c) New Urban Structure:

By examining the feuing design plan in its contemporary urban context - as illustrated partly in the 1839 Smith's

⁹ Glasgow Herald 18 January 1830. as referred to in Simpson and Lloyd, op cit., p. 55

¹⁰ Glasgow Herald 18 January 1830, op cit.

¹¹ Simpson & Lloyd, op cit., p.55-56

map (Fig. CW.06) - it can be seen that this new development took on a different urban density as compared to other neighbouring schemes. "Terraces in gardens" became the main form of middle class housing, as against the then predominant villa layout found dotted along St George's Road, Garnet Hill, and Sauchiehall Street, or the earlier Georgian classical terraces in Blythswood.

Indeed the picturesque quality is heavily emphasised in this development, to distinguish itself from other existing designs:

"The characteristics of this layout were new to Glasgow both in plan and execution. A subtle use was made of street patterns, landscaped open space, and the disposition of architectural blocks in such a way as to avoid the predictable and introduce the element of surprise..."¹²

Although the terraces as indicated on the feuing design plan do have the classical corner accents and central emphasis, they were laid out in relation to gardens which attempted either to preserve or artificially create sylvan scenic outlooks within their midst¹³. The idea of these *pro indiviso* gardens was to provide a degree of exclusivity by allowing private roads leading into the gardens to be formed away from the main access road, and together with parapet wall/iron railing and iron gates, the amenity of the middle class is symbolically protected.

¹² HS Stevenson. "Analysis of the Morphology of Woodlands Hill, Glasgow". Unpublished MSc essay, University of Strathclyde, 1994, p.2

¹³ B Dicks. "Choice and Constraint", in G Gordon (ed) "Perspectives of the Scottish City", Aberdeen University Press, 1985, p.109

d) Topographical Influence:

Although the landscape in the final built form in Southwoodside and Claremont is so various, the initial design plan seemed to be designed in only two dimensions. For instance, the design plan does not indicate any staircases, and the northern blocks along 'Landsdown Terrace' and 'Claremont Terrace' suggested some kind of projection further west. When the 3-dimensional topographical constraints were imposed on the design plan, the northern linear layout on the slope of the hill did not work out to its original intention (see below for discussion on later revisions), although the southern parallel blocks were laid out in accordance with the design plan.

e) Boundary Problems:

There is a different treatment on the east and west sides of the joint design plan. On the eastern end, the sweeping curve of Britannia Place/ Woodside Crescent terminates the development by turning its back on to Woodlands Road. However, the western edge seems to be extending into its neighbouring estates. On the northern edge, similar extension is also possible, although it does not have the 'sawn-off-block' design, and terminates on the boundary.

The westward development suggestion in this plan might be based on other similar contemporary proposals further west.

Indeed, Royal Crescent, another magnificent terrace development along Sandyford Road, was designed in 1836, while other similar terraces on the southside of Sandyford Road were developed in the 1850s (refer to the separate discussion of the Small Estates along Sauchiehall Street). Hence its influence along the westward development of Sandyford Road was already foreseen in this early layout by allowing the integration of the west side of the terraces of Claremont on to others.

The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

By the 1860s, the development of Southwoodside and Claremont was already completed. On the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. CW.07), we can observe that the western boundary of Claremont has disappeared into its neighbouring terraces, such as Clifton Terrace and La Belle Place. The urban morphology of terraces has also continued westward as Royal Crescent and Royal Terrace, while other similar terrace blocks started to appear on the old site of Botanic Gardens, south of Sandyford Road. The northern line of Claremont Terrace was revised slightly to suit the topographical constraints, while its western edge was elongated morphologically into Park Gardens, part of the development of Kelvingrove Park.

The most significant revisions happened on the northern edges with Kelvingrove Park. Here, the original 'Clydesdale

Place' and 'Bellevue Place' were revised to become Lynedoch Crescent, turning its back on to any future development along Woodlands Road. This was strikingly similar to the previous 'turning back' as created by Woodside Crescent, and reinforced the isolated identity of Southwoodside. Nevertheless, a direct entry point was still retained from Woodlands Road along Lynedoch Street, which was closed off by Charles Wilson's strategic location of the Free Church College and Park Church (Fig. CW.08).

The integration of visual and physical urban spaces between Kelvingrove Park and Southwoodside at this latter junction is regarded as the most interesting piece of urban design in the West End of Glasgow. It not only fused the procession of urban space between Lynedoch Street and Park Street East [Park Circus Place], but it also celebrated the transition by marking the skyline with a total of 4 towers and two sets of symbolic buildings - namely the Free Church College and Park Church. One scholar has the following comment on Wilson's involvement in this unique design:

...Wilson would have realised that merely laying down a pattern of further terraces all along Park Circus Place and the west end of Lynedoch Street would have been a weak junction between the two phases. He therefore sought a far bolder solution which at one and the same time underlined the already picturesque layout of Smith, and did not compromise the formal Classicism of the Park Circus. The result is a complex junction of spatial sequences and

variety from whatever direction the junction is approached.¹⁴

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

The whole area of Southwoodside, Claremont and Kelvingrove Park was totally completed by the end of the 19th century. The 1913 Ordnance Survey Map (Fig. CW.09) records this final version, which is very similar to the 1860s survey.

In this latter survey, the integration of Southwoodside and Claremont with its northern and western neighbours is more comprehensive. A long terrace – Lynedoch Place – abuts Lynedoch Crescent, while the main thoroughfare of Sauchiehall Street is completely lined with terraces on both sides from Charing Cross to its junction at Kelvingrove Street. Here, the original boundary of Claremont is completely lost, and the rectilinear division of terrace blocks has taken over as demarcation lines. Similarly, the northern part is now truly integrated with the urban spaces of Park Circus and Kelvingrove Park proper, obliterating the original estate boundaries.

Conclusion:

The first ever suburban development in the West End of Glasgow was a surprisingly successful venture. The initial

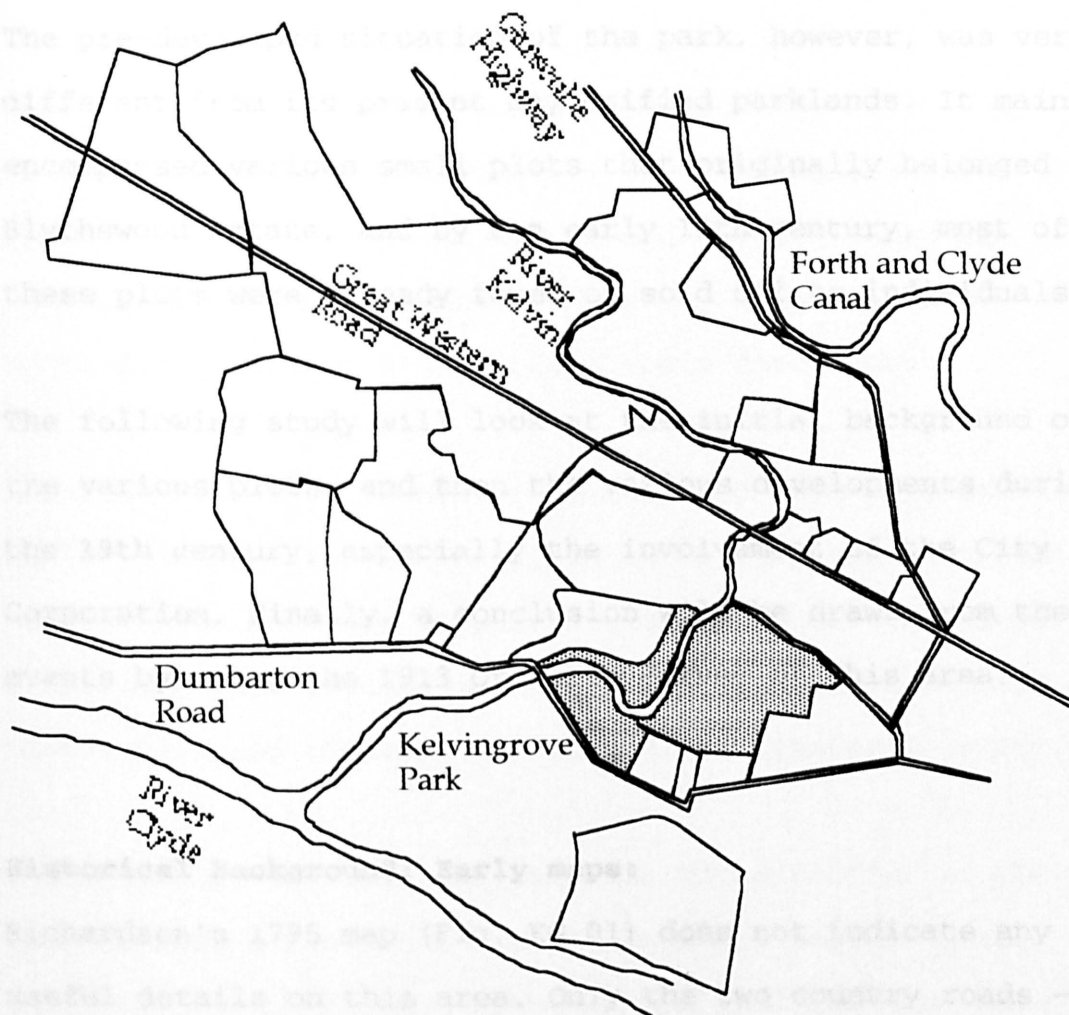
¹⁴ HS Stevenson, *op cit.*, p.6

design plan was a bold attempt to break through the current existing urban form, not only reinstating the classical aspiration of the Blythswood new town, but also capturing the picturesque quality of a sylvan setting.

This interesting combination of classicism and picturesque eventually became the dominant urban morphology in this part of the West End, stretching its influence to the development of Kelvingrove Park and other terraced developments south of Sauchiehall Street, although the latter were more restrained in their provision of landscaped gardens.

Nevertheless, the key of its success can be measured by its popularity and strict accordance to the design plan (with minor revisions at Lynedoch Crescent), not to mention the most interesting transition between Southwoodside and Park Circus, which provided a spectacular piece of urban design.

KELVINGROVE PARK



Location and extent of Kelvingrove Park

Introduction:

The development of Kelvingrove Park was hailed as one of the best achievements by the Glasgow City Corporation in the 19th century. Although initially there was strong opposition by some sectors within the Corporation due to the hefty cost involved, the development eventually was

quite successful and well appreciated even by today's standard.

The pre-developed situation of the park, however, was very different from its present day unified parklands. It mainly encompassed various small plots that originally belonged to Blythwood Estate, and by the early 19th century, most of these plots were already feued or sold off to individuals.

The following study will look at the initial background of the various plots, and then the various developments during the 19th century, especially the involvement of the City Corporation. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn from these events by using the 1913 Ordnance Survey of this area.

Historical Background: Early maps:

Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. KG.01) does not indicate any useful details on this area. Only the two country roads - Sandyford Road [Sauchiehall Street] and Woodlands Road - and the estate of Kelvingrove, with its owner as Pattison Esquire, are indicated.

More details can be seen on Forrest's 1816 map (Fig. KG.02). Here, more internal roads are indicated, separating the two distinctive estates of Woodlands [Woodland Hills] and Kelvingrove. Other access roads were also developed

near this area, although buildings were still sparsely scattered around.

Historical Background: Blythswood Maps:

To understand the actual details of this area, we have to refer to the plans of the Blythswood Estate. There are two Blythswood Estate maps which shows the extent of the Woodside/ Woodlands areas before their development.

The 1836 plan (Fig. KG.03) indicates the western sector of the Blythswood Estate. This plan shows that the area south of Woodlands Road was already divided into several plots, branching off from the main road (The historical details of these plots and their ownership will be discussed later).

The 1836 plan does not indicate the plots further south upon Sandyford Road [Sauchiehall Street]. Another plan dated 1841 (Fig. KG.04), however, has included the whole western boundary of Blythswood Estate, including those upon Woodland Hills. It is obvious from this latter plan, that Southwoodside and Claremont were not within the boundary of Blythswood Estate, creating an irregular boundary between Woodlands Road and Sandyford Road. The slicing up of the estate in this area is also indicated, and, as discussed later, by this date most of these plots had become country steadings for various local gentry.

By superimposing the full extent of the present day Kelvingrove Park on this 1841 plan (Fig. KG.05), we can see that Kelvingrove Park consisted of several major and other minor plots, all under different ownership before the development of the park. The major plots, by using the old names, are Kelvingrove, Woodside [Woodlands] Hill and Gilmorehill, while the minor plots are those along Woodlands Road and other boundaries (Fig. KG.05a).

Historical Background of the main plots of Kelvingrove Park:

a) Woodside [Woodlands] Hill:

Woodlands Hill, or Woodside Hill as it was also known, was the largest basic part of Kelvingrove Park. It consisted of the main part of the hill top where the original Woodlands House stood. A brief history of this part is in the following¹:

- It was a farm until 1802, when it was purchased by James McNayr, Glasgow Herald editor, who built Woodlands House (Fig. KG.06) on the hill top; The house was presumably built before 1802, and it is now demolished;
- 1804: Sold to James Miller for £1730;

¹ L Buchanan. "West End of Glasgow 1825". Old Glasgow Club Transactions, 1927/1928, and Regality Club, volume I, pp.165/166

- George Buchanan inherited the property on Miller's death; In 1808 and 1809 he added five to six acres to this estate, in which three acres were bought from neighbouring South Woodside;
- 1840: Buchanan died and his estate passed on to his three daughters;
- 1846: Sold to Glasgow Airdrie Monklands Railway Company for the relocation scheme of the Glasgow College (see below for intended designs), but eventually the whole scheme fell through;
- 1852: Sold to Glasgow Corporation for the development of Kelvingrove park;

b) Kelvingrove Estate:

According to one contemporary newspaper article², Kelvingrove estate, i.e., the southern part of nowadays Kelvingrove Park near Royal Terrace, was composed of two divisions of the original much larger estate of Nether-Newton.

These two divisions, namely, Woodcroft and Berrie-Dyke, consisting of 12 acres, were conveyed in 1754 by James Campbell of Blythswood to Alex Wotherspoon. Following this transaction, a series of owners then occupied Kelvingrove estate, as listed in the following:

- 1782: Patrick Colquhoun, merchant, purchased the estate; he laid out the whole land and built the

² Glasgow Citizen, 3 December 1898, as collected in SRA/ AGN 288

- mansion house, giving the name "Kelvingrove" to this estate in 1783; (The mansion house – illustrated here as Fig. KG.07 – was probably designed by Robert Adam³);
- 1793: Colquhoun sold the estate to John Pattison after he left Glasgow for London in 1792;
 - 1803: Pattison enlarged the estate by purchasing the 12 acres north of the Estate, which originally was also Blythswood land, but now belonged to Colquhoun;
 - 1806: Sold to Richard Dennistoun, merchant;
 - 1841: Conveyed to Colin McNaughton;
 - 1852: McNaughton's Trustees sold the estate to Glasgow Corporation for the development of Kelvingrove Park; The original Kelvingrove House was then transformed into the first Kelvingrove Museum.

c) Gilmorehill Lands:

Full details of how the Corporation was involved in Gilmorehill lands may be found under the discussion of Gilmorehill.

As a summary here, the College sold surplus lands of Gilmorehill to the Corporation after their relocation in 1867 to Gilmorehill. However, as will be discussed in the following, the initial speculative proposal of a 'West End Park' in 1851 as designed by Charles Wilson had included part of Gilmorehill, despite the fact that the then owner

³ E Williamson et al. "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, London, 1990, pp.282

of Gilmorehill was proposing speculative housing on this land.

d) Summary of Acquisition of Lands by Glasgow Corporation for the purpose of Kelvingrove Park:

Apart from the above major acquisitions, numerous smaller purchases were also carried out. Some of them were to secure or improve access to the park, while some were 'leftover' sites to be rationalised. The only large acquisitions after the College lands over Gilmorehill, were the large areas of Clayslaps and Kelvinbank, on which the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum was built.

A summary table of all these acquisitions was compiled by JD Marwick in 1901 and produced here as Table. KG.01.

Marwick has mentioned in this table, that the area for 'parklands' in Kelvingrove is 85 acres. If one adds up the areas of the individual plots in the table, the total area is approximately 107 acres. The differences between them, i.e., 22 acres (1/5th of the total acquisition), was feued off for housing purposes.

The Aborted Attempt of Relocating the University to Woodlands Hill:

Before the development of Kelvingrove Park, the estate of Woodlands Hill was earmarked for a relocation scheme of the College of Glasgow [Glasgow University]⁴.

The old site of the College on High Street was in the heart of old Glasgow, which, in the period of railway-mania, was vital for rail links to the east and south of the City. In 1845 the Glasgow Airdrie and Monklands Junction Railway Company approached the College and proposed a relocation scheme by exchanging the lands of Woodlands Hill for the High Street site. An Act of Parliament allowing this transaction was obtained, and subsequently John Baird (I) was commissioned to draw up the plans, while the Railway Company purchased Woodlands Hill in 1846. A version of Baird's design is produced here as Fig. KG.08a, with a proposed main elevation as Fig. KG.08b. This proposition heavily depended upon the railway company, as they were obliged to provide at least 17 acres at Woodlands, with classrooms, laboratories, museums and library⁵.

However, after three sets of designs by Baird, the College professors still found flaws in the proposals. In 1847, the College commissioned Edward Blore⁶ for another less costly

⁴ E Williamson et al. *op cit.*, pp.335

⁵ J Coutts, "A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1909", James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow 1909, pp.416

⁶ This was claimed in the "Building of Scotland: Glasgow". However, the 1847 plan was signed by John Baird I, and approved by the Faculty in 1849. There is a only a note on the drawing referring to Blore as the mediator between the Committee of Faculty and the Central Government Treasury. Indeed J Coutts, in his authoritative book on the history of the University, has never mentioned Blore as the architect.

design which was finally approved in 1849 (The plan is produced here as Fig. KG.09a with the proposed main elevation as Fig. KG.09b). The College even foresaw its need of a teaching hospital, and purchased a small site in 1848 at North Street near Charing Cross for this purpose⁷. Unfortunately by this time, the railway business was in difficulties, and the railway company could not fulfil its original obligation. The whole scheme was eventually aborted, although the College was fortunate to be awarded substantial compensation⁸, which laid down the financial foundation for another proposal in 1867 across the River Kelvin.

Afterwards, the original College site on Woodlands Hill was sold off by the Railway company in 1852 to the Corporation for the development of Kelvingrove Park, at a discounted price of £21,000⁹.

Feuing Design of Kelvingrove Park: Carrick's Account:

A detailed description of the historical and financial background of the feuing development of Kelvingrove Park

⁷ J Coutts, op cit., pp.417

⁸ The railway company undertook to pay £12,700 for breach of contract and for the expenses which the College had incurred in purchasing the North Street site and other expenses; Ref: J Coutts, op cit., pp.418

⁹ The original 'upset' [asking] price as advertised in 1851 was £23,000 , Ref: Glasgow Herald 6 June 1851.

was compiled by the City Architect John Carrick in 1884¹⁰ in a retrospective report to the City Corporation.

The following is summarised from Carrick's lengthy report.

Initially, the development of Kelvingrove Park – then called 'West End Park' – was promoted by a few 'citizens' as a feuing speculation. In 1851 a layout plan, designed by Charles Wilson, was submitted to the Corporation.

This design plan (Fig. KG.10) certainly impressed the Corporation, and they contributed £10,000 to undertake the project. The proposed design included the full extent of Woodlands Hill, together with a large portion of the land between Great Western Road and Woodlands Road, part of Gilmorehill, and Kelvinbank. The design was also meant to be integrated with the already built up areas such as Southwoodside, Claremont and Queen's Crescent – the common but varied language of 'crescents' as in Wilson's design is obvious (Fig. KG.10a).

In 1852, the Corporation then started to purchase the main areas on the east of the Kelvin for this development, plus other smaller plots for securing accesses. The Corporation also eventually undertook other similar schemes on the

¹⁰ J Carrick, "Report by the City Architect on the Feuing Lands adjacent to the Public Parks of the City of Glasgow", Ref: SRA/ MP/ 10/ 599

south side (Queen's Park) and the east end (Alexandra Park) to waive opposition from councillors of these areas.

However, there was a great debate as to whether such municipal speculations should provide maximum amenity for its citizens, or should provide a maximum capital return due to its heavy investment. Rival designs were drawn up in the case of Kelvingrove park which indicate less building development (Fig. KG.11).

Eventually, with the help of Joseph Paxton (see below), in 1853 a compromise of the final design was reached (Fig. KG.12). A strip of ground opposite Royal Terrace and Kelvinbank Lands was reserved for building development as indicated in the 1855 plan (Fig. KG.13).

The original intention to include part of Gilmorehill was opposed by the proprietors of Kelvinbank Lands. However, this was fulfilled in 1867 when the College moved to Gilmorehill in that year, and sold off their surplus lands to the Corporation for extension of the park.

Feuing Designs: Other Proposals and other Matters:

a) Charles Wilson's Financial Justification:

The development of Kelvingrove park, according to Wilson's proposal, was very much a commercial venture. In the 1851

submission, he included a letter by one of the promoters¹¹, which contained a complete explanation of the whole scheme. He then further argued that the development would generate sufficient return (profit) to make the running of the park 'trifling'. This was based on comparisons with Hyde Park and St James's Park in London, using their 'length of grand drive' and distance from the City centre as the basis of comparison. Apparently, the purpose of this lengthy statement was to persuade the Corporation that this was a secure investment in the long run, as well as trying to dismiss some of the scepticism being raised from within the Corporation.

b) Joseph Paxton's involvement in Kelvingrove Park:

While the original design drawing of Queen's Park by Paxton was reserved by the Corporation, his design drawing of Kelvingrove Park is missing. However, a contemporary journal has a detailed description of Paxton's design¹²:

The Corporation have several improvements either in progress or just completed. Of these the West End Park is the greatest, and deserves first to be noticed. Sir Joseph Paxton's plan for laying out the grounds has now been received, and is generally admired by those who have seen it.....The following description of the plan is taken from a local paper:-

"Perhaps the first feature of the plan worthy of notice is the proposal to form an **island** on the low grounds of Kelvingrove, a little to the west of the mansion house, which will be connected by two rustic bridges. About the site of the present Kelvingrove gardens a circular **flower garden** of 200 feet in diameter is shown on plan, which Sir Joseph Paxton in his communication to the Committee,

¹¹ C Wilson, Statement of Proposed New Park, 1851, Ref: SRA/ DTC/ 13/ 655.

¹² Building Chronicle, Volume 5 pp.63, 1854

recommends should be covered with glass, and formed into a **winter garden** or promenade.

There are **three principal entries** to the Park, one situated at the south-east corner of Clifton Street, another at the West End of Kelvingrove Road, and the third at the north west extremity, communicating with the road to Hillhead.

The terrace in front and circling the whole ridge of the hill will have an extremely pleasing effect. It is approached by the **magnificent stair** at present in course of erection, and will have a public esplanade 30 feet in width, skirted by a beautiful flower margin and undulating surface in front.

Along the wall enclosing the private pleasure ground appropriated to the feuars of the upper terrace, Sir Joseph Paxton's proposes to form alcoves, or shady retreats similar to those on the terraces at Sydenham. The carriage drive in and around the Park will be 30 feet in breadth, and extend about 2 miles....."
(my emphasis)

It is peculiar that Wilson's name was not mentioned in this detailed description, despite the fact that most of the drawings found today were signed by Wilson. Anyway, Paxton's design did not survive, and was radically revised to its present form (refer to the 1913 Ordnance Survey as discussed below).

c) James Smith's Proposal for a Crystal Palace:

In 1853, there was an alternative proposal to build a crystal palace on the top of Woodlands Hill in lieu of the housing schemes. This proposal was designed by James Smith, and he submitted his design drawing (Fig. KG.14) with a covering letter¹³ to the Corporation, explaining the details of this scheme.

¹³ Ref: SRA/ DTC/ 6/ 534/ 1

Obviously his design was heavily influenced by other similar schemes, such as the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park (the Great Exhibition of 1851), and another one currently in Dublin at that time. This scheme, as Smith argued in his letter, would provide the same complete return of investment within two or three years, together with free premises for a future exhibition/ art gallery within the park.

It is most likely that this proposal was submitted as a rival against the pure housing proposal as instigated by Wilson, and proved that the Corporation could still make a profit by providing a greater area of the amenity for the public, instead of limiting itself into private property speculation. However, Smith's scheme remained as a proposal and was not approved by the Corporation.

Feuing Developments:

a) The 1855 Final Version:

In 1855 a final version of the park was proposed by Charles Wilson. This plan was used for feuing application purposes, and contained the essential information for potential buyers (refer back to Fig. KG.13).

In this final version, the terraces were laid out on an east-west axial manner, utilising the advantage of the hill top. Pavilions terminated Park Terrace and Park Quadrant on

the western approach, while the roof details were inspired by the French Renaissance as in an original sketch by Wilson (Fig. KG.15). However, the inner terrace was much more restrained than the outer terrace¹⁴.

The northern range of the inner terrace has a centrepiece, advanced in two shallow stages, to close the prospect on the minor axis¹⁵. The main access grand staircase, as mentioned in the description of Paxton's design was located on this minor axis on the south side, despite the main east-west axis having the best command of views over the park and the west of the city (Fig. KG.15a).

Along the northern edge, a strip of terrace houses was proposed, and apparently it acts as a visual barrier to the crown of terraces on the hill top (Fig. KG.15b).

In the original 1851 proposal, the development of Kelvingrove Park was meant to be part of a continuous series of crescent developments. These included the existing built up crescent/ terraces of Queen's Crescent and Southwoodside/ Claremont (refer Fig. KG.10), with the park meandering along the River Kelvin as a buffer zone. In this 1855 version, the terraces/ crescents were retained as in the 1851 proposal, but have now been placed in a

¹⁴ E Williamson et al, *op cit.*, pp.283

¹⁵ P A Reed, "Glasgow: the forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, 1993, pp.73

secondary position – the parklands having taken over as first priority (Fig. KG.15c).

The awkward original boundary between Kelvingrove Park and Southwoodside/ Claremont has been resolved in this final proposal. The route from India Street [Claremont Place] to Park Street East [Park Circus Place] is now marked by the magnificent towers of Trinity College and the spire of Park Church. Indeed, the latter landmark was already proposed by Wilson in his 1853 sketch (refer to Fig. KG.15 and analysis sketch in Fig. KG.15d), although the site was left blank on the 1855 version.

The new proposed terraces also extended the urban spaces of the earlier terraces of the Southwoodside/ Claremont, by integrating them towards the park via the inner terraces and the garden of Park Circus (Fig. KG.15e).

b) The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

By the time of the 1860 survey (Fig. KG.16), approximately half of the housing lots were feued out, especially those on the south side facing the park. The park was completely laid out, retaining the three accesses as proposed by Paxton.

Various plots were reserved for further building developments, but apart from one inner terrace and a few

houses facing the park, none of the northern ranges were built at that time.

The connections with Gilmorehill and Clayslaps were still not realised, and there is extensive open country side west of Park Circus before the village of Partick.

1913 Ordnance Survey Map:

The development of Kelvingrove Park was fully completed by 1913. On the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. KG.17) the extent of the Park has finally included parts of Gilmorehill, Clayslaps and Kelvinbank.

With regard to feuing developments, most of the houses were laid out in strict accordance with the 1855 feuing design, but interestingly enough there were several departures from the design plan:

- the northern outer terrace of Park Quadrant was never completed;
- The northern line of terrace (Eldon Street on the 1855 plan) was also not realised, and in the 1913 Survey this was radically revised to create the short cut (Park Avenue) from Woodlands Road to Park Drive; two churches and a few tenement blocks (Eldon Terrace) were dotted along this northern boundary;
- Further east, the original celebrated entrance at Woodlands Gate could not be formed due to the lack of

the proposed terrace along the now defunct "Eldon Street"; instead, there is now a wide open space, with an exposed view of the back of the inner terrace of Park Circus/ Park Circus Place, making this very picturesque when compared to the original intention.

The other accesses from India Street West [Claremont Place] and Lynedoch Street are marked by the dominating combined effect of the three towers of the Free Church College and Park Church as envisaged in Wilson's design; indeed, this, together with the flamboyant terraces of Park Circus, became the most famous landmark in the west of the city, testifying to the superior skills of Wilson in urban design.

The parkland was also extended and integrated with the other parts of Gilmorehill and Clayslaps. Obviously the siting of the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum created another impetus of municipal involvement in the West End, but it nevertheless became an "extension" of the park proper, and complemented the whole aspiration of a middle class leisure park.

Conclusion:

Common to other similar mid-19th century developments, the development of Kelvingrove Park was initially commercially oriented. The main concern, as recollected by Carrick in

his report, was to do with capital return and financial feasibility. Hence, although one of the objectives was to provide a public park for the citizens of the West End, a substantial portion of the lands purchased was reserved for speculative housing developments to overcome the hefty investment.

However, in the course of development, the Corporation managed to produce a magnificent park for the public, together with the best housing for the middle classes. The park itself, unlike the privately owned Botanic Gardens which levied a charge for its entrance, became a truly public park without any class discrimination. On the other hand, its housing schemes were beyond the reach of the common citizens, preserving the middle class status of the West End.

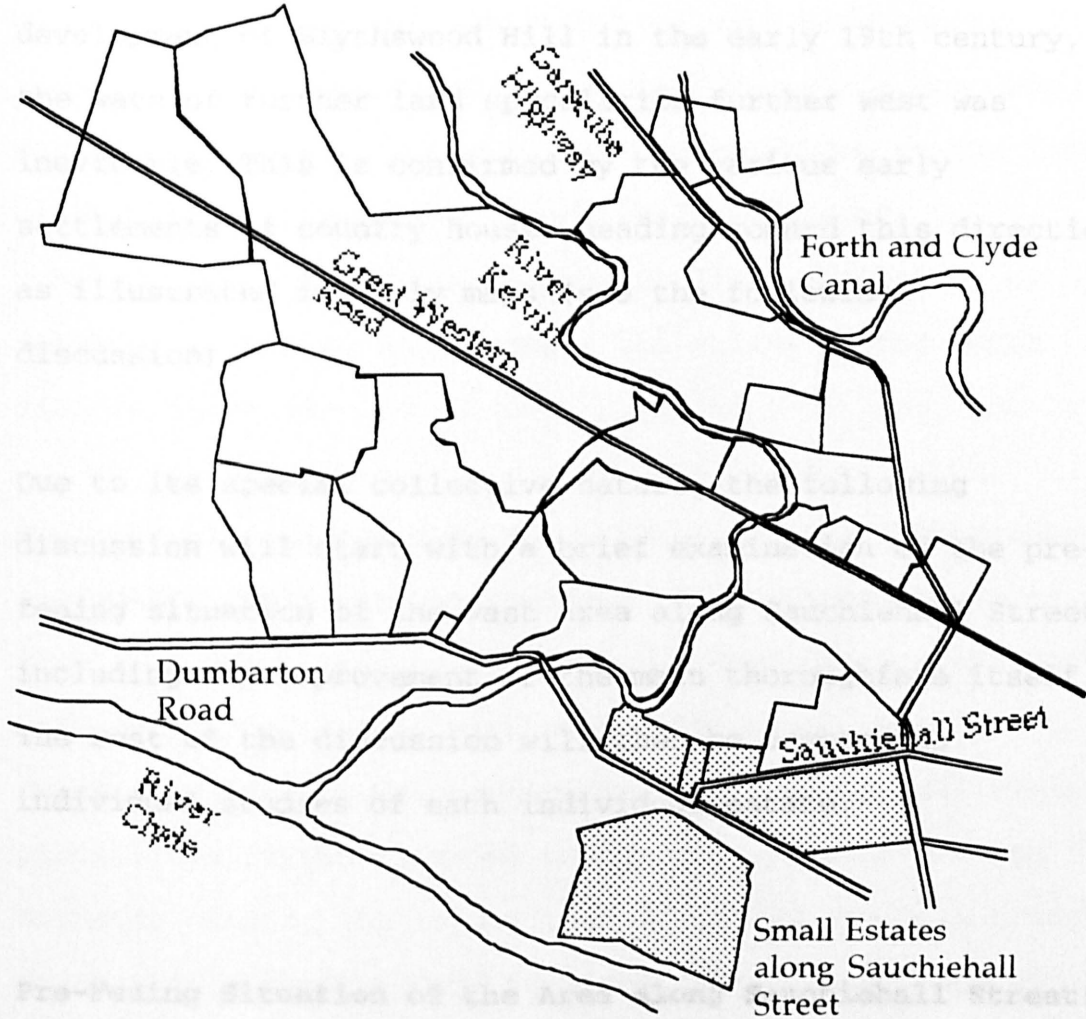
The combined setting of these two developments was only rivalled by another similar scheme in Queen's Park, though housing in the latter was much reduced in richness and details, as well as lacking the topographical effect as in Kelvingrove Park.

Retrospectively speaking, the scale of the development was much larger than the initial east-of-the-Kelvin proposals. It involved additional purchases from Glasgow University of

Gilmorehill lands¹⁶, and other lands of Kelvinbank, which all at one time also became the site of the 1888 and 1911 International Exhibition (refer to the studies of Gilmorehill for details of these events). The final setting of the completed parklands therefore cohesively integrates the three main dominating landmarks in the West End: the University, the Art Gallery and the breathtaking composition of Park Circus. Seldom one could find such harmonious co-existence of the classical and picturesque, making Kelvingrove Park the *crème de la crème* among the Victorian developments of Glasgow.

¹⁶ The Corporation was more or less "blackmailed" into purchasing the surplus lands of Gilmorehill – refer to the discussion of Gilmorehill

SMALL ESTATES ALONG SAUCHIEHALL STREET



Location of the Small Estates along Sauchiehall Street

Introduction:

The grouping of the small estates along Sauchiehall Street (formerly Sandyford Road) is only for convenience in this study. In fact, each of these estates was developed on a separate basis, without any collective framework from an overall developer.

Having said that, initially a large number of them were part of the much larger Blythswood Estate, as illustrated in the 1841 Blythswood Map (Fig. SHS.01). After the development of Blythswood Hill in the early 19th century, the wave of further land speculation further west was inevitable. This is confirmed by the various early settlements of country houses heading toward this direction as illustrated in early maps (see the following discussion).

Due to its special collective nature, the following discussion will start with a brief examination of the pre-feuing situation of the vast area along Sauchiehall Street, including the improvement of the main thoroughfare itself. The rest of the discussion will then be devoted to individual studies of each individual estate.

Pre-Feuing Situation of the Area along Sauchiehall Street:

a) Early Maps:

In Richardson's 1795 map (Fig. SHS.02), Sauchiehall Street already exists as an early country road. It originated from the city grid, stretching east-west towards the west end, joining on to Dumbarton Road [Argyle Street]. A branch – now Woodlands Road – ran north-west from Charing Cross to present day Kelvinbridge. Along the long road, there were

already some country residences being built at that time, especially near the western end. The rest of the road was indicated as blank, suggesting an open country in between.

By 1816, this road was busily dotted with more country residences as illustrated on the 1816 Forrest's map (Fig. SHS.03). Although the map is quite obscure due to the line of the fold, places like "Sauchiehall Road" and "Cherrybank" can still be made out. Also, "McGeorge Esquire" is indicated alongside the villas on the south side of the road.

The 1828 plan produced by Smith (Fig. SHS.04), which only includes a small part of the road, illustrates the layout of villas more clearly. Although terraced development had already started in the Blythswood Hill area, the rest of Sauchiehall Street was predominantly sliced up into villa plots. This layout extended to the west, opposite South Woodside estate. The layout centred around two main roads: Sauchiehall Street and North Street ("Road from Anderson to Woodside"), which formed a right angle at present day Charing Cross. This orthogonal layout pre-determined the setting out of the area between Sauchiehall Street and St Vincent Street.

b) Historical Background from Documents:

L Buchanan, in his article published in the 'Old Glasgow Club Transactions', described the early history of

Sauchiehall Street¹. The following is a summary from his article:

- Sauchiehall Street in general was widened in 1807, but even in 1860, it was only widened as far as Charing Cross;
- Villas were built west of Elmbank Street by 1810, and out westward to Claremont Street on the south side of Sauchiehall Street. Some of them had large gardens which prevented the grid street lines - such as Bath Street - extending westward;
- The ground west of North Street and above Kent Road was occupied with villas in good gardens, one of which belonged to McGeorge [as indicated on the 1816 map];
- Apart from North Street and Sauchiehall Street, Claremont Street also started as a country lane, running from Dumbarton Road to the entrance of Claremont House; west of the lane was the old Botanic Gardens.

c) 1839 Smith's Map and 1842 Martin's Map:

In Buchanan's article, there is no mention of an overall development plan, except the joint feuing design of Southwoodside and Claremont. The basic pre-development urban structure during the mid-1820s was limited to the few country lanes and roads, with an ever-expanding layout of villas.

¹ L Buchanan, "The West End of Glasgow at about 1825", as in "Old Glasgow Club Transactions", 1927/28, Glasgow, pp.14-16

However, with the development of Southwoodside and Claremont in 1830, the urban scenario began to change. Smith's map of 1839, which covers exactly the same area as its 1828 predecessor, illustrates the already progressing development of Southwoodside, together with other similar terraced proposals at St Vincent Street (Fig. SHS.05). The villas still existed and continued to expand, but a new trend was biased towards the terraced developments.

By 1842, when Martin's Map (Fig. SHS.06) was published, the area between St Vincent Street and Sauchiehall Street had been formally laid out, although there was no indication of building types on Martin's Map. The western edge of Claremont was also extended, forming Clifton Terrace and Royal Crescent in succession. Nevertheless, the area beyond the intersection with Dumbarton Road was not urbanised, and country mansion houses still dominated.

These two maps therefore indicate progressive development took place from the early 1820s, gradually taking over the *ad hoc* villa plots. This created organised, recognisable, and systematic urban blocks, which, as illustrated in Royal Crescent, are strikingly similar to the preceding terraces in Southwoodside and Claremont.

The development was indeed controlled by feuing design plans. In the following discussion of these feuing design

plans, I will present four main parts (refer to Fig. SHS.07 for locations):

- The area bounded by Sauchiehall Street, North Street, St Vincent Street, and Dumbarton Road;
- Royal Crescent and Royal Terrace;
- Kelvinbank Estate;
- Stobcross Estate - i.e., St Vincent Crescent.

The first part will be discussed in detail, for it represents the main area in this study. The latter two estates (which are beyond Dumbarton Road) are also included in this chapter, because of their important status as middle class areas among the growing number of working class developments.

Feuing Developments:

"Area at the west end of St Vincent Street":

This is the area bounded by Sauchiehall Street, North Street, St Vincent Street, and Dumbarton Road.

a) Feuing Proposals:

A feuing design plan was produced in 1843 (Fig. SHS.08), although Martin's 1842 Map (refer to Fig. SHS.06) has a very similar layout. On Martin's Map, villas were still being indicated, while this 1843 proper feuing plan hardly shows any villas. There are other interesting features in this feuing plan, however, as listed in the following:

- The feuing plan seems to be an unprecedented collaboration between different landowners. The different ownership roughly follows the grid-layout (Fig. SHS.08a), although the earlier villa plots and old Botanic Gardens upset the formality of the grid;
- The grid is basically generated from the three main country roads i.e., Sauchiehall Street, North Street and Claremont Road. It also extended the city grid, such as St Vincent Street and, later, Bath Street (called Berkeley Street in this area) (Fig. SHS.08b);
- The grid, contrary to its predecessor on Blythswood Hill, was not laid out on repetitive rectangular blocks. Long terrace blocks flank the northern half, while the axis has changed to north-south for the blocks between Wellesley Street [Kent Road] and St Vincent Street. The rest were cut-off or in-fill blocks determined by the main thoroughfares; (Fig. SHS.08c)
- The majority of the urban blocks were designated for development, with the exception of a small open landscaped square (Wellington Square). There is no indication of any institutional buildings such as churches or schools;

The dominant landowner, as indicated on the 1843 plan, was Michael Rowand. He controlled most of the land around Wellesley Street [Kent Road], and in 1856 there was another feuing design plan showing his property (Fig. SHS.09). Compared to the earlier plan, we can notice the following:

- Several blocks, especially those along the main roads were already built, both as terraces and tenements. The central heartland was still largely vacant, despite a time gap of 13 years between the two plans;
- The central large blocks were further subdivided into smaller ones, although the main streets were still kept at 60 and 75 feet wide;
- Although the central blocks were largely vacant, some plots were already taken up, such as a church and a large workshop (Wylie and Lochhead); this was also recorded in the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig. SHS.10), which shows the new streets as dotted lines between Sauchiehall Street and St Vincent Street.
- Similar to its earlier plan, there are no indications of the urban type the developer expected, although in reality terraces of all different architectural styles gradually appeared.

One typical example is Newton terrace. The plot was subfeued to Peter McNab, who developed the 17 terrace houses as shown in Fig. SHS.11. Other terraces along Sauchiehall Street were developed in a similar fashion, with one or two terrace plots being built one at a time. There is little information about the architects involved, although scholars have pointed out the involvement of Charles Wilson (corner at North Street/ Sauchiehall Street,

1853), Brown & Carrick (Sandyford Place, 1842-56), and John Burnet Snr (Fitzroy Place, 1847)².

b) The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

The 1913 Ordnance shows that the whole area was almost completed (Fig. SHS.12). With the exception of a few terraces along Sauchiehall Street and Berkeley Street, the rest of the urban blocks were filled with a mixture of tenements, warehouses, industrial and institutional buildings.

Indeed, institutional buildings were at their highest concentration in this area. They included seven churches, one library, one multi-functional hall (St Andrew's Hall), one drill hall, one secondary school and one hospital (Eye Infirmary). Even the University planned to set up a teaching hospital at the corner of North Street and Sauchiehall Street³. All these were contained within the urban grid, which has not changed significantly from its 1850s design.

The *ad hoc* combination of different buildings was probably caused by the lack of clearly pre-defined urban types on early feuing plans, together with non-specified feuing restrictions. On the other hand, the demand for such a

² E Williamson et al, "The Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, London, pp.289-290

³ J Coutts, "A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1909", James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1909, pp.417. This proposal was eventually aborted due to the unsuccessful attempt of moving to Woodlands Hill.

number of churches (with several different denominations) in this area, may be an indication of a mixture of different social groups and relatively higher density of population.

There is also an obvious downward trend from terraces to tenements. The earlier terraces enjoyed the normal restrictive feuing conditions, such as building forms and business restrictions⁴. However, the continuous westward movement attracted the middle classes to other estates, changing the direction in this area to cater for the working classes. By the 1870s, tenements, warehouses and industrial sheds - most noticeably the extensive workshops of Wylie and Lochhead - were quickly occupying the then vacant plots. A contemporary observer has the following comment regarding this change of class:

In the district bounded on the east by North Street, and on the west by Dumbarton Road.....It is worth noting that an important change has taken place lately in the character of West End tenements....we were agreeably surprised lately to find a number of fine looking tenements nearly completed.....This has hitherto been considered a middle-class part of the City, and when we find so many suitable houses for working men in course of erection at the same time and place, we cannot help regarding it as a hopeful element of progress.⁵

⁴ The houses were to be built with polished ashlar fronts and slate roofs, with private carriageway and pleasure ground, and approved parapet wall and iron railing. They were also strictly used for residential purposes without 'any business which might be considered nauseous to the neighbouring feuars'. Ref: Deed of Sasine of a house in Fitzroy Place in favour of J Robertson, 16 June 1843, as cited in "Census Database: Sandyford", SRA/PA/12/22

⁵ Glasgow Herald, December 1870, as quoted in JF Gordon (ed), "The History of Glasgow, 1872", Glasgow, pp.1133

This created the vicious cycle of urban degeneration, worsened by heavy transport and the cutting down of the front private gardens due to road widening programmes, leading to an inferior environment:

The Sandyford terraces⁶ no longer enjoyed the exclusive situation and open outlook of thirty years [the 1850s] ago; the area had been considerably built up, and working classes tenements erected behind Sandyford and Fitzroy Places obscured the views and were thought to 'lower the tone' of the area.⁷

Royal Crescent and Royal Terrace:

Although superficially Royal Crescent looks like an individual terrace on the north side of Sauchiehall Street, its original feuing plan includes the whole block bounded by Sauchiehall Street, Claremont Street, Royal Terrace, and Kelvingrove Street.

The original plot which eventually became Royal Crescent, was only a small triangular plot of Blythswood Estate at the corner of Sauchiehall Street and Kelvingrove Street (refer to the 1841 Blythswood Map, Fig. SHS.01) A "Plan of the Lands of Kelvingrove" (Fig. SHS.13), dated 1829, indicates that the then owner of this small plot substantially enlarged and rationalised his estate, as well as creating two streets on the north and east side - Royal

⁶ That is, the terraces in this area in general, not just *Sandyford Place*, nor the *Sandyford Estate* which was amalgamated with Kelvinbank Estate - my notes.

⁷ "Census Database: Sandyford", op cit.

Terrace and Claremont Street respectively. Equally important on this plan, are the labels where streets were intended in neighbouring Claremont Estate. These streets were eventually presented on the 1830 feuing design plan by George Smith. However, the 1829 plan had already used the proposed layout to generate the boundaries/ urban block of Royal Crescent/ Royal Terrace, resulting in a consistent design.

Ten years later, in 1839, Alexander Taylor designed the feuing plan (Fig. SHS.14). In this feuing design, Taylor proposed two separate crescents, one facing Sauchiehall Street, the other on Royal Terrace facing north. The houses were designed to be equally distributed within the terrace, with a minimum back access behind the two terraces. The two side roads on the east and west were lined with separate sets of houses. Nevertheless, the overall emphasis was on the terraces: they occupied the prime location, with private *pro indiviso* gardens, and echoed the earlier proposals of Claremont Terrace and Lynedoch Crescent.

On the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. SHS.15), the built version differs from the proposed design. The crescent on Sauchiehall Street remained, but instead of a plain edifice of equal houses, the houses were grouped in pairs, especially by the device of twinned attic windows (Fig. SHS.16). The rest of the urban block contained tenements instead of terraces, with the disappearing of the crescent

on Royal Terrace. In this final layout, it is also apparent that the crescent acted as a visual pivot when Sauchiehall Street turned its axis to follow the direction of Argyle Street. On the other side, Royal Terrace continued the urban block from Woodside Place to Parkgrove Terrace, although the urban type altered from terraces to tenements.

Kelvinbank Estate:

The developed area of Kelvinbank consisted mainly of two estates - the 12 acres of Kelvinbank proper, and the neighbouring smaller estate of Sandyford on its eastern boundary (refer to 1842 Martin's Map - Fig. SHS.06 - which shows the extent of these two estates). Kelvinbank Estate originally was part of the larger estate of Nether Newton⁸, while Sandyford was part of Blythswood lands⁹. Both of these estates were sold off to the Trades House in 1846¹⁰.

Subsequently, the Trades House published the extent of their acquired land (Fig. SHS.17), together with a request for submissions from architects for the best "layout". The details of this competition could not be found among the records of the Trades House, but in the late 1850s Charles

⁸ J Buchanan and others, "Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry", 1878. James MacLehose Publisher, Glasgow, pp.143.

⁹ Refer to Fig.SHS.01 which shows the full extent of Blythswood Estate, including the small estate of Sandyford

¹⁰ This was mentioned in J Buchanan, op cit., pp.143 and documents bundled in "Kelvinbank Documents", SRA/T-TH/1/29/1.

Wilson was asked to comment on a design layout by a Mr Gale – most likely to be the accepted entry (Fig. SHS.18).

On this presumed winning entry, the designer extended the then already existing grid lines from the east, making them parallel with Dumbarton Road. Urban blocks were sliced out from this set of lines, creating the familiar grid pattern. By this time some of the blocks between Sandyford Street [Sauchiehall Street] and Dumbarton Road [Argyle Street] were already being feued. This proved that the pressure of the westward movement of urban development still had not decreased. However, on this plan there is no indication of the urban type, although Wilson probably had terraces in mind (see below).

Following this plan, Wilson proposed several alternatives, including one with a crescent to be formed on Sandyford Street¹¹. Wilson's advice indeed was not surprising, as he was involved in an earlier comprehensive proposal for the West End in 1851 (reproduced here as Fig. SHS.19). This earlier proposal included Kelvinbank Estate and shows a centre piece crescent facing towards the then proposed Kelvingrove Park.

Wilson's alternative proposals were then sent to John Baird (I) and JJ Rohead for comments. They 'decidedly prefer the

¹¹ Correspondence by Wilson bundled in SRA/ T-TH/1/29/11, although Wilson's sketches were not found in this bundle.

crescent fronting the Park [Kelvingrove Park], as being the best, and likely to turn out the most profitable scheme for laying out the lands...¹².

Despite all these professional consultations, none of the up-market proposals was carried out. Although the grid remained in place – as seen on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig. SHS.20) – the buildings were all large tenements, with none of the crescents as suggested. Apart from the all-tenement development, there are two churches slotted in within the grid. One of them occupied the strategic position between Royal Terrace and Parkgrove Terrace, facing the Park. Another one was directly opposite, forming the corner of the urban block. On the western half of the estate, a large portion was not feued out, and was eventually sold off to the Glasgow Corporation, which then used it for the two International Exhibitions in 1888 and 1901 (refer to the Studies on Gilmorehill).

Stobcross Estate:

a) Background:

The location of Stobcross estate was isolated from any major roads, and it is hard to believe that it could attract the same attention as other middle class estates. However, it did manage to make full use of its inferior

¹² Correspondence by J Baird (I) and JJ Rothead bundled in SRA/ T-TH/1/29/11.

location, although its success was limited only to a single terrace - St Vincent Crescent.

The estate was originally a country residence for the Phillips family for a long time, as indicated on Richardson's 1795 map (refer back to Fig. SHS.02). In 1829, the then owner, John Phillips, commissioned William Kyle to survey the extent of his estate (Fig. SHS.21). This survey basically showed the areas and physical conditions of the estate. It was surrounded by a very unusual combination of residential and industrial neighbourhoods. Its eastern neighbour, Finnieston, was already built up as an industrial estate in the early 19th century, while its northern and western neighbours retained their country residence status. Its southern boundary, the River Clyde, was also transforming into yet more dry and wet docks for the fast growing ship-building industry.

Another survey was carried out in 1845 by Andrew McFarlane (Fig. SHS.22). This larger survey shows more of the neighbouring estates, which again confirmed the above situation. The middle class areas such as Claremont and Southwoodside were already being completed, but on the other hand, Finnieston had also enlarged its industrial complex. An industrial highway (Pointhouse Road) connecting Partick and Anderston was proposed along its southern boundary, further reinforcing the industrial nature along the Clyde. McFarlane's survey also indicates a steep slope

within the estate itself, making it impossible to carry out a simple 2-dimensional feuing layout for the whole estate.

b) The mixture of industrial and residential developments:
In 1841, the trustees of John Phillips intended to sell off the estate. In their advertisement, they tried to attract both property and industrial developers, by emphasising the dual quality of the estate:

"Above a third part of the whole is Haughland, well adopted for ship building purposes, docks or public works of any kind, for which an ample supply of water may be had from the river. The remainder of the property is very suitable for Buildings and Villas, commanding as it does extensive views of the Vale of Clyde to South, South West, West etc."¹³

This advertisement, therefore, became the most unusual one among the developments of the West End. No other developers or sellers tried to incorporate both heavy industries and middle class housing within a single estate, although in reality some developers, such as Montgomerie and Fleming of Kelvinside, had to relax their stringent feuing restrictions in the face of lack of demand. Stobcross proved the peculiar exception to this by attempting to accommodate both developments at the same time.

c) The Feuing Design:

The estate was bought by a feuing company, and in 1850 Alexander Kirkland was commissioned to design the feuing

¹³ Glasgow Herald 16 April 1841

plan (Fig. SHS.23). However, only the northern portion of the estate was considered in the feuing design – the design was aptly named Stobcross Crescent, not the whole estate.

The feuing plan presentation emphasised the 3-dimensional quality of the proposal by presenting two highly detailed perspective views. The uniform appearance with classical details, meandering along the northern edge of the estate, created an element of solidity, fencing itself off from the otherwise *ad hoc* developments along Dumbarton Road, and its industrial neighbourhood of Finnieston. This is also clearly illustrated on the plan, where a neat and organised layout of the crescent and tenements was separated from the main road, with no indication of any nearby estates. Access was through a formal access (now Minerva Street), and another minor one (now Corunna Street). Once inside the estate the view of the crescent with extensive front gardens (further bowling greens and a curling pond were added later) provided the contrast from the outside world (Fig. SHS.24).

The corresponding description of the feuing proposal, indicates that, unusually for middle class purposes, the crescent was indeed 'flats' to be let, instead of terrace houses for selling:

"..... they are **let in flats**, varying each from ten rooms and kitchen to five rooms and kitchen, with of course, all the modern improvements
.....This is the first Crescent erected in

Glasgow, and subdivided into flats to which advantage of pleasure ground has been attached."¹⁴
(my emphasis)

Although they were designed as flats, they did not lack the necessary requirement for a promising middle class area. In the description, the writer stressed that the development enjoyed the benefit of a separate sewer system, and stated the tremendous cost of the building operations so far for the first year. The architectural 'style' of these exceptionally large flats was Italian, and, as quoted above, they had the privilege of a private front garden, which could not be found in other 'flatted' properties. The article also went to great lengths to justify the change of the name from Stobcross Crescent to "St Vincent" Crescent, and concluded that:

"From combining the pleasures of a country residence, with the advantage of proximity to the City, and from the liberal manner in which the grounds have been laid out, there is no doubt that this will soon become a favourable location for a desirable class of tenants."¹⁵

The building of the Crescent was actually in two phases¹⁶, with the later eastern one-third built as terrace houses, and not as flats as intended. When the estate was eventually realised, the high expectations of the feuing company could not counteract the increasing pressure from its neighbouring industrial quarters. When another survey

¹⁴ Glasgow Herald 2 June 1851

¹⁵ Glasgow Herald 2 June 1851

¹⁶ E Williamson et al, op cit., pp. 291

plan was drawn up in 1895 (Fig. SHS.25), it is obvious that the industrial elements and recreational facilities existed side by side:

- None of the intended buildings apart from the Crescent was built;
- The amenity of the Crescent now included a bowling green and a curling pond, in addition to the private garden;
- On the other hand, the ever expanding railway network, in particular the Stobcross branch line, was now cutting across the Crescent, with one house being demolished for the railway line.

d) The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

By examining the 1913 Ordnance Survey, we can see more of the railway encroachment (Fig. SHS.26). The major part of the estate by this time was now designated for railway lines and depots, while its southern part was opened up as Queen's Dock. None of the original buildings illustrated on the feuing plan was realised, apart from the Crescent itself, although the strange juxtaposition of middle class leisure facilities (bowling greens, curling pond and tennis court) and industrial railway lines was still existing at that time.

Conclusion:

The development of the small estates along Sauchiehall Street was not a co-ordinated exercise. However, the resulting urban environment, particularly along the main thoroughfare itself, is surprisingly unified and harmonious.

The harmony of this unified theme was mainly generated by the predominant terraces along Sauchiehall Street, and the continuation of grid lines originating from Southwoodside and Claremont, through Royal Crescent to Kelvinbank Estate. These grid lines were further echoed at the large urban area between St Vincent Street and Sauchiehall Street, and linking up to the Blythswood grid via Bath Street and St Vincent Street itself, although Sauchiehall Street existed earlier as a country road.

The side street of the old Botanic Garden – namely, Claremont Street – generated the perpendicular element to these parallel lines. Subsequent slicing of urban blocks followed this orthogonal relationship. This defining exercise also carried further onto Kelvinbank Estate, where the original boundary between Kelvinbank and Sandyford was ignored, and a new grid was superimposed on to the estate. Within these dominant grid formats, variations, such as the curve of Royal Crescent, were superimposed.

However, behind these terraces, urban degeneration halted further middle class development. Tenements, workshops,

churches and other institutions occupied slots and corners of the urban block, with some of them totally dedicated to non-domestic usage, such as the extensive workshops along Kent Road.

Also, the grid could not alter earlier individual developments. Where the blocks along Sauchiehall Street, Royal Crescent/ Terrace and Kelvinbank were following an implicit order, the *ad hoc* boundaries and developments at west Dumbarton Road [Argyle Street] stopped the grid being extended into earlier industrial settlements such as Finnieston. Dumbarton Road / Argyle Street became the main dividing line, and land south of this line gradually fell into the hands of industrial developers and working class residents.

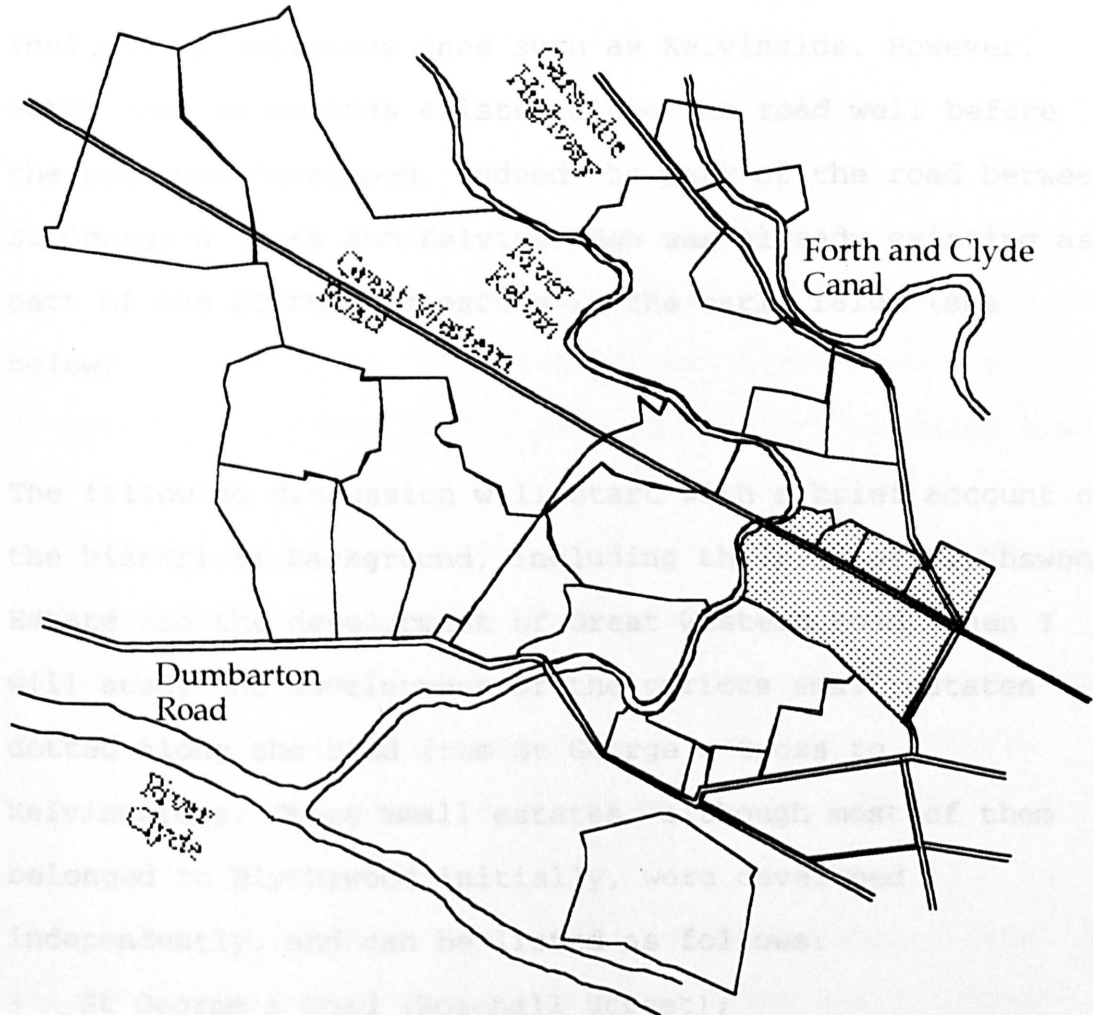
The only exception to this is the building of St Vincent (Stobcross) Crescent. This started with an ambitious scheme of new orders of Crescents and tenement blocks within the estate, but it too could not resist the overwhelming industrial character south of Dumbarton Road [Argyle Street]. By the late 1890s, it was carved up by the largest railway network and the largest dock in the West End, although the isolated St Vincent Crescent survived the blight.

The development of these estates also signified the change of social status in these areas. From the earliest

terraces, descended from the continuum of Southwoodside and Claremont, the original development was predominantly middle class. By the latter half of the century, tenements had taken up most of the plots, including the entire Kelvinbank estate, indicating that the working classes were taking over. Even when Stobcross Estate was laid out, the developer opted for "flats" to be let. Nevertheless the proprietors of the latter were still aiming for the middle class market by providing first class provisions in the development of the crescent.

Retrospectively speaking, the proximity of these small estates to the city centre and Clydeside industries prevented their long-term enjoyment as up-market middle class settlements, and most of them were eventually integrated with the broader area of working class tenements.

SMALL ESTATES ALONG GREAT WESTERN ROAD



Location of the Small Estates along Great Western Road

Introduction:

Great Western Road is regarded as one of the most impressive suburban thoroughfares in the country today. Its initial conception was a purely private affair, with an

important aim to develop the then vast countryside west of the City in the 1830s.

Eventually along this road, various estates were developed, including prestigious ones such as Kelvinside. However, other smaller estates existed along the road well before the road was developed. Indeed the part of the road between St George's Cross and Kelvinbridge was already existing as part of the Blythswood estate in the early 1810s (see below).

The following discussion will start with a brief account of the historical background, including the role of Blythswood Estate and the development of Great Western Road. Then I will study the development of the various small estates dotted along the road from St George's Cross to Kelvinbridge. These small estates, although most of them belonged to Blythswood initially, were developed independently, and can be listed as follows:

- St George's Road (Rosehall Street);
- Queen's Crescent;
- South Park/ Royal Circus;
- Burnbank Gardens;
- Holyrood Crescent;
- Lansdowne Crescent;
- Area between Great Western Road and Woodlands Road;

Due to the availability of copious material, not all the small estates can be discussed in the same depth, and some of them will only be briefly mentioned.

Historical Background of the Blythswood Estate:

The boundary of Blythswood Estate extended into the West End of Glasgow, as depicted on an 1841 map of the whole estate (Fig.GWR.01). This part of west Blythswood included a large area between Woodlands Road and Northwoodside Road.

Early maps, such as the 1795 Richardson's Map (Fig.GWR.02), indicate this area as open country with minimal description. By 1816, when Forrest's Map was published, the countryside was already transformed into various little enclaves of independent country houses (Fig.GWR.03).

The 1817 Blythswood feuing plan (Fig.GWR.04) has a detailed record of the small plots bounded by Great Western Road (Woodside Street on the plan), Rosehall Street [St George's Road] and Woodlands Road, showing the demarcation lines and plot sizes. Another later feuing plan, dated 1836 (Fig.GWR.05), also includes the above area, but with additional areas north of Great Western Road. These two plans clearly show the primary layout which generated the secondary layouts of the individual plots. This primary layout was formed by Woodside Street [part of Great Western

Road] and Rosehall Street [St George's Road] at a right angle at present day St George's Cross. It is from this crossing that the grid-like structure was established along Woodside Street upon Woodlands Road.

Neither Woodside Street nor St George's Road is present on Richardson's 1795 map, and most likely they were laid out specifically by the proprietors of Blythswood estate.

Woodside Street, as can be seen on Forrest's 1816 Map, stretched from Cowcaddens to present day Kelvinbridge, joining with the existing country road of Woodlands Road. Rosehall Street seemed to be extending from North Street, but only after a diversion at Charing Cross. Rosehall Street also terminated all the roads coming down from Garnet Hill, which was laid out on a grid following the larger Blythswood Hill grid.

The area west of Rosehall Street was laid out on the new order as defined by Woodside Street and Rosehall Street. This new order, on a grid format, was intended to cover this whole area (refer to Fig.GWR.05 which shows the proposed grid in pencil), although there were already some exceptions to a strictly repetitive grid as early as 1817 (refer to Fig.GWR.04).

Apparently most of the early feuars of these plots were owner-occupiers, with little indication of property speculation. The Blythswood feuing plans do not indicate

any buildings, and therefore make it difficult to describe the feuars' intention. Nevertheless, the private development of Great Western Road, which actually elongated Woodside Street to Anniesland Toll, and the upgrading of Rosehall Street, clearly point towards a speculative direction by the 1830s.

Historical Background of the Great Western Road:

In 1836 an Act of Parliament was obtained to build this private road from St George's Road to Anniesland Cross. The promoters were mainly landowners in the West End who had an interest in property speculation, or middle class professionals such as accountants and surgeons¹.

The development of this road was long and complicated. At the beginning, they received opposition from the Blythswood Estate², probably because of the adoption of Woodside Street into part of the road. Eventually the road was completed in 1841 after a delay of two years.

¹ In the first meeting record of the "Great Western Road Trustees", six of the trustees were landowners, while the remaining four were professional people. Also, there are other *subscribers* who were mainly landowners of other West End estates. Ref: SRA/ F.8.3/ vol.1

² The Campbell Family of Blythswood Estate drafted a survey drawing of Woodside Street, stating that this was "for the purpose of opposing Great Western Road". However, there are no further details of *how* this was opposed. Ref: SRA/ TKF-1/X-1-5b

The development was indeed mainly aimed at the business of land speculation. The promoters (or Trustees, as the process went ahead) tried to fulfil this aim in several ways:

- a) A plan was published to explain the short distance between the centre and the road (Fig.GWR.06). This apparently became the most convincing factor for the West End to succeed, when compared to other similar schemes on the south side and the east end, as "it was directly accessible to the centre without the need to travel through areas of destitution"³;
- b) The land for the road was given free - "*gratis*" - to the trustees, while the landowners were entitled to a share of the profit on the funds (with interest) of the road when tolls were collected. To persuade the landowners to agree to this arrangement, the trustees made it clear that

"the formation of this road will much enhance the value of [the] property through which it passes, and will greatly accelerate the feuing which would otherwise have been slow in progress"⁴;

- c) The toll bar was not set up at St George's Road, but across the Kelvin, as the Blythwood Estate opposed any form of tolls on their land. Blythwood, therefore, incurred half the cost of building the road in front of

³ PA Reed, "Tenement, Terrace e Villa: la costruzione del West End", in Bocchi R (ed) "Glasgow: forma e progetto della citta", Venice: Cluva Editrice, 1990

⁴ Letter from the Road Trustees legal agent to the Oswald family to persuade them to agree to the "road gratis arrangement", SRA/f.8.3/ vol. 1, 24 July 1838

their unfeued lands⁵. However, as the trustees claimed, the toll-free part of the road could attract a better prospect of feuing:

The advantage was obviously very much in favouring of Blythswood, who thereby got the toll removed west to the Kelvin, which was a great boon to his feuars and more especially to the tenants of his quarries;⁶

- d) The trustees were painstakingly obsessed with a straight line from St George's Road to Anniesland Cross. The original proposal contained a slight divergence to the north at Kelvinbridge (possibly to suit the crossing of the river), and a curved line staking off at Northpark⁷. These were subsequently revised in the course of development, resulting in a straight line from start to end. The reason to revise these was, as motioned by one of the trustees, that:

".....any departures from the straight line being wholly unnecessary and only calculated to injure the appearance of the road and depreciate the value of the neighbouring grounds....."⁸

Hence, the actual geometrical shape of the road was directly associated with land value and appearance, which was part of the interesting philosophy behind the development of Great Western Road.

- e) Apart from the geometry of the road, width was another concern. The original Parliamentary Act granted a road with a continuous width of 60 feet wide throughout, but

⁵ Letter from the Agent of the Road Trustees to Blythswood Estate representative; Ref.: SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, Minutes 10 April 1840

⁶ SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, Minutes 10 April 1840

⁷ SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, Minutes dated 4 Sept. 1838 and 1 Feb. 1839

⁸ SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, Minutes 1 Feb. 1839

when the contract was put out, the road west of the Kelvin was only 40 feet. However, "there was a general feeling among the proprietors along the line of the road west of the Kelvin and others connected with it that the whole line of the road should be cut to the full breadth of 60 feet"⁹. Certainly the width of the road was again associated with status and prestige, which would affect its ability to be developed as an important middle class area, despite the fact that in 1838 all the area west of the Kelvin was only countryside.

Historical Background of other roads and bridges:

a) St George's Road:

Other roads in this area, apart from Woodlands Road, were also probably laid out by the Blythswood landowner. This includes St George's Road (Rosehall Street), which was originally indicated on Blythswood feuing plans for local usage.

When Great Western Road was underway, it became apparent that it did not have a direct connection to the city. The only outlet was via New City Road through Cowcaddens (present day Cambridge Street), and this was under the

⁹ SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, Minutes 4 Oct. 1838

control of a rival turnpike trust, the Garscube Road Trust, who opposed the access through New City Road.

To resolve the situation, the Great Western Road took in St George's Road, and made that a branch of Great Western Road. At that time, St George's Road, or Rosehall Street as it used to be known, was in a state of disrepair despite its initial upmarket development (see below):

St George's Road is at present [1839] only about 30 feet wide at the maximum, and in some places not so much, and is totally impassable, and indeed a disgrace to the neighbourhood.¹⁰

A private Bill was submitted to the Parliament for the purpose of making St George's Road part of Great Western Road, with an accompanying plan laid out by David Smith (Fig.GWR.07). Although the proposed layout was merely an upgrading of the existing road, with an improved arrangement at Charing Cross, it opened an important direct communication between the City and Great Western Road¹¹.

b) The Bridge over the River Kelvin at Kelvinbridge:
The development of Great Western Road also projected a new crossing over the Kelvin. Previously there was already a smaller one over the Kelvin, which was part of the statute labour road from Woodside Mill to Northwoodside. The new Great Western Road crossing was on a higher level, forming

¹⁰ SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, letter to JC Colquhoun, MP in London, Jan. 1839

¹¹ SRA/ F.8.3/ vol. 1, Minutes 8 April 1839

a new bridge over the old one (Fig.GWR.08). Across the river, the toll house was built, while the road between St George's Road and the bridge remained toll free.

The width of the bridge, however, was only 40 feet wide, and created problems in the late 19th century when tramways were introduced. Eventually this 1839 stone bridge was replaced by a new iron bridge in 1890, with a width of 60 feet to match the width of the road.

Feuing Developments:

a) Rosehall Street [St George's Road]:

Rosehall Street was one of the earliest speculative developments in the West End. It was developed by Thomas Herbertson, who feued the Feu 31(?) from Blythswood Estate.

In 1828, William Kyle was commissioned to lay out both sides of Rosehall Street, including Herbertson's plot on the east and another large plot on the west (Fig.GWR.09).

The layout was strictly Georgian in concept: detached villas dotted along the main street, with deep front and back gardens. The street lines from Garnet Hill grid extended down on to Rosehall Street, but terminated here without any further extension. Building restrictions, such as restrictive building lines, plots sizes and even an

elevation of the villas, were explicitly indicated on this plan. One of the villas similar to this development still survives today (Fig.GWR.10), indicating the simple yet imposing design of these villas.

This scheme was relatively successful. The 1860 Ordnance Survey of this area (Fig.GWR.11) shows that most of the villas were built in accordance with the 1828 plan.

However, this villa development seemed to be the last one of its kind in this area. Other nearby speculative developments, such as Southwoodside and Claremont, were all terraces, while in the latter half of the century, tenements dominate the plots behind St George's Road.

b) Queen's Crescent:

Queen's Crescent was developed from several Blythswood plots at the junction of Woodside Street and St George's Road. It was built in the years 1840-41, and designed by John Bryce¹², but despite detailed research, no feuing design plan could be found.

The earliest record of its existence is on Martin's 1842 Map (Fig.GWR.12). Here, the crescent is indicated as being 'built', while another interesting development – South Park (see below) – across the road was also planned. The crescent indicates a change of the character of the area:

¹² E Williamson et al. "Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, GB, 1990, p.287, and PA Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of a City", Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1993, p.62

the speculative housing market for the middle class has finally arrived, with villas and owner-occupied country mansions gradually replaced by rows of terraces and tenements. This design also gave weight to the crescent urban morphology – terraced houses fronted with introverted *pro indiviso* gardens – which had already been established successfully further south at Southwoodside and Claremont.

The crescent consists of two-storey terrace houses with three-storey flatted end pavilions. Although the development is presumed to cater for the middle classes, the advertisement for the end pavilions specified that they were *to be let*, and claimed that "the rents are very moderate"¹³. However, on the other hand, the advertisement went on to describe its spaciousness, including facilities such as servants' quarters, and concluded that:

These houses [end pavilion flats] are in the course of being finished in the most elegant and approved manner, and will contain every accommodation for genteel families.¹⁴

This dual nature was not common in other later developments in the West End, where they were predominantly designed for selling (feuing). It is possible that the terrace houses along the main part of the crescent were for sale, while the flats in the end pavillions were for rent. Hence it can be suggested that the first gateway development to the West

¹³ Glasgow Herald, 20 March 1840

¹⁴ Glasgow Herald, 20 March 1840

End, especially along a newly opened private road, was deliberately toned down to suit a wider range of potential occupiers.

c) South Park:

South Park consisted of several original Blythswood plots, each of them under different ownership, as shown on the 1836 Blythswood Map (Fig.GWR.13). However, by 1839, these plots were already under the single ownership of WS Nisbet. He then commissioned Alexander Taylor to lay out this small conglomeration.

Taylor's design plan (Fig.GWR.14) was highly detailed, with clear indication of arrangements of houses and roads. This was further augmented by the perspective sketch showing the proposed 4-storey classical terraces. The main idea was to celebrate the newly formed New City Road [Maryhill Road] by creating a classical gateway with articulated porticoes on both side, while the large circular shaped terraces – the Royal Circus – would flank the main road. Given that New City Road had been built recently in 1840, and Great Western Road was not even completed, this classical urbanised proposal was strikingly ahead of its time. Although building activities had been gathering pace in the West End since the 1830s, particularly around the Charing Cross area, none of the proposals so far had been as substantial as this.

Taylor's design, however, was only partially realised. In the 1842 Martin's Map (refer to Fig.GWR.08), its design was indicated as outlines. By 1860 – 20 years later – as on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig.GWR.15) only half of the 'gateway' wing and a small portion of the circus was built. The streets had been revised slightly, and a long terrace – Windsor Terrace – had been built on its northern boundary backing on to North Woodside Road.

d) Burnbank:

Burnbank is immediately on the west side of South Park. Similar to other small estates along Great Western Road, it was originally a plot from the Blythwood Estate feued by the Smith family. Its existence was recorded on the 1816 Forrest's Map (refer to Fig.GWR.03), where "Burnbank" and "Mr Smith" are indicated.

In 1855 the country residence was laid for feuing purposes, and Charles Wilson designed the feuing plan (Fig.GWR.16a). Wilson's design, unlike Queen's Crescent and South Park, was an introverted layout with no formal relationship with Great Western Road. Access to the internal garden was via a simple entrance off Great Western Road. It is only when one stepped inside the garden that the formal garden would be appreciated.

There was also a strange combination of building types. The northern and southern rows facing the garden were split up

into terraces, while the rest were tenements, including the main block along Great Western Road. However, there was still a simple gesture towards the picturesque by providing a narrow strip of gardens along most of the tenements, and it was appreciated by a commentator later in 1896:

These buildings [Burnbank Gardens] are all constructed from the latest and improved plans. Great taste is displayed in the matter of their outward surroundings, the little grass or garden plots which in most cases stand between the buildings and the pavement, retaining something of the freshness of the country in the locality, notwithstanding its altered character.¹⁵

Also, the classical approach is obvious in this small layout: on the east-west axis symmetry is maintained, with a simple termination on the eastern row, and, later, a continuation of the western axis into Holyrood Crescent.

Feuing was slow in this estate, and it was not until the 1860s that eventually the estate was split up into large areas for feuing purposes, probably to builders. A feuing plan by Joseph Swan indicated these main feuing plots (Fig.GWR.16b). Despite this splitting up of the estate, the original design was retained throughout without any major revisions (see the discussion on the 1913 Ordnance Survey later).

e) Holyrood Crescent:

¹⁵ Glasgow Herald 15 May 1896

The boundary of Holyrood Crescent was created by a revision of the original Blythswood feu plots. The road between it and Burnbank (Napiershall Road) appeared on the 1817 plan, and the plots west of this road were dominated by Tower's feu (where Lansdowne Crescent was built). After a major revision which was first shown on Wilson's 1855 plan (Fig.GWR.17), the estates of Holyrood Crescent and Lansdowne Crescent were created.

No feuing design plan of this estate could be found. However, when Charles Wilson was in the process of designing the West End Park [Kelvingrove Park] earlier (c.1851), his plans included the smaller parts along Great Western Road, such as Holyrood and Lansdowne Crescents (Fig.GWR.18). It is not known whether Wilson was the architect of these estates, but Wilson's Plan coincides with the development of these two parts.

The only other available plan of Holyrood Crescent is a feuing disposition plan by Thomas Kyle which recorded the feuing of the steadings (Fig.GWR.19) dated 1857. This plan only includes the northern part of the crescent, showing the terrace houses facing the pleasure garden. Most likely there was an open prospect facing all the terrace houses, but in the 1870s the Episcopal Church (1871-4, Architect: George Gilbert Scott¹⁶) was built here along Great Western Road, and further tenements were built on the north side of

¹⁶ E Williamson et al, op cit., p.302

the Church, reducing the front view of the houses (see the discussion on the 1913 Ordnance Survey later).

f) Lansdowne Crescent:

Little information is available for this small unusual crescent design. Its development started in 1845 when two plans of eight steadings were prepared by Kyle and Frew for the landowner William Tower¹⁷. Again, Wilson's plan of the West End Park also depicted some feuing proposals for this part (refer to Fig.GWR.18), but whether Wilson was the architect for Lansdowne Crescent is open to question.

The Post Office Directory Plan from 1850-57 shows that the development of Lansdowne Crescent was contemporary with other developments at Burnbank and South Park (Fig.GWR.20a-c). In its semi-final form as shown on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig.GWR.21), there are mainly two parts: one is the straight garden off Great Western Road, but the other part follows the northern site boundary into a horse-shoe shape. All the houses maintained a front view to the gardens as in a more traditional semi-circular crescent design.

Another main development was the building of Lansdowne United Free Church (1863, Architect: John Honeyman¹⁸). The location at the corner of the Kelvin and Great Western Road over looking the Bridge, created an important monument

¹⁷ The drawing, however, is missing, but an entry in the Kyle and Frew Drawings Index contained the relevant information. Ref: SRA/ TKF/2/ "Lansdowne Crescent" entry.

¹⁸ E Williamson et al, op cit., p.302

along this main thoroughfare (Fig.GWR.22). Its sky soaring spire became one of the many focal points of the West End, particularly along with other Church spires along Great Western Road.

g) Area between Great Western Road and Woodlands Road:

Some parts of this area were already feued out as early as 1817, such as those around Queen's Crescent and St George's Road. However, a large area between Queen's Crescent and the River Kelvin was still unfeued at this time. On the 1836 Blythswood plan a feuing proposal comprising a grid-structure was superimposed on this unfeued part (refer to Fig.GWR.05), but of these only a fraction was feued out even in the 1840s.

Further speculative proposals of this part were proposed by Charles Wilson when a Proposed Feuing Plan for the West End Park was published in 1851 (reproduced here as Fig.GWR.23). Wilson ignored any existing feued portions (apart from Queen's Crescent), and proposed a series of crescent-shaped layouts, with West Princes Street as the main axis, terminating at the River Kelvin. Obviously the morphology of this design was based on the generic form of Queen's Crescent – large crescent shaped garden with open terrace houses. This was reflected in the other part of the design on Park Circus, Kelvinbank and Gilmorehill. Wilson's ambitious proposal was never realised, but it gave the

impetus for development in this area – although it was only fully built 40 years later in the 1890s.

By the latter half of the 19th century, the tenement grid had taken over most of the city urban development, including this part in Blythswood Estate. From a feuing record plan by Loudon McQueen – probably the factor for Blythswood Estate – the previously unfeued portions were sliced up into a grid structure, with a central garden at Barrington Street (Fig.GWR.24). This grid structure was similar to the 1836 proposal, although the proportions of urban blocks and positions of streets have been revised considerably. Nearly all the plots were feued out in a piecemeal fashion to builders to build 4-storey tenements¹⁹, although minor architectural variations do exist.

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

By 1913, the whole area was completely built up (Fig.GWR.25). By examining this Ordnance Survey we can notice the following:

¹⁹ There are individual plot feuing drawings of these tenements specially kept in the Archives under SRA/TD 234 "Blythswood Series". These drawings cover most of the buildings as shown on McQueen's Plan, but give no details of architect or master plan designer. A further detailed study was carried out by P Lewicki in his thesis, Ref: P Lewicki, "The Development of the West End of Glasgow", Unpublished Research Report, Strathclyde University, 1990.

- The ambitious design at South Park was not realised. Even the early fragment of the Royal Circus was swept away for a more utilitarian layout of shops and tenements. Windsor Terrace remained in place, but was now surrounded by heavy industrial settlements on the north;
- Burnbank Gardens, Holyrood Crescent and Lansdowne Crescent had no major changes since they were built, and retained many features as planned, although the two churches - St Mary's Episcopal and Lansdowne United Free - were most likely to be late comers as compared to the initial feuing design;
- On the south of Great Western Road, most of the tenements were built in a remarkably uniform appearance, particularly along West Princes Street and its tree lined side streets, reminiscent of the tenement layout of Hillhead:

The sturdy tenement tradition continues further west, where the street crosses Dunearn Street, Woodlands Drive, Barrington Drive and Montague Street. A glance up and down these streets reveals a more spacious layout, with shady narrow central gardens filled with tall trees, owing something to 19th century continental town planning²⁰;

- Several churches, a school and a bath-building were built south of Great Western Road, but none of them carried the same monumentality as the two churches at Holyrood and Lansdowne Crescents. For instance, Willowbank School, though set in open ground, was

²⁰ E Williamson et al, *op cit.*, p.288

hidden away from Woodlands Road by a full urban block. Also the Drill Hall at West Princes Street was behind a tenement facade, although the facade was architecturally distinguishable from other typical tenements²¹. Arlington Baths (1869-1871, Architect: John Burnet²²), though visually impressive today because of the urban blight, was never meant to be seen this way, as it was literally built on the back court of a tenement block;

- The exceptions to the tenement grid were the earlier developments of Queen's Crescent and St George's Road. The former still stood in 1913, probably also retaining its middle class status. The latter, however, was nearly swamped by an ever increasing number of tenements, making the villas a rarer urban type.
- Sandwiched between Woodlands Road and Kelvingrove Park, an island site was created which contained a prominent cluster of two school buildings and an Episcopal church. The church was an early monument (1864, Architect: John Honeyman²³), almost guarding the Eldon Street Bridge's entrance to Hillhead Estate. The two school buildings were late comers (1880 and 1884, Architect: Robert Dalglish²⁴), most likely built to satisfy the ever increasing population of this area and Park Circus. These public buildings formed an

²¹ "The overbearing red Ballochmyle sandstone frontage makes the only break in the rank of middle-class tenements." E Williamson et al, op cit., p.288

²² E Williamson et al, p.280

²³ E Williamson et al, op cit., p.275

²⁴ HB Morton, "A Hillhead Album", Hepburn Trustees, Glasgow, 1973, p184

interesting contrast of building forms along the cluttered Woodlands Road, which resulted from a visual neglect caused by the incomplete development of Park Circus.

Conclusion:

Blythswood Estate west was very much typical countryside at the end of the 18th century. Although a large number of plots were feued out, they were mainly for owner-occupied mansions. The demand for this kind of feuing in this area then pre-determined the location of main access roads, in which Woodside Street was eventually upgraded to become one of the most important thoroughfares in the West End, the Great Western Road.

The owner-occupied scenario did not last for a long time. By the early 19th century, speculative development had already started along St George's Road, although the building type was only limited to villas, which were similar to other peripheral buildings in Garnethill and Sauchiehall Street.

By the 1830s, after the feuing of Southwoodside and Claremont, terraces started to appear in this area. The terrace developments were mainly associated with the picturesque principle, with *pro indiviso* gardens and

carefully arranged crescents to maximise the view from the garden. Queen's Crescent, Holyrood Crescent and Lansdowne Crescent belonged to this development, but they were all developed individually, without any reference to a master plan.

Another estate, South Park, was the most ambitious of all. Occupying a key position at a main road crossing, its design was intended to urbanise that corner by providing the most spectacular gateway to Maryhill coupled with an elegant circus-terrace. However, this was too ambitious in its time given that the establishment of this area as a middle-class residential district was still in an embryonic stage. Eventually, only a fraction of its original design was realised. Even the small completed part of the circus was swept away for tenements and shops in the 1880s, although the one-half portico block survived until present days (Fig.GWR.26).

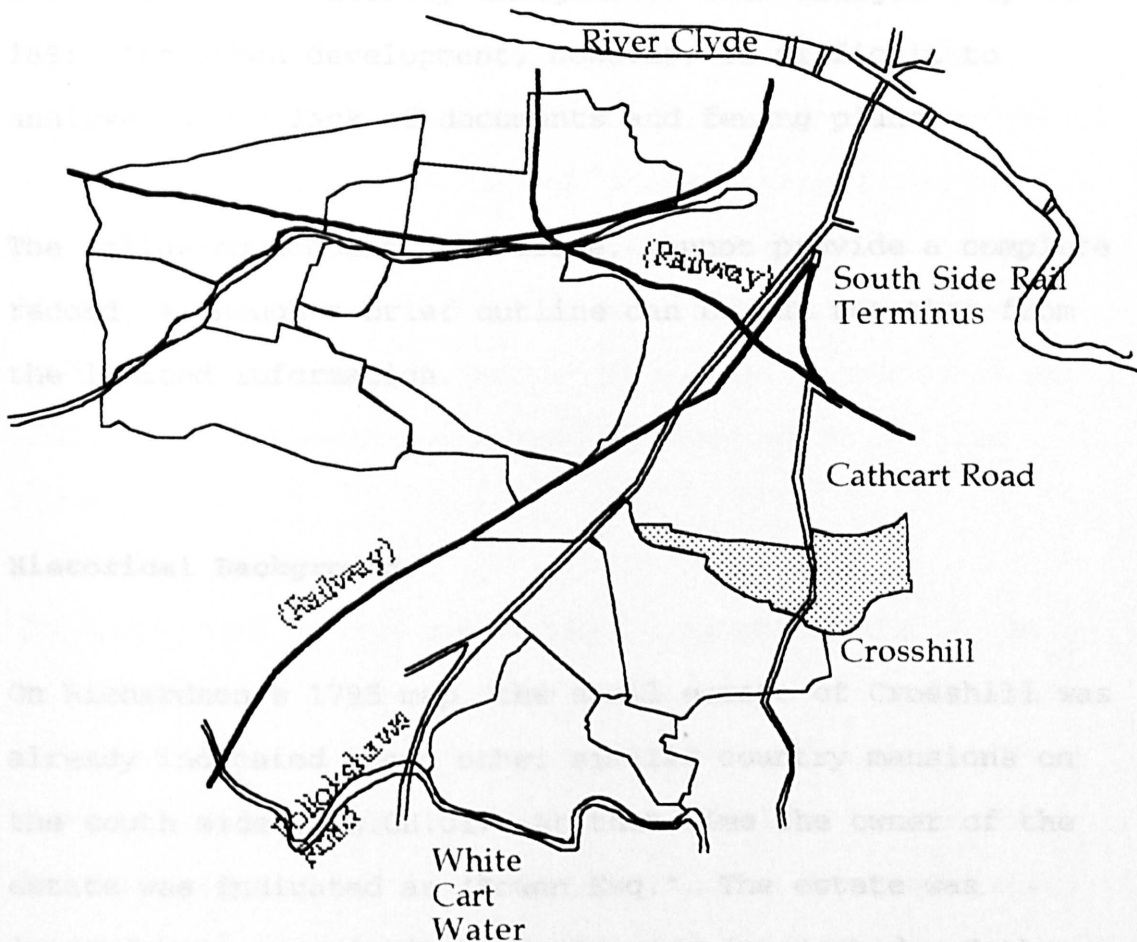
The main area of development which contributed to the idea of a 'tenement city' was that south of Great Western Road. The greater part of this area was developed in a later phase than the terraced small estates north of Great Western Road, and there was a profound shift towards the highly urbanised 4-storey tenement block. None of the introverted picturesque crescents was adopted here, although the utilitarian blocks were inter-penetrated with narrow tree-lined gardens. Contrasting with the earlier

small estates, this area was controlled purely by a feuing plan, not a design plan, and homogeneity was maintained by a similar language of architecture and building materials.

The final result was a mixture of developments along Great Western Road. From the early fragment of a gateway at St George's Cross, to the grand middle-class tenements along West Princes Street, one could find a variety of urban designs and layouts, together with different urban types. However, the overall layout reinforced the important role of Great Western Road, which continued like an urban sprawl further north into Hillhead, with occasional glimpses of picturesque gardens.

The earlier terrace estates and the latest tenements were the most successful schemes. Those which were over ambitious, such as South Park, or those which became the victim of more profitable alternatives, such as the villas along St George's Road, never stood the testing of time. Nevertheless, due to their separate ownership, the small estates along Great Western Road became an interesting collection of distinctive urban settings, contrasting with the more common terrace layouts further west.

CROSSHILL



Location of Crosshill

Introduction:

Crosshill is a small estate slotted in between Queen's Park and Govanhill. From the above location map, we can see that the estate is split up into two portions with Cathcart Road running between them. The smaller portion on the west is juxtaposed between the larger estates of Pathhead [Queen's Park] and Govanhill, while the other part is more remote from the developing estates along Pollokshaws Road. Despite

its small size, it was once an independent burgh, having its own administrative system in the late 19th century before it was eventually amalgamated with Glasgow City in 1891. Its urban development, however, is difficult to analyse due to lack of documents and feuing plans.

The following account, therefore, cannot provide a complete record, although a brief outline can be put together from the limited information.

Historical Background:

On Richardson's 1795 map, the small estate of Crosshill was already indicated among other similar country mansions on the south side (Fig.CH.01). At that time the owner of the estate was indicated as "Rowan Esq.". The estate was located near an existing country road (present day Cathcart Road).

Later, as indicated on Forrest's 1816 map (Fig.CH.02), the estate still retained its country house status, despite the fact that urban development was gradually taking place along the south side of the River Clyde. However, Crosshill together with its neighbouring estates, could not resist the encroachment of urban development from the north.

The early history of the estate is simple. From records of property transactions of the estate¹, an inventory of the various owners was found. The estate was originally owned by the Duke of Montrose, but was disposed to George Thomson, residing in Crosshill and a merchant in Moscow, in 1774. It then passed on to his nephew, James Rowan of Bellahouston in 1790. The Rowans occupied the estate until 1818, when they disposed it to Robert Clark. The Clarks continued to occupy the estate as a private residence until 1847, when the estate was finally disposed to William Dixon.

The Dixon family were established industrialists on the south side of Glasgow, owning large lands for their coal and iron ore business, together with an extensive railway network to facilitate the transport of their merchandise. The purchase of this small estate added a southern aspect to their existing lands of Govanhill. Unlike the estate's predecessors, the Dixons did not occupy Crosshill as their prime residence, and the estate was quickly laid out for villas and terraces from the 1840s onwards.

A document dated 1849 in the Moncrieff, Warren & Paterson papers relates this quick development to the sequestration of Dixon's business - he was in debt and had to transfer his land's interest to a trustee for investment:

¹ Refer to Papers of Moncrieff, Warren and Paterson (writers), now deposited in Glasgow University Business Records Centre, Ref: UGD/191.

"..That the said William Dixon was **indebted** and owing certain large sums of money and possessed of extensive property in lands and minerals as well as coal works and works for the manufacture of pig and bar iron..... and that in order to afford additional confidence to the parties interested in the management of his affairs and for the purpose of speedily discharging his obligations and extricating his affairs he had resolved to convey to and vest in a Trustee his whole estates and property heritable and movable....

Therefore the said William Dixon by the said Trust *Disposition Alienated Disponed Assigned Conveyed and Made Over* from him and his heirs and successors to and in favour of the said William Johnston as Trustees for the end uses and purposes in the said Trust disposition [of Dixon's land properties]...."²

Following this disposition declaration, a long list of properties was listed out, including the estate of Crosshill:

All and whole the 13 shillings and 4 pence land of Crosshill with houses biggings yards lofts crofts infields outfields coals coalhaughs mosses muirs meadows and hail parts pindicles privileges and pertinents thereof lying within the Parish and Sheriffdom of Renfrew...³

On the evidence of this, we can speculate that the feuing development of Crosshill and other similar developments were therefore originated from this unfortunate circumstances of the Dixon family.

However, it is also not difficult to understand the Trustees' decision to take this direction of property

² Instrument of Sasine: William Dixon to William Johnston, 2 October 1849, Moncrieff, Warren and Paterson Papers, Ref; UGD/1/55/15

³ UGD/1/55/15, op cit.

speculation: by the 1840s the southward direction of urban expansion – both middle and working classes – had eventually encroached upon the vicinity of Dixon's estates, and feuing out surplus lands seemed to be the best option for investment.

Feuing development:

Little is known of the feuing development of the estate. Only a fraction of the documents from the already mentioned deposit of Moncrieff, Warren & Paterson – who were the legal agents of the Dixon family – relate to the estate of Crosshill. None of the documents contains any feuing design plan, although disposition plans of individual plots were often found attached to disposition and feuing contracts.

There is, however, a plan in the Regional Archives that shows the early changes in urban pattern in this area (Fig.CH.03).

This plan shows a layout of street pattern crossing the estates of Govanhill and Crosshill, terminating at Cathcart Road. Although there is no date on the plan, the estate of Crosshill was already under the ownership of William Dixon. Therefore the date would probably be in the late 1840s after Dixon's purchase from the Clark family. Hence the

street pattern most likely represent the feuing design framework for speculative developments.

By the 1860s, Crosshill was gradually developing into yet another residential area on the south side. However, development was slow in the first few years. As indicated on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig.CH.04), only a handful of villas were built according to the proposed road layout, Fig.CH.03. The Ordnance Survey does not clearly show the access roads to this estate, but it is obvious that Cathcart Road was the main road, as all the villas were built off from this direction. Its neighbouring estates were not developed by this time.

The turning point in the urban development of the south side was the building of Queen's Park by the City Corporation in 1860. Following the Corporation's decision to build this park (refer to the section on Queen's Park), the proprietors of its neighbouring estates, in particular those of Govanhill and Crosshill, were quick to take on this opportunity by investing in estate development.

Unfortunately, none of the feuing design plans could be found in any archives. The only materials that described the development of Crosshill are Post Office Directory Maps.

The first Post Office Directory Map that covers the area south of Eglinton Cross was published in 1870. The Map shows a new urban order being planned between the already established City centre and the new suburbs, with the newly open Queen's Park as its focus (Fig.CH.05). By comparing this with the 1860 Ordnance Survey, the changes are obvious. These include a new urban thoroughfare of Victoria Road between Eglinton Cross and Queen's Park forming the central spine of development, a new extension of the urban grid from Crosshill over the lands of Govanhill, and, of course, the newly laid out Queen's Park. The estate itself was almost developed with four rows of villas and a mixture of tenements, given that the Post Office map sometimes indicates *planned* development, rather than *built* ones. The original boundaries between Govanhill, Queen's Park and Crosshill are hardly visible on the map, as a new integrated urban pattern has taken over. The new pattern was generated around the original layout (refer to Fig.CH.03), and was quickly adopted to become part of the larger framework of grid network from the north by shifting its emphasis from Cathcart Road to Pollokshaws and Victoria Road.

Although this new urban setting relates mostly to the development of Govanhill, Crosshill benefited from this by having a more direct access along Pollokshaws Road, rather than via Cathcart Road. Pollokshaws Road thus became more important by becoming the equivalent of Great Western Road

in the south, connecting all the embryonic suburbs to the existing urban grid south of the River Clyde.

Successive Post Office maps shows the gradual build up of the grid, beginning with development along the main roads (Fig. CH.05a & CH.05b). By 1879 development was concentrated between Cathcart Road and Pollokshaws Road (Fig.CH.06). The western portion of Crosshill was completely developed already, while the other half was still vacant. Cathcart Road seems to be the dividing line, segregating the upmarket villas of Crosshill from the less favoured portion of the east. This is not surprising, as the first developed portion of Queen's Park was also on the west, and its vast eastern frontage was eventually set out for more utilitarian use, such as football grounds and hospitals.

3. 1913 Ordnance Survey

By 1913, as recorded on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.CH.07), Crosshill estate was fully integrated with both Govanhill and Queen's Park. Most of the early villas remained intact since they were built, while an increasing number of tenements appeared within Govanhill, particularly along Victoria Road. Some tenements facing the park were of a particularly high specification – although they were within the development area of Queen's Park rather than

Crosshill - indicating that not all tenements were utilitarian.

The eastern half of Crosshill was only half developed. Most of the houses that were built stretched out from Cathcart Road, while nothing was appearing further east. The houses further east tend to be much smaller than those in the western part, and on the north where it connects with Govanhill, tenements were built instead of the semi-detached villas.

A branch of the Railway was diverted into the estate, cutting across the back gardens of Dixon Avenue. But, unlike other railway intrusions, it preserved the existing urban framework by not using a road level construction. Therefore, the grid layout was not altered from the early layout plan of the 1840s, confirming once again the overwhelming efficiency of the grid metaphor in urban design.

Conclusion:

Crosshill was only a minor estate in the development of the south side of Glasgow. Yet it demonstrated the importance of framework continuity in terms of urban design and the success of co-operative development between owners of different residential properties.

The beginning of its development was similar to other estates by laying out the intended design on a grid format, overriding the existing ancient steading boundaries. In this case, this was made possible by integrating with its northern neighbours, Govanhill and Queen's Park.

On the matter of building types, the early period was dominated by villas/ semi-villas. However, these were gradually surrounded by tenements in the north/ north-west and the south. These tenements varied in accordance with social class in the neighbouring estates, while Crosshill itself was still predominantly filled with villas by the end of its development period. At the same time the development progressed from the slot between Govanhill / Queen's Park towards the east, although the eastern movement ran out of steam when it reached Cathcart Road.

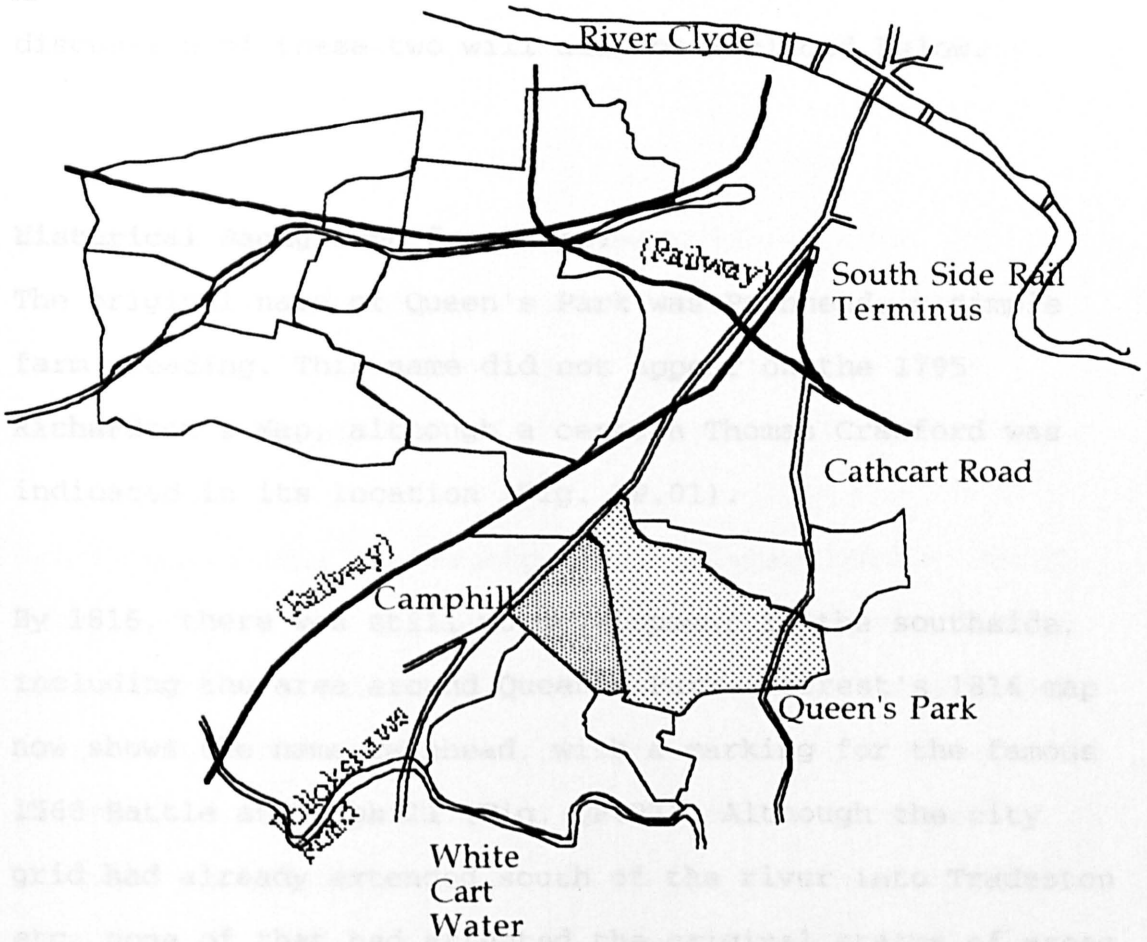
The usual detrimental effects of the railway lines, which was superimposed on the existing grid, did not cause any urban blight in Crosshill, because the line was kept to underground level. This helped to retain the urban framework across the vast area of the south side from the southern banks of the Clyde, to the latest estates in Newlands.

In this process the urban identity of Crosshill was integrated within this framework, despite that fact that

the local citizens tried to retain their social identity by having a separate burgh in the 1870s. This independence was quickly challenged by the prevailing trend of urban amalgamation – which had already been achieved in the actual physical frameworks in terms of urban blocks – and the small burgh was combined with the City in the 1890s.

Nevertheless the two-dimensional unified framework did not obliterate the specific character of Crosshill. Its leafy villas/ semi-villas setting, though on a smaller scale than Pollokshields and Langside, survived to become an interesting contrast to the more utilitarian tenement city of Govanhill, proving that the grid morphology is flexible to provide another variation for a different social class within a unifying urban model.

QUEEN'S PARK & CAMPHILL



Location of Queen's Park and Camphill

Introduction:

Queen's Park is the southside equivalent of the West End Kelvingrove Park. Its development was very similar to its West End counterpart, in which the Corporation was the sole investor. The area of development was not confined to the boundary of the present day park itself. A much larger area was purchased by the Corporation, who developed the park proper as well as part of the surrounding residential

areas. Indeed, the access road, Victoria Road, and the western area of Camphill were very much related to the development of Queen's Park, and therefore a brief discussion of these two will also be included below.

Historical Background from Maps:

The original name of Queen's Park was Pathhead, a simple farm steading. This name did not appear on the 1795 Richardson's Map, although a certain Thomas Crawford was indicated in its location (Fig. QP.01).

By 1816, there was still no development in the southside, including the area around Queen's Park. Forrest's 1816 map now shows the name Pathhead, with a marking for the famous 1568 Battle at Camphill (Fig. QP.02). Although the city grid had already extended south of the river into Tradeston etc, none of that had affected the original status of areas further south (refer to the discussion on the development background of south side in Section 3 Part 2).

These two maps do not indicate clearly the boundary of the estate. However, as Pathhead was originally part of the Maxwell estate of Pollok (see below), the 1843 plan of Pollok Estate shows this steading and its surrounding neighbours (Fig. QP.03). Its proximity to Pollokshaws Road was obvious, but it did not directly border along this main access road. There was no other access to this estate apart

from minor country roads. Its neighbours were also farm steadings, but not far away were already existing villages such as Langside, Strathbungo and Crossmyloof, making Pollokshaws Road the main thoroughfare on the southside.

Historical Background from Documents:

No contemporary documents – apart from a small amateur research paper¹ – could be found regarding the early history of the estate.

According to this research paper, the steading was on the edge of the Pollok Estate, and a few years before 1857, Neale Thomson acquired it from John Maxwell. Thomson was already the inherited owner of nearby Camphill estate, and probably he was intending to enlarge his own estate. However, Pathhead Farm was sold to the Corporation in the same year at the same price as it was bought, indicating Thomson's philanthropic intention. Once the Corporation acquired Pathhead, they carried out the feuing development for a southside park, Queen's Park.

Feuing Initiative: Carrick's Report:

As the feuing process was solely carried out by the Corporation, the most comprehensive documents are the

¹ Oliver & Donald. "Using Local Archives: Queens Park and Langside", Unpublished Class Project, Strathclyde Regional Archives. Ref: SRA/ AGN 307

various reports prepared by the then City Architect, John Carrick. One of these reports is a retrospective account of the development of Queen's Park and Kelvingrove Park².

The following is a summary of this report on Queen's Park:

- The development of a southside park was originated by some "leading citizens" and Town Councillors, following the decision of the Corporation to build Kelvingrove Park;
- The original intended site was Coplawhill [Govanhill], but some "municipal rulers" foresaw that acquiring Pathhead (which was quite cheap) together with opening a new road through Govanhill "would combine with the influence of the Park to enhance the value of the Coplawhill property"³;
- Pathhead also has a strong association with the Battle of Langside and Mary Queen of Scots, and it was for this reason that 'Queen's Park' was adopted for the name of the new park;
- In 1857, the Corporation paid Neale Thomson £30,000 for the 143-acres land of Pathhead. This equates to £210 per acre, and was considerably cheaper than the feuing rate within the same district, which was £400 per acre. Carrick explained the reason for this cheaper rate:

"Pathhead at that time was shut out from the feuing world, without access except by the ancient thoroughfare of the Langside Road - a

² J Carrick, "Report by the City Architect on the Feuing Lands adjacent to the Public Parks of the City of Glasgow", 1884. Ref: SRA/ MP/10/599

³ J Carrick, op cit.

mere narrow tortuous lane – and the Cathcart Turnpike Road."

- The Corporation then employed Joseph Paxton to design the layout of the Park and its feuing grounds. Paxton was chosen mainly because of his previous involvement with the Corporation, in which he "smoothed over the difficulties that attended the selection of a plan for Kelvingrove Park".

Feuing Design:

In 1856, a plan was submitted to the Corporation for their consideration of a southside park (Fig. QP.04). This is most likely the plan referred to in Carrick's 1884 report as the proposal by some "leading citizens" of the south side (see above). This plan deliberately indicates the proposed park in relation to other public parks in Glasgow at that time. It also shows the existing major roads, implicitly justifying the necessity of extending Eglinton Street right through the park for access purposes. This continuation of Eglinton Street, as recalled by Carrick, would also facilitate the feuing of the Corporation's land of Coplawhill.

Eventually the Corporation gave consent for the park and acquired the necessary lands in 1857. Paxton was given the task of designing the park, while Carrick was in charge of its implementation.

Paxton produced a plan and a report in March and May 1860 respectively. The plan (Fig. QP.05) shows an informal layout following the boundary of the estate. The park proper consists of two portions, carved up by the adjusted Langside Road. A single tier of villas surrounds the parklands, and all of them face towards the park. The main focus of the park, amid the informality, is the central 'grand terrace'- the winter garden.

The approach to the park is highly formalised through a pair of gate lodges facing the new 'extension of Eglinton Street' (now Victoria Road), with the winter garden on this axis, supported by a ceremonial staircase. The vignette (Fig. QP.05a) shows in detail the intended classical appearance of the winter garden.

The winter garden idea marks an important change in public park design, giving a focus of value all the year round to the park which had previously been considered as largely a summer, certainly a fair weather, resort⁴. Indeed, Paxton has a detailed comment on this proposal in his report to the Council dated May 1860:

"Having had many Parks to lay out, and having visited nearly all the Public Parks in Europe, it has always occurred to me, that there was a great want of what I consider ought to be an essential feature in such places of resort, namely, a covered building, to shelter the

⁴ G Chadwick. "The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton, 1803-1865". The Architectural Press, London, 1961, p. 65

visitors from the weather, and which should also be an attractive object in itself. In our climate especially, it often happens that those who go out for recreation and exercise are overtaken by rain, and, having no place of shelter, suffer serious inconvenience, and frequently,....are laid up for several days from the effects of cold and wet.... I have accordingly provided, in my design, for the erection of a handsome, but not expensive building, which will entirely obviate this difficulty."⁵

Paxton went on to suggest possible exhibits for this building which, not surprisingly, was similar to those of his master piece, the Crystal Palace. He also gave an estimate of the potential land value of the property surrounding the park, based on cases of other English Parks he had already completed. This was necessary because in the beginning of his report he stated the two objects in this design:

First, to reserve as large an extent as possible of building ground round the park, so as to realise by its sale the greatest amount of money consistent with the general scheme of creating an extended park; and *second*, to provide for the public the greatest accommodation and enjoyment by laying out the ground in the most attractive manner, enhancing at the same time, the value of the adjacent property to such an extent as will ensure the rapid disposal of the building lots, and the completion of the undertaking, within a much shorter period than it could be accomplished in any other manner.⁶

Paxton's proposal also included part of the estate of Camphill, which seemed to be integrated with the overall

⁵ J Paxton, "Minutes and Reports: Queen's Park", May 1860. Ref: SRA/ MP/5/ 36-38. p.4

⁶ J Paxton, op cit., pp.3-4

plan of the park. However, in 1860 Camphill was still not in the hands of the Corporation – it then belonged to Neale Thomson. Paxton did not explain this unusual arrangement, and it is open to speculation that the Corporation had an early intention to include Camphill in their development, as this would provide a major frontage towards Pollokshaws Road.

Paxton's plan also has one fundamental mistake: the north sign is in the wrong direction. Nevertheless, none of the elements of the plans, apart from the winter garden, are necessarily associated with the correct orientation, and the wrong north sign did not affect the character of the design.

Feuing Development:

a) Carrick's revision of Paxton's design:

After Paxton's submission to the Corporation, the implementation of the Park itself was under the administration of the City Architect, John Carrick. He was requested to have a second look into Paxton's proposal, and in October 1860 – five months after Paxton's submission – Carrick submitted a revised version, comprising a report⁷ and a revised design plan, to the Corporation.

⁷ "Report by John Carrick on the Plans for laying out the Queen's Park". 19 September 1860, Ref: SRA/ MP/5/38-40

In Carrick's proposal (Fig. QP.06), he retained most of Paxton's features, as he did not want to 'materially affect the general character of the design', but he proposed the following changes⁸:

- A double row instead of a single row of villas on the southern boundary, although in general the park would be surrounded by either single or double (semi-detached) villas;
- The ornamental lake is omitted - Carrick claimed that this was too expensive, although there would be enough ground for a lake in the future;
- The ground lying between the park and Pollokshaws Road should be laid out in streets and terraces, either as 'self-contained lodgings' (terrace houses) or tenements; the height of building not to exceed three storeys;
- The driveway between the summit (ie, centre of the park) and Camphill Estate boundary has been shifted eastward slightly to allow a larger piece of ground in between, which could be used either for feuing purposes or for the extension of the park into Camphill;
- The open ground is split into two parts: the portion lying west of the proposed deviation of Langside Road is the 'ornamental' part with driveways, walks and shrubbery, while the eastern part is for games and recreational facilities.

⁸ Summarised from Carrick's Report, op cit.

Carrick's proposal also gave some idea of the Corporation's intention of a much wider feuing development, including Camphill and Govanhill. Indeed, as explained in the following, Queen's Park was only part of the comprehensive plan south of the River along the main access of Pollokshaws Road by the Corporation. Other developments included the building of an intended tree-lined boulevard, Victoria Road, and the inclusion of Camphill Estate into being part of Queen's Park.

b) Development of Victoria Road:

On the 1856 proposal plan of a 'South Side Park' (refer to Fig. QP.04), there was already a proposal for the continuation of Eglinton Street as a new approach to the proposed park. In Carrick's retrospective Report in 1884, this was then seen as an important key for successful feuing of the Corporation's land at Govanhill. Therefore, this road appeared on all other relevant plans of the design of Queen's Park, including those of Paxton and Carrick in 1860.

Indeed in 1857, Carrick had already co-operated⁹ with William Kyle to produce a layout plan for Victoria Road (Fig. QP.07). This plan shows a grand access between Queen's Park and Butterbiggins Road, with a total width of 172 feet between the building lines. Out of this 172 feet,

⁹ It is generally accepted that Carrick designed the road, but the name on the proposal drawing is William Kyle, probably because this drawing was a working drawing prepared by Kyle, who was a surveyor.

only 50 feet was for the carriageway, and 10 feet on both sides for pavements. The rest was reserved for tree-lined shrubbery lining the whole stretch of the road, similar to those *pro indiviso* front gardens of Sandyford Road and Great Western Road. The difference, however, was also significant in urban design terms. While Great Western Road and Sandyford Road extended indefinitely, Victoria Road terminated at its climax at the summit of Queen's Park, with the entrance gates to the Park (refer to Paxton's design, Fig. QP.05) as its symbolic anchor points.

Functionally, the road fulfilled its role as the feuing and setting out reference for the whole area of Govanhill, bringing the tenement grid from the city centre to this part. Although the final version was never like the spectacular version of the Carrick/ Kyle plan, its creation was still vital for the successful feuing of the tenements, as Carrick commented in his report¹⁰:

The formation of the Queen's Park on the lands of Pathhead, and the other works undertaken by the Corporation in connection therewith, have proved the great stimulus of the wonderful extension and development of the City in that direction during late years. One of the *most important of the improvements* which have been the direct outcome of the creation of the [Queen's] Park was the formation of the continuation of Eglinton Street [Victoria Road] through the Coplawhill [Govanhill] Lands.

c) The Development of Camphill:

¹⁰ Carrick 1884 Report. *op cit.*

Camphill was a separate estate from Pathhead. It was originally owned by Maxwell of Pollok, and was purchased in 1789 by Robert Thomson, manufacturer. The mansion, Camphill House, was built by Thomson. Eventually his son, Neale Thomson, (who bought Pathhead in 1857 and sold it in the same year to the Corporation - see above), inherited the estate. In 1866 Hutchesons' Hospital bought the estate after Thomson's death¹¹ .

However, as early as 1860, the Corporation had an interest in the estate as Paxton's design even integrated Camphill as part of the proposed park. Hence joint consultations were carried out between the Park Trustees/ City Architect and the Hospital for the most suitable feuing arrangement of their combined property, with John Carrick and Andrew Laughlin representing the respective authorities.

In 1877, a comprehensive joint feuing plan was published for the proposed development of the lands of Govanhill, Queen's Park and Camphill, stretching from Butterbiggins Drive in the north, to Langside Avenue on the south, encompassing the most important feuing grounds along Pollokshaws Road (Fig. QP.08). The plan shows a continuous grid of tenement blocks from Govanhill to Camphill fronting Pollokshaws Road, with villas scattered on the south-west boundary of Queen's Park. The urban grid was carefully constructed to provide harmony and consistency, overriding

¹¹ Oliver and Donald, op cit., pp.1-2

most of the original awkward boundaries, although occasional breaks were provided by the proposed garden at Govanhill and the cutting of railway lines.

This plan was acted on for a number of years, and determined most of the streets layout, drainage, height and class of buildings and other joint feuing matters. Modification were constantly carried out by excambions, exchanges of grounds and purchases by both bodies from each other. However, the continuous urban expansion demanded that Camphill should be ready for feuing, but the Corporation insisted on retaining Camphill proper as the extension of Queen's Park¹². The conflicting interest between the Corporation and the Hospital resulted in even more sketch proposals (Fig. QP.09), which show a different approach to land use on the southern boundary of Camphill.

Eventually the whole estate of Camphill was bought by the Corporation in 1893, and was totally reserved for the extension of Queen's Park, without any feuing grounds for building (refer to the 1913 Ordnance Survey below).

d) Peripheral Developments:

Apart from the park proper, various other developments were carried out. The most important ones were those between the

¹² W H Hill, "Hutcheson's Hospital - History of Hospital and Schools", Glasgow, 1914, pp.16-17

park and Pollokshaws Road, and along the northern edges of Queen's Drive.

In 1864, Carrick proposed another feuing plan for the northern edge along Queen's Drive and blocks fronting Pollokshaws Road (Fig. QP.10). The plan indicates yet another departure from Paxton's idea of 'villas surrounding the park': tenements instead of villas were placed along this edge. The blocks fronting Pollokshaws Road were also divided into tenement proportions, but terraces (with an open space) were slotted between the park and these tenements. However, a later plan shows that these were also revised to tenements (Fig. QP.11), with an unusual concentration of churches occupying the corners of most of the blocks.

Another major departure from Paxton's plan, was the building of Victoria Infirmary on the south side of the Park. Paxton and Carrick had both envisaged villas being scattered in this corner, but in 1882 this 4.5 acres site was sold at a discount rate to the Hospital Committee for the Victoria Infirmary. The building was designed by James Sellars of Campbell Douglas & Sellars after a competition¹³, featuring a pavilion type design (Fig. QP.12).

¹³ Slater & Dow, "The Victoria Infirmary of Glasgow 1890-1990", Victoria Infirmary Publications, Glasgow, 1990, p.11

The other edges facing the park, namely the eastern and south-east corners did not attract the interest of property speculators. By the 1870s, when constant arrangements were proposed for the Camphill Estate, one of the proposed plans (which mainly shows the new railway lines) included a modification of the eastern edges, showing further departures from Paxton's idea (Fig. QP.13). The plan indicates continuous blocks of housing, either terraces or tenements, lining the various islands of urban blocks. Also shown is a new railway line cutting through the proposed layout, which even made this layout impossible, and among all these lines of urban blocks, only one – a small row of tenements north of the Victoria Infirmary – was eventually built (refer to the key plan of the 1913 Ordnance Survey of the same area in Fig. QP.13)

6. 1913 Ordnance Survey:

By examining the 1913 Ordnance Survey, we can notice the following important changes since the 1860 proposal by Paxton and Carrick:

- The whole estate of Camphill is now integrated with Queen's Park, with a frontage facing along Pollokshaws Road. The proposed artificial lake as suggested by Paxton was eventually carved out in this part of the park, near the main road;
- the housing proposals were only realised on the northern and eastern edges. Grand tenements - in

- particular Royal Crescent on the eastern side - flank both sides of Victoria Road at the main gate of the park, while further east a few semi-detached villas faces the recreation ground. These were the only part to have been built to Paxton's design. None of the eastern strips of villas, nor the later proposals of terraces/ tenements were carried out, leaving a vast empty ground along the boundary, Prospecthill Road;
- Victoria Infirmary occupies one side of the strategic cross between Queen's Park, Camphill and Langside, where a monument commemorating the 1568 Battle of Langside was built; an isolated block of tenements was built north of the Infirmary, following the c.1880 proposal (refer to Fig. QP.13);
 - In the park itself, the grand Winter Garden building as proposed by Paxton was not built. Instead, an open garden was built on the summit. However, the symmetrical axial arrangement was retained, with Victoria Road leading onto this summit.

From the urban design point of view, the housing on the northern edges became well integrated with Crosshill and Govanhill in the north - the original boundaries disappeared among the back lanes of the tenements. The park itself stands out from the high density urban mass, and became one of the largest open areas among the new southside suburbs.

Conclusion:

Queen's Park, as in the case of Kelvingrove Park, started off as a municipal event with a hint of speculation in the housing market. Its original design, consisting of large villa plots facing the park, were meant to be another ambitious exclusive middle class area, and would therefore pay back the cost of capital investment in a "very short time"¹⁴.

The Corporation, however, did not limit itself to the physical confines of the original parkland. It already owned lands in Govanhill, and was desperate to feu off these lands for maximum profit. Hence, Victoria Road was also projected alongside the design of Queen's Park, contemplating that the park would attract potential house buyers, while the road would provide the means of good access. The park was designed by the most eminent landscape architect of its days, Joseph Paxton, and obviously his name would add prestige to this scheme.

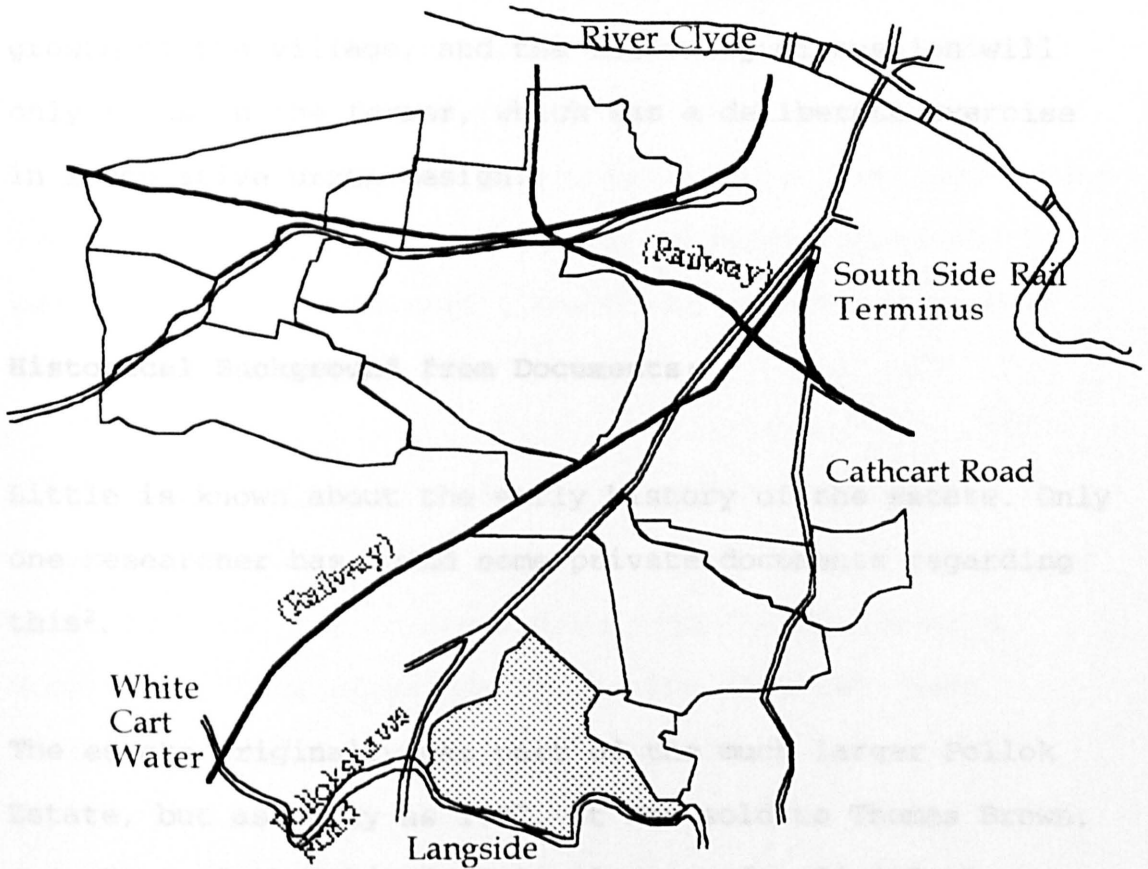
The development of Victoria Road and Queen's Park went hand in hand, resulting in a successful, albeit toned down, residential area of Govanhill. Nevertheless, the immediate area surrounding the park, such as Queen's Drive and the small estate of Crosshill (between Queen's Drive and Dixon Avenue) maintained its exclusive middle class status,

¹⁴ J Carrick, *op cit*.

resulting in an unusual juxtaposition between the rich and the skilled. The Corporation also intended to enlarge the park by acquiring the neighbouring estate of Camphill. This was realised in 1893, but at the same time, the expected revenue from the feuing of Queen's Park did not materialise, as only a handful of the early villas were built. However, the Corporation did not seem to be too concerned with the lack of interest in these villa plots, probably because Govanhill was so successful that the cost of the park was recouped by its development.

In the final version, therefore, the open space – whether "ornamental" or "recreational", as Carrick has classified – greatly surpassed the original proportion. This was even compounded by the acquisition of Camphill, which was fully laid out as part of the park proper, abandoning all the proposed building feu proposals as negotiated with Hutcheson's Hospital since 1877. This in effect made Queen's Park one of the largest parks in Glasgow, although it lacks the architectural calibre of its counterpart, Kelvingrove Park/ Park Circus.

LANGSIDE



Location of Langside Estate

Introduction:

Langside, similar to Queen's Park, occupies a summit-centred part of the southside of Glasgow. The area consisted of both the estate with its mansion house at the summit, and the ancient village of Langside near present day Mansionhouse Road and Langside Avenue.

Oliver & Donald, "Using Lanes: Architects Queen's Park and Langside", Unpublished
Class Project, Strathclyde Regional Archives, Ref: SP/1/12/1/10
Refer to Oliver & Donald, op cit
J. Brown, "All about the Farnie", Unpublished private family notes, 1933, Duple
Collection, Mitchell Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Centre, 2013
See also G. King, "The Complete Works of Robert Adam", Butterworth
Architecture, Oxford, 1957, pp. 129 & 130.

The Village of Langside is ancient, while the estate was originally part of Maxwell's Pollok Estate¹. The feuing development of the estate was quite separate from the growth of the village, and the following discussion will only focus on the former, which was a deliberate exercise in speculative urban design.

Historical Background from Documents:

Little is known about the early history of the estate. Only one researcher has found some private documents regarding this².

The estate originally was part of the much larger Pollok Estate, but as early as 1777, it was sold to Thomas Brown, a partner of the Ship Bank in Glasgow, for £4,000. Brown and his family were living in Aikenhead House at that time, and he continued to live there until the mansion house of Langside was built and finished in 1780. Robert Adam, who was already an intimate friend of the Brown family, designed the house for them³, and probably this was Adam's first commission so near to Glasgow.

¹ Oliver & Donald. "Using Local Archives: Queens Park and Langside". Unpublished Class Project, Strathclyde Regional Archives. Ref: SRA/ AGN 307

² Refer to Oliver & Donald, op cit.

³ T Brown, "All about the Family", Unpublished private family record, 1853, Bogle Collection. Mitchell Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, pp.4-6;
See also D King, "The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam", Butterworth Architecture, Oxford, 1991, pp. 129 & 132

In 1852, the estate was sold to Robert Crawford of Possil, who then sold it to Neale Thomson in the same year⁴.

Thomson was already the landowner of Camphill, and he also went on to purchase Pathhead (Queen's Park) in, probably, 1854⁵. Hence it is not difficult to speculate that he intended to build up his estate around the three contiguous estates of Pathhead, Camphill and Langside, based on the wealth he had accumulated through his bakery business at Crossmyloof.

Nevertheless, Thomson's intention was not realised in full. Queen's Park was sold to the Council in 1857, Camphill was never laid out for feuing and sold to the Hutcheson's Hospital in 1866 after his death. The only part that Thomson managed to feu out was Langside.

Historical Background from Maps:

On Richardson's 1795 Map, both the village of Langside and Langside mansion house are indicated (Fig.LS.01). Several access roads are shown crossing the village, making the village a convenient short-cut between Pollokshaws Road and Cathcart Road.

⁴ Oliver & Donald, op cit., p.1

⁵ Oliver & Donald, op cit., p.1

A similar indication is also found on Forrest's 1816 Map (Fig.LS.02), but as Forrest's Map does not include Renfrewshire, there are hardly any details apart from the label of Langside house and its owner, Brown Esquire.

Apart from these two maps, no other maps of Glasgow included Langside within their descriptions, probably because the Estate was too near the demarcation line between Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire. The only other pre-feuing plan was a survey of the estate carried out by Thomas Kyle in 1845 (Fig.LS.03), most likely for the purpose of selling the estate.

A description of Kyle's survey can be summarised as follows:

- The boundaries of the estate were mainly formed by the River Cart on the south and east, with a curious small stream cutting off the eastern part; the western boundary was not facing directly on to Kilmarnock Road, but surrounded by Neale Thomson's property;
- The northern boundary is mainly determined by the ancient country road, nowadays Langside Avenue, which passed through the Village of Langside;
- The mansion house sat at the summit, with an access road from Langside Avenue; another access branched off from the "Parish Road from the Millbrae to the Village of Langside" (nowadays Millbrae Road), which connected

- the village and a complex of mills on the River Cart;
the mill had been already feued out at that time;
- The large estate was divided into several categories.
The lowlands on the outside perimeter were indicated as 'arable', probably because they were more level, while there was an inner circle of 'wood'. Both of these were graphically represented on the plan, with a table summarising the respective areas.

Kyle's plan therefore already portrayed the concentric framework as dictated by the topography on the main part of the estate and the location of the mansion house. The small stream on the east also played a part in feuing design, in which the land further east from this stream was eventually cut off from the other parts of the estate (see below).

Feuing Design:

One year after Neale Thomson acquired the estate, he employed Alexander George Thomson to lay out the feuing design plan in 1853.

Thomson's plan (Fig.LS.04) was limited to the main part of the estate, excluding the 'tail end' to the east. As the land between the estate and Kilmarnock Road was also owned by Neale Thomson, the feuing plan therefore included these parts, bringing the estate on to the main road.

By examining the feuing plan we can notice the following characteristics in Thomson's design (also refer to Fig.LS.04a):

- The feuing proposal consisted mainly of villas, scattered around the greater part of the estate, while the western edge was lined with long blocks at Kilmarnock Road;
- The villas were arranged in a concentric format, using the mansion house as its centre, with roads circling the layout rings. Some exceptions, however, could be found in the small cluster at Langside Avenue, and those near the Village of Langside;
- The presumed terrace blocks on the western part were separated from the main villa layout by an ornamental lake, with a "celebrated" entrance at 'Scotland Place';
- The villa plots gradually increased in size from the level portion towards the summit, with the vast central part reserved for only 3 villas;
- The most eastern part was left blank, using the small stream as the eastern boundary;

In overall terms, A G Thomson's design was aimed at clients from the uppermost social groups, expecting to follow the footsteps of the nearby Pollokshields, which had been also laid out to an ambitious villa *cum* terrace design just four years previously in 1849. Here, the limited number of villas on such a large estate, together with a careful

barrier of water separating them from the bustle of a main road, created a tranquil setting which is unprecedented on the southside.

Feuing Developments:

After AG Thomson's 1853 proposal, a series of further developments/ revisions were carried out⁶. This gives an unusual insight into the continuous changes to the original design.

a) First Revisions c.1855:

Two plans were proposed in 1855, which only include the western strip of the estate. The first one (Fig.LS.06) shows an alternative proposal in lieu of the terrace blocks, by bringing the villas right on to Kilmarnock Road. Already in this proposal the ornamental dividing lake has disappeared, replaced by a small buffer garden, with a smaller terrace block behind the village of Crossmyloof.

The other proposal (Fig.LS.05) retained the terrace layout on Kilmarnock Road, but it is now regularised to typical urban blocks instead of the elaborate shapes on the 1853 plan. The ornamental lake was also deleted in this proposal, with villas juxtaposing the terraces. The

⁶ These revised plans were all contained within a bundle of 'Langside plans' now collected in the McGrigor & Donald Deposits to the Strathclyde Regional Archives. Ref: SRA/ TD 66.

proposed villa lots were considerably smaller than those on the 1853 design plan, suggesting that the earlier design did not attract the expected buyers.

b) 1867 Survey:

Despite all the earlier revisions, however, feuing was slow. In 1867, 14 years after the feuing design first appeared, only a handful of plots had been feued out as indicated on an 1867 survey of the estate (Fig.LS.07). The feued out plots were mainly scattered between the village and the mansion house, on both sides of Mansionhouse Road and Millbrae Road. Alexander 'Greek' Thomson's double villa was among the villas that were built at that time. Another cluster is found at Langside Avenue, between the village and Crossmyloof. It is also clear on this plan that the original varied villas sizes were changed to a uniform appearance, lacking the hierarchy of inner and outer circles as intended

c) 1870s Proposal:

The disappointing feuing rate did not improve until the 1870s and 1880s, when feuing momentum was built up by the Corporation's decision to develop Queen's Park and Govanhill. At about 1870, another feuing proposal was suggested for the troublesome strip between Tantallon Road and Kilmarnock Road (Fig.LS.08). However, instead of the previous villa layouts, a completely tenement design was proposed. It therefore signifies a sudden change to a

preference for tenements, raising substantially the population density when compared to the original feuing plan. This is in line with the general 'feuing world' around Pollokshaws/ Kilmarnock Road at that time, with the development of Pollokshields east, Govanhill, and part of Queen's Park all being altered from villas/ terraces to tenements.

Yet in this transformation of *building types* in Langside, the *urban structure*, such as access roads and boundaries, did not differ significantly from the previous revisions since 1855. This probably implies that although the grid sizes and plot boundaries were acceptable as a feuing format, the choice of building types had to be realistic to suit the demand of the market.

d) 1890s Feuing:

In 1896, another survey was carried out by an engineering firm (Fig.LS.09). By this time, 27 years after the first feuing design appeared, the whole estate was still only half feued out. Once again, the most popular plots were still those along Langside Avenue – between Langside Village and Crossmyloof – and those south of the village at the summit along Mansionhouse/ Millbrae/ Cathkin Roads. Additional plots, which were all built as tenements, were also taken up along Kilmarnock Road. There were also other small high concentrations of small terrace houses, one at the bend of the River Cart, another one just on the east

side of the village. Yet in the vast hinterland between Kilmarnock Road and the mansion house, only a partial block of tenements and a handful of villas could be found, despite the fact that the road network had been long established since the 1860s.

In 1899, the trustees of Neale Thomson finally feued out the majority of the unfeued portions to a single feuar, William Hill (Fig.LS.10). Hill was probably another land speculator, and this vast undertaking most likely relieved the burden of unfeued grounds on Thomson's trustees. In urban design terms, this major change of hands of ownership caused yet another departure from the cohesive design plan A G Thomson had proposed, which is evident on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (see below).

1913 Ordnance Survey:

By 1913, Langside had still not been completely feued out. When comparing the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.LS.11) with the previous survey in 1896, only a few more plots were built in the main part of the estate, although surprisingly the eastern part which was neglected by AG Thomson in his feuing plan was now almost completed with an orderly mixture of tenements and terraces. Indeed this latter part was laid out in a grid format in the 1896 plan, though there was no indication of intended buildings.

The extra plots that had been feued out since 1896, either were within the large plots that were disposed to William Hill in 1899, or were tenement plots between Kilmarnock Road and Albert Road [Tantallon Road]. Those in Hill's ownership, however, were built to a totally different language from neighbouring finished plots. For instance, along the east side of Albert Road [Tantallon Road] we can see an insert of tenements and a school building among the existing built up villas, although ironically there are vacant plots for tenements on the west side (Fig.LS.11a).

Hill's plots also did not fully transform into the intended suburbs, and a greater part was still unfeued at that time. Some parts, particularly those around the mansion house, were left as undeveloped woodlands – the Langside Woods, while others were just indicated as blank, waiting to be developed.

The village itself was almost wiped out by new tenements. It was also here that the Langside Monument was strategically placed on the intersection of not just Langside Avenue/ Langside Road and Battlefield Road, but also the meeting point of Langside, Queen's Park, Camphill and Battlefield estates, with a total obliteration of their ancient boundaries. This monument created the only special landmark on the vast estate, which, due to constant

revisions and changes of ownership, had departed from its original coherence.

Conclusion:

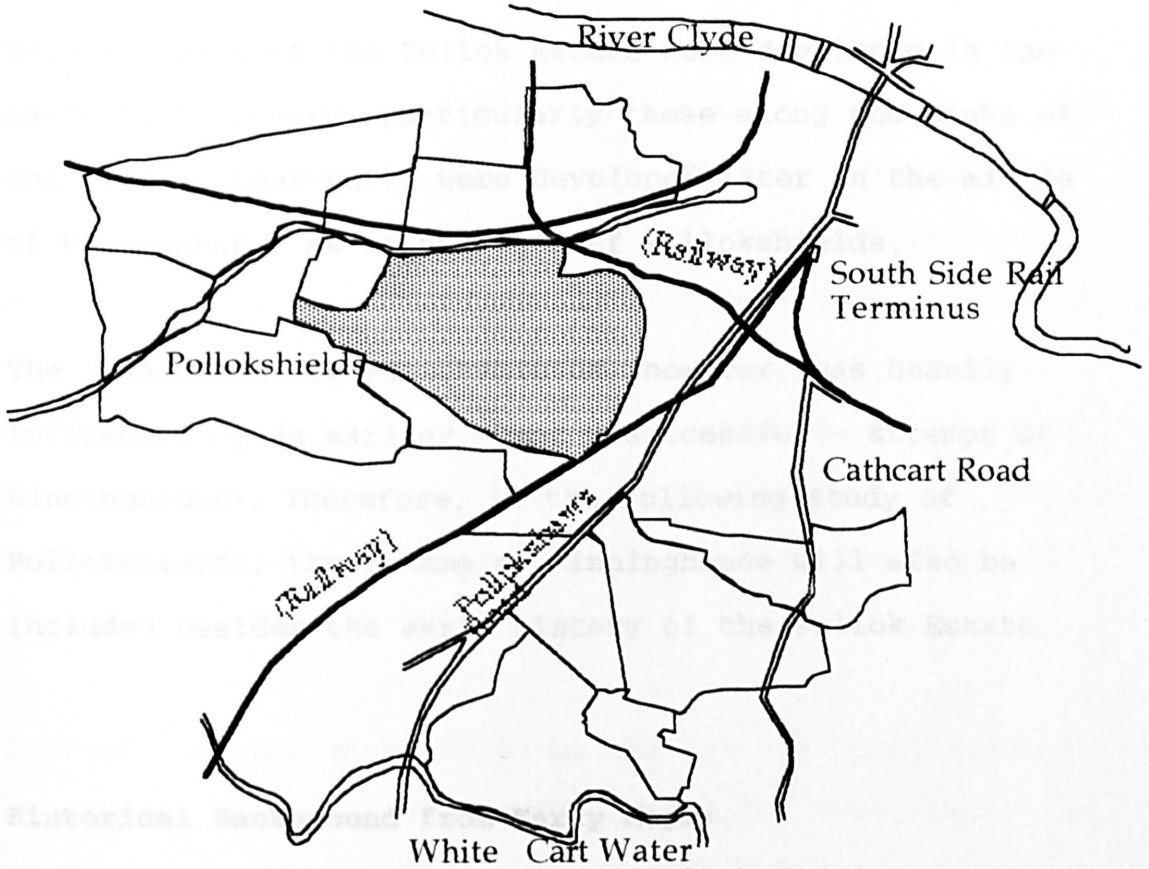
Langside, like many other 19th century potential suburbs, was designed with an ambitious intention. On its feuing plan, large villa plots were allocated to accommodate the most opulent settings one could find on the southside, with a similar quality to a genuine country residence. It was also planned to cater for those on a lower scale, with terraces and smaller villas surrounding the large villas.

However, the plan was over ambitious. Despite constant 'making down' after the appearance of the feuing design, none of the plots was taken up along Kilmarnock Road, while only a handful were built near the old Village. Even those which were built were designed to be set in a much smaller plot, displacing the early intention of the opulent design. The ornamental features of the water barriers were never carried out, and in its place utilitarian tenements, as a result of the 1870s/ 1880s building boom, were built.

When compared to other successful estates further north, it is obvious that its feuing development was not complete even by the turn of the century. Although its feuing design was contemporary with other estates, such as Pollokshields

and Queen's Park, feuing development was less complete than the latter ones. Large vacant grounds were left around waiting to be taken up, although the level eastern portion was built up, integrating fully with the northern estate of Battlefield. The parts which were built, however, followed the original intention of concentric circles, and created yet another successful cluster of tranquil villas, hidden among the tenement grid of its surrounding neighbours, and encircled with unintended open woods.

POLLOKSHIELDS



Location of Pollokshields Estate

Introduction:

Pollokshields, famous for its tranquil villas and leafy thoroughfares in suburban Glasgow, was part of the vast estate - namely, Pollok Estate - that belonged to the aristocratic Maxwell Family. The Pollok Estate stretched from the banks of the River Clyde to Darnley and Cathcart, and from Pollokshaws Road towards Crookston (near Hillington) (Fig.PS.01). In other words, the majority of land south of the River Clyde was in the ownership of the

Maxwell family, apart from that which was under the control of the Hutcheson's Hospital.

Several parts of the Pollok Estate were developed in the early 19th century, particularly those along the banks of the Clyde. Other parts were developed later in the middle of the century, as in the case of Pollokshields.

The development of Pollokshields, however, was heavily influenced by an earlier – but unsuccessful – attempt at Kinninghouse¹. Therefore, in the following study of Pollokshields, the scheme at Kinninghouse will also be included besides the early history of the Pollok Estate.

Historical Background from Early Maps:

From an early plan of part of the Pollok Estate (Fig.PS.02), we can see that the extent of Pollokshields – "Shiels" on the plan – was already in place by the 1740s. This plan only shows part of the estate, and the 1843 Plan (refer to Fig.PS.01) includes the other parts which are not shown here.

The plan depicts Pollokshields as a typical farm steading, with a crossing of country roads at present day Shields Road. These country roads were part of the network along the east-west connection, with "Public Road to Paisley from

¹ This was claimed by F Worsdall in his private research notes on Pollokshields.

Hamilton...Rutherglen etc" indicated on the plan. The meandering Shields Burn formed the eastern boundary, while other similar farm steadings formed its other boundaries.

On the 1795 Richardson's Map, similar open country can also be observed around the steading of "Shiels" (Fig.PS.03). Here, the country roads joined up with Pollokshaws Road near the old village of Strathbungo, and stretched further west towards Paisley. However, this was only a secondary country road, as other primary thoroughfares were already established at that time, particularly the east west access of present Paisley Road, and the north-south accesses of Pollokshaws and Cathcart Roads.

Richardson's Map also indicates the two new names south of the Clyde: Tradeston and Hutchesontown. By 1816, these two new places were already developed into a new town grid, as indicated on the 1816 Forrest's Map (Fig.PS.04). The history of these two new towns will not be discussed here, as other scholars already have a detailed study of the city grid south of the River². However, this development influenced other landowners to develop their property for speculative purposes. In this case, Sir John Maxwell took the risk and proposed the feuing design of Kinninghouse, which is on the west of Tradeston.

² For example, refer to FA Walker. "The Glasgow Grid". as in TA Markus (ed). "Order in Space and Society", Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.169-170.

Another important feature on Forrest's Map, is the newly built Paisley and Ardrossan Canal. The main line of the Canal remained on the northern border of the Pollok Estate, but at Shiels, it cut off the steading from its northern parts, and therefore the canal became the new northern boundary of the steading.

Forrest's Map also gives a good indication of the topographical constraints of the estate. The number of hills is similar to that of the West End, but while an artificial thoroughfare – the Great Western Road – was laid out, the existing Nithsdale Road meandered naturally through the drumlins. These topographical conditions also required a different approach to housing layout when compared to the earlier flat ground near the River – the urban grid is no more appropriate in Pollokshields.

The Unsuccessful Development of Kinninghouse:

The development of Kinninghouse has been commonly regarded as the precedent of Pollokshields. In 1834, Sir John Maxwell advertised a competition for the design of this land³. However, it was alleged that he had already instructed Peter McQuisten⁴, a civil engineer in

³ Glasgow Herald March 1834

⁴ F Worsdall reckoned that it was not McQuisten who designed the plan. Instead, it was James Russell, an architect at Ibrox who was the real designer. Worsdall notes, op cit.

Pollokshaws, to prepare a design plan of the ground, which extended to 127 Imperial acres⁵.

The design plan (Fig.PS.05a) shows a very up-market development of squares, crescents and circuses, tactically linking to the already built up area of Kingston. In a contemporary comment on this plan, the layout was contrasting with the city centre grid with an intriguing picturesque quality:

It will afford a pleasing contrast to the Apothecaries' drawer-looking appearance which the streets of the other new portions of our city have upon the map.....Having perhaps the largest plot of ground to depict at one time for building purposes,....Mr McQuisten has been anxious to give us much of the picturesque as he thought was consistent with pounds, shillings and pence.⁶

Indeed the above described "picturesque" layout was exemplified in an accompanying perspective view (Fig.PS.05b), which clearly shows the classical architectural details of the terrace houses together with a magnificent open view of the proposed landscaped geometrical elements.

Nevertheless, the development did not go ahead and a revision was carried out showing an estranged grid layout with the a new intrusion of the Glasgow and Paisley Railway (Fig.PS.06). Probably Maxwell had realised that the

⁵ A McCallum, "Haggs, Titwood and Shields", as in the "Old Glasgow Club Transactions", 1921/22, pp.61-62

⁶ Article in the Glasgow Free Press, cited by Worsdall in his notes, but without any detailed references.

'natural development of land so close to the river was on industrial rather than on purely residential lines'⁷, or simply that Glasgow 'had not yet become the wealthy industrial centre it was to be, and finances for this sort of thing were scarce'⁸.

The Feuing Proposals of Pollokshields:

The unsuccessful scheme at Kinninghouse did not stop Sir John Maxwell in pursuing his interest in speculative housing. In 1849, he chose another site, Pollokshields, with an eminent architect from Edinburgh, David Rhind, for this purpose.

The feuing design plan of Pollokshields (Fig.PS.07) as laid out by Rhind was influenced by two factors: one can find reminiscences of Kinninghouse in the Pollokshields feuing plan, while the line creating the east-west division already existed as a country road within the estate. This latter road could be found on earlier comprehensive plans of the whole Pollok estate, as well as on a specific plan of "Shiels" itself (Fig.PS.08) - it is precisely where the present day Shields Road runs from north to south.

By comparing the feuing plan with the Kinninghouse plan (refer to Fig.PS.05a), the similarities of classical-

⁷ A McCallum. op cit., p.62

⁸ Worsdall notes. op cit.

picturesque elements, such as the large circus in the centre, the crescents and square in the eastern half, are obvious. On the other hand, villas now became the dominating elements on the larger western half, and it was this villa layout that gave a specific character to Pollokshields as a successful middle class area south of the river.

PA Reed⁹ comments in detail on Rhind's proposal for Pollokshields, which can be summarised in the following (also refer to Fig.PS.07a):

- The new railway line on the east and north became the main boundaries of the estate, with the eastern part edging onto the curving branch line of the Barrhead railway;
- housing types were disposed according to the varying advantages of the estate, and therefore created the east-west division by Shields Road;
- On the east, low rows of terraces protect the inner parts, which are formalised around a north-south axis, with a core of communal gardens. The surrounding urban blocks were indicated with palace-form articulations, and therefore it can be assumed they are houses in terraces and crescents;
- A similar formality also appeared on the west, but the greater part is laid out for villas, disposed off

⁹ PA Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1993, pp. 77

curvilinear roads, most likely being designed to suit the topography.

Further to Reed's comment, we can also note the following: (also refer to Fig.PS.07a):

- Rhind has proposed an introverted layout, with minimum access from other neighbouring lands. The long southern line of villas is also reflected in another long line on the north, leaving only four entries in total;
- Its isolation is effectively maintained by the railway line to the north and east. Although not shown on Rhind's plan, east of Pollokshields was already heavily industrialised with the setting up of the Dixon Blazes in the early 19th century, and therefore any possible influence from the east would threaten the success of Pollokshields;
- On the south and west, however, there were still lands that belonged to the Pollok Estate. These lands would eventually gradually transformed into the same suburban areas as Pollokshields proper, such as Dumbreck and South Pollokshields.

Despite Rhind's ambitious design, only part of his design was realised, although the east-west division of terraces (later revised to tenements) and villas was maintained.

The 1860 Ordnance Survey:

By 1860, when the first Ordnance Survey was published, only a small part of the estate was feued out, despite that ten years has lapsed since the estate was laid out (Fig.PS.09). By comparing this Ordnance Survey with its original estate plan (Fig. PS.08), some forty or so villas were built along the canal edge of the estate, while a tiny group of tenements started to appear on the eastern sector.

Therefore it is apparent that even by this time, the first buildings on the eastern sector were tenements instead of the terraces that Rhind has proposed. This revision was eventually applied to almost the whole eastern sector (see below). The western sector, by contrast, was developed along the picturesque principle as envisaged by Rhind, and was set to become the most affluent part of the southside suburbs.

Feuing Developments:

Rhind's feuing design plan was gradually revised over the years under the administration of William Colledge, the factor of Pollok Estate. The following is a brief summary of the major revisions:

a) The deletion of the west circus:

On an 'Area Calculation Plan' produced in 1867 (Fig.PS.10) – ten years after the feuing design plan – a simple grid has taken over the formal circus on the west side, and

further revisions of the roads were also carried out. However, the eastern half was retained as Rhind had proposed, although there is no indication of building type on this plan;

b) The Diversion of Shields Road and revision on the east side:

On the feuing design plan, Rhind retained the original line of Shields Road, accommodating the existing farm steading. By 1867 this was to be revised into a more rationalised layout (Fig.PS.11). At the same time, the formal arrangement of the east side was totally revised to a simple grid layout, removing the last trace of the classical-picturesque layout;

c) The arrival of the tenements:

In 1868, Colledge prepared a feuing price plan to control the finances of feuing (Fig.PS.12). Already by that time a large number of plots, mainly on the west, were feued. The pricing reflects the demand of the market, and it is interesting to see that the most expensive plots were on the extreme west, far away from the eastern influence of heavy industries. The eastern half is now designated as "street houses in flats", which means that tenements were preferred to the earlier articulated terraces as on Rhind's plan.

d) The proposed opening up of the eastern boundary:

Rhind deliberately closed off the eastern boundary by following the railway line. However, this posed problems to the feuing of the eastern half, especially when tenements were proposed in lieu of the terraces. In 1864, a street grid was proposed by Carrick on the land between Pollokshaws Road/ Eglinton Street and Pollokshields (Fig.PS.13), and in 1870 Colledge recommended that Maxwell construct a bridge over the railway to connect to this grid. Colledge reckons that "this would give a great impetus to the feuing at Pollokshields"¹⁰. Hence, this created a total departure from Rhind's original idea of a protective edge on the east side.

1913 Ordnance Survey:

By 1913, Pollokshields had expanded considerably, with a large area on the south and west now being continuous with its original boundary (Fig.PS.14). A summary of the final version could be listed in the following:

- Shields Road remained as the major dividing line, splitting the estate into east and west. In the east, tenements had taken over as the main urban type, and a remarkable uniformity had been achieved;
- The original formal garden core had been dramatically reduced to a small half-block size open square along Leslie Street, while some blocks, in particular those

¹⁰ Letter from William Colledge to Sir Maxwell, dated 13 May 1870, ref.: SRA/ T-SK/ 29/44/29

on the east side, were inevitably being taken over by industries;

- The proposed grid on its eastern neighbour did not materialise, but the additional accesses to Pollokshaws Road were built, linking the eastern half directly with heavy industries in the east;
- The northern line was protected by the ever-increasing railway network, which now completely separated Pollokshields from any parts north of the railway line, and this helped in preserving the status of the houses in its hinterland;
- The west was dotted with villas of various architectural styles. By the 1880s, it was evident that more feuing grounds were in demand, resulting in the southern part of the estate, and the neighbouring estate of Dumbreck (both Maxwell's property), to be feued out. A feuing plan dated 1883 indicates these new frontiers of the larger feuing ground (Fig.PS.15). Further prestige was given to this part by the Maxwells, who donated Maxwell Park to the local residents here in 1878¹¹;
- The final version was a strictly divided world between the villas and the tenements, with none of the original picturesque crescents or circuses. The dividing line was so great that two separate burghs were formed in

¹¹ E Williamson et al. "Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow". Penguin Publishing. GB. 1990. pp.571

the 1870s, but they were all amalgamated with the Corporation in 1891.

Conclusion:

Pollokshields, being the finest suburb south of the Clyde, was originally designed on an even finer scale. However, various circumstances prevented Rhind's ambitious plan being realised, and a more straightforward arrangement of tenements and villas appeared as the final version.

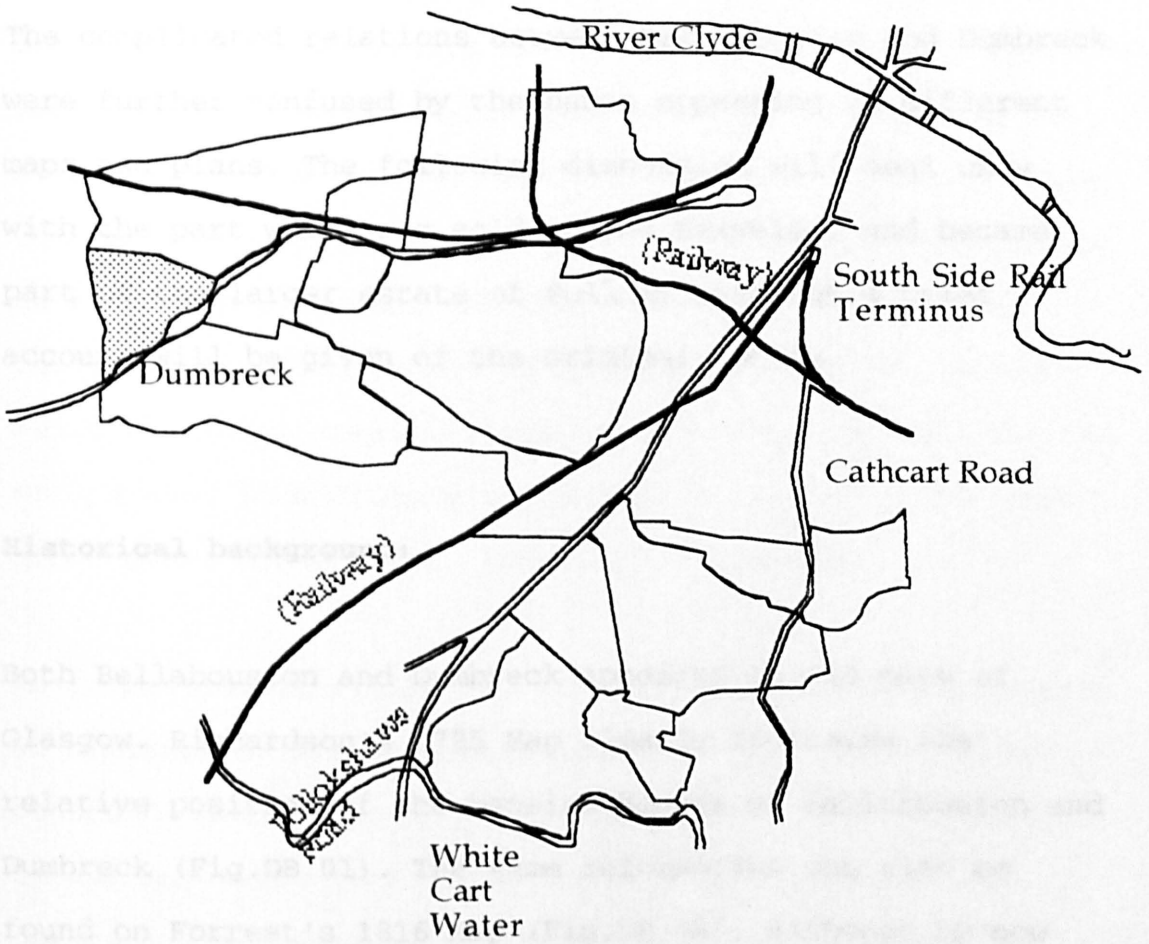
Its success was guaranteed by the safe enclosure created by the railway line, avoiding any major revisions or encroachment by the dominating industries from the east. Yet this was only true in the western half of the estate. The eastern half was ultimately opened up to direct communications with the east, as well as easy access to the north.

Therefore, both halves of the estate were successfully feued, but each with a totally different class of residents. The industrial nature on the east attracted working classes and artisans to take up the tenements in the east, while the relaxation of the feu restrictions allowed shops to be opened on ground level. On the contrary, none of the utilitarian elements was found in the west: it eventually developed as a middle class suburb entirely given over to villas. Here, building types and

uses strictly followed social classes, with a clear-cut dividing line in between.

In the final layout as in 1913, the organic nature of the west allowed the streets to be extended beyond their original designed area by encompassing several other farm steadings. This expansion of the villa district proved west Pollokshields was a favoured choice of the middle class towards the end of the century, making this one of the most affluent areas south of the Clyde.

DUMBRECK



Location of Dumbreck Estate

Introduction:

Dumbreck lies to the west of the large estate of Pollokshields, separated by a railway line. From its appearance, Dumbreck consists of tree-lined roads with detached or semi-detached villas set in ample grounds. It seems like a continuous part of the villas development of Pollokshields, but in fact its origins lies further west -

the original mansion house of Dumbreck was in fact Bellahouston House.

The complicated relations between Bellahouston and Dumbreck were further confused by the names appearing on different maps and plans. The following discussion will deal only with the part which was sold to the Maxwells, and became part of the larger estate of Pollok, although a brief account will be given of the original estate.

Historical background:

Both Bellahouston and Dumbreck appeared on old maps of Glasgow. Richardson's 1795 Map clearly indicates the relative position of the mansion houses of Bellahouston and Dumbreck (Fig.DB.01). The same information can also be found on Forrest's 1816 Map (Fig.DB.02), although by now another small estate, Ibroxhill, is also indicated. The latter map also indicates that Bellahouston belongs to 'Mr Rowan', while Dumbreck belongs to 'Woddrop Esquire'.

For the earlier history of the estate, only a small article in the local newspaper¹ dated 1895 provides this information. According to this article, Bellahouston had been continuously in the hands of the Rowan family since a Crown Charter granted perpetual rights to them – who were

¹ "History of the Estate". Glasgow Herald 24 July 1895

"rentallers" (tenants) on the estate - to buy out the property from the Archbishops of Glasgow in 1595.

Similarly, the estate of Dumbreck was sold by the Litches under similar charters to their tenants. The larger part was eventually bought by William Woddrop, merchant in Glasgow, in 1790 - hence the name on Forrest's map - while the smaller part was acquired by the Maxwells, and appeared on their Map of Pollok Estate in 1794, although it was called 'Bell of Hustoune' on the map (Fig.DB.03). Woddrop built the large mansion house of Dumbreck, and laid out the estate as a fine country residence. He died in 1822, and his nephew, Robert Scot, inherited the estate.

As summarised in Fig.DB.04, we can see that Woddrop's part of Dumbreck eventually became part of the ever-expanding estate of Bellahouston, while the smaller part gradually became more akin to Pollokshields. This small part of Dumbreck was continually called 'Bellahouston' in other Pollok Estate plans. The 1843 plan (Fig.DB.05) - just before feuing development took place in Pollokshields in 1849 - clearly shows the extent of this 'Bellahouston' steading. By that time the Paisley Canal already separated this small steading from the rest of the estate, although access roads were cutting through it, making it accessible from the main turnpike roads, such as Paisley Road and Pollokshaws Road.

Some time earlier, in 1834, some parts of the other portion of Dumbreck was laid for feuing by its owner, Robert Scot (Fig.DB.06). The portion that was designated for feuing purposes lay immediately to the west of Maxwell's part of Dumbreck, giving the expectation that speculative feuing would take place in this remote corner. However, only a handful of plots were feued out, and eventually the remaining part of Scot's estate was bought by Moses Steven, the then proprietor of Bellahouston.

Feuing Development:

Maxwell's part of Dumbreck remained unfeued for the greater part of the 19th century. Despite continuous development along Pollokshaws Road further east, none of that affected the quiet status of Dumbreck. Even when Pollokshields was laid out for feuing in 1849, its development area excluded Dumbreck, although its feuing plan could easily be extended westwards and southwards (refer to the discussion on Pollokshields).

Further north, the neighbouring estate of Bellahouston was also planned to be feued out in the mid 1840s, but despite its advantage of having a frontage on to Paisley Road and a main railway line cutting through, the result was discouraging (refer to the discussion on Bellahouston). Therefore, by the 1860s – as evident from the 1860 Ordnance

Survey – when most of the estates along Pollokshaws Road were in the process of suburbanization, none of the southwest estates were comparable with the former in terms of feuing development (Fig.DB.07).

Nevertheless, demand for more middle class areas gradually increased with further economic development in the latter half of the 19th century. This accelerated feuing activities in many areas, including those planned earlier but which had failed to take off. Pollokshields was in this situation, and most of its villas and tenement plots were feued in the 1870s and 1880s. By that time the Maxwell Trustees decided to increase the feuing area of the estate. In 1882, the factor, Wharrie Colledge & Brand, laid out three consecutive areas south of the original Pollokshields Estate, namely, Bellahouston (i.e., Maxwell's part of Dumbreck), Hagbaws (where Hags Castle is located), and Shawmoss, for feuing (Fig.DB.08).

Further plans were proposed in the following year. The first one in May 1883 was exactly the same as the previous one (Fig.DB.09), while a later one in September 1883 (Fig.DB.10) increased the layout further south to present day Titwood Road.

All these feuing plans were simple layout plans, with no indication of plot sizes. However, as evident from the feuing management style as carried out in Pollokshields

(refer to the discussion on Pollokshields), the factor – in this case, Wharrie Colledge & Brand – usually sliced up the proposed urban blocks into either acre or half-acre plots for paired villas or detached ones respectively. Therefore the 'road layout indication' is sufficient in managing the feuing activities, as long as the 2-dimensional layout would not clash with the 3-dimensional topography, creating awkward slopes and tight corners.

The simple layout also applied to the Dumbreck part of the feuing designs, in which straight forward roads branched off from Nithsdale Road, which already existed as an ancient country road. The northern boundary was closed off towards Bellahouston, while the south-west side was designed to connect into the feued portions of the other part of Dumbreck (refer to the 1834 feuing design of Dumbreck, Fig.DB.06). The 1883 plan (i.e., Fig.DB.10) shows that the northern parts of Dumbreck were already sliced up into feuing plots by the time that the plan was produced, proving that the same feuing management style was employed here by the factor.

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

While continuous revisions were made to the other two parts of south Pollokshields, Dumbreck remained unchanged and quickly became another villa-filled suburban estate.

By 1913, as evident from the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.DB.11), the layout was exactly the same as on the previous layouts in 1882 and 1883. With the exception of a small corner, most of the plots were taken up, with varying sizes of villas and semi-detached villas lining the roads. The original exclusion to Bellahouston is now opened up, with the villa layout joining those further north, which was originally also laid out for villas in 1845 - although to a totally different design.

On the western side of Dumbreck Road, there existed the earlier feuing design of the other larger part of Dumbreck. In 1913, the large plots still survived, but gradually smaller villas appeared in the garden of the old Dumbreck House. The layout of Maxwell's part of Dumbreck was deliberately tied in with these earlier plots, producing a continuous framework, although the differences in urban type is obvious.

The connection to Pollokshields, however, was less effective in terms of framework and access. The only connective point is via Nithsdale Road over the railway line, while the railway acts as an effective barrier between them. Those plots on both sides of the railway cutting were not taken up even by this time, recalling a similar failure in the early feuing of Bellahouston. The development of Dumbreck, therefore, was partly facilitated

by convenient accesses from the north, rather than those of Pollokshields lying to its east.

Conclusion:

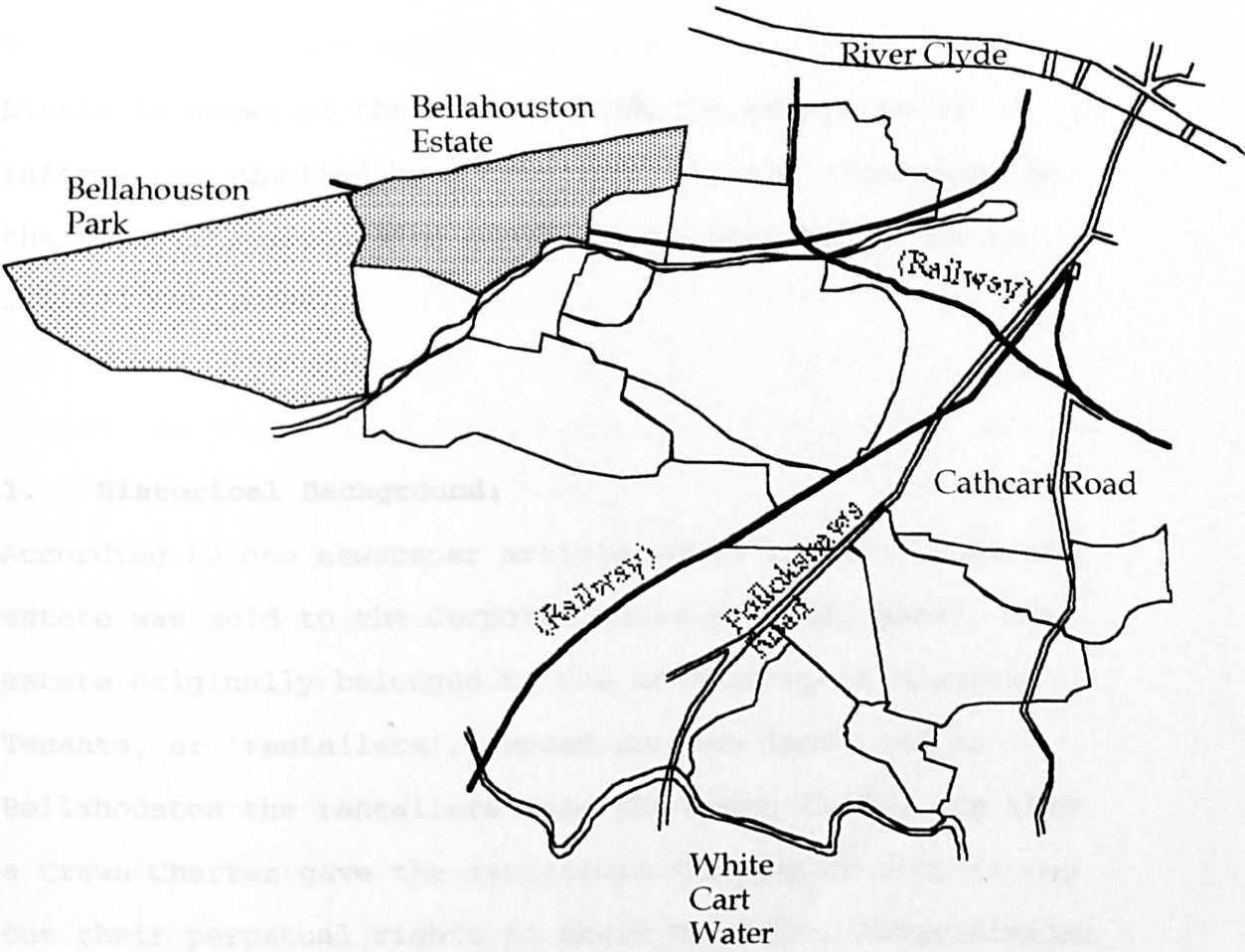
In the feuing history of the southside estates of Glasgow, Dumbreck is a late comer, although there were earlier attempts on the other half of the estate. The reason for such a late development lies in its location – the lack of a convenient access to the city – and other discouraging precedents such as Bellahouston and, to some extent, Pollokshields. Nevertheless, the gradual increase of feuing demands changed its fortune, and it was eventually feued out together with a much larger framework of south Pollokshields in the late 1880s.

Its simple layout recalled the earlier precedent of west Pollokshields, in which the villa remained as the sole urban type. However, the feuing layout was not as elaborate as other earlier proposals, where definite plot sizes and building designs were the main features of such designs. Here, only an indicative road network was laid out, with flexible half-acre feuing plots carved out from the urban blocks, yet uniformity was achieved by the similarity of plot sizes and urban type. This simple tool also spread northwards into Bellahouston, where similar layouts could

be found, although its earlier feuing plots retained the large gardens facing the railway line.

Given that the combined areas of Dumbreck, Hagbows and Shawmoss were fully developed within 30 years – although the latter two were laid out to a different design – the development could claim to be successful. However, no single factor ensured that success. It was a result of the combined effect of the right timing, flexible design and, above all, sustainable demand from house seekers who were willing to pay the price for these houses.

BELLAHOUSTON



Location of Bellahouston Estate

Introduction:

Bellahouston nowadays is the one of the largest inner city parks in Glasgow. Its development into parkland, however, was only as recent as 1896¹. Besides this, however, there was also another part of Bellahouston which did not become part of the park, but, like many other 19th century country steadings, was laid out for speculative housing. The

¹ E Williamson, "Buildings of Scotland: Glasgow", Penguin Books, GB, 1990, pp.581

following discussion will treat both parts as one entity, although originally the large estate was all separate steadings.

Little is known of the estate, with the exception of information supplied by a newspaper article. Therefore in the following discussion gaps will be inevitable due to limited resources.

1. Historical Background:

According to one newspaper article which appeared when the estate was sold to the Corporation as a public park², the estate originally belonged to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Tenants, or 'rentallers', rented out the land, and in Bellahouston the rentallers were the Rowan family. In 1595, a Crown Charter gave the rentallers the opportunity to buy out their perpetual rights to their holdings. Other similar rentallers then sold out their land, but the Rowans were keen to keep their estate, as well as adding other parts to it.

After a series of owners, though still within the same family, Thomas Rowan became the owner in 1819. After his death in 1824, his nephew, Moses Steven of Polmadie, inherited the estate. In 1831, Steven also inherited his father's property of the other parts of Bellahouston, which

² Glasgow Herald 24 July 1895

had already been sold to their family by the Rowans in 1814. Steven continued to expand the estate, in particular by acquiring the estate of Weirston lying to the west of Bellahouston, which gave the estate a "greatly extended frontage"³ to Paisley Road West. He also bought part of the Dumbreck Estate piecemeal from the owner, and eventually moved into Dumbreck House and renamed it Bellahouston. His family continued to live there till his death in 1871. Afterwards, his surviving sisters succeeded him and they passed the estate into the hands of the Corporation for the purpose of a public park in 1896.

The above account gives no detailed description of any feuing activities. As the final extent of the Bellahouston estate stretched from Plantation to the 'Three Mile House' at Paisley Road West (near present day Cardonald Cemetery), and from Paisley Road West to present day Moss Park Boulevard, it is evident that not all parts of the estate were developed as parkland. Indeed the eastern portion of the estate was designed as yet another residential estate, while 'Bellahouston House' remained as the residence of the feu superior.

Historical Background from Maps:

a) General Plans:

³ Glasgow Herald 24 July 1895

Richardson's 1795 map (Fig.BH.01) indicates the estate as 'Bellyhouston', while 'Dumbreck' is on its south west. Paisley Road was already an established main access road between Glasgow and Paisley, while a country road – later Nithsdale Road – also ran east-west between Strathbungo and 'Halfwayhouse', giving convenient accesses to both estates.

Forrest's 1816 map is even clearer (Fig.BH.02).

Bellahouston is indicated with 'Mr Rowan' as its owner, while several other estates, such as Ibroxhill, 'Wearyston', and Dumbreck are indicated further west. The Ardrossan [Paisley] Canal runs along the southern boundaries of these estates. In other words, the original Bellahouston estate was only confined to the small area between Paisley Road at the Two Mile House, and the Canal, although its has since then expanded considerably.

To clarify the relative boundaries, the supposed original boundaries of the estates are outlined by using an 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig.BH.03). Obviously this indication might not include the other smaller parts, which cannot be confirmed due to lack of materials.

b) Dumbreck:

According to the newspaper article already cited, Dumbreck was sold in two parts⁴. One part (probably the western half) was sold to the Rowans in 1564, the other smaller

⁴ Glasgow Herald 24 July 1895.

part to James Hill. Rowan's portion passed through several hands, and was gradually bought by Moses Steven in the early 19th century.

A feuing plan of part of western Dumbreck was designed by David Smith (Fig.BH.04). The plan shows a simple layout for large villas, with three plots already feued. It is inconceivable how this hinterland could attract buyers, since it lacks any major access road, although several country roads do cross at this point. Afterwards, the unfeued portions of this small part were sold to Moses Steven in 1839, who already owned the other western parts of Dumbreck (Fig.BH.05).

The other half of the estate was eventually included in the large estate of Pollok as early as 1741 (Fig.BH.06), although this part was called '*Bell of Hustoune*' at that time. The Maxwell family retained this small part of Dumbreck as a farm steading until the early 1880s, when it was then laid out for feuing as an extension of Pollokshields Estate (refer to the section on Dumbreck for full details and feuing proposals).

c) Bellahouston proper:

The original estate of Bellahouston was subject to railway developments in the late 1830s. In 1841, a railway line ultimately cut through the estate (Fig.BH.07) as part of the Glasgow and Paisley Railway Line.

The railway line literally cut through the drumlins on the estate, as shown in the section, with some cuttings as deep as 26 feet. Hence, for feuing purposes – which was eventually carried out, see below – the railway line imposed a serious constraint. The advantage the estate had, however, was the important frontage on to Paisley Road West, which provided essential access to both Glasgow and Paisley.

Feuing Design:

The original part of the estate (refer to Fig.BH.03) was laid out for feuing in 1845 to a design by Alexander Taylor (Fig.BH.08). Although Moses Steven had already acquired most of the other available parts of Dumbreck, none of those outwith his primary estate boundary was included in this feuing speculation.

Taylor was already well known for his other earlier proposals of South Park at St George's Cross (1839) and Partickhill (1840), in which he produced the most detailed and exquisite feuing plans in the 19th century. In Bellahouston, he carried out the same design skills, with excellent presentation techniques to explain his proposal (The original drawing was highly coloured, although only a reduced black and white copy is reproduced here).

The feuing plan is mainly split up into two parts: the eastern level half for tenements (or large terraces), the drumlins on the western for large villa plots. These two parts together created an informal layout of crescents and curvilinear roads. A series of small terraces also fronted the main road. The plan lacks the overall discipline shown on his previous designs for Partickhill and South Park, probably because of the different topographical conditions prevailing here. Another important constraint was the existing line of the railway which cut through the estate. Taylor informally faced the railway line with rows of villas on both sides, and retained the original crossings over the railway cutting. The only other formality introduced in the plan was a formal boulevard at the eastern entrance to the estate, flanked with, firstly, the tenements, then a pair of crescents, before crossing over the railway line into the heartland of villas.

Although the plan was laid out in great detail, Taylor did not resolve all the boundary problems. The tenement grid was left open-ended on the south and east boundaries, giving an impression of continuity which in reality did not happen at that time. The villa portion was much more enclosed, with access mainly from Paisley Road, although the western access road was also retained.

Apart from the design ambitions as portrayed on the plan, its timing was also important. The only other estate with

an intention of feuing by that time was the nearby Kinninghouse, which was laid out in a spectacular design of crescents and squares by Peter McQuisten eleven years earlier in 1834. Eventually the Kinninghouse proposal was unsuccessful, and was radically altered to a series of tenement grids. Probably this influenced Taylor's decision to propose a continuation of tenements on the eastern half of Bellahouston, since he expected the tenement grid from Kinninghouse to spread over Plantation to join up with them. However, a villa development on this scale had never been proposed on the southside, and Taylor's proposal certainly influenced other similar villa developments such as Pollokshields (1849) and Langside (1853).

Feuing Developments:

a) 1860 Ordnance Survey:

Despite Taylor's detailed feuing design, feuing was very slow. By 1860, 15 years after the feuing design first appeared, only five villas were built as indicated on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig.BH.09). When compared to Pollokshields Estate, which was laid out in 1849 – four years later than Bellahouston – Pollokshields was even more successful. Both estates were laid out with a mixture of villas and terraces / tenements, with relatively good access to the city, but while Pollokshields gradually grew into the designated layout – despite minor revisions – Bellahouston remained static for a long time.

The most likely explanation is the detrimental effect of the railway line through the estate. David Rhind – the architect of Pollokshields – overcame this by making the railway line its boundary, creating an inclusive protected environment for his villas, while Taylor exposed the villas on to the line itself, making it impossible to avoid the hustle and bustle of a busy smoke filled railway line.

The tenement parts of the estate were also slow to be realised without the continuation of the grid from Kingston. The grid in Kinninghouse, even in 1860, was still at an embryonic stage despite nearly 30 years of feuing activities, while further west in Plantation industrial occupants had already moved in, making it impossible to lay out a purely residential grid of tenements. Hence it is not difficult to see why both parts of Taylor's design were difficult to realise even in the 1860s context, as they simply lack the urban continuation and environmental quality expected by the middle classes.

b) 1890s Feuing Proposal:

In accordance with the wishes of the owner, Moses Steven, the whole estate was eventually conveyed to the Corporation in 1891 (?) for the purpose of a public park after Steven's death. Interestingly enough, despite previously disappointing feuing progress, the feuing proposal did not stop even in 1891. By 1894, another proposal for the

Dumbreck and Weirston parts of the estate was sketched out by Kyle Dennistoun & Frew by using an 1860 survey (Fig.BH.10).

The proposed design features once again villa islands in the heartland, with a series of terraces/ tenements along Paisley Road West. The layout follows the topography with the plots radiating from the summit centre, although the villa plots were obviously much smaller than their 1840s counterpart. Nevertheless, the sketch proposal was only indicated in outline with pencil, suggesting that this was not considered seriously, and nothing of this plan was realised.

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

By examining the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.BH.11), we can see that the villa half of Taylor's design was eventually realised, although to a totally different layout. It is evident that the final villa layout was influenced by the development of Pollok Estate's part of Dumbreck further south, which by then was now almost completely built up. The villas along Paisley Road West were deeply recessed from the main road, contrasting with the tenements further east, which formed a continuous grid from Kinningpark to this estate, obliterating all the original boundaries between Plantation and Bellahouston.

Nevertheless, the feuing development as shown in the 1913 survey was only half finished. A greater part of the ground beside the railway line was still vacant, while the railway itself had increased to a large complex, bringing more and more industrial elements to the north of the line.

The other parts of the estate were mainly sold off to the Corporation for the development of Bellahouston Park, as mentioned above in the discussion of its historical background. However, Ibroxhill – now also part of Bellahouston Park – survived as a complete estate without feuing developments. Similarly Weirston and the Bellahouston part of Dumbreck – apart from the small part which was already feued out near Dumbreck Road – were never developed and also formed the main parts of the park.

Conclusion:

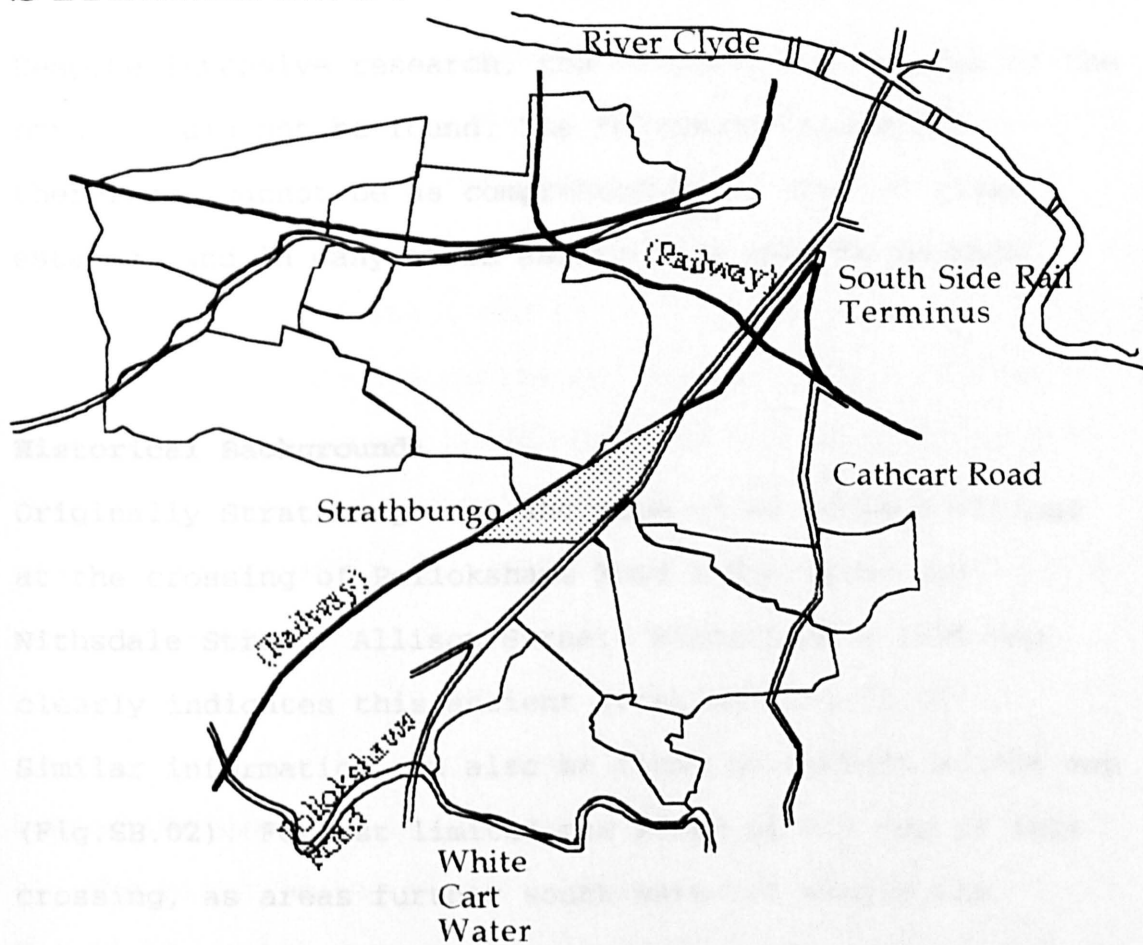
The feuing developments of Bellahouston were restricted to the main part of the estate, while the other accumulated parts outwith the original estate boundary were not developed, and eventually became the Bellahouston Park as known today.

The feued portion was laid out to an ambitious plan with detailed designs. However, it suffered from the undesirable effect of a railway cutting. This made the estate very unfavourable when competition arose from nearby

Pollokshields and Pollok's estate part of Dumbreck, which were well protected from the adverse effect of such detrimental elements and other industrial encroachment. Development remained static for a great number of years, and it was not until the expansion of the neighbouring Pollokshields estate that feuing activities in Bellahouston gradually gathered pace. The tenement part also had to wait until demand arose from the east through the slow but steady urbanization of Kinninghouse/ Kinningpark and Plantation.

This progression of urban development is not unique to the cluster from Pollokshields to Bellahouston estates. Indeed, a similar north to south progression can also be found in the contiguous estates of Govanhill/ Crosshill/ Queen's Park/ Langside. In the latter progression, however, the development of Queen's Park greatly accelerated the feuing rate – but even Langside was still too far out to be fully suburbanised by 1913. In Bellahouston's case, by contrast, nothing similar provided the vital attraction – Bellahouston Park was too late to fulfil this role – and the suburbanization process had to wait until the right conditions of the market forces prevailed – such as the success of neighbouring Pollokshields – before it could take place.

STRATHBUNGO



Location of Strathbungo Estate

Introduction:

Strathbungo is a small estate of two-storey terrace houses, behind a series of four-storey tenements along Pollokshaws Road. The houses are formed in neat rows between Pollokshaws Road and the railway line, containing one of Alexander 'Greek' Thomson's much celebrated terraces - Moray Place. In the suburban development of the southside

of Glasgow, Strathbungo was a late comer – its development was not completed until the turn of the century.

Despite intensive research, the original feuing plan of the estate could not be found. The following discussion, therefore, cannot be as comprehensive as that of other estates, and in many areas assumptions have to be made.

Historical Background:

Originally Strathbungo was the name of an ancient village at the crossing of Pollokshaws Road and present day Nithsdale Street/ Allison Street. Richardson's 1795 map clearly indicates this ancient location (Fig.SB.01). Similar information can also be found on Forrest's 1816 map (Fig.SB.02). Forrest limited the scope of his map to this crossing, as areas further south were not within the boundary of Lanarkshire.

The area under this study, however, lies further south-west of the old village, on the west side of Pollokshaws Road. The area was part of the Titwood steading, belonging to the much larger estate of Pollok, which was owned by the Maxwell family. A plan of the Pollok estate dated 1843 shows the original steading boundaries before the area was developed – indeed even before the railway line was built (Fig.SB.03).

By the 1800s, feuing developments were already taking place south of the river. These developments continued throughout the first half of the 19th century, including the extensive development of the Pollokshields estate in 1849. Similar development was also taking place along the eastern side of Pollokshaws Road, with the Corporation's investment in Queen's Park (1856) – which is just opposite the present day Strathbungo estate – and Coplawhill [Govanhill]. These intensive developments certainly had a profound influence on the strip of ground sandwiched between the railway line (built in 1848) and the main road, as the first feuing design – proposed in the late 1850s – was contemporary with these developments.

Feuing Designs:

a) The First Feuing Plan of 1858:

The first feuing design was proposed in 1858 (Fig.SB.04), by an unknown designer. As the design drawing was found within the collection of the Maxwell papers¹, the proposal was most likely to be a development by Sir John Maxwell. Its timing followed closely the feuing development of Queen's Park which was acquired by the Corporation in 1857. This suggests that Maxwell might have been trying to take advantage of the proposed park by investing in land speculation, or at least the development of such a

¹ The Maxwell Papers are now deposited in Strathclyde Regional Archives. Ref: SRA/T-PM.

prestigious public amenity would enhance the value of his ground.

The feuing plan, which covers exactly the same area as the present day estate, indicates a predominantly villa design, which recalls the early design plan of Queen's Park by Paxton (refer to the discussion of Queen's Park). Long rows of villas lined the north-south axis, while a series of terraces/ tenements fronted Pollokshaws Road. Simple cross roads cut across the long blocks. As the ground was relatively flat, there was no need for the elaborate arrangement found in the earlier design of Pollokshields, and the result is a simple derivative of the grid format.

Another plan was found referring to a disposition for a small part of the area (Fig.SB.05). On the plan, the small part under discussion was overlaid with a grid similar in layout to the 1858 proposal, with names such as 'Kenmuir Street', 'Afton Street' and 'Glencairn Street'. These names were all derived from Pollokshields Estate, suggesting that this early grid layout of villas was proposed by the Maxwells.

b) The Second Feuing Design, c.1860:

The first feuing design was never developed. The ground was still vacant on the 1860 Ordnance Survey (Fig.SB.06), although another feuing design was actively in consideration by that time.

Since the design plan of this stage cannot be found, the feuing development of the estate could only be hypothesised from various sources.

The designer of the second feuing design, which was called 'Regent Park', was undoubtedly Alexander 'Greek' Thomson.

Gavin Stamp has the following account of Thomson's involvement:

"Moray Place, Regent Park Terrace" was the 44-year old architect's [Alexander G. Thomson's] first speculative venture, undertaken with John McIntyre, builder, and William Stevenson, "quarrier", to exploit the amenity of the nearby Queen's Park....According to local tradition, this first portion of Moray Place proved too expensive so that although the rest of "Regent Park" was built on the general lines established by the architect, the subsequent terraces were simpler and by another hand.²

MacFadzean suggests that Alexander 'Greek' Thomson moved to Moray Place from his Shawlands home in 1860³ - i.e., the first part of the estate must have been completed in 1860. However, this was disputed by the actual Feu Contract of Thomson's house, and from the evidence of this, plus other family records, Gavin Stamp suggests that the terrace (Moray Place) was built in the autumn and winter of 1860-61⁴, although there is still no confirmed date of the design of the estate.

² G Stamp & S McKinstry, "Greek Thomson". Edinburgh University Press, 1994, script pp.1

³ R McFadzean, "The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979, pp.125-130

⁴ G Stamp, op cit., pp.32

Feuing Developments:

The development of Thomson's feuing design can be found in the Post Office Directory Maps. Although these maps do not always show an accurate description of the buildings being built, they nevertheless indicate the progress of development. Unfortunately in this case, Strathbungo was not included within the boundary of Glasgow Post Office maps before 1870, and therefore the early development of the estate cannot be traced.

By 1870, the four blocks along Pollokshaws Road and several terraces between this road and the railway line – including the much acclaimed No. 1-10 Moray Place – had been built already (Fig.SB.07). A few years later in 1876, another small portion was added to the existing terraces (Fig.SB.08). From then on rapid development took place and three years later the northern part was almost completed (Fig.SB.09).

Therefore it is obvious that feuing activities gradually built up during the 1870s. Consequently grounds south of the estate were feued off – although it is unclear when this was carried out – with a layout based on the same lines of those in the main estate (Fig.SB.10).

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

It is believed that the estate was built on the general lines of Thomson's design, but individual terraces were designed by other hands⁵. Therefore, apart from no. 1-10 Moray Place, other terraces displayed different characters in architectural detailing. Nevertheless the general massing – two storey small terraced houses, some with an extra basement storey – remained constant throughout the estate.

This is clearly shown on the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.SB.11). The neatness and rigidity of the design is obvious. Apart from one row of tenements along Nithsdale Road, and the four blocks of tenements along Pollokshaws Road, the size and layout of the other terrace houses is literally exactly the same. However, behind the 2-dimensional similarities/ repetition, lies a varied style of architectural treatment. For instance, corner treatments of each terrace along Moray Place are different, while elaborate architectural treatments gradually gave way to plainer facades for those in the southern (later) part of the estate.

The Survey also shows that even by 1913 the estate was not completely finished: feuing activities had stopped since the late 1870s. Land towards the south, although bought by the same developers long before (refer to Fig.SB.10), was

⁵ G Stamp, *op cit.*, pp.1

still vacant. Indeed, this part of the estate was not completed until the 1920s, and despite the fact that the building lines follow the same principle as their earlier counterparts, the Victorian architectural style was not applied in these latter houses.

Conclusion:

The limitation of materials being found relating to Strathbungo has undermined any attempt at an authoritative conclusion. However, there is evidence that the feuing development of Strathbungo was not an isolated case. The development of the southside certainly had a knock-on effect following the important decision by the Corporation to develop Queen's Park. Hence it is not surprising to see that the first feuing design for Strathbungo was proposed in 1858 – one year after the Corporation's purchase of the land for Queen's Park.

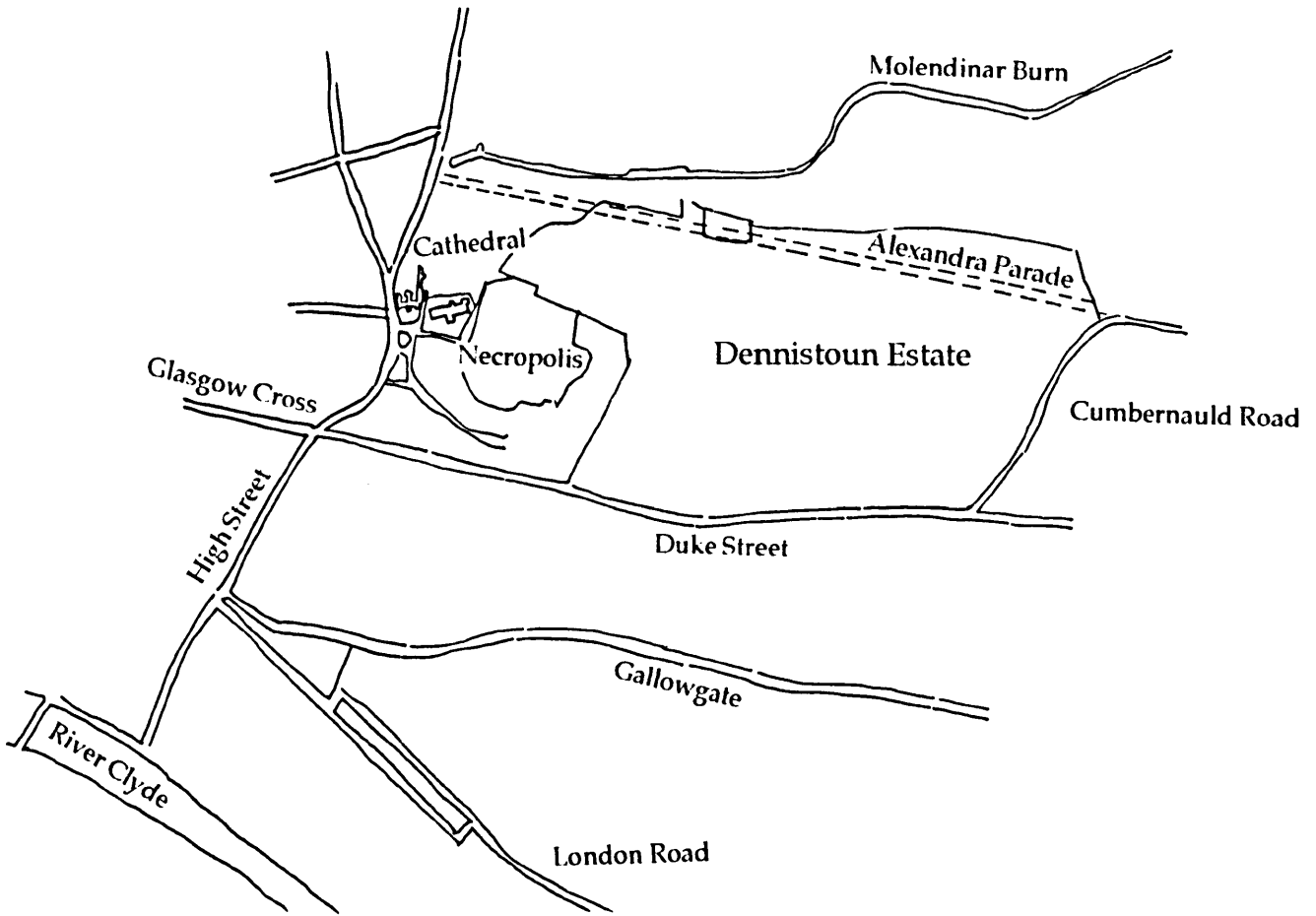
The other key to the birth of 'modern' Strathbungo, which eventually replaced the old village, was the progress of Pollokshields Estate. Indeed Strathbungo was slotted in between the development continuum along Pollokshaws Road, and the vast comprehensive development of the north-east corner of Pollok Estate, which includes Pollokshields, Dumbreck and other parts of Titwood. Although it was physically separated from both feuing groups – by the railway line on the west and Pollokshaws Road on the east

respectively – its close proximity ensured Strathbungo would be developed to a similar middle class status.

Its urban form, however, departed significantly from any predecessors. Instead of the villas (as in Langside and west Pollokshields) or tenements (as in Govanhill and east Pollokshields), the estate was predominantly small two-storey terrace houses. Although similar building types could be found in pockets of Langside, none of them was as regularised as these in Strathbungo. Behind the main four-storey blocks along Pollokshaws Road, these small-scale terraces have resulted in a tranquil suburban low-density layout, contrasting with the more common four-storey tenements.

Its two-dimensional repetition, however, was complicated by the various styles of architectural treatment over a development period of nearly 60 years, proving that a rigid plan does not necessarily result in a rigid urban form. Its final result, therefore, was an example of symbiosis of urban coherence with individual architectural style.

DENNISTOUN



Location of Dennistoun Estate

Introduction:

Among the East End estates of Glasgow, only Dennistoun was originally laid out for the burgeoning middle classes. With an impressive feu design by a well known contemporary architect - James Salmon - the proprietors were trying to compete with other speculators in the West End and Southside. However, its fate was similar to other earlier eastwards ventures such as Monteith Row, St

Andrew's Square and Charlotte Street, where it eventually crumbled to become another tenement area for the working classes.

Historical Background:

The name of the estate, Dennistoun, is only a comparatively recent one. It came into common usage only when it was started by Alexander Dennistoun in the latter half of the 19th century. Originally there were several steadings in this location. Richardson's 1795 Map (Fig.DT.01) indicates these estates, such as Craigs, Whitehill and Cudbar [Cudbear works], forming the basis of the future conglomeration. These were all within an established physical framework, consisting of Duke Street on the south, Cumbernauld Road on the east, Molendiner Burn on the west, and Monklands Canal on the north.

Forrest's 1816 map also shows a similar, but much more detailed, situation (Fig.DT.02). There are more estates indicated, such as Craigpark, Broompark, Whitehill, Dunchattan, Meadowpark, and Golfhill (which was already acquired by the Dennistoun family). The orthogonal subdivisions of the city grid along Gallowgate have almost reached this part of the East End, with estates further east and south being designated for industrial purposes, such as vitriol works, coal works, iron works and various quarries.

The documentation account of the incorporation of these various small estates into the large estate of Dennistoun that we know today was given by D Small in an article¹. The origins of these small estates, according to Small, can be summarised as follows:

- In the 16th century, the land was called "The Craigs"; it was later on divided into "Easter Craig" and "Wester Craig";
- Easter Craig contained the estates of Craigpark and Whitehill, while Golfhill occupied a large portion of Wester Craig;
- These estates passed through ownership by various individuals, and were eventually bought by the Dennistoun family: Golfhill by the turn of the 18th/19th century, the combined estates of Craigpark and Whitehill in 1850.

To understand the physical locations of these individual estates, a survey plan of the estate will help (Fig.DT.03). Although this plan was drawn *after* the feuing design was proposed, it nevertheless clearly delineates the original estates' boundaries without the information of the proposed suburb - although a small part within "Wester Craig" was built up already. Similar information can also be found on the 1860 Ordnance Survey

¹ D Small, "Bygone Glasgow", Morrison Brothers, Glasgow, 1896, Chapter 17: "Craigpark House, Dennistoun".

(Fig.DT.04), which shows the location and extent of the various original mansion houses before the development. The Ordnance Survey also clearly indicates that by this time built up urban areas of all classes were already surrounding these small estates on the north, west, and south sides.

Feuing Design:

The development of Dennistoun was largely the effort of one individual, Alexander Dennistoun. The Dennistoun family was already the owner of one of the small estates, Golfhill, although when James Dennistoun – Alexander Dennistoun's father and manager of the Glasgow Bank – bought it at the turn of the century, he occupied it as a traditional country residence. The mansion house of Golfhill was also built by him during this time.

The first development for a suburban estate in the East End, however, was by another Glasgow merchant, John Reid. Reid had a notion for building a model suburb north-east of the Cathedral by incorporating several existing estates, including Golfhill². He did not succeed in getting the project off the ground, although by his sudden death in 1851, he had already acquired estates on both sides of Duke Street³.

² Small, *op cit.*

³ P A Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1993, pp.78

When Reid failed to complete his project, Alexander Dennistoun soon afterwards stepped in and started his own campaign of acquisition. Using his large wealth he acquired most of the neighbouring estates, such as Craigpark, Whitehill, Meadowpark, Broompark, Westercraigs, Annfield and Bellfield⁴. The latter two estates were on the south side of Duke Street, and the reason for Dennistoun to acquire them – although the feuing design plan did not include their laying out (see below) – was "to secure the amenity of Dennistoun from the south"⁵.

In 1854, Dennistoun commissioned James Salmon to prepare a feuing design plan for his large estate (Fig.DT.05). P A Reed has the following comments on this feuing plan:

Salmon's plan was one of the most ambitious and formalised among the many schemes yet devised in the Victorian suburbanization of Glasgow. From a "Grand Entrance on the South" a tree-lined boulevard leads to the centre of the principal feature of the scheme: long terraced avenues laid along the ridge parallel to Duke Street, terminating to east and west in inner and outer crescents, built back-to-back. Around this spine terraces and villas are laid out on a broadly orthogonal street pattern, with the intersections of axes celebrated in squares, crescents and a circus."⁶

In Salmon's plan, as described by Reed, none of the plots was designated for tenements. Indeed, the corresponding

⁴ Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal December 1969, p.692.

⁵ JFS Gordon, "Glashu Facies" vol.II, J Tweed, Glasgow, 1872, pp. 776

⁶ PA Reed, op cit., pp.78

advertisement for this scheme - which appeared three years later than the feuing design - described the developer's preference for 'self-contained houses':

..... a venture prompted by the desire so long felt and expressed, and believed to be every day increasing, among the middle class of Glasgow, to reside in **self-contained houses**..... in preference to the present system of common stairs and common flats, by which the comfort and economy of a family are so much in the powers of others.⁷
(my emphasis)

This idea of villas and terraced houses was further explained by the three vignettes on the plan. The first one shows a typical villa within a sylvan setting comparable with earlier country residences - "the image of the classicised Gothic villa, picturesquely framed in its leafy gardens....."⁸ (Fig.DT.05a). The second one shows a bird's eye view from the north of the whole scheme, hinting at its suburban quality with hefty landscapes and natural terrain (Fig.DT.05b), yet in reality the estate was only a stone's throw from the existing heavy industries already surrounding the estate. Therefore this view presented an idealised tranquil suburb of villas and terraces - complete with the conversion of the existing Mill Dam to a decorative fountain - by hiding the numerous chimney stacks and factory towers in the background. The third one shows a typical boulevard entrance through the terraced streets

⁷ Glasgow Herald 14 September 1857

⁸ PA Reed, op cit., pp.80

(Fig.DT.05c). The image strikingly resembles that of Great Western Road, with church spires and towers punching through the horizontality of terrace roof lines. Salmon's design even took a step further by providing the widest street possible, with landscaped front gardens on both sides of the road:

...The streets will be of unusual width, and being planned on the best continental models, will present, in squares, boulevards and fountains, etc, a style of beauty not hitherto followed out in this country.⁹

Apart from the main areas of the estates that we know today, another small part – Dunchattan, on the south-west corner of the estate – was not included in Salmon's design. By researching into the feuing design of this small estate, we can find a possible clue for Salmon's ambitious design.

A design plan for the estate of Dunchattan by John Baird in 1853 – just one year before Salmon's design was published – indicates superior villas to be laid out in the upper part of its grounds (Fig.DT.06). Therefore it is not difficult to speculate that Baird's villa layout design probably became the inspiring building type for the whole estate of Dennistoun. Another feuing plan, dated 1856, however, drifted away from the earlier villa layout by slicing the estate into grids, although there is no indication of building types (Fig.DT.07). On

⁹ Glasgow Herald, op cit.

Salmon's plan, a grid layout similar to the 1856 design extends into this estate. Indeed, it is this grid of tenements, neither terraces nor villas, that became the dominating feature of the present estate.

Feuing Development:

Alexander Dennistoun's vision of a suburb of such calibre was highly miscalculated. One contemporary plan superimposed Salmon's design on to the existing plan of the city (Fig.DT.08). From this plan, we can clearly see that by the time the estate was designed, it was already being surrounded by various industrial settlements, with heavily built up areas - mainly tenements - stretching from Springburn through Castle Street to Carlton, Bridgeton and Dalmarnock. Although the estates beyond Dennistoun were not formally urbanized, various 'works' (industrial establishments) were already taking place, diminishing the possibility of any up-market development in this direction.

Also, competition was coming from other directions: the West End and Southside. The West End had an advantage of the continuous private thoroughfare of Great Western Road, without passing through any undesirable areas of the city. A similar road - Pollokshaws Road - also existed on the south side, although it had the disadvantage of going through the run down districts of

Lauriston. In both cases, the estates in the process of development were all surrounded by secluded residential areas, or even magnificent parklands, instead of the factories and 'works' as in the case of Dennistoun. Therefore it is obvious the middle classes were not too keen to settle down in Dennistoun, despite a handful of villas were being built in its early stages of development.

The 1865 Post Office Directory Map indicates these early upmarket plots which were laid out with similar quality as on Salmon's plan (Fig.DT.09). The area concerned is a small portion of terraced layout at present day Claythorn, Oakley, Seton and Annfield Terraces, with a small horse-shoe shaped crescent at Broompark Circus. Even by this time, the layout has already departed from the grand vision portrayed by Salmon.

By the late 1860s - 15 years after the original feuing design - the feuing design plan was totally revised into a simple grid format (Fig.DT.10). Only the earlier small villa/ terrace cluster retained a degree of middle class status. The rest of the estate, together with the two smaller estates on the other side of Duke Street - Annfield and Bellfield - was divided into the familiar tenement grid format. The important thoroughfare of Alexander Parade, which gave connection between Castle Street and Cumbernauld Road, was also laid out.

The development of Alexandra Parade was very much a co-operative effort between the Corporation and Alexander Dennistoun. When the Council decided to purchase the grounds of Kennyhill (on the east side of Dennistoun) for the development of Alexandra Park in 1866, Alexander Dennistoun gave five additional acres to this park so as to connect it with the projected Alexandra Parade¹⁰. Therefore it is obvious that the building of the park greatly assisted in the feuing impetus of the estate, as evident from the timing of the 1869 revision. However, the development of Alexandra Park did not bring the comparable social context of Kelvingrove Park and Queen's Park to the east end – Dennistoun only catered for the working classes and the *petite bourgeoisie*.

The 1913 Ordnance Survey:

By 1913, as evident from the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.DT.11), it is obvious that Salmon's original design did not materialise. Yet the 1869 revised design which was laid out on a different principle was almost complete, proving that the latter version was more compatible with the demands and aspirations of the local house seekers.

¹⁰ Small, *op cit.*, Chapter 17

The overwhelming grid layout is now totally integrated within the much larger framework of the city grid, while its edges have been built up to become important thoroughfares for all kinds of public transport. Only the small first phase of villas, semi-villas and terraces gave witness to the original middle class aspiration of the development. The majority of the estate, however, was built as tenements to cater for the working classes. An awkward insert of the "East End Exhibition Buildings" (originally the "House of Refuge") remained undeveloped, occupying a large area of the urban mass. The small separate estate of Dunchattan, retaining its earlier 1856 grid layout, is now also well assimilated within the larger urban grid.

As an immense scale of industrialisation gradually took over most of the vacant lands further east, further speculative middle class residential areas were not feasible along this direction. Therefore Dennistoun was the last and only estate in the east end to be originally conceived on up-market principles.

Conclusion:

Dennistoun estate occupied a special role in the east end development of urban Glasgow. Its intention as a middle class estate, initially proposed by John Reid, and then substantially promoted by Alexander Dennistoun, was not

compatible with the prevailing development in this direction. This is evident in the earlier unsuccessful examples near Glasgow Green where these attempts never survived beyond into the 19th century.

However, despite all these circumstantial unfavourable conditions, the proprietors ignored the risks and managed to proceed with this up-market feuing development, accompanied by one of the most spectacular feuing design plans ever produced. The detailed illustrations with imaginary buildings, as well as an idealised overall view, gave the impression of a suburb of similar calibre to other contemporary West End and Southside estates.

Nevertheless, in reality none of the ambitious visions ever took place. Only a handful of villas and terraced houses – laid out to a different design – were built. The rest of the estate was eventually revised along more utilitarian lines: the familiar tenement grid which had already sprung up in every corner of urban Glasgow by the mid-19th century.

The lack of demand from the middle class also implied a change of social status in the final version, with working class and artisans occupying the majority of the tenements. By the turn of the 19th/ 20th century, the social and architectural change was completed with intensive industrialisation in all its major

neighbourhoods. Salmon's vision of a leafy suburb with grand boulevards was being replaced with a massive urban crawl - in the form of the grid - in this eastwards direction.

Introduction

The suburban development of Glasgow was a complicated and lengthy process, involving many aspects of architectural, social and economic elements of social change. It is obviously, therefore, difficult to provide a simplistic overview of this process. Indeed, it is impossible for the process itself – contrary to developments nowadays – to be classified as a single collective event.

From the previous lengthy analysis of individual estates, we can see that development of these estates came in all sizes and patterns. However, beneath these differences, several observations common to most of them may be derived.

As a summary here, these observations can be classified in the following categories:

1. The Ownership and Developers' Economic Background;
2. The timing/ impetus/ location of the feuing development;
3. The feuing design plans;
4. Revisions and changes in the development process;
5. The external influences on development;
6. The internal influences on development;
7. The final urban/ suburban environment as a result of the development process.

SECTION 5: OVERVIEW & CONCLUSION

1. The Ownership and Developers' Economic Background:

1.1 The Original Owners:

Simpson has cited that for most of the West End estates, "success came only after mid [19th] century and a change of ownership"¹. Indeed this was mostly the case.

Most of the original owners of the estates in this study were well established families of upper-class status, with a comfortable country house in the midst of their estate. Some were aristocratic families, such as the Maxwells of Pollok, while other established organisations, such as the patrons of Hutcheson Hospital, also held large areas of land property.

Many of these original owners held on to their estates throughout the many centuries since their original acquisitions. It was only when the city was expanding its boundary in the mid-19th century or a little earlier that they considered parting with their historical possessions in exchange for financial advantage. Some – such as the Maxwells mentioned above – took up the initiative themselves and became the prime developers. Others sold their possession to secondary parties whose aim was mainly speculative investment, though some new buyers still

¹ M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, "Middle Class Housing in Britain". David Charles and Archon Books, GB, 1977, pp.56

retained their newly acquired estate as their country homes.

1.2 The Secondary Owners:

These secondary parties represented a variety of backgrounds. In some cases, professionals from non-building related trades were also involved. It is not uncommon to find that the trustees for various developments consisted of the occasional "surgeon", or "writer" (solicitor). Perhaps the best known among them were the writers Montgomerie and Fleming who owned the largest estate - Kelvinside - during this period. Others were traditional businessmen who aimed to expand their investment portfolio by taking on board speculative property in addition to their usual list of shipping and manufacturing. Another large player for both the West End and southside was the Glasgow Corporation, whose developments - Park Circus and Queen's Park - were the jewels of Glasgow's urban setting. Then there were the speculative builders and property developers who were building mainly for profits and short capital return on a smaller scale.

This is probably why there was such a variety in the investment method from estate to estate. For some of them, the financial pressure was much smaller than for those working on a tight time-scale for capital return, and they could wait until the property boom time before putting a certain plot on the market. This was most likely the case

in Kelvinside, where major feuing was put off until the 1870s and the investor still came out unscathed. On the other hand, as was the case in Hillhead where the owner, the Gibson family, was in sequestration, land plots were sometimes sold by the trustee as against being feued, forgoing long term feudal rent in return for a larger immediate cash return. The Maxwell family of Pollok was also heavily in debt during the mid-century and was therefore keen to take part in the property business by selling up their ancient lands². Meanwhile, the Glasgow Corporation was constantly being questioned about using taxpayers' money to provide public amenities – in terms of parklands – on such a large scale, and therefore they had to strike a balance between providing philanthropic facilities, and achieving substantial profit by designing and selling upmarket prime housing.

Hence it is obvious that from the beginning each individual investor had a different economic background and understanding of property investment. These differences formed the basis on which different estates were being developed and revised accordingly. Nicholas Morgan, in one of his research papers³, cited the case of Downhill in which the owner's economic situation – or disaster to be

² Letter from John Maxwell to Stirling Maxwell (uncle to nephew) mentioned selling off the lands of Pollok to pay off inheritable debt; date: 22 Sept. 1856. Ref: SRA/ TSK/ 29/ 7/ 124

³ N Morgan, "The Development of the West End of Glasgow Reconsidered", unpublished conference paper presented to the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1 December 1990.

more specific – changed his influence on the design of his property: the control was in the hands of his creditors who formed a company for feuing purposes, resulting in a deviation from the original direction. Therefore, economic forces certainly played an important role, not just from the conception stages of the project, but also during the process as well.

2. The Timing/ Impetus/ Location of the Feuing Development

The timing of the feuing development was decided on the basis of many factors. Although eventually both the West End and southside were developed into almost comprehensively middle class areas, there were different variations in their initial impetus and timing.

2.1 The West End:

a) The impetus caused by the Great Western Road:

The most obvious impetus of the West End development was the layout of the Great Western Road. This road is a precedent of co-operative development between rival property speculators, resulting in an exclusive main thoroughfare with a direct connection to the City Centre. Through this route, a contiguous progression of large and small estates – from the early laying out of the terraces of Kelvinside to the late development of large tenements in Hyndland – was established. All these estates were laid out to a coherent code of feu restrictions – individual yet

similar -- assisted by a consistent prevailing architectural style and construction method.

b) Developments along Sauchiehall Street:

The timing of the development of this thoroughfare -- from the 1840s onwards -- was undoubtedly continuing the earlier impulse of the westward fringe of the Blythswood estate, such as the development along St George's Road at Charing Cross. This westward expansion of the Blythswood Estate resulted in a development cluster along an existing country road -- Sauchiehall Street. Here, smaller independent estates were developed along a co-operative code of building type and form: the two or three storey middle class terraces. Similar to their Great Western Road counterparts, these small estates were continuously laid out from the early 1830s to the end of the 19th century, developing into a contiguous cluster from Charing Cross to St Vincent Crescent. However, its status as a middle class area gradually deteriorated after working class tenements -- together with similar industrial establishments -- filled the empty plots at the end of the Victorian era.

c) Institutional/ Corporation Developments:

Slotted in between these two clusters were various institutional/ Corporation developments which gave much prestige to the West End. These include the University, the West End [Kelvingrove] Park, the Western Infirmary, numerous private schools and the Botanic Gardens. The

latter was one of the prime attractions when westward direction was first conceived in the late 1830s, while others gradually appeared to suit local demands. Among these, the provision of the West End Park became the most controversial – yet most successful – piece of urban design, laying down the further attraction of migrating to the West End suburbs.

d) The exception of Partickhill Estate:

There is, however, one exception to these two clusters – the development of Partickhill. As a result of Partickhill's proximity to the small village of Partick, its development was very much determined by the early 19th century local industrialisation of the latter. Hence, the estate's early design mostly catered for the managerial classes of the embryonic village, and did not share the same timing of development as those along Great Western Road or Sauchiehall Street.

2.2 The Southside:

a) Comparison with the West End:

When compared with the West End, the initial late 18th century urban expansions on the southside were similar to those of the Blythswood estate in the west. However, other industrial developments – which were taking advantage of the ever-increasing trade and commercial opportunities between Glasgow and other cities south of the border – moved in at the same time as the urban grid was expanding

across the River Clyde. This resulted in a physical barrier preventing any middle class residential areas being physically and socially linked up to the earlier – and already deteriorating – Georgian towns in the first half of the 19th century. The unsuccessful development of Kinninghouse is an example representing the wrong timing and wrong calculation of this attempt.

b) The Development of Queen's Park:

The breakthrough came along when the Corporation decided to develop Pathhead steading into Queen's Park. Once this development was approved – with a design of the most eminent landscape architect of the time, Joseph Paxton – feuing activities gradually gathered pace for the estates along Pollokshaws Road. These estates included – from north to south – Govanhill (not discussed in this study, as it consisted of mostly working class tenements), Crosshill, Queen's Park, and Langside. Although not all of them started at the same time – for example, the road layout of Crosshill was formed in the 1840s – most of them gained advantage and momentum when the park was in progress from the 1860s onwards. Eventually this 19th century cluster of developed estates was linked up with other earlier villages, such as Pollokshaws, Giffnock and Newlands further south – which were also rapidly transformed into middle class areas towards the end of the century – to form the continuous southside suburb known today.

c) The Development of Pollokshields Estate:

Another cluster of suburbs, however, was developed in an unconventional – and more risky – direction. The development of Pollokshields is unusual in terms of urban design and location. It was isolated from any convenient access to the town, although this provided the main criterion of exclusivity. Its timing was independent of any main attraction or impulse from existing urban frameworks. Finally its feuing design was relatively ambitious as compared with other contemporary designs. The neighbouring estate of Bellahouston was also laid out for feuing under these similar circumstances in 1845, but while Bellahouston failed to take off initially, Pollokshields managed to be feued out immediately after its conception in 1849. It eventually became a successful suburb – despite various changes to its feuing design – catering for both the middle classes (the western sector of villas) and the working classes (the eastern sector of tenements).

Nevertheless its most active feuing period was in the latter half of the 19th century – contemporary with other feuing activities along Pollokshaws Road – when steadings further south were added in the 1890s to the already developed portion. With all these demands for more middle class houses, the isolated estates of Bellahouston and Dumbreck were also finally taken up by house seekers, completing this unusual westward cluster on the southside.

3. The Feuing Design Plans:

The most interesting aspect of the feuing development process was the proliferation of various design plans produced by the landowners/ investors.

3.1 Simple Disposition Plans:

Strictly speaking some of these plans only stemmed from the simple "Disposition Plans" which were legally required for any property transaction. These plans, produced by land surveyors, contained various information such as boundary limits and sizes, areas (in the Scottish measure of acres, poles and roods), adjoining estates (with owners' names) and the disposition title (the personnel and date for which the transaction applied). Further elaborated disposition plans were also produced, which consisted of basic information such as building lines (the most extreme line to which the building could extend) and back fences, to more details such as houses sizes and their outline.

The large feuing plan of Hillhead belongs to this category, which was basically a tool for controlling the feuing of grounds. The estate was conveniently divided into a grid format without taking into account its topographical features. Within this grid nothing graphical was indicated to unify the building type, and therefore the development

was never conceived as one⁴. Similarly, various feuing plans of the small estates along Sauchiehall Street also limit themselves to similar simple blocks and lines, although some secondary feuing plans later did show outlines of individual terraces.

3.2 Feuing Design Plans:

A different category is that which was deliberately designed by an architect for the purpose of marketing or total control of feuing development. These ranged from ambitious and detailed layouts of large estates such as Kelvininside, Partickhill, Pollokshields, to smaller ones such as Southpark (at St George's Cross) and Southwoodside/Clairmont. The layouts of the West End Park and Queen's Park included various options for landscape and building layout strategies, with realistic perspective illustrations and vignettes. Indeed the art of illustration and lithography was exploited to its full extent to produce these presentation packages, with the obvious intention of attracting potential buyers away from other competitors.

3.3 The Shortcomings of Design Plans:

The plans themselves were the product of various influences, such as the background of the developer and his aspirations, or the style of the architect. There were also

⁴ Although no unifying features were found on the feuing plan, in most plots the feuing restrictions documents limited the houses to a maximum of four storeys with ashlar front and slate roof. However, one could vary the terms to a smaller villa or terraced house — therefore the non-unifying character remained despite a common feu restriction (refer to previous section on Hillhead for more details)

external factors such as current architectural philosophy of estate design and the "school" of the architect involved, as well as internal factors such as local constraints, access and topography. All these will be discussed later. Nevertheless, despite their differences in details, most of them shared a similar pattern of shortcomings:

- a) Nearly all of them did not take account of neighbouring developments. Unlike modern day local government strategy plans, these feuing plans were solely the tool of the individual estate owner. In some cases, they would stress their exclusivity from commercial nuisance and their closeness to upmarket amenities, such as the Botanic Gardens and the West End Park, but they included no mention of exact details of other neighbouring estates. This was further illustrated by the spontaneous character of the developments, without attempts at continuity between them, resulting in segregated and isolated clusters;
- b) Most of the design plans, particularly those by eminent architects of the day, were too ambitious to be implemented realistically. For example, the owners of Kelvinside expressed their preference for the estate "to be occupied solely by dwelling-houses of a superior description"⁵. Similar aspirations can also easily be noticed on other feuing designs for Dowanhill,

⁵ The Glasgow Herald, 2 October 1840; also quoted in M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, *op cit.*

Partickhill, Pollokshields, Langside, Bellahouston and Dennistoun, where the proposed design plans – with a certain degree of artistic licence – were dominated by opulent villas set in sumptuous landscaped gardens (as illustrated in the vignettes of Dennistoun feuing plan, Fig.C.01). Indeed, their proposals were over optimistic, with the unexpected lack of demand delaying the whole development. In some cases, such as Dennistoun, the original design was quickly abandoned to cater for a more realistic – and more down-market – economic stratum. In other cases, they waited until the scheme literally came to a halt before realising that what they had considered was not suitable for the economic and social demands of the real buyers. For example, after a sluggish start, it took the proprietors of Kelvinside nearly twenty years before a revision was accepted, and ten more years again before the new strategy of parcelling their large estate was implemented. Similar delays and revisions of feuing design can also be found in other estates irrespective of location, size or owners. Although there were other economic and social reasons behind these false starts, an over ambitious design was probably one of the most serious.

3.4 The Successful Design Plans:

Nevertheless we should not over-simplify the situation by applying the above shortcomings to all estates. There were

some estates – particularly those started late – whose feuing activities proceeded smoothly and steadily, and which managed to complete their developments in accordance with the intended feuing designs. Hyndland belongs to this category, and it is not surprising that when its proprietors started feuing in the 1890s (after an unsuccessful attempt earlier), they were able to avoid the pitfalls of their neighbours, although the inevitable downward revisions to even smaller flats was still carried out in its later phases.

4. Revisions and Changes in the Development Process:

4.1 The Revisions of Feuing Design Plans:

As discussed before, most of the initial feuing design plans were laid out in an over-ambitious manner, reflecting the aspirations of the developers rather than being geared to the current market forces of supply and demand.

Despite the relative success of the suburbs as seen nowadays, none of this was apparent during the initial stages: the developers experienced a sluggish start in most cases due to their over-ambitious schemes. Eventually they were forced to give way to more practical – and in most cases, more mundane – designs, with various degrees of revision.

Most of the revisions were discussed in the previous section under each individual estate. The following is only a brief recapitulation of some of the most prominent cases:

- a) Kelvinside (1839) has the most important estate design plan produced by Decimus Burton. However, only a fraction of Burton's design was ever realised. A much later revised proposal by James Salmon - another prominent architect of local calibre - was also abandoned, probably due to the same slow taking-up rate. The whole estate was eventually parcelled out into various large plots to other property speculators for individual developments, while the proprietor receded into a supervisory role.
- b) Dennistoun (1857) was the brainchild of a commercial entrepreneur, with the aim of providing the east end with an equivalent suburban model to those in the West End. However, the proprietor's expectation was grossly miscalculated, resulting in a complete revision of the layout after only a handful of houses were built. The final estate eventually catered for residents from much lower social and economic stratum.
- c) Pollokshields (1849) was another estate that was laid out by another eminent architect, David Rhind. Its initial design with terrace houses lining enormous crescents and endless stretches of villas was probably designed only for marketing purposes, with a hint of the proprietor's previously unsuccessful scheme at Kinninghouse. By the time feuing was carried out, most

of the terraces were revised to tenements, while a much restrained - though still opulent - layout of villas was built.

- d) Queen's Park (1854), the Corporation's south side equivalent of the West End Park, was laid out with similar attention as its West End counterpart by Joseph Paxton. In the proposal, villas wrapped around the man-made park, complete with its winter gardens and axial climax provided by the new Victoria Road. Eventually, many of the proposed facilities were reduced, and only a handful of the surrounding villas were built. The eastern half gave way to more utilitarian purposes, while the southern part was taken over by a hospital.
- e) The first masterplan of Langside (1856) was well presented as a complete suburb, laid out with different housing types to suit the topography - and probably different social classes - with an impressive water feature. However, various parts were revised several times, and the final version was much less exciting. Large vacant plots were left undeveloped - eventually designated as woodlands only.

The feuing designs of other estates were also revised, though most of them were less spectacular than the above examples.

It is not possible to generalise about the reasons behind these revisions. To make the estates financially more

viable to their investors is most likely the main reason. Others could be caused by a change in the administrative side of the proprietors, resulting in a change of direction of feuing method. The economic situation of the local and national property market could also affect the timing of revisions, as most speculators would try their best to promote their property during the boom time of the market. Another possible reason would be based on the social ideology of suburban living, such as the preference for a villa over a terrace, or vice versa.

The results of these revisions are, however, intriguing in that they created the diverse suburban environment as known today. Indeed, without these revisions Glasgow might have lost its suburbs altogether in the face of financial crisis. Therefore the revisions were necessary to sustain the feuing development of the middle class suburbs, although that has been compromised to an extent by the encroachment of more utilitarian tenement blocks during its process.

4.2 Boundary and Access Problems:

During the early stages of suburban development, most of the estates were developed in isolation from the existing urban core. Therefore, most of the estates were laid out individually without much reference to their neighbours. As a result, the boundaries between neighbouring estates were not resolved in detail initially. This became an important

issue when accesses were required through neighbouring grounds to connect to main thoroughfares. In some cases the mutual boundary was transformed into a new public road, but in other cases new roads had to be sliced through two - and usually, rival - proprietors' land.

The usual step to overcome these problems was to rationalise the boundary with its neighbour under excambion (exchange of land) proposals. Areas for excambion were carefully calculated and prepared by land surveyors, with expensive valuations attached. A rationalised layout of buildings along the lines being "excambioned" was usually produced. In some cases where such excambion proposals were not carried out, the grid (or similar) layout could create peculiar half-finished urban blocks. Examples of these cases can be found in the previous section under the study of each individual estate. These unusual 'sawn-off' blocks had to wait until further acquisition of the neighbouring lands before they could be completed.

Regarding access to main roads, usually a joint effort was carried out by the adjoining proprietors to improve the frontage to it. In the West End, the Great Western Road was such an example of collaboration between rival proprietors to create an exclusive connection to the city centre. Others, though on a smaller scale, were also based on similar co-operation to allow new road networks to span two different estates.

By referring to the original plans of individual steadings, it is easy to see that none of the original boundaries and local accesses allowed for the proposed suburban development. Most estates, being agricultural land originally, had minimum access from the main roads. Therefore the feuing designs had to be laid out on new road networks to allow the feuing layouts to work. For example, in Kelvinside, the existing boundary of Balgray steading was completely revised to allow Montgomerie Crescent [Cleveden Crescent] and new access to Great Western Road to be built. The results, as also generally found in other situations, clearly resolved most of the access problems inherited from the original boundaries, as well as laying down the boundaries of the demarcation lines of the building blocks as intended by their developers.

4.3 The New Urban Crosses and Public Buildings:

The road networks and feuing designs were inseparable in the development of new suburbs. Most of the improved road networks took other main routes – such as Sandyford Road or Great Western Road – as their primary reference, and then offset to create parallel or orthogonal layouts. However, given that the original main routes had been set out at various angles initially, many interesting intersections – the urban crosses – were created by the new networks. Some of these crosses, such as St George's Cross and Charing Cross, were given special architectural treatment in line

with other similar urban crosses scattered around the city at that time. The variations of these routes also created a series of urban vistas in the newly formed suburbs, integrated with other urban elements such as monuments in landscaped settings.

The relationship of these crosses, vistas, and monuments with the original feuing design plans, however, needs further investigation.

By referring to most of the original feuing plans, only a handful of them indicate urban crosses. The most obvious one is Southpark (at St George's Cross) where a classical and monumental four-storey gateway – completed with a pair of facades based on classical orders – was proposed. A similar situation could also be found in St Vincent Crescent. However, other crosses as we know them nowadays were mainly developed during the later phase of suburban development. This later phase was predominantly four-storey tenemental, enabling the architects to model their designs – on a local basis – to give emphasis to urban crossings. Obviously, none of the tenements was apparent during the initial suburban developments – as most of the designs were based on villas or terraces layouts – and consequently very few of the feuing designs would have designated urban crosses.

A similar situation also applies to the location of the monuments and other public buildings. For example, the development plan between Sauchiehall Street and St Vincent Street only indicated the limits of the urban blocks. However, the final built version turned out to have one of the highest concentrations of churches and public buildings in the West End. On the other hand, whereas churches and other public buildings - if any - were designated on a feuing plan, their final locations were mostly likely to be different.

These *ad-hoc* circumstances were more common in most of the estates. For example, along the route of the Great Western Road - as evident from the 1913 Ordnance Survey - we notice a series of church spires punching the skyline (Fig.C.02). However, each church is located on a separate estate rather than planned on a collective basis.

Hence it is possible to conclude that most of the urban crosses and vistas (as a result of the location of churches and public buildings etc) were on a local basis, and bore little relationship to the original feuing plan. The appearance of these came only after the initial development had taken off, allowing sufficient demand for the institutional bodies, such as church-planting boards and school boards, to seek new locations in the West End and southside. This was then overlaid with the development of tenements, which were already rapidly filling in the gaps

between each isolated suburb, allowing the new institutions to be integrated and elaborated with these new urban types.

Obviously there were exceptions, such as the tenemental development of Hyndland (where the tenements intrinsically provided the architectural possibility of creating crosses on classical lines), the cluster of Trinity/ Park Church at Park Circus area, and the Dowanhill Church. For others, it was most likely a much later phase of the development process.

5. The External Influences on Development:

The development of Glasgow's suburbs was not an isolated case. In other large cities within Britain and indeed western Europe, urban expansion was taking place at a tremendous pace. As a consequence, architects and developers no longer worked in isolation, but under the constant influence of a much wider context. This external influence affected many aspects of speculative development, and it is evident from the final building form that by the 20th century Glasgow had achieved a certain degree of international standing by its new cityscape.

5.1 The Mode of Suburban Development:

Suburban development has been subjected to close examination by various scholars. In the introductory part of this study the literature regarding this aspect has been

reviewed. For example, Thompson has attempted to explain the rise of suburban development as a result of ideological aspiration⁶, while Pooley has cited segregation and various other socio-economic factors as the main driving forces⁷. All these background factors were present in most major cities from the late 18th century leading into the early 20th century.

As the socio-economic background of Glasgow was comparable to that of other major cities in the country, similar development for the segregated and exclusive new suburbs – the *rus in urbe* suburban model – was also proposed by the contemporary building speculators in Glasgow.

This may be confirmed by looking at early proposed feuing plans of Glasgow's suburbs:

- a) Kelvinside (1839) comprised isolated detached villas set in sumptuous landscaped grounds. Its accompanying vignettes depicted the austerity of the open wilderness with little hint of a man-made environment. Given that its designer was Decimus Burton, it is not unfair to compare this scheme with his part in the better known development of Regent's Park and the park villages, which carried the similar isolation of *rus in urbe* on a grand scale;

⁶ FML Thompson, "The Rise of Suburbia", Leicester University Press, Great Britain, 1982; also refer to the Introductory Part of this thesis.

⁷ C G Pooley, "Choice and Constraint in the 19th century: A Basis for Residential Differentiation", as in J Johnston & C Pooley (ed), "The Structure of the 19th century Cities", Croom Helm, London, 1982

- b) The early developed part of Hillhead (c.1820s) also consisted of detached villas laid out in a grid manner irrespective of the varying topography. Although not obvious on the feuing plan, these villas would also be likely to have similar landscaped settings as those in Kelvinside;
- c) Other feuing design plans such as Partickhill (1840), Northpark (1841), Bellahouston (1845), Pollokshields (1849), Langside (1853) and Queen's Park (1860), all consisted of detached villas found in similar English suburban developments. Some of them were set within further layers of landscaped areas, such as gardens and crescents, while others were shown in a more indicative manner.

The similarities to the English counterparts were apparently not only in the metaphor of the detached villa, but also in the "decorative" style applied to it. In some cases, various styles of proposed houses were available⁸, depriving them of the local identity of the city by putting them in an eclectic mixture of English and foreign designs such as "Elizabethan", "Tudor" or "Swiss Cottage".

Yet besides the collection of villa layouts, one could also find another different mode of suburban design. The terraces and tenements were not a progressive - nor

⁸ Local architects Boucher and Cousland prepared a handbook for various styles for their clients in Dowanhill and Pollokshields - refer to the study on Dowanhill estate.

regressive - development of the villas. They were widely adopted in the early 19th century in schemes such as Claremont and Southwoodside (1830), making their appearance again in Queen's Crescent (1840), and culminating in the magnificent terraces above Kelvingrove Park (1851). For other estates, terraces/ tenements were also part of the integral scheme. For example, Pollokshields, Dowanhill and Partickhill all had a major portion of grounds set aside for terraces or tenements, while Kelvinside and Langside had occasional terraces lining the major access.

Therefore the terraces - a rarity in a 19th century English suburban context - enjoyed equal status with the villas in the development of Glasgow. Not only were the terraces designed in comparable detail and luxury as the villas, they were also promoted by the developers with as much vigour as any other building type⁹.

On the other hand, tenements enjoyed a less prestigious status when compared to their counterparts. Only in a few cases, such as Beaumont Gate/ Dowanside Road area of Dowanhill, and St Vincent Crescent could one find tenement flats *par excellence*. However, while the English suburban mode continued to be dominated by the semi-detached and the detached villas right up to the 20th century, tenements had almost taken precedence in all developments from the late

⁹ The advertisements of most of the mixed developments did not distinguish the villas/ terrace division, while some estates, such as Kelvinside and Dowanhill, have the best terraced houses of the 19th century development of Glasgow.

19th century onwards in Glasgow, including major suburban developments. Hyndland, which started to develop in the late 19th century (1896), consisted entirely of tenements, yet attracted considerable interest and became one of the most popular middle class areas.

5.2 The Influence of the Designer and Architect:

As competition for suburban development was fierce in Glasgow, it was not uncommon to find eminent contemporary architects being employed by developers to design their estates to full advantage.

Among them the most notable one was Decimus Burton from London, who designed the layout of Kelvinside and Northpark. Burton brought with him the English style of *rus in urbe* – as discussed above – which was the socially approved building morphology for the middle class suburbs during the 19th century. Indeed, the combined area of the two estates Burton designed in Glasgow was most probably the largest commission he ever received, although very little of his scheme was eventually realised.

Nearer to the city were various architects from the Scottish capital, Edinburgh. For example, George Smith, David Bryce and David Rhind all left their personal marks in the Glasgow suburbs as well as in some inner city developments. In particular the terraced developments of Southwoodside by George Smith (in conjunction with John

Baird(I)'s design of its neighbouring Claremont Estate) became the symbolic gateway to the West End via Sauchiehall Street since the 1830s. His contribution also successfully established a different mode of suburban design – the terraces – which eventually became the most flamboyant building type during the Victorian development of Glasgow.

Rhind's involvement in Pollokshields was even more curious. His personal landmarks in Glasgow were limited to only a few commercial – though remarkable – buildings in the centre¹⁰, but his ambitious design for Pollokshields confirmed his skills in handling the different criteria for suburban housing. Rhind not only laid out the initial feuing design, but also continued to be advised of the feuing developments of the estate¹¹ – even when the factor had taken over the actual feuing.

The Corporation also jumped on the bandwagon by inviting Joseph Paxton to design their showcases of Kelvingrove Park and Queen's Park. Although records of Paxton's design for Kelvingrove Park are now lost – apart from several contemporary documents which describe his design – his other design plan for Queen's Park carries all the hallmarks of a skilful landscape designer, comparable with his other park designs in England. For the design of

¹⁰ David Rhind was the Architect for the Scott Monument in George Square, and the Commercial Bank building in Gordon Street. Refer to Gomme and Walker, "Architecture of Glasgow", Lund Humphries, London, 1987, p.296

¹¹ Letter from D Rhind to William Stirling Maxwell. 10 February 1851; Strathclyde Regional Archives. Ref: TPM 117/1/457

Queen's Park, he was also able to vary the design to suit local climates without compromising the quality of his skill¹².

Most other designs were produced by local architects. By the mid-19th century there was already established in Glasgow a distinct group of local architects, working on various projects from one-off houses to large urban schemes. Much of their work – and influence – has already been discussed by others¹³. Their skills and style had influence far beyond the confines of the commercial core of Glasgow. From the unsuccessful proposals for Dennistoun (James Salmon, 1854) to Great Western Terrace (Alexander 'Greek' Thomson, c.1867), and from the grand layout of mansion houses and terraces in Kelvinside Gardens (John Burnet, 1873) to the small miniaturised terraces in Strathbungo (Alexander 'Greek' Thomson, c.1860), a variety of personal styles was expressed through the morphology of urban design as well as individual house style.

The personal skill of an individual architect not only transformed the two-dimensional aspect of facade treatment, but also created three-dimensional qualities such as corner treatments, focal points and termination of vistas. Hence during the Victorian expansion and transformation in Glasgow, there was an unprecedented collection of rich

¹² He recommended a glazed promenade to give protection against the weather; refer to the study of Queen's Park.

¹³ Refer to Gomme and Walker, op cit.

urban details. Such details were not only applied to inner city buildings, but could also be seen in the suburbs west and south of the city, creating the rich architectural scenery as observed nowadays.

5.3 Economic Factors:

In all capitalist activities, the ultimate aim is for profit. The suburban development of Glasgow was no exception. Lands and property were being transacted with the main criterion of making profit. The details of economic constraints and profile on the building industry during the 19th century in Glasgow are not within the scope of this thesis. But in the process of research, such influences were obvious by examining the process of feuing developments.

One of the most obvious by-products of economic influence is the revision of the feuing design. As discussed before, the aspiring layouts of the new suburbs were in sharp contrast to the squalor of the existing inner city. However, most of them were forced to change direction or compromise for two reasons: the lack of demand for such housing, and, as a consequence, the need to sustain their speculative activities.

These changes were most likely related to events in the boom and bust cycles of the local economy, such as the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878, and many other

smaller incidents. All these had a profound influence on the building industry as a whole, as well as on individual house buyers. However, MA Simpson disagrees with this analysis.

Simpson – an economic historian by profession – paid particular attention to the economic factors of the development process of the suburbs in his research. After a detailed study of the 'steady' development of Kelvinside and other West End estates he concluded that:

It is likely, however, that the middle class-market was much less affected by cyclical swings and the consequent ebb and flow of capital and population.¹⁴

Nicholas Morgan, on the other hand, criticised Simpson's positive appraisal of the economic influence. He carried out detailed research of estate papers of Dowanhill – in which the original developer, TL Paterson, nearly died in poverty – and concluded that:

There was no dazzling success about Dowanhill – it was a financial disaster, which ruined Paterson and his family, and caused bankruptcy of several builders who worked on the estate....The financial failure was in part the result of Paterson's enduring belief in the desire of Glasgow's middle classes for homes in expensive, imposing, large, detached and terraced town houses, when both economic circumstances and changing tastes dictated otherwise.¹⁵

¹⁴ M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, op cit., p68.

¹⁵ N Morgan, op cit.

Indeed other investors quickly realised that their proposed schemes were fast becoming a financial liability, and moved on to revised schemes. Some, such as Bellahouston and Dennistoun, never took off along the original designs. Others, such as Kelvinside, took a few steps of self-indulgence, before reversing into something more practical in scale. All these were an obvious sign of financial pressure upon the developers who could not or would not gain their expected capital return based on their original proposals.

In a few cases, the developers were fortunate enough to seek out the right type of housing for potential buyers, and suffered financially less than their counterparts. Even then the timescale of the whole process would be considered as too long when compared with other types of investment – the average time from start to finish for a typical Glasgow suburban estate varied from 20 to 50 years, or more¹⁶. Financial pressure was always present for the majority of developers who were involved in the risky business of housing speculation.

6. The Internal Influences on Development:

¹⁶ The timescale was based on the observation of the production of feuing plan, to the completion of the development, although in most cases there were always lengthy gaps of non-activity, or change of hands in between.

Apart from external influences, certain other local conditions also affected the developments, and could be listed as follows:

- Transport and access;
- Railway development;
- Topographical and existing pattern of development.

6.1 Transport and Access:

By referring to Forrest's Map (Fig.C.03) and comparing that to the 1913 Ordnance Survey Map, it is possible to notice that the basic road network did not change significantly during the suburbanization process. Various country roads were retained and expanded, while additional thoroughfares were carved through open ground to enhance accessibility for the new suburbs. There is, however, an important difference between the West End and Southside: the former was developed on the entirely new access of Great Western Road, while the latter evolved along the existing Pollokshaws Road.

a) The Southside:

On the south side, Pollokshaws Road was the main thoroughfare between the city and any potential developments. Most of the middle class areas, such as Strathbungo, Crosshill, Langside and Queen's Park, all benefited from having direct access/ frontage to this main road. However, this road alone could not cope with the huge

population increase, and therefore other accesses were also developed in the same north-south direction.

The most ambitious one was the new access road of Victoria Road (1857), which was a collaborative effort of the Corporation, Hutchesons Hospital and the Dixon family. The original design shows a grand thoroughfare of great width and careful planning, although the final version was diminished to a typical access road lined with standard four-storey tenements instead of a tree-lined boulevard. It, however, fulfilled its function as an alternative to the much laden Pollokshaws Road, fostering feuing activities along its route.

Pollokshields and Dumbreck were developed on a different axis from the forenamed north-south direction.

Pollokshields ran east to west following the layout of ancient Nithsdale Road, with Dumbreck terminating on the west. Its main access to the city depended on only a few junctions near Eglinton Cross. Nevertheless, this limited access provided the necessary means for exclusivity, ensuring the villa developments were well secured from any undesirable encroachments.

The south side development thus was limited to a narrow band around Pollokshaws Road, with an offshoot to the west for Pollokshields and Dumbreck. Those estates, such as Bellahouston (1845) and others lying to the east of

Aitkenhead Road, did not develop into the designated middle class status, as they were not within this close-knit band.

b) The West End:

The very early urban expansion of the West End was a direct continuation of the westward development of the Blythwood Estate. This included the villas along St George's Road¹⁷ (1830s) and the later terraces south of Sandyford Road near Charing Cross (c.1850s). Therefore it is not surprising that they were developed along the line of existing Sandyford Road [Sauchiehall Street] and Anderson Road [Argyle Street], with grid divisions – though on less formal proportions – similar to those of the Blythwood Estate.

The main impetus of suburban expansion, however, came from the development of Great Western Road in the 1830s. Apart from providing a convenient and exclusive means for the inhabitants of the new estates to get into the city, it provided a new direction for suburban development. Instead of relying on the westward expansion between the city and Partick, the new road opened a completely new frontier towards the north-west, pointing away from any potential nuisance that might be associated with the industrial riverside.

¹⁷ Now all but one has been demolished.

There were a few attempts at suburban developments before the road was laid out, such as the grid layout of Hillhead and the villa design of Partickhill. However, the former was never developed on a grand scale, while the latter did not rely on Great Western Road for its prosperity.

Therefore it is appropriate to attribute the development of the West End to the establishment of Great Western Road.

Its main branch road, Byres Road, which was part of the development package, also provided an important access linking Great Western Road to Dumbarton Road and Argyle Street. Many estates enjoyed additional access from Byres Road, and therefore Byres Road eventually provided a 'heart' of commercial and cultural activities segregated from the traditional City Centre, further reinforcing the independent geographical status of the West End.

6.2 Railway Development and other Transport Means:

The impact of railway development on Glasgow – such as the huge termini at Grahamston (Central Station) and High Street – has been well documented by Kellett¹⁸.

The initial railway development catered for the transport of goods and, later, working class people between industrial workplaces and residential areas. Given that the main industrial sites in Glasgow were either in the east end, south side or Clydebank, the West End was very little

¹⁸ J R Kellett, "The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities", London, 1969.

affected by railway routes when suburban development first took place. None of the main lines was within the development area of Great Western Road, while branch lines did not appear until the latter half of the century. As the West End landowners had overwhelming control of all urban infrastructure, most of the latter branch lines were built at underground level to avoid damage to the built up areas.

Gradually during the later phases of the development of Glasgow, the railway became a socially acceptable means of transport for the middle classes. Probably this was determined by the ever-increasing encroachment of tenements – which were usually built for people of the lower classes – on to the middle class suburbs, and the improvement of carriage facilities. Hyndland estate flourished in this social change by having a local station on its edge, although the line itself was still well hidden outwith the estate.

A different story unfolded on the south side. After the first new towns south of the river were laid out, industrial development rapidly took place further south in the Dixon's estate. The development of Dixon's conglomerate of steel and coal industries went side by side with Port Eglinton with Paisley Canal. This canal was later replaced by the main railway line between Paisley and the South Terminus. Further railway interventions were created by links between Glasgow and England, forcing any potential

middle class developments to be planned to 'the south of the man-made barriers of canal and railway'¹⁹.

Therefore most of the southside middle class suburbs were developed on the east side of Pollokshaws Road and south of the Dixon's Blazes, avoiding the railway and industrial complexes. When later branch railway lines running east-west were cut through Crosshill, they were carried below road levels, not creating any substantial damage. The estates of Pollokshields and Dumbreck were deliberately designed to avoid the Paisley railway line on the north, and therefore provided a protected development without the nuisance of intrusion by the railway.

However, there is one exception. The proprietors of Bellahouston estate made no attempt to avoid the railway line: when a feuing layout was designed in 1845, its designer, Alexander Taylor, simply let the railway line bisect the estate. The result was a slow start with no taking up of feuing plots, and eventually the whole scheme was revised.

Other means of public transport in the suburbs were not well developed when the estates first appeared. This was probably an inherent fact of middle class areas, where inhabitants could afford private carriages without public

¹⁹ PA Reed, "Glasgow: The Forming of the City", Edinburgh University Press, 1993, p.77

means. Therefore while there were no designated garages or railway termini in the feuing design plans, stable accommodation ('offices') was built into almost every house, and was even used as a selling enticement for the estate.

However, small scale private omnibus operators were in existence on the main roads – such as Sauchiehall Street, Pollokshaws Road and Great Western Road. Indeed, the first omnibuses ran between the harbours on the river and on the canals, Broomielaw, Port Dundas and Port Eglinton²⁰. By the late 1840s, a horse-drawn bus terminus was already appearing at Royal Crescent (Fig.C.04), most likely serving along the main route of Sauchiehall Street to the city. The other main omnibus service was provided by J E Walker along Great Western Road from 1874. This service was subsidised by the proprietors of Kelvinside Estate, whose advertisement to potential house-seekers in 1850 stated that

".....the public may believe with confidence that full omnibus accommodation will be provided, so as to render a residence on these grounds in every way suitable"²¹

It is therefore not surprising that in 1859 Walker was more than happy to purchase the large parcel of north Kelvinside beyond the River Kelvin.

²⁰ C A Oakley, "The Second City: The Story of Glasgow", Blackie & Son, Glasgow 1990, p.122

²¹ Glasgow Herald 25 January 1850, as quoted in M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, op cit., pp.62

The majority of municipally owned transport, however, was only developed in the late 19th century when most of the small independent burghs were amalgamated with the city, together with more and more tenements taking over the remaining 'gap sites' between the estates. Although this later stage of urban expansion is outwith the scope of this thesis, it is not difficult to see that it was the tenements that eventually brought the isolated West End and southside suburbs together as a complete urban structure. Within this later development, the increasing demand for public transport finally motivated the municipality to step in and take over every aspect of transport matters. Trams, buses and railway lines were then extended and developed by the Corporation along the lines of the ever-increasing urban framework. However, topographical conditions and prevailing social status limited the services within the middle class areas: internal areas of large estates such as Kelvinside, Dowanhill, Partickhill, Pollokshields, and Langside were untouched by the intervention of bus and tram routes.

6.3 Topography and Existing pattern of development:

As discussed in the introductory section of this study, MA Simpson noted that most of the West End estates were built upon hills with unsurpassed scenery:

The West End in its natural state was full of beauty. It was based on several wooded drumlins

which raised it to heights of up to 200 feet above the Clyde, offering breathtaking prospects..... The elevation of the West End which helped to isolate it from its less fashionable neighbours also lifted it well above their smoke.²²

The topographical advantage of the West End, therefore, according to Simpson, resulted in an ideal recipe for segregated middle class developments.

As industrial conglomerations were gradually building up their premises upon level plains near the city centre, none of the riverside or east end steadings attracted attention from suburban developers. Some estate owners, such as those of Stobcross and Dennistoun, proposed prestigious designs based on the same successful conditions as other suburban estates, but they were either cut down to a much simpler version, or were altered altogether. Drumlins in the west and south – with emphasis on their tranquil and varied quality – were the favourite choices. For example, an advertisement by one of the builders in Kelvinside fully exploited such quality:

"The surface is varied, mostly elevated, commanding fine views, and securing good air..... embracing a view of the vale of Clyde and the valley of the Cart, skirted by the Braes o' Gleniffer and the bold outline of the Grampians..... the country between is undulating and beautifully wooded, presenting a landscape truly picturesque, seldom obtained in suburban dwellings."²³

²² M A Simpson & T H Lloyd, *op cit.*, pp.56-64

²³ Glasgow Herald, 31 January 1870 and 21 February 1870.

Together with the stringent feu restrictions, any other possible small-scale home-based industries were also denied existence on the backcourts of the grand houses. This helped to guarantee the socially exclusive suburbs as expected by their developers.

To further protect the social status of their estates, developers were also eager to prevent any possible encroachment by people from a lower economic stratum. For example, TL Paterson, the owner of Dowanhill, purchased nearby Donaldshill and part of Partickhill to give Dowanhill a much better frontage of controlled development, while Pollokshields West expanded into Dumbreck and South Pollokshields, resulting in the largest development of exclusive middle class villas in Glasgow. In other cases, it is not uncommon to find joint developments between different developers to provide a much larger unified control with its greater strength rather than trying to succeed on an individual basis. Therefore a successful small cluster of estates would almost guarantee another similar contiguous development, while those which struggled in isolation against the odds found themselves compromising to a great extent.

However, alien encroachment was hard to resist in some areas. Terraces along Sandyford Road near Charing Cross were rapidly absorbed into the ever expanding commercial core, while a large number of the blocks between Sandyford

Road [Sauchiehall Street] and St Vincent Street were occupied by commercial/ industrial operators by the late 19th century.

Similarly, estates which adjoined areas of a more industrial character were subject to the influx of lower class people sharing their facilities. For example, Nicholas Morgan through his research has concluded that the proximity of Partick to Dowanhill constantly caused disruption to the communal facilities of the salubrious suburb, resulting in some late developments of commodious houses proving unfeuable²⁴. Hillhead estate also lost its exclusive residential status with a gradual increase of commercial premises appearing among its more public routes. By the time Hyndland estate was laid out for feuing, shop usage was regarded as a possible alternative on the ground floor premises. East Pollokshields took advantage of its easy access to the City and many tenements were converted to ground floor shops with standard flats above in the latter decades of the 19th century. A similar development also resulted in Victoria Road, much altered from its original tranquil boulevard design. All these were indications of a gradual trend towards a diversified town affected by the influx of other social classes rather than an exclusive segregated suburb.

²⁴ N Morgan, *op cit.*

7. The Feuing Results of 19th century Glasgow

Suburbanization:

By comparing the 1913 Ordnance Survey (Fig.C.05) with the 1816 Forrest's Map (Fig.C.03), one can notice the obvious differences in terms of urban development during the course of the 19th century.

In the beginning (as evident on Forrest's Map, Fig.C.03), we see that the only urban – and organically spontaneous – 'spine' was between the Cathedral and Glasgow Cross. The rest of the city was still in its embryonic suburban stage. Peripheral areas, such as the 'Merchant City' and George Square, were just being developed, while country houses still dominated the vast ground towards the west and east. South of the River Clyde, new districts such as Lauriston, Hutchesontown and Kingston had just been planned, with sparsely occupied terraced houses. Everywhere else there was a general degree of remoteness and lack of cohesiveness. Yet within the loosely laid urban pattern, an extensive system of old country roads was already providing the links to towns and villages further afield.

The system of country roads became an important pre-determinant for urban development. By the time the 1913 Ordnance Survey was carried out (Fig.C.05), it is not difficult to observe that Glasgow had grown in the *direction* of its road system. Of course, there were further interventions on the primary system, such as the building

of Great Western Road and other detours, but basically the expanded and much elaborated road system formed the framework of new Glasgow which had emerged from its mediaeval core.

Therefore, the new urban framework was initiated by the isolated clusters of middle class suburbs dotted around the periphery of the city, and gradually integrated and amalgamated by the tenements. During this process, the old boundaries of individual estates disappeared, while a greater emphasis was on the uniformity of urban design. Red and yellow sandstone with dark slate roofs became the building norm, with buildings not more than four storeys high in most cases. Yet within this unified urban setting, one could also find a great amount of variation. For example, high above the West End Park are the magnificent terraces of Park Circus, while secretly hidden are the massive villas of Dowanhill. Similar variations could also be found on the South Side, although on a less dramatic scale.

These variations of building types were made possible by a new set of urban design rules based on the social consensus of a middle class character, powered by the advancement of architectural ideology. Contrary to the classical approach to urban design of their Georgian counterparts, Victorian architects were much more flamboyant in style. Continental models such as broad boulevards were widely adopted in the

planning of important accesses, while the grouping of buildings was no longer confined to orthogonal settings. Therefore, although the majority of Glasgow was built on the *iron-grid* principle – hence the 'grid' city of Glasgow – there were numerous clusters of crescents, circuses, public parks, small private gardens with *jets d'eau*, together with long runs of service road *cum* private front gardens lining most west end terraces.

Despite these variations, the whole emphasis was still on urban continuity. By examining the 1913 Ordnance Survey, one can hardly distinguish the original demarcations of individual estates. It is therefore surprising to find that the privately initiated business of property speculation, with cut-throat competition and uncertain profit-loss over an extraordinary number of years (refer to the previous section of the discussions of individual estates), resulted in such a unified cityscape.

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