

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

'Slum and suburb in nineteenth-century Gorbals; a small-scale study of  
socio-residential change'

John Greive Robb

Department of Geography

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To Laurence.

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Glesca's a gless whaur Magdalene's  
Discovered in a million crimes.  
Christ comes again - wheesht, whatna bairn  
In backlands cries betimes?

McDiarmid (1972), 90.

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## ABSTRACT

During the nineteenth century the rapid growth of towns and the application of urban factory production may have coincided with important increases in the scale of social segregation. This study examines the development of the Gorbals district of Glasgow in that light. By the early and middle decades of the present century, Gorbals had become the archetypal slum. Yet, contrasts survived in architecture and historical records which pointed to a varied, small-scale social topography in the previous century.

Change and growth in the nineteenth century social and residential structure were measured using city directory and census data on households, together with a mass of contemporary observation in local records, maps and pictures. The results point to a persistent middle class presence down to the closing decade of the century, especially in the district laid out about 1800 as a suburb. Nearby working-class housing was not the result of 'filtering' as much as lax planning at the original land transfer. As the century progressed more rather than less small-scale social mixing became evident, partly due to an early inner-city redevelopment scheme. However, new housing took on a mixed social and structural profile on the periphery, probably as developers responded to perceived market preferences.

The continuity of small-scale social and residential patterns was an important feature throughout the century. As new extensions to streets appeared, they often assumed the social characteristics of the existing sections. The resistance or inertia of the Gorbals bourgeoisie in the face of nearby working-class residence (commonly, within the same tenement) may be seen in the context of Scottish and continental urban tradition. It is possible that the residential heterogeneity found in 'pre-industrial' Edinburgh and Paris survived in part near the centre of industrial Glasgow.



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION.

Over the last fifteen years, historical-urban geography has seen a considerable increase in the number of studies of Victorian towns. This has recently resulted in the publication of an issue of IBG Transactions entirely devoted to 'The Victorian city'. In the introduction to that volume, Dennis (1979) observed that attention was most commonly focussed on the residential areas of Victorian towns and cities.

Though the reasons for this have a lot to do with the ready availability of socio-residential data for the period, Dennis made the point that there has been great interest in the testing of existing developmental or evolutionary hypotheses on urban social space. In recent years, studies have looked into the origins and development of present day urban-social formations; contrasts between inner-city and suburb, sectoral differentiation in status perception, environment and land value and the trends of segregation and dispersal amongst migrant groups.

The physical background to nineteenth-century urban social patterning was often that of rapid urban growth and industrialisation. Within this framework, the spatial relationships of groups and individuals changed under a complex array of influences; migration, the supply of housing, employment, journey to work, transport and urban services.

Much of the technique and theory employed in recent evolutionary and historical investigation had been the subject of earlier interest in the specification of modern urban functions. Postwar urban geography embraced ideas from urban sociology and ecology in attempts at defining or demarcating social space in cities. The survival and development of certain features of prewar geography (interest in regions and the 'spirit of place') may be identified in the urban studies of the 'fifties and 'sixties. The definition of links between function and form coincided with a move away from surveys of retail capacity and house-type to concern

for broader urban problems which transcended the older terms of reference. Chapter 2 of this study outlines the more important practical and theoretical themes which have contributed to the study of social patterning in Victorian cities.

Interest in the spatial relations between social groups in urban areas has not been confined to academic circles. Indeed, during the rise of the great industrial cities in Britain many clergymen, administrators and literary figures voiced anxieties about the speed and scale of residential segregation. A recurring image in Victorian literature that has found reflection in recent academic thought is that of a progressive separation in urban space and residential structure between social status or class groupings.

The origins and progress of this development have been comprehensively surveyed by Vance (1977) in the case of seventeenth and eighteenth century London. Vance examined the reasons behind the growing social and economic contrasts between the City of London, and what he called 'the world of the West End'. These he summarised as;

- a) the absorption of continental tastes in architecture, planning and residential exclusiveness by the English urban aristocracy, at progressively greater scales,
- b) the aristocratic perception of the City of London as a 'curious place' devoted to trade, an unfashionable means of wealth-creation,
- c) the gulf between the interests of land and capital, high culture and vernacular tradition, leisure and work, which spelt for Vance the failure of English urbanism.

The values of a landed elite were to be adopted by the growing urban middle class during the nineteenth century, influencing land values, environmental quality, obsolescence and renewal. In London, the contrasts between suburb and slum have been most thoroughly explored (e.g. Dyos, 1961; Dyos and Reeder, 1973; Wohl, 1977). London was a great city before the industrial revolution; its society arguably more segmented than the new industrial centres of the north, virtually divided, as Engels (1845) thought, between masters and men.

The body of models and theory developed by Engels and subsequent observers of social and urban evolution (e.g. Weber, 1930; Sjoberg, 1960; Harvey, 1973) has provided many of the hypotheses tested in empirical studies of nineteenth-century cities. One of the most important characteristics of these validation exercises has been the pursuit of ever greater degrees of statistical accuracy, objectivity and abstraction. It is argued that this feature has resulted in the loss of certain qualities in the data, hypotheses and conclusions. Johnson (1980) has alluded to the recent disenchantment amongst geographers with 'the sterile aridity of factorial ecology' arising from the unsatisfactory and 'pretentious theory built around social area analysis'. (17) Geography, it seems, fell into a quantitative thrall from which it has only recently begun to emerge. Historical geography, with a particularly conservative spirit, was even slower to adapt numerical analysis as part of its methodology. Indeed, as Dennis (1979) noted, there has been a lag between historical and contemporary urban-social study in terms of theory and method. He compared the concerns of the ten papers in the IBG volume, 'The Victorian city', with those of modern urban geography;

"An interest in social areas, ecological correlations and evolutionary models predominates, despite their fall from grace in studies of more recent periods". (127)

Certainly, much of value has emerged from the factorial ecologies of British and North American towns in the last century. Yet the results produced from, of necessity, restricted data bases, were peculiarly influenced by modern techniques. The methodologies stemmed from modern questionnaire analysis and computer data processing. Results were generated in the form of abstract, large-scale numerical solutions, the interpretation of which opened new areas of subjectivity. Seldom have the records survived in forms ideally suited to modern survey techniques. The breadth of information available to modern sample population surveys far exceeds that available from comparable Victorian records. In many clinical studies of nineteenth-century urbanization, unstandardised, incomplete or inappropriate information could only be incorporated as historical introductions. Not surprisingly, difficulties often arose in relating relatively minor though rigorously tested

hypotheses to large-scale models and theory.

This study of Gorbals during the nineteenth century aims (to paraphrase Professor Bird) at a small spatial target with a relatively far-flung arrow of time. This arrow has sought out various scales at which residential and social compositional changes are observed. Though the study is centred on unpublished census returns, the chosen numerical indicators are placed in a wider research perspective, which may be described as 'spatial urban history'. A small, well-defined historical area may become intimately familiar to the assiduous student. It is more difficult to assimilate a town or entire city through the medium of historical documents and their cartographic representations.

One of the themes of this study is the tracing of continuity, persistence and precedent. Whereas recent urban work (historical and geographical) has stressed change in social and physical character, the more stable or less dynamic aspects are in need of renewed scrutiny. Accordingly, the entire nineteenth century was chosen as a study period, with developments sketched in previous centuries, where relevant. The limits of analytically self-contained bodies of data were therefore crossed. Most recent studies which have emphasised ecological correlations were bound to a narrow band of dates because of data availability and the standards required by the techniques. A longer historical sweep is considered necessary in this study of social and residential change, treating different types of data with less emphasis on standardisation.

No account of changes in social patterning can proceed until the nature of the society in question has been examined. It is curious how little debate upon the nature of social stratification in Victorian Britain is found in studies of socio-spatial development. Most have shown an uncritical acceptance of relatively arbitrary and possibly anachronistic status gradings as the defining criteria. Chapter 3 of this study looks at contrasting classifications and typologies, and suggests a definition which transcends simple occupational status.

For the city directory survey in Chapter 8, detail on occupation is backed by information on workplace-residence separation, which is judged an important indicator of early and mid-nineteenth century middle-class sophistication. In the subsequent census analysis (from Chapter 9),

the demarcation of manual from non-manual workers, and servant and employee frequencies, are employed with occupational information, in the manner suggested by Royle (1977). Concentrating as much as the record will allow on control of capital, labour or professional skill, this formulation avoids wide middle-status categories. The resulting classification bears resemblance to a social class interpretation, in many ways the neglected alternative in geographical studies.

Though Dennis (1979) questioned whether ordinary Victorians saw their society in terms of class, the value of such an analysis has been appreciated by social historians and other scholars, then and now. The implications of residential segregation for the development of class consciousness, or vice versa, have not been systematically examined. It might be argued that close spatial association between the classes helped forge consciousness; a solidarity based upon familiarity with 'how the other half lived'. Alternatively, separated communities may have fostered inter-class ignorance and distrust, as implied by Engels (1845). Class relations, in the residential sector, subsumed the tenant-landlord relationship, analogous in many respects to the worker-capitalist relationship in industry. The 'generalization' of the housing market (Vance, 1967) presented opportunities for petty entrepreneurs, independent of industrial capital, to invest in working-class housing. Thus, the residential community continued as an area where class interests were articulated, though separated, during the nineteenth century, from the labour market.

Between the initial abandonment of paternalistic interest in the working-class and the large-scale segregation of suburb and slum, there may have been a variable process of residential distancing. The identification of any such trend in the residential fabric of the Gorbals area is a major theme of this study.

The time-span of the nineteenth century and the extent of the study area were chosen by virtue of several prominent events and boundaries. 1800 was more than a convenient début de siècle; from that year, urban growth of a new type began to penetrate south of the River Clyde. The old and obstinate Baronial scene then began to change rapidly. The wider urban context saw a change in emphasis from craft and mercantile to industrial

production. Sjoberg's (1960) term 'pre-industrial' has some general relevance in describing the social and economic environment of Gorbals and Glasgow before 1800. The existence of 'relict' pre-industrial features (domestic production, building types and the 'occupational household') in Gorbals after 1800 underlined aspects of the social topography.

The vernacular domestic building form of nineteenth-century urban Scotland was the tenement. This high-density house-type was favoured by a relatively wide cross section of society, particularly in Glasgow. Whereas in England and Wales, multi-storey occupancy was associated more with the social and physical decline of once self-contained houses (until the latter decades of the century), the purpose-built middle-class tenement has a long tradition in Scotland. Multi-storey residential structures developed during the nineteenth-century in North America, and many European cities were built up in a similar style. The implications of socio-spatial change in a tenement context have been neglected, as has the potential for comparison abroad.

This study, of necessity, is largely one of reconstruction. Instead of rigorous hypothesis-testing, a set of general statements are introduced (in Chapter 2) from which the reconstruction takes direction. From this process, a series of observations are detailed in Chapters 8 to 12. The local history of Gorbals has proved worthy of reinterpretation in the light of the detailed findings, and the conclusion attempts to differentiate, by degrees, those specifically local findings from observations of wider potential.

In this context, Briggs (1963) hinted at a possible area for generalisation;

"Over far shorter periods of time than it took to convert elegance into squalor, once isolated villages were drawn into the unbroken territory of near-by cities. Burmantofts, near Leeds, once a 'place of pleasantness' was absorbed into Leeds by 1851 and 'associated with Quarry Hill, one of the most insalubrious districts of the town'. Yet Quarry Hill itself had once been a spa". (27)

It may have been that the common association by townspeople of quite separate peripheral localities invested the more pleasant with the reputation of the more infamous. Thus, their socio-environmental convergence was promoted. This study adopts a social rather than a perceptual stance, but notwithstanding the obvious difficulties envisaged, some insights into contemporary cognition in the study area were attempted.

The methodology followed in this study was in conscious reaction to 'ahistorical' or out-of-context experimentation in urban historical geography. The result is possibly more of a mongrel than the marriage of modern methodologies to historical material, but the balance has been made to rest more emphatically with the spirit of the times, and indeed, with the spirit of place.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION; AN OVERVIEW.

#### a. Urban social patterning: Theory and Development.

One of the fundamental socio-spatial changes implicit in theories of industrial urbanization is a tendency towards residential differentiation. It is generally agreed that social groups became segregated one from the other, and that a separation of home and workplace was achieved by many, though working-class housing and workplaces generally remained close together. The urban explosion of Victorian Britain has, in terms of social space, been characterised by the rise of the largely middle-class suburb and a parallel social and physical decline of the older inner city.

Dyos and Reeder (1973) capture the extremes of this process in considering the relations of London's slums and suburbs,

"....it is here that urban society most visibly diverged. Centrifugal forces drew the rich into the airy suburbs; centripetal ones held the poor in the airless slums. But the compelling pressures of expansion caused ripples of obsolescence, which overtook places once dancing with buttercups and left them stale as cabbage stalks. Suburbs begat or became slums, rarely if ever the reverse, and the two never coalesced.  
 .....The fact of the suburb influenced the development of the slum; the threat of the slum entered the consciousness of the suburb". (360)

The close relationship between the growth of nineteenth-century suburbs and the growth of an urban middle-class was elsewhere noted by Dyos (1961). The association between older central districts and lower status populations - the 'labouring classes', 'the poor' and 'the vicious' in nineteenth-century terms - was a commonplace. The elucidation of the processes and patterns associated with this



separation has been the subject of much theoretical speculation.

Towns and cities have always incorporated social contrasts, between citizen and slave, rich and poor (Burke, 1975). With the changes in social and economic structure which occurred prior to, during and after the industrial revolution, changes in societal scale and their spatial expression have been hypothesised. The chronology was seldom explicit, but many models and theories imply that a close association between high and low status groups eventually gave way to a clear spatial distinction, remarked upon by Engels (1845) of Manchester.

Sjoberg (1960) suggested a model set of traditional, or pre-modern, urban characteristics which he claimed found reflection in contemporary Third World and in historical European cities. The pivot of change, to Sjoberg, was technological advance - the industrial revolution. The pre-industrial city in the west was a 'walking city', compact and structurally heterogeneous. The urban elite lived close to its centre, and the majority of its population were divided into quarters whose basis was ethnicity or occupation rather than social status. Production was domestic in scale; craftsmen and tradesmen combined production and retail functions. Both employers and employees lived near to or at their workplaces.

The model industrial city, on the other hand, incorporated new transport technologies which encouraged the spatial distancing of socially differing groups, longer journeys-to-work and the specialization of urban land use into the familiar pattern described by the Chicago ecologists (e.g. Park, 1925).

Burke (1975) in a critique of Sjoberg's model, wrote that,

"....the city is an obvious and splendidly tangible unit of comparison, and it is not surprising that the term 'pre-industrial city' is passing into general use". (13)

Burke went on to refute, or heavily qualify, Sjoberg's construct in terms of examples of cities in Europe which displayed particular 'industrial' features since the Renaissance. He cautioned the

reader on confusing city size differences with evolutionary stages, confusing rural-urban contrasts with pre-industrial - industrial distinctions, and so on. Warnes (1973) claimed that Sjoberg's main interest was in the feudal town, yet some of his ideas applied to the nineteenth-century town because of the similar limitations on spatial mobility which prevailed.

The theme of the evolution of urban-social patterns was adopted by Vance (1967) in the context of working-class housing. He wrote,

"Residential land use has been mapped and measured, tallied and described, but not put in a genetic frame through which we might hope to understand both origin and transformation". (95)

Vance contrasted early industrial towns, where the philanthropy of the master housed the workers, or where accommodation was an article in the workers' payment, and a 'second generation' of 'generalized' housing in cities open to a factory proletariat with a household employment network not necessarily dependent on the head's workplace.

"The trend in urban structure was from the specific tie, (between work and home) with a set urban housing pattern, to a generalized tie, with a housing pattern largely conditioned by the operation of a separate business activity that was the housing market". (125)

Vance (1971, 1977) further developed the concept of the 'generalization of housing'. In the medieval town, society was organized largely into 'occupational households', wherein housing was gained directly through employment.

"Such an occupational unit led physically to a vertically stratified urban geography. The shop, either for selling or for manufacturing, normally occupied the ground floor. Above it came the one or two rooms occupied by the master and his immediate family, with the upper storeys given over to the apprentices and journeymen....". (1971; 106)

The breakdown of this social organization came with the introduction of economic competition and the realization of profit from land owned privately rather than held, either by inputting an improvement in 'location' (a district's perceived social quality) or enhancing direct rent paying ability (through multiple tenancies).

"Both of these changes made startling shifts in land assignment practices and in the morphology of the city".  
(Vance, 1971; 108)

The principle of highest economic use (according to Vance's formulation) ensured that employers and owners relocated their families peripherally in order to turn the central 'occupational household' unit over to lock-up shops and tenancies. With the decreased reliance of manufacturing industry on water power, industrial capitalists could abdicate their responsibilities towards housing their workers in relatively remote areas, and relinquish them to generalized urban housing markets (Vance, 1977; 306).

A major problem with constructs of this sort was imprecise chronology. A fixed medieval 'ideal type' situation was compared to changes and results in landholding which may have occurred in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, and industrial changes which occurred largely in the nineteenth. In respect of overall ideology, Weber (1930) argued that the most important changes occurred at the Reformation, with the relaxation of religious opposition to usury and the rise of theological arguments for capital accumulation.

In Vance's terms, the result was a transformation from ascribed status and vertical urban social segregation, to socio-economic class and horizontally-expressed segregation.

In posing the question, Victorian cities; how modern?, Ward (1975) brought some of the trends noted above into the chronological context of the nineteenth century. He noted evidence,

"....which suggests that both the kind and level of residential and social segregation in those cities which had attained a substantial size by the early and mid-nineteenth century were somewhat different than those displayed by the same cities at the turn of the century".  
(137)

The North American literature suggested to Ward that social, ethnic and occupational differentiation was at a small scale in the middle nineteenth century, "with blocks rather than districts as the units of social or ethnic homogeneity" (138) in some cases. Further,

"....it is possible that some residential patterns long established prior to the industrial revolution persisted and grew within the emerging modern arrangements of people and activities. Weak levels or small scale patterns of residential differentiation may indeed record the "transitional" character of nineteenth-century society, for the ambiguous spatial configuration of social groups contrasted not only with arrangements described as 'modern' but also with what have variously been described as 'pre-modern' or 'pre-industrial' social geographic patterns". (138)

Ward's observations generally reflected those of North American researchers such as Goheen (1970) who uncovered close social mixing in mid-nineteenth century Toronto - streets of professionals backed by alleys of labourers. Goheen wrote ,

"The pattern of segregation appears to have been finely detailed and to have been responsive to variations in prestige attached to very precisely defined sites".  
(85)

Ward argued that the craft-workshop scale of production, with its concomitant small-scale social mixing, continued to be of importance in nineteenth-century 'industrial' cities, such as Birmingham. Ward concluded that,

"....it is likely that only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century did socially mobile people move in substantial numbers to exclusively residential additions to the city (consequent upon the development of mass transportation)" (145), and later, "The kind and level of residential differentiation within Victorian cities displayed the 'transitional' attributes that marked so many aspects of the age and only late in the nineteenth century would the appellation 'modern' be appropriate to describe the social geography of nineteenth-century cities". (151)

Cannadine (1977) has criticised many of Ward's (1975) assessments from a historian's viewpoint, noting the important differences between contemporaneous towns. The 'walking city' survived the coming of the tram in the cases of York, Exeter and Lincoln, and distinct district-scale social patterning developed before mass transport. Cannadine claimed that the differences between American and British urban development - in terms of the legal background and the chronology of industrialization - were underplayed by Ward. Indeed Cannadine's (1977) study of Victorian Edgbaston demonstrated the possibility that the late nineteenth century urban transport revolution may have ended British suburban exclusiveness, based upon household covenants and careful estate development control. In Edgbaston, the landlord's vigour and the strong corporate identity of the tenants ensured segregation for the 'Beacon Hill' of Birmingham' for half a century.

"Ultimately, public transport and the lower orders prevailed and segregation and cooperation were replaced by conflict and departure". (Cannadine, 1977; 482)

Even so, the idea that small-scale patterns of differentiation - Ward's 'transitional social geography' - underwent enlargement during the nineteenth century is a compelling one. Dennis (1975) suggested that a change in the scale of social homogeneity between court and whole district occurred during the nineteenth century in Huddersfield. Warnes (1973) allowed that this evolution in

industrial towns owed as much to improvements in transportation as to the change in the scale of industrial production,

"The longer an industrial site had been established, the closer were the locations of residences of its employees".  
(Warnes, 1969; 212)

and subsequently,

"As the prevalence of domestic occupations ended and the size and range of other employing units increased, adjustments to the residential structure of the town were taking place. These adjustments owed nothing to improvements in internal mobility."  
(1973; 186)

Warnes (1973) concluded that although the workplaces continued as the critical residence location influence, there was an increase in the scale of differentiation since 1816.

A number of interrelated themes have been identified amongst this diverse literature. The specification of periods and places and types of urban-social development in empirical studies has generated a considerable variety of perspectives, often awkwardly related to Ward's general observations. The importance of cultural and legal contexts as varying factors has been highlighted, as has settlement size and the nature and size of 'pre-industrial' development.

Two important implications for city district studies emerged. Firstly, the dangers of a blinkered evaluation of a particular district-scale process, and secondly, the need for social definition in the specification of the degree of residential exclusiveness. The decline of one suburban district such as Edgbaston cannot be taken as evidence of a general loss of residential exclusiveness. Other, more or less exclusive suburbs may have arisen elsewhere, and the character of 'exclusiveness' cannot be expected to remain static amidst a constantly evolving society.

b. The contribution of multivariate analyses.

The most popular methodology adopted in the urban geography of Victorian towns and cities has been the ecological analysis of whole settlements by means of principal components analysis or its more sophisticated derivatives. The methodology, and its rationale, were rooted in postwar American sociological enquiry (Shevky and Williams, 1949; Shevky and Bell, 1955) which sought to define the leading divisions of urban society.

'Social Area Analysis', the early deductive approach, presumed three independent dimensions grew out of changes in 'social scale' consequent on industrial urbanization;

- 1) Socio-economic status, or 'social rank'.
- 2) Family status and life-style, or 'urbanization'.
- 3) Geographic mobility and minority groups, or 'segregation'.

Johnston (1971) wrote,

"Whether these three separate dimensions exist, and are the only ones within society, has not been fully tested. A theory of social change was used as an axiom for developing a method of studying social areas, and while the latter aspect has proven correct to a large degree, its linkage with the theory has not been satisfactorily displayed". (24)

Generally, studies of modern, large American cities have demonstrated that social and demographic measures used to represent the three dimensions will allow the definition of 'social areas'. The populations of these areas displayed characteristic proportions of each measure in aggregate, (e.g. van Arsdol, Camilleri and Schmid, 1958). Studies of non-American cities, particularly by McElrath (1962) and Abu Lughod (1969), suggested that the independence of the dimensions, particularly socio-economic status and family status, might be a function of economic development and city size.

The question of the evolution of urban-social dimensions was taken up by practitioners of the new generation of multivariate statistics made feasible by increases in the capacity and speed of computers in the 1960's. Partly because of the quality and availability of the data (see Ch.4.) mid-nineteenth century towns and cities became popular subjects for analysis.\* Throughout such studies, the links between social areas and individual behaviour commonly arose as a concern, particularly in the contexts of the 'natural area', community and neighbourhood ideas.

The theoretical background to deductive 'Social Area Analysis' was largely discarded in favour of an inductive approach, without a priori assumptions of increasing social scale or the three named independent dimensions. The multivariate procedures, commonly facilitated by package computer routines as in Nie, Hull et al (1975), involved the construction of analytical variables relating to individual 'cases' (commonly households) from census, valuation and other sources. As most of such studies sought to identify 'social areas', or socio-demographically distinctive districts within the city framework, a wide and varied variable range was pursued. Underlying divisions were thus fully represented, rather than limiting the measures to deductively-defined categories.

For instance, Dennis (1975) developed 17 derived variables, reflecting status, sex ratios, fertility, ethnicity, distance and intimacy and Warnes (1969, 1973) constructed 21 variables, representing demographic, ethnic, social status, occupation and valuation characteristics. Warnes admitted that the nature of the source used (the census) ensured the relative abundance of occupational variables at the expense of demographic and housing measures.

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\* Examples include: Warnes (1969), Goheen (1970), Tansey (1973), Dennis (1975), Lamont (1976), Lawton and Pooley (1975a) and Shaw (1977, 1979).



Similarly in a 'dynamic factorial ecology' of census material pertaining to central Glasgow, Lamont (1976) elected to process three working categories of three or four variables, labelled demographic, social status and migration characteristics. Shaw (1977) extracted 26 variables, in five working categories - socio-economic status, family status, ethnic status, household complexity and occupation - again, from the Victorian census.

The internal linkages within the data were commonly explored by multiple correlation procedures, and the variables loaded on to artificial axes, or components, for each of the analytic units used. Customarily, enumeration districts or grid squares formed the fundamental units of analysis. The interpretation of each component (accounting for decreasing proportions of the total variance in turn) depended upon the negative or positive weight each variable in the matrix loaded upon it.

Though these studies addressed a number of hypotheses centred loosely around the question of social and spatial change in scale and character in mid to late nineteenth-century towns and cities, they shared a common methodological framework. Apart from Warnes (1969, 1973) they embraced whole settlements by means of sampling, "...imperative, to use the data to their full extent" (Lamont, 1976, 66), and often portrayed mapped results in terms of enumeration district or grid square units and their aggregates.

The multivariate nature of socio-spatial differentiation was not here challenged; this study's aims and requirements were different from those of factorial ecology. Such studies have demonstrated the importance of variables loading on socio-economic status dimensions (however defined), and the relative weakness and dependency of the life-style or 'urbanization' components in mid to late Victorian urban society. The links between measures of overcrowding, low status and ethnicity, for instance, have been explored at a macro-scale, yielding indications of separate spatial identities for distinct combinations of suchlike elements. Shaw (1977) identified different characteristics for low-status areas around central Wolverhampton in the 1850's to 1870's, and (1979)

related them to housing and environmental conditions. Lamont (1976) attempted to portray change rather than pattern, by manipulating the differences between 1871 and 1891 census variables, rather than the two separate sets, in a complex factorial ecology exercise incorporating canonical correlation techniques to investigate the relationships between the 'dynamic pattern' and population change measures. Shaw (1977) attempted a dynamic perspective by comparing principal component axes for different censuses by means of congruence coefficients.

Holmes (1977) questioned the applicability of sophisticated multivariate dimension-extraction routines to Victorian data, a doubt expressed as early as 1973 by Gittus (in Lawton and Pooley, 1973; 30). The interpretation of components from factor loadings may be as intuitive as the choice of 'diagnostic variables' in the description of patterns and trends. In addition, the dependence on variables drawn from census, valuation and similar sources was a drawback to a family of techniques which have grown out of the requirements of modern social survey methodologies. Necessarily, the lacunae within the sources, and their inherent emphases, tend to predispose the statistical outcome; information on occupation, family structure and ethnic background tend to be generally more plentiful, at the expense of life-style, migration, income, education, workplace, domestic infrastructure and rent information generally available from contemporary questionnaire and census abstract-based surveys (e.g. Brindley and Raine, 1979). In avowedly inductive research of this type, the predisposition of the data is a serious handicap in terms of objectivity.

In tracing the connections between the expansion of socially homogeneous suburbs, the social and environmental decline of central areas, demographic imbalances and ethnic concentrations, the factorial ecologies have served well as powerful descriptive tools. At the scale of the city district, patterns, though seldom precise, reveal edifying impressions of sociospatial differentiation. Moreover, where temporal comparisons have been made, the maps and factor loadings reveal salient trends in the evolution of urban

social space, highlighting important influences, such as building chronology and environment (Shaw, 1977) or the effects of central slum clearance (Lamont, 1976).

In terms of connecting the evolution of the scales of socio-spatial differentiation, factorial ecology as practiced, can do little more than hint. Holmes (1977) stated that the sampling framework commonly adopted (10 or 20 per cent systematic samples) may have confidence limits wider than sought-after variations themselves. In the context of mid-century Ramsgate, Holmes cited the case of the abnormal number of 60 persons born in Devon, a feature which might have been reduced to 6 in a 10 per cent sample. Certainly, sampling made inter-household, even inter-street and inter-tenement comparisons impossible.

Sampled household data was commonly coded in terms of 200-metre grid square frameworks, as the changing geometries of the enumeration districts made their use problematic. Lawton and Pooley (1973) illustrated the discrepancies possible between ED aggregates and patterns presented at street level. They go on to warn that the size and placement of superimposed grids may similarly have obscured underlying patterns. Carter and Wheatley (undated, 1978) experimented with ED and grid square analytic units, favouring the latter as few EDs followed 'natural' boundaries in Merthyr Tydfil, except the River Taff, and equal-sized units were statistically more rigorous.

Most factorial ecologies, bent on maximising the breadth of information available on each household case for the purpose of multivariate analysis, sacrificed other important qualities of the nineteenth-century data, such as the availability of census information for nearly all the population. Modern numerical analyses developed to infer population characteristics from contemporary sample surveys were deemed unnecessary where blanket coverage was possible.

c. Town Studies.

The small company town of mid-nineteenth century Goole afforded Porteous (1969) an opportunity to use census and company records in reconstructing a house-scale ecology. The inspection of computer-mapped distributions of selected diagnostics (lodgers, servants, apprentices, social status, multiple occupance, building height and non-residential land uses) in addition to a simple correlation matrix "...reveals the existence of a definite tendency towards the segregation of social classes within the new town". (38) An intense pattern of variation in terms of interdigitating social, land-use and house-type parameters emerged in Goole, within an area roughly 200 metres on a side.

Holmes (1977) deliberately eschewed sampling so as to identify as clearly as possible differentiation at a small scale in nineteenth-century Ramsgate. During the period of study, 1851-71, the population of the town grew from 11,000 to 14,000. In order that a computer-graphics package could be used to portray distributions, Holmes adopted a three-hectare grid-square framework. In so doing, squares with less than ten households were discarded, as random factors might have introduced extreme values. Holmes admitted that this process of aggregation and elimination tended to obscure inferred small low-status enclaves. A street-level correlation analysis did reveal a degree of status intermixture "... highly unusual by today's standards". (313)

Carter and Wheatley's (1977) painstaking small-scale study of Aberystwyth between 1851 and 1871 revealed district-level differences and degrees of variation within districts; low social status households characterised pockets of court and back-to-back dwellings in the old town, in addition to a more general prevalence in the "early and characteristic bridgehead suburb" of Trefechan and other outlying places.(50)

These studies were based on small to medium sized towns. Aberystwyth's 1851 population numbered less than half that of Gorbals Parish alone; one-seventh of the total Gorbals Study Area at that

date. Carter and Wheatley (1977, 1979) were intent on investigating the extent to which city ecological patterns were reflected in the town, where the relationship of physical to social factors may be more closely examined in detail. In view of the town-size factor noted by Burke (1975) in his criticism of Sjoberg (1960), it was considered appropriate to extend the small-scale blanket approach into city studies. In line with Burke's (1973b) comments on individual research strategies, an urban sector or segment may provide the optimum area for detailed city analysis. Carter and Wheatley (1980) delved beneath the grid-square scale of analysis in Merthyr Tydfil (Carter and Wheatley, 1978) to demonstrate the distinct clustering of like-status cases within individual grid squares. These contrasts, between back-court and street-fronting houses, had been glossed over by previous sample-based grid-square analyses. The importance of small-scale sociospatial variations to the Victorian inhabitants may have been greater (with visibility and contact between socially distinctive individuals more likely) than the more abstract dimensions of urban social structure generated by sample, grid-square and multivariate procedures.

Carter and Wheatley (1979) quoted Dyos (1978);

"Social space cannot be comprehended in terms of imaginary co-ordinates but in terms of recognizable places on the ground and their possession by identifiable people .... there is a necessary - indeed a vital - interconnection between process and place, between the social changes wrought and the environment to which they belong". (3)

Though this concern was found in large-scale ecological work, (e.g. Shaw's (1979) attempt to reconcile social and physical space in Wolverhampton) the identification of householders with houses - 'recognizable places on the ground' - over time, has seldom been feasible. It is a methodology with potential in the study of small-scale social variation.

d. The Scottish dimension and multistorey social geography.

Scotland, in common with continental Europe and mid-Atlantic North

America has a fundamentally different building tradition to England and Wales. In a global perspective, the latter countries were unusual in their lack of a multistorey residential architecture prior to 1900 (Smith, 1974). The tenement, as a building containing a number of separate houses, or flats, has a long history, dating from Republican Rome via medieval Edinburgh (Worsdall, 1979).

Though relatively recently introduced into western Scotland, Glasgow had become the archetypal tenement city in Britain by 1900 (Best, 1973). Some tenements in old Gorbals village dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Ch.7.). Tenement housing was not limited to any particular socio-economic stratum of inhabitants in nineteenth-century Scotland, as Worsdall (1979) repeatedly emphasised. Hamilton (1978) wrote,

"I have an impeccably middle-class aunt who lived for years in a Glasgow tenement without feeling the slightest twinge of social deprivation. It was a red sandstone tenement and it had a wally (tiled) close". (30)

Though architectural and constructional quality varied with the intended market for a finished building, the basic four or five-storey ashlar-fronted design was ubiquitous, though villa development (as in Morningside in Edinburgh, and Pollokshields West in Glasgow) accounted for a proportion of the upper middle-class housing market from the 1840's.

Vertical residential segregation emerged as a common theme in European urban history. The importance of the 'third dimension' to the social map was recognized in 1841 (four years before the publication of Engels' Condition of the working class in England...) when J.G. Kohl outlined a three-dimensional social stratification as the probable structure of the future city. While influenced in part by optimistic forecasts of the ease of vertical transportation, Kohl's model was projected from observations of multistorey residence in the cities of his time (Peucker, 1968). Bater (1976) noted the 'isolation' of the St. Petersburg aristocracy and emergent bourgeoisie between 'layers' of low-status population, with the virtual lack of two-dimensional differentiation. Vance (1977)

cited a social decline with increased height in mid-nineteenth-century Parisian apartment blocks, in contrast to the inversion that occurred subsequent to the introduction of the ascenseur. Vertical social stratification in old Edinburgh, before Craig's New Town attracted the aristocracy in the mid to late eighteenth century, encompassed a wide spectrum behind each tall tenement frontage,

"...with merchants living on the ground floor, the well-to-do on the first floor and descending upwards to the poorest in the attic". (Adams, 1978; 73)

It was not clear when 'occupational households', inhabiting all or some storeys of a tenement, gave way to multiple occupancy by several economically unrelated units (except for landlord-tenant links), or indeed if such a transition ever took place. Examples of 'hall-and-chamber' tenement houses dating from the sixteenth century in Glasgow (Worsdall, 1979) appear to have been custom-built household units from time of building, rather than sub-units of a divided town-house.

The continuity of the basic tenement design into the nineteenth century, without the synonymy between 'tenement' and 'slum' noted in twentieth-century civic circles by Worsdall (1979) and Hamilton (1978) may have had important implications for the evolution of modern socio-spatial patterning. The scale-growth model of court to district cannot be automatically applied to a built environment whose legal (see Ch.6.) and cultural foundation resulted in high residential densities, closer physical contacts between households and individuals and certain common obligations within each tenement building.

Worsdall (1979; 21) quoted provisions from the Glasgow Dean of Guild Court Act of 1843 which legally enforced the sharing of duties relating to common property between all the households in a tenement; the cleaning and upkeep of the common close, stair and back green with its privies and dungsteads (before sanitary improvements), its drying green, wash-house and ash-pits after

sewerage and water supply had been introduced generally in the mid-nineteenth century. He continued,

"The close has always been a significant feature of Glasgow social life, a place of continuous activity; sweeping, washing, meeting one's neighbours, sheltering from a sudden shower. In many respects it is really an extension of the street, and this idea is heightened in Glasgow where the street entrance is traditionally open".

(32)

The importance of the close, stair and common green and wash-house as social focii in middle-class tenements in the nineteenth century was unclear. It was likely that servants discharged such communal obligations.

The tenement as an elementary unit of community, or social nexus, became a popular idea in modern Glasgow where rehabilitation schemes currently find more favour than demolition (e.g. Gibson, 1979, inveighs against the 'council vandalism' which demolished Abbotsford Place, Laurieston). As Faux (1979) wrote;

"People may now reflect that the new estates have become little better than the old tenements; worse in some ways because they have often failed to establish that warm cohesion which bound families together in the old areas".

(11)

Most commentators invoked working-class, rather than bourgeois images of a lost community. Though nostalgia tinged many perceptions, it seems that the tenement, at some time, may have been an important physical unit to its inhabitants, between and within which degrees of social exclusivity were of contemporary significance. In this context, the emergence, continuance or decline of social mixture and uniformity in tenements at different times deserved closer scrutiny.

A general hypothesis, embraced within the span of the nineteenth century, might postulate that tenemented cities underwent a social differentiation change from tenement through street to neighbourhood



or district scales as 'modern' or 'industrial' or 'post-transitional' levels became established. The chronology of this shift was expected to have differed from terrace or cottage townscape chronologies. The tenement interposed an additional potential level of differentiation at the small scale, between the individual household and street. Extremes of intra-tenement social mixture prevailed into the later eighteenth-century. Did the new urban middle class tarry in their proximity to lower status households, or quickly follow in emulation of the decentralizing aristocracy in the establishment of residential exclusivity?

Obviously, the characteristics of the chosen study area must be reflected in more specific hypotheses. The district of Gorbals was chosen for a number of reasons; partly of convenience, partly of inquisitiveness into the social background to an extreme infamy of place, and partly on grounds of suitability for more general aims. Initial enquiry revealed evidence that the district had experienced great variations in social character both over space and through time. Primary and secondary sources agreed that the area had evolved into the most notorious of British slums by the 1920's and 30's (Lindsey, 1972; 70). Novels centred on Gorbals written in that period of industrial depression and widespread poverty (e.g. McArthur and Long, 1935; Reid, publ. 1970) portrayed a social landscape still variegated between absolute squalor and 'toffee' (or 'respectable') neighbourhoods, a feature which remained extant in Boyle's (1978) reminiscences of the 1940's.

The area was a self-defining residential tract by 1900, almost surrounded by industrial land use; railways, foundries and gas-works in Tradeston to the immediate west, sidings, depots and goods station to the immediate south, and the iron-works, known as Dixon's Blazes occupied a considerable area to the south-east. Tenemented streets continued east of the chosen boundary (Crown Street), but the River Clyde formed a sharp morphological and sometime administrative demarcation to the north. The resultant 'closed-W' shape conformed generally to the boundaries of Gorbals Ward throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, and though it included tracts of land named Laurieston and Hutchesontown (partly), their

names' use seems to have lapsed within the study area certainly by the inter-war period.\*

Centred on the physically 'pre-industrial' village and Parish of Gorbals, the rest of the district grew up between about 1800 and 1900, by which time tenements and villa development, together with the industrial belt, had surrounded it and made it 'inner-city'.

The socio-spatial effects of old suburbs "...being drawn into the unbroken territory of nearby cities...." (Briggs, 1963; 27) have seldom been systematically examined. Once-pleasant places declined; others (like Gorbals Parish) already had the industrial reputation of the faubourg. The social contrasts between original and surrounding suburbs, and the changes and causal links involved, repayed investigation, as Dyos (1961) has so carefully demonstrated.

In observing the changing spatial expression of social characteristics, consideration for ethnicity was unavoidable. The ethnic urban-social dimension, in the context of Irish-born residents, was commonly found to be independent in factorial ecologies of Victorian data, alongside a measure of social status. The separate identity of Irish and native low-status enclaves emerged in, for example, Shaw (1977). The Irish and later Jewish character of Gorbals was a persistent cultural presence, reflected in only recently-demolished pub, club and shop, in synagogue and church. The early and mid-nineteenth century correlation between Irish immigration and the poorest of a city's housing stock is a feature reflected in many modern works and in contemporary commentary. As Handley (1945) pointed out, a large proportion (often a majority) of Irish-born residents in certain districts of Victorian Glasgow were Protestant Ulstermen;

"In this respect Scotland differs from England where, with

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\* Conversations with residents and visitors to Gorbals in that period suggest Crown Street and Eglinton Street were by then the perceived boundaries of the district, notwithstanding the old ecclesiastical and other administrative subdivisions.

the exception of Lancashire, strangers from across the Channel have come chiefly from Southern Ireland". (108)

The segmentation, in social and cultural terms, of the immigrant stream, may have resulted in different residential characteristics, both between the Irish groups and in relation to the Scots-born inhabitants. The contrasts between Irish, Welsh and Scots in their degree of differentiation to local-born residents and each other can be plotted against socio-economic and cultural axes as Pooley (1977) has suggested for Liverpool.

Lobban (1971) wrote of Greenock;

"The Irish settlers were to be found in most districts of Greenock, but there were certain areas where they tended to concentrate and which became in effect Irish communities". (277)

The 1851 census revealed some streets in that town with a population 50 per cent Irish-born, others were composed of one per cent Irish-born.

The denominational difference between Irish Catholic and Protestant and native Presbyterian (the sect most Irish Protestants professed) was perceived in conjunction with a status differentiation. Irish Protestants from Ulster were descended, largely, from seventeenth-century lowland-Scots 'Plantation' stock. The circulation of capital, entrepreneurs and labour between Clydeside and the Laggan and Bann valleys ensured an early industrial development in those areas, following the Scottish lead in progressing from a textile-based to metal-based economy. As Jones (1960) pointed out, the links between Ulster and West Central Scotland ensured the development of the former as an industrial offshoot of the latter, in contrast to the rest of the island.

The status of Irish Catholics within the industrial structure of Glasgow was certainly inferior to their Protestant compatriots. Their perceived ability to endure physically arduous work, their disinclination (in mid-century) to form unions, and their acceptance of wages lower than those tolerable to Scots-born

workers (who were generally characterised as seeking entrance to trades, rather than perform menial tasks) endeared the Irish Catholics to the employers. William Dixon, the industrialist whose activities so threatened David Laurie's residential scheme in Gorbals, preferred Irishmen as labourers in his various coal and iron enterprises in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. They had "... less tendency to combine..." (Handley. 1945; 119). Such characteristics would hardly have endeared them to their Protestant neighbours. Handley (1945) noted the mid-Victorian accusation that the Irish supported themselves in Scottish parishes, paying rates in order to gain a settlement, whereupon they relaxed all ambition and relied on public support through the Poor Law.

The extent of pauperism in the Parish of Gorbals down to the 1860's was a recurrent theme in contemporary observations, as was the link between poverty, the Irish and the decay of the urban fabric. The ethnic question was an 'urban problem' to the contemporary bourgeoisie and officials in early and mid-Victorian Gorbals; the extent of clustering and the housing characteristics of the Irish-born residents demanded attention. Barke (1973a,b) has demonstrated the continuity of the 'Irishness' of the Back Row neighbourhood in Falkirk, notorious in the eyes of Victorian commentators, notwithstanding a late nineteenth century redevelopment scheme.

"The persistent hold of one particular group in a small area, although progressively weakened with increasing social mobility is quite remarkable". (1973b; 262)

As Worsdall (1979) was at pains to emphasise, the evolution of the Gorbals built environment was not uniform in social character. With special reference to the study area, a number of specific experimental statements were made;

- 1) The evidence pointed to the general social decline of tenements originally built for middle-class occupiers, whether a) at an early period, as in Gorbals Parish, or b) later, in the surrounding

post-1800 streets.

- 2) That fewer socially mixed tenements were evident at later dates than at earlier dates, social distance and physical distance becoming congruent, and that new tenements added to the stock progressively took on socially homogenous profiles from the start.
- 3) That erstwhile middle-class property was generally subdivided to meet the rent-paying abilities of later lower-status occupants.
- 4) That the middle-class virtually disappeared from Gorbals by the 1890's, the generally-held opinion expressed in Ch.7.

These statements might conflict with some of the impressions already conveyed about the district. They were not meant to be conclusions-in-advance, rather working generalizations capable of development towards acceptance or rejection as the detailed empirical evidence allowed.

The concern of this project was the combination of local historical background, impressionistic though it may be, with a more exact analysis of changing sociospatial differentiation, hopefully with a potential for generalization about multistorey residential environments beyond the Gorbals example.

The most basic scale of analysis was the tenement, allowing compounding into street or district aggregates when such agglomeration appeared justified. In so doing, it was hoped that the value of considering questions of area reputation, the continuity of historical influences and the conscious pursuit of an old geographical idea - the 'spirit of place' - was adequately demonstrated.

The use of census data and modern forms of numerical analysis often tended to render Victorian urban enquiry peculiarly ahistorical. If, as may be read in Ch.4., the record did not allow clear insight into patterns of rapid population change, slower changes and continuities in the character of houses, streets and other milieux

were perhaps rather better served. As Warnes (1973) noted;

"Although it will be difficult to identify processes in the past, and in many instances there will be little option but to undertake the hazardous procedure of making inferences from spatial patterns, only when this is done will it be possible to define clearly and to calibrate the scales of change associated with evolving urban structures". (186)

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN.

a. The grades of society.

"Folks talk about the different grades o' society" observed Mr. Jorrocks with a smile and a pshaw, "but arter all's said and done there are but two sorts o' folks i' the world, Peerage folks and Post Hoffice Directory folks - Peerage folks, wot think it's all right and proper to do their tailors, and Post Hoffice Directory folks wot think it's the greatest sin under the sun not to pay twenty shillings i' the pund...." (Surtees, 1854; 158)

Notwithstanding Jorrocks' simplification of mid-Victorian society, divided between an honest and respectable bourgeoisie and an extravagant aristocracy, his identification of "but two sorts o' folks" was a common one amongst Surtees' contemporaries. From opposed political standpoints Marx and Disraeli concluded Britain was divided between two nations; owners and workers, the haves and the have-nots. 'Upper class' and 'lower class' were perhaps the simplest, dichotomous, stratifications to have been noted in society. In contrast, complex status divisions were perceived by a number of investigators, notably Charles Booth. Geographers, and other social scientists interested in historical data, have encountered a bewildering array of ideas on how society was divided at different periods, and how those divisions evolved.

The grading of society into status-groupings has been the concern of much recent urban-historical work in geography, to the virtual exclusion of enquiry into social class as a set of economic relationships. Indeed, the two terms are often used interchangeably, betraying a widespread misunderstanding of the contrasts between them. In a recent attempt to recreate 'social (class) areas' in nineteenth-century Wakefield, Cowlard (1979) sought to bring

together "...households of similar life-style, without necessarily any connotations of political or conflict groups". (241)

However, that study used the occupational classification first suggested by Armstrong (1972) as the basis for defining five social classes, into which status sub-groups were fitted. Armstrong, impatient with current sociological debate over the problems of status and class definition, erected an occupation classification procedure for nineteenth-century society; in effect, a modified form of the Registrar General's (1951) classification.

Armstrong admitted each category (called a "class" by Cowlard) was "...homogeneous in relation to the basic criterion of the general standing of an occupation in the community", (202) that is, its status. Cowlard's classification, and his spatial grouping of like-status households into characteristic social 'milieux' was therefore suspect as an exercise in mapping social class. The criteria used were little different to status-area studies common in historical and contemporary works since Booth (1902-3).

The rigorous analysis of society into social classes was primarily associated with the work of Marx and Engels. To them, and later academic and socialist exponents, the dynamic elements of post-feudal society were the capitalist class, or bourgeoisie, and the working class, or proletariat. The most important difference between them, to Marx, lay in their relations to the means of production; the ownership of capital on the one hand and the possession of labour power on the other.

The classes were in dynamic opposition and all other classes in society became tributary to them with the continued development of the capitalist mode of production. In mid-nineteenth century Britain, Marx (1852) commented on the decline of the landed power of the aristocracy in Parliamentary terms culminating in the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846,

"....a change long since enacted in British civil society, viz. the subordination of the landed interest under the



monied interest, of property under commerce, of agriculture under manufacturing industry, of country under city". (199)

Marx (1848) further advanced his class analysis,

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other - bourgeoisie and proletariat". (207) .

According to the marxian tradition, class was not simply a question of life-style, nor was it the standing of a particular occupation. It was not a static classification, but a dynamic tissue of relationships involving the contrasts in power between employer and employee, owner and wage-earner, landlord and tenant. It was emphatically the 'political or conflict grouping' Cowlard (1979) rejected in favour of a life-style gradation.

Criticisms of Marx's dichotomous interpretation often presumed the over-simplification of a social stratification composed of subtle levels within a continuum. Marx would probably not have disagreed with such measures of social status adopted by Mayhew (1862) and Booth (1902-3); he would have thought them separate from and irrelevant to the intrinsic dynamics of social class.

Certain sub-classes appear in the marxian literature, again, not necessarily related to social status. In particular, the petite bourgeoisie Marx (1905-10) enjoined Ricardo to remember; those who "...rest with all their weight upon the working class and at the same time increase the social security and power of the upper class (here the capitalist class)". (198) Similarly, the 'labour aristocracy' which, to Foster and Musson (1976) represented the co-opting power of the bourgeoisie in defusing a potentially revolutionary situation in the mid-nineteenth century.

Though debate continued over the functional implications of the emergence of such groups, little doubt has been expressed over their existence as discrete social formations (Moorhouse, 1979). Allied with the concepts of class-consciousness and false-consciousness, these ideas of social conflict-groups formed the basis of the theories of social change adopted by contemporary social scientists of the marxian persuasion. Often, the convenient labels 'middle-class' and 'working class' were attached to the two most important nineteenth-century interests, although there were serious problems in attempting to directly associate this division with 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat' in modern society.\*

Thompson (1968), Gauldie (1974b), Foster (1968), Damer (1976) and Vance (1977) based their analyses of nineteenth-century stratification upon the conflict dynamic. Indeed, Harvey (1973; 209 et seq.) distinguished between class society ('stratified') and the preceding feudal formations ('ranked'). The interest in these and similar studies was directed at the 'cash nexus' (Westergaard, 1970), the market locus where labour and capital met, rather than at modes of identifying divisions within society per se.

In the geographical literature, attempts at identifying social stratification have invariably been confined to status rankings, rather than class divisions as defined here. The almost universal acceptance of Armstrong's (1972) status-based classification, and the subsequent definition of 'classes' on that basis, helped to explain the unsatisfactory treatment (from a sociological viewpoint) of the class-status contrast in the geographical study of Victorian urban society.

Social status, as a ranking of occupational, income and other measures, has been the most-used criterion of social stratification in social and urban geography. The American literature, from Park, Burgess

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\* If upper class = aristocracy, middle class = capitalists and working class = proletariat, many would argue today's middle class (the salariat, professionals) are on equal terms to the proletariat in their relation to the means of production, i.e. the class of capital ownership has shrunk to numerical insignificance.

and McKenzie (1925) through Shevky and Bell (1955) to the multi-variate solutions of recent years, particularly avoided consideration of social class as defined in political-economic terms.

In the contemporary urban world, Harvey (1975) regarded social status as a superstructural phenomenon, related to the causal domination of market forces;

"The Urban Mosaic described by Timms (1971) has to be interpreted as redistribution and rank superimposed on market exchange and stratification (i.e. class). People attempt, by all manner of means, to differentiate what the market place has in fact rendered homogeneous. Hence the urban space-economy is replete with all manner of pseudo-hierarchical spatial orderings to reflect prestige and status in residential location. These orderings are very important to the self-respect of people, but are irrelevant to the basic economic structure of society".

(281)

The convergence between 'rank' and 'stratification' in Victorian society may have been greater. Perhaps there was a closer link between residential structure and economic structure. Many geographers would question Harvey's considerations, particularly that explanations of socio-spatial problems need be reduced to market processes, and would stress that there was nothing wrong in studying a superstructure. Some might agree that the shifting, culturally-defined and arguable bases of social status posed problems of historical application and inter-cultural comparison. Changes in the usage of many terms over time pose particular problems for geographers, argued Gray and Duncan (1978). They noted that whereas the term 'inner city' had advanced in popularity, 'working-class dwelling' (a related term) had almost disappeared after a long period of legal and academic usage. Though this usage probably stemmed from "...relatively unformed right-wing views of natural or differential class rather than oppositional or analytical Marxist views .... (however) the technical term was useful, over and above what could be provided by everyday language, by virtue

of its connection to a higher level of abstraction - social theory".  
(299)

Gray and Duncan went on to relate the retreat from the use of the concept not in terms of theoretical advance or experimental testing, but ideological rejection. In 1948 Lord Denning barred the use of the words 'working class' from the English courts by virtue of their perceived inappropriateness to modern society. The re-appearance of the word 'class' in modern analyses of nineteenth-century social status might be taken by Gray and Duncan as evidence for their thesis of 'etymological mystification' in geography.

b. Some implications for the study of Victorian social stratification.

The distinction between social class, as an evolving conflict relationship between groups in society, and social status as a rank-ordering of particular individual attributes, was particularly relevant in the nineteenth-century British context. Evidently, contemporary writers differed as much in their perceptions as scholars today. Dennis (1979) warned of projecting modern perspectives upon,

"....nineteenth-century citizens who really thought and acted in terms of occupational status. It is true that Marx was a Victorian, and Engels and Disraeli in their different ways perceived 'two nations', but the majority of their less-leisured and less educated contemporaries may have thought quite differently about the structure of their society". (127)

Clearly, a distinction existed between two modes of explanation, which may be posited as 'superstructural' and 'substructural'. Marx was concerned ultimately with economic substructure, and his reflections on social stratification were part of that enquiry. To him, and subsequent 'deep structure' analysts, social status was irrelevant to explanation.

The objectives and attitudes of other contemporary observers of Victorian society were often at odds with class-based analysis. Cowlard's (1979) use of Victorian commentaries to justify his class

groupings was debatable in the light of many observers' motives and perceptions. Much contemporary comment on society ranged over aspects as varied as housing, cleanliness, respectability, ethnicity, independence, wealth, desirability, "wickedness", morality, comfort, population density, neglect, pretention, environment and literacy.

These aspects recurred in nineteenth-century urban appraisals (all appeared in Cowlard (1979; 246)) and often formed the bases of status analyses, such as those of Mayhew (1862), Bell (1850), 'Shadow' (1858), Hill (1883), Mearns (1883) and Booth (1902-3). Their concern was the delimitation of destitution and the 'vicious class'; a distinction between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor was a favoured strategy amongst Victorian urban commentators. The moral and religious background to bourgeois attitudes towards social stratification in Victorian Britain has seldom been explored. As Dennis (1979) suggested, the literate elite may have held different impressions of social structure to those of less exalted citizens. However, the influence of moral perspectives on urban society was widespread, even amongst the non-churchgoing working class in Scotland (Maclaren, 1974). The tendency towards class-divisive 'respectability' amongst the urban working class was in opposition to the theoretical development of class-consciousness through the realization of common needs and interests.

Ward (1975) claimed to perceive a major societal change evident between the descriptions of urban society at mid-century and those towards the end of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth. Engels, noted Ward, described the dichotomous class division of industrial cities, whereas Booth and Burgess observed a more differentiated residential pattern. There were two major difficulties encountered in relating such disparate observations to changes in socio-spatial structure.

- 1) Engels (1845), Dickens (1854), Gaskell (1848, 1855) and Disraeli (1845) commented on real or fictional parallels of northern industrial cities, respectively Manchester, 'Coketown', Manchester, 'Milton' and

'Mowbray'. The identification of a large class of mill hands in contradistinction to a smaller group of owners was to be expected in such a context. Dickens' (1854) descriptions gave Foot (1974) the impression of an author attempting to come to terms with a social system very different to that of his metropolitan home. Mayhew's (1862) roughly contemporary investigation of the Life and labour of the London poor observed a rather different, more articulated social profile. Degrees of respectability were noted; the 'vicious classes' were identified and distinguished from the labouring poor. The newer industrial centres of the north impressed socialist and non-socialist alike by their largely dichotomous social character in comparison with the more complicated social structure of London. Contemporary regional contrasts may have been confused with temporal change.

- 2) The perceived preindustrial-industrial contrast between coexisting urban areas was put in the context of the ideological considerations touched on above. Pfautz (1967) wrote that Booth's conservative background and fastidious empiricism led him to attach greater importance to status divisions within the working class than to the class divide itself. The fine-scale gradations of society evident from the coloured map series (Booth, 1902) were partly the results of Booth's attempts to establish the extent of 'deserving' poverty as an empirical answer to the claims of the socialists. In the event, Davies (1978) believed Booth demonstrated that the socialists had underestimated the extent of poverty. Himself a successful entrepreneur, it was against his political and moral philosophy to recommend universally applicable welfare provisions. Instead, 'limited socialism', centred around retirement pensions, were prescribed for the 'deserving poor' whilst the lowest class of

'occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals' was to be rooted out of the inner city by 'persistent dispersal', the recurrent Victorian policy of street building and widening and institutional expansion in the worst residential areas. Summarizing Booth's opinion, Pfautz (1967) writes, "The chances for their children especially would be better, the hereditary taint less inevitable". (187-8)

The distinctions Ward took to indicate chronological change in urban society were therefore more related to the contemporary distinctions between 'industrial' and 'metropolitan' urban types. The former was apparently less influenced by 'redistribution and rank', the latter more so. In addition, the colouring of individuals' commentaries by scarcely concealed political motivation further reduced the applicability of Ward's observation.

Although originating in very different philosophies, the Marxist class concept and the various status classifications of the mid and later nineteenth century had various points in common. It was significant that Booth (1902) for instance, in describing the lowered status of many clerks throughout the century, should comment that although some were in great poverty, yet they did not 'lose class'. (VII, 131) Status-groupings were precisely detailed, yet no rigorous definition of the middle and working classes was attempted by Booth.

A clear parallel existed in the lowest status group defined by Mayhew and Booth, the much-feared 'vicious class', often inhabiting the oldest districts of cities and towns with preindustrial histories. This group roughly corresponded with the Marxist lumpenproletariat (Worsley, 1972) or, as styled by McGee (1976) the protoproletariat. Consisting of hawkers, thieves, prostitutes and beggars, McGee saw such a group operating an important informal, or 'lower circuit' economy in contemporary Third World cities. With the inclusion of paupers and occasional labourers, a similar 'occupational' profile was evident in Booth and Mayhew's descriptions of such milieux as Petticoat Lane in London (McGee, 1976; 4). With

the addition of a peasant immigrant component (the Irish) to the group character, the protoproletariat allowed comparison with Engels (1845) observations of the lowest-status groups in Manchester, which he condemned, in line with contemporary Marxist thought, as reactionary. The interests of the settled working class were being threatened, as Engels saw it, by the acceptance of lower wages, housing and nutritional standards by the immigrants.

In an attempt to more clearly depict the parallels and discontinuities between the major nineteenth-century social status and class formulations they are set out diagrammatically in Fig.1.

In attempting to construct an analytical system incorporating a social class dimension the important changes in social structure throughout the nineteenth century were considered. Examples of groups which underwent change in social status were engineers and clerks. From positions of esteem, independence and some executive functions close to capital, the general tendency for the continued division of labour, technological advances and office growth gave rise to professional managers and secretaries and less-skilled clerical specialists to replace the general and managing clerks of the earlier decades of the century. It was a confused picture, as the power and status of clerks encompassed both solid middle class prosperity and penury in different measure at all times. However, in general terms, as more and better elementary education broadened the social catchment and clerical apprenticeships to mercantile or financial callings declined\* the bulk of those giving their occupation as 'clerk' in the City Directories and Census enumerators' books might be expected to show a changing social profile (Fig.2.).

Whilst the executive and secretarial role of the nineteenth-century clerk has been assumed by the new managerial group, the more routine work retained clerical status. In the absence of corroborating evidence how were clerks to be classified in the nineteenth-century?

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\* Galt (1823) described this form of 'apprentice merchant' occupation in Glasgow, circa 1800.



FIG.1.

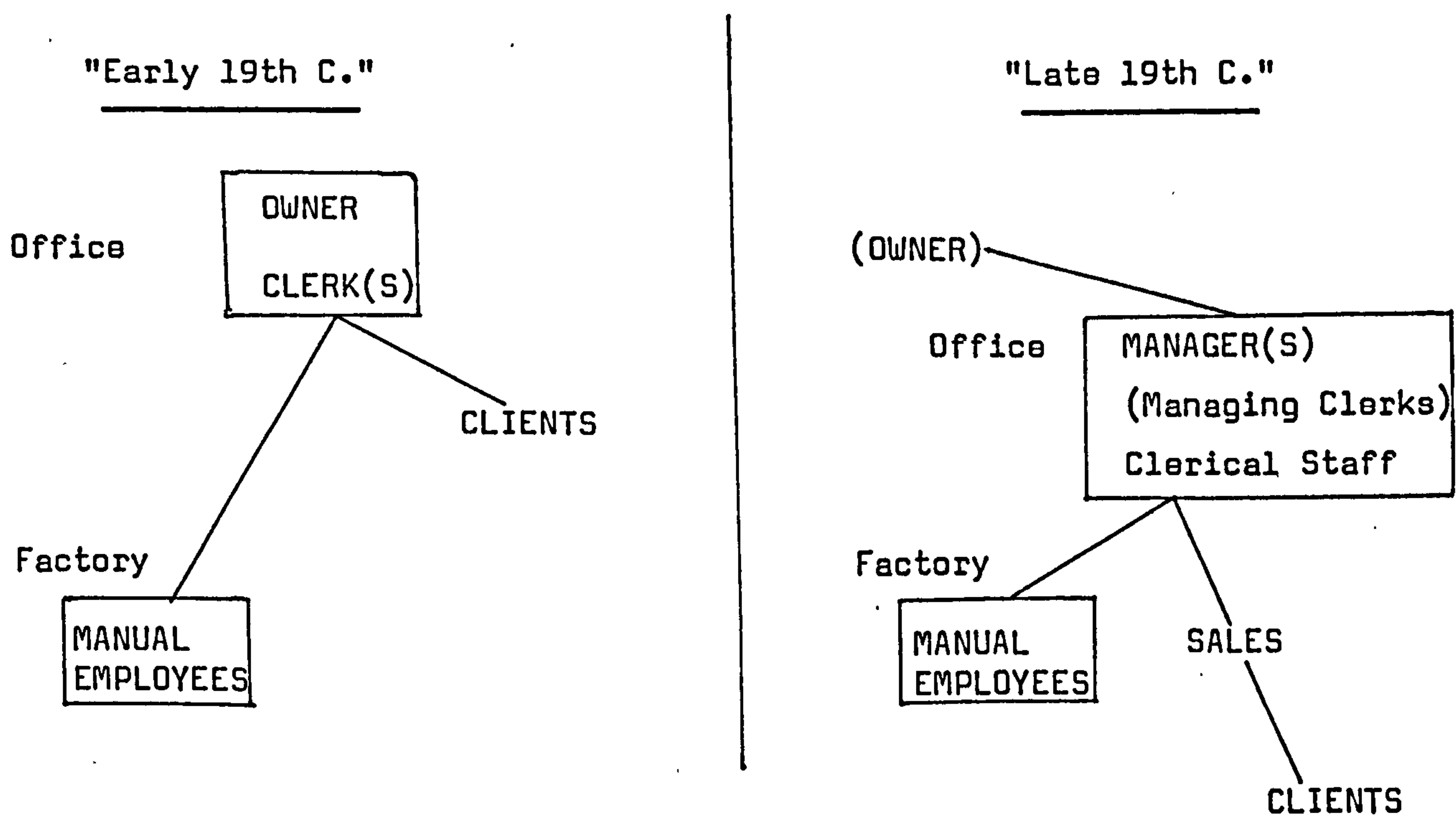
Diagrammatical comparison of some nineteenth-century ideas on

social stratification.

| <u>CLASS</u><br>(Marx, Engels)                        | <u>STATUS</u><br>(Mayhew, Booth;<br>Booth's "lettered<br>classes")   | <u>SKILL</u>   |
|---|--|--|
| {Aristocracy}<br>(land)                               | WEALTHY (H)<br>(many servants)   |  |
| (BOURGEOISIE)<br>(employers)                          | WELL-TO-DO (G)<br>(one or more<br>servants)  | Professional,<br>industrial                                |
| Petite bourgeoisie<br>(independent)                   | (few servants)   | Commercial 'small<br>masters',<br>management,<br>?Clerical |
| CAPITAL<br>↓<br>means of<br>production<br>↑<br>LABOUR | 'Fairly comfort-<br>able'<br>HIGH CLASS LABOUR (F)<br>REGULAR STANDARD (E)                                   | Skilled manual   |
| 'Labour aristocracy'<br>(employees)                   | 'The Poor'<br>SMALL REGULAR AND<br>INTERMITTENT INCOMES<br>(C,D)<br>CASUAL EARNINGS AND<br>THE VICIOUS (A,B) | Unskilled manual   |
| (PROLETARIAT)   |  |  |
| {Lumpenproletariat<br>Protoproletariat}               |  |  |

FIG.2.

Diagrammatical representation of the change in socio-economic relations of clerks during the nineteenth century.



A similar loss of status was experienced by the handloom cotton weavers between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. Of the Scottish weavers, Smout (1972) stated that in the 1780's they were confident, affluent and independent craftsmen. Symons (1839) found the Glasgow weavers in a depressed and pauperised condition, unable to compete with cheaper mill products. The Parliamentary Commission to which Symons reported was set up to investigate the worrying degradation of the trade as perceived by the authorities. These two examples may be interpreted as evidence for the 'proletarianization' of independent petit bourgeois groups which Marx and Engels claimed to identify in Victorian society.

The rise of the skilled occupations following technological advances created new opportunities for the 'aristocracy of labour'. Train drivers, electricians, riveters and welders represented the novel wage-earning jobs at different periods. The transition from 'mechanic' at the end of the eighteenth century to 'engineer' at the beginning of the twentieth reflected the concentration of the more specialised skills of applied science beyond the pale of manual labour altogether.

This discussion has touched on some of the difficult ideological, comparative and practical problems in a field still controversial amongst sociologists. It was necessary to outline the implications of these topics for the design of classification methods in the empirical study of social stratification in its spatial and residential expression.

c. Status, class and classification.

In order to gain insights into changing social class disposition in the Gorbals study area, aspects of the relations between capital and labour were sought from amongst the available data. The single richest source, the Census EBs of 1851 to 1891, offered occupational information, servant-keeping and the presence of employees and apprentices as evidence for social stratification. Information on individual household income value and type (ie. salaried, independent or wage), capital ownership, property ownership and institutional

membership (incorporated trade, council, business association or trades union) was absent from the Census.

Occupational information in the Census EBs has been the subject of concern as a source of inaccuracy, due mainly to vagueness in the returns (Armstrong, 1972; Tillott, 1972; Fox 1978; Cowlard, 1979). In the traditional trades, status and class were difficult to ascertain from occupations entered simply as 'shoemaker' or 'brass-founder', as such headings could have included both journeymen and masters, wage earners and independent craftsmen.

Servant-keeping was generally considered to be an indicator of middle-class households in Victorian cities. Booth's (1902) status division between 'working-class comfort' and the 'well-to-do' coincided with the distinction between the absence and presence of domestic servants in a household. Ebery and Preston (1976) wrote,

"By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a vast army of maids, nurses, cooks, coachmen, gardeners, laundresses and charwomen served the personal needs, at home or away, on business or on holiday, not only of the upper and middle ranks of society: banker, solicitor, mill-owner; shopkeeper, publican and clerk, but '....even the wives of carpenters and masons paid a girl sixpence to clean the knives and boots and take out the children on Saturday'. As was often said, 'Everybody who was anybody kept a maid'". (2)

The Census enumerators recorded those domestics resident in the household on Census night, thus differentiating them from the more casual living-out 'helps' referred to by Ebery and Preston, the servants of artisan households. These domestics were not recorded as part of the client co-residing group, but formed part of their own CRG.

In a study of selected districts in England based on a sample of the 1871 Census EBs, Ebery and Preston (1976) found that the "spatial distribution of domestic servants closely matched the distribution of the propertied classes". (57)

A major problem in the use of servant-keeping as an indicator of the middle-class household was the decline of domestic service nationally after 1871 (Ebery and Preston, 1976; 34 - 35)

"As servants became more difficult to find so lower middle class families found their social status, dependent as it was upon the keeping of a domestic, to be increasingly precarious and questionable. The response to the increasing difficulty of finding cheap domestic service was the introduction of labour-saving devices to help the middle class housewife run the home herself". (104)

Taken alone, the definitive power of servant-keeping measures thus declined towards the end of the century. As this possibly coincided with the expected tendency for middle class out-migration from inner city areas, it could not be disassociated from occupational and employee information.

The less informative data source used in this study, the Glasgow City Directories of 1802 - 1842, contained occupational and workplace evidence of social status. The social profile of the Glasgow Directory entries for Gorbals throughout the first half of the nineteenth century virtually excluded the working class. As Smout (1972) suggested, only the most nearly 'middle class' of artisans would have been included in the Glasgow and Edinburgh volumes. (358) However, the consistency of that exclusion, together with indications of class-related sophistication, have enabled the setting up of class-status groupings suited to the Directory peculiarities as discussed in Ch.8.

Geographical enquiry into the social status patterning of nineteenth-century cities has depended largely on Armstrong's (1972) adjustment of HMSO (1950) Classification of occupations. In that the social area analyses and ecologies of recent years remained largely based on the social status construct of the American analysts of the 1950's and 60's (e.g. Shevky and Bell, 1955) this is not surprising.

Armstrong's (1968, 1972) scheme was developed almost solely from status criteria. Whilst his own, and subsequent tests (Dyos and Baker, 1968; Royle, 1977) created class-related extremes to the

classification spectrum (i.e. professional, mercantile and manufacturing 'classes' I and II and semi-skilled and unskilled manual 'classes' IV and V) a rag-bag 'class' III\* emerged, containing 52 per cent of the households in Armstrong's study of York (1972). The mainstay of Armstrong's addition to the Registrar General's (1955) social classification is a status merit and demerit system whereby individual cases were promoted or demoted into groupings by satisfying certain status requirements. For instance, drivers of horse-drawn vehicles were allotted to 'class' IV, motor drivers to 'class' III. However 'class' III contained, in Armstrong's original scheme, all skilled workers (debatably divided from semi-skilled workers in 'class' IV), clerks, and independent dealers and retailers without employees. Servant-keeping was not considered a criterion of promotion. Employees and apprentices, counted in the co-residing group or mentioned under the head's occupation (i.e. 'Manufacturer, employing 100 men') were used in this way. This style was unreliable because individual living-out employees were enumerated at their own homes. Armstrong (1972) trusted that underenumeration was not widespread (210). Only taverners or eating-house keepers were admitted to 'class' II if they kept one or more servants. Armstrong suggested an additional sub-division of class III, between manual and non-manual workers, or between petty entrepreneurs, clerks and skilled workers. The resulting fragmentation, as demonstrated by Dyos and Baker (1968; 101) was more closely related to the "essential continuity of status in Victorian society", perceived by Cowlard (1979; 241) than to deeper social class considerations.

Cowlard's own method used household life-style indicators, such as servant-keeping, lodgers, dwelling multi-occupancy, children returned as 'scholars', children returned as gainfully employed and wives working outside the household. The adoption of a sub-divided Armstrong occupation classification and rules for scoring the 'life-style' attributes, resulted in a heavily-articulated categorization

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\* The use of 'class' in this context may lend a certain theoretical legitimacy to a term which is effectively no more than an occupational status grouping, Gray and Duncan (1978) might argue.

of 18 sub-groups on which a spatial aggregation into 'social (class) areas' was based.

Two criticisms were levelled at Cowlard's technique, from the point of view of this study;

- 1) The 'life-style' criteria, according to Harvey's (1973) statement, stemmed from a superficial status ideology, rather than an economic basis of stratification.
- 2) More practically, the changes with regard to educational provision and female employment throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century undermined the usefulness of certain criteria. The presence of 'children returned as scholars' and 'children gainfully employed' was dependent on their age, and the Census year (linked to extensions in compulsory schooling, which were particularly relevant in the open Scottish Census EBs of 1881 and 1891). The measure was useless in CRGs lacking resident children on Census night of course. The presence of lodgers was often assumed to indicate a relatively low household status. In studies of Victorian urban ecology, such as Dennis (1975), the correlation between lodgers and low status household heads was often strong. Cowlard (1979) went as far as to say "Lodgers were perhaps the antithesis of the keeping of servants, being indicative of the inability of the household head to preserve his dwelling intact for his family". (241 - 2) Cowlard ignored the fact the resident servants, apprentices, employees and visitors similarly occupied family premises, at the head's behest. Similarly, lodgers may have been present for reasons other than the alleviation of household poverty. Constable (1977) noted in his study of household structure in Horsham, Salisbury and Swindon in the period 1851 - 1871; "The lodgers are of all

social classes, many different occupations, and the society presumably accepted lodging as a normal method of providing accommodation with no social stigma attached to it. There seems to be no relationship between the social groups who lodged and those with whom they stayed; a general mixture of occupations and social groups is apparent". (18) Constable added that resident employees often appeared as lodgers, particularly in the retail trade.

Although other studies have produced definite associations between lodger accommodation and low status or class households, differences between the overall social and economic characteristics of towns and districts may have produced significant variation. Holmes (1977) found such a relationship in Ramsgate between 1851 and 1871, a 'front-runner in social tone', where, presumably the customary early Spring Census date precluded the enumeration of any seasonal visitors as 'lodgers'. In Scotland, literary sources suggested the keeping of lodgers was a practice adopted by a wide social spectrum of households for coping with problems of temporary accommodation, in periods of rapid economic growth. The example of the 'lad o' pairts' beginning his promising mercantile or legal career whilst putting-up in lodgings is a theme of Galt (1823) and appears to have persisted in some measure as evidence from the Census in Gorbals showed.

'Wives working outside the home' was intuitively an indicator of low social status. However, a cursory perusal of mid-nineteenth century enumerators books showed that very few married women were demonstrably so employed. It is likely that high-status households had no need, middle-status households saw it as demeaning and low-status households found it constrained by child rearing and home management without paid help. The employment of female heads of household and other partner-types (widows, spinsters, siblings, or, relatively frequent amongst Irish immigrants in Gorbals, households of unrelated girls) may be a significant factor. Tivers (1979) would have welcomed closer study and consideration for these household type, did they but occur more frequently. As Booth (1902 - 3) pointed out, there was a considerable status distance and class boundary between



a lower-middle class woman who worked to 'keep up necessary appearances', and a factory-girl of true working class origins (Pfautz, 1967; 136). Employment itself, practically and theoretically, was a dubious indicator in this context.

The problems outlined above in relation to Cowlard's (1979) 'life-style' criteria were further aggravated by enumeration vagueness. Precise rules for the classification of the population emerged only towards the end of the nineteenth century (Anderson, 1972; Drake, 1972). Variation in style of enumeration was evident at all levels. Whether residents were recorded as 'lodgers', 'visitors', 'employees' or 'relatives', was apparently arbitrarily decided when an individual may have been eligible for several categories simultaneously. One Gorbals Parish enumerator, in the 1851 EBs, returned no 'lodgers' from amongst an ED population of 683 persons. Of the surrounding EDs, 20 per cent of their populations on average consisted of lodgers. A suspiciously high total return of 'visitors' confirmed the enumerator's error (CEN 1851 / 612 / 3).

Royle's (1977) scheme was perhaps the most comprehensive re-appraisal to appear recently. The allocation of each household to one of five classes was achieved by evaluating the head's occupational skill-attainment, responsibility, executive powers and the manual or non-manual nature of the work. In addition, the engagement of servants and employees was used to provide a basic social class contrast between categories I, II and III, and categories IV and V. Household assignment was more objectively realised using Royle's method. He considered it partly a life-style classification and did not claim it had specific social class relevance. The basic dichotomous contrast between employers and non-manual 'own account' masters and manual employees was here most fully articulated within the confines set by the data. Armstrong (1968) and Dyos and Baker (1968) included the changing middle ground of society in one 'class' group, whilst Royle (1977) distinguished between petite bourgeoisie and skilled workers. Table 1 indicates the criteria set out by Royle as a classification system.

In testing the system on 1851 EB data on Lutterworth and Melton

TABLE 1

Social classification of Census EB household information.

(after S.Royce, 1977)

| <u>Group</u> | <u>Qualifications</u>  |
|--------------|--|
| I            | <p>Heads whose households</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. employed more than 25 people</li> <li>ii. contained at least one servant per household member.</li> </ul> <p>Heads of professional occupation whose households contained at least one servant per three members.</p> |
| II           | <p>Heads whose households</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. employed between 1 and 24 people</li> <li>ii. contained at least one servant per three household members.</li> </ul> <p>Heads of professional occupation who kept no servants.</p>                                   |
| III          | <p>Heads keeping servant(s) not included above.</p> <p>Heads of non-manual occupation, including commerce.</p>   |
| IV           | Heads of skilled manual occupation.  |
| V            | Heads of unskilled manual occupation.  |
| VI           | Residual. (Undeclared occupation)  |

Mowbray, Royle (1977) found it more sensitive in distinguishing characteristics between the two towns' social profiles than Armstrong's scheme. The method revealed differences in the balance between petty entrepreneurial and proletarian groups in the two towns, in keeping with their social histories down to 1851 (217).

In addition to these rules, Armstrong's conventions for dealing with specific problem cases are retained in Royle's scheme. For instance, annuitants are placed in group III in the absence of additional evidence, unemployed persons and the retired are entered under their previous occupations (if recorded) or in group VI (if not recorded). Paupers are placed in group V.

The sole departure from the rules adopted in this study was the counting of the 'next senior' household member's occupation where the head's was not recorded, whether due to absence, enumerator negligence, unemployment, retirement etc. For instance, in households headed by widows with working children, the occupation of the eldest was taken into account in representing the household's status - class.

A major lacuna of the adopted scheme, from a social class perspective, was the lack of an explicitly defined protoproletariat category. Group V (unskilled manual) subsumed this theoretically important group, together with other occupational types, some of which were classed by Armstrong as 'semi-skilled'. Armstrong and Holmes (1978) later admitted there was a "certain amount of historical justification" for combining semi-skilled with unskilled occupations. (127) As a result, group V included occupations as diverse as general labourer, washerwoman, porter, hawker and pauper. Some are clearly more 'industrial' or 'upper circuit' (McGee, 1976) than others. Accordingly, a separate survey of selected occupational information was included in a later section as an attempt at defining a protoproletarian population.

This long section attempted to develop a more rigorous approach to social stratification and to the procedures for evaluating the available information. Geographers tend to have taken for granted the status-ranking which Armstrong (1972) popularized, without

clarifying the distinctions between class and status. It can be argued that status measures have been used under a 'social class' heading, but that the economic foundations and the conflict relations have been largely ignored.

The implications of class divisions in society on the social geography of an area such as Gorbals have as much interest and relevance as social status constructs, and, as they refer to deeper economic structures may be less subjective in identification than the shifting status rankings which were of undoubted importance nonetheless.

d. The Victorians and social segregation.

The tendency toward the separation of social classes was the subject of much nineteenth-century comment, both in terms of physical and psychological divergence. Victorian writers, such as Gaskell (1848, 1855), Dickens (1854, 1865), Kingsley (1850) and Disraeli (1845) expressed disquiet with the trend, whereas Engels (1845) carefully noted the "outspoken conscious determination" with which the unwholesome realities of working class life were hidden from bourgeois gaze.

The wish for a return to, or progress towards, sociospatial integration was an important theme in mid-nineteenth century literary circles. Mayhew (1862) wrote of the rookery of St. Giles in London;

"Deserted as it comparatively is now, except by the labouring poor vagrants and low prostitutes, it was once the resort of all classes, from the proud noble to the beggar picking up a living from door to door". (178)

Disraeli (1845) expressed the mid-century Tory ideology of social leadership through integration in describing the circumstances of his fictional hero;

"In the midst of the village, surrounded by beautiful gardens, which gave an impulse to the horticulture of the community, was the house of Mr. Trafford himself, who comprehended his position too well to withdraw himself to vulgar exclusiveness

from his real dependents.... Proximity to the employer brings cleanliness and order because it brings observation and encouragement". (180; this author's emphasis)

Engels (1845) who "long before Ruskin declared that one has to read a building....had demonstrated that one had to read a city" (Marcus, 1974; 176) was in no doubt about the sociospatial processes resulting in Manchester;

"The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years and go in and out daily without coming into contact with the working peoples' quarters or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as outspoken conscious determination, the working people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle class; or if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity". (45-46)

The antithesis of the nostalgia for the social order of the pre-industrial village, based on ascribed status, religion and face-to-face contact (Briggs, 1963; 60) rather than social class and impersonal control in the industrial city, was the fashion for suburban dwellings and prestigious addresses amongst the middle class. Gaskell (1855) in 'North and South' wrote;

"Margaret only wondered why people who could afford to live in so good a house, and keep it in such perfect order, did not prefer a much smaller dwelling in the country, or even some suburb; not in the continual whirl and din of the factory". (105 - 106)

Escalation in the scale of industrial externalities, the social and environmental costs of production, encouraged this trend. By the end of the nineteenth century, the social cachet of suburbia had been firmly established on three criteria, expounded by Laylard (1901) in his advice to clerical workers seeking homes in London's suburbs;

"In the first place, he will be unable to house himself at a lower rental; in the second place his surroundings will be much more healthy; in the third place, his neighbours will be of the same class, a matter of chiefest importance to his wife and children, the greatest part of whose lives will be spent in these surroundings". (161)

In Scotland, remarked Gauldie (1974a), "...the rich man at his castle, the poor man at his gate...." was not a good description of urban life at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (12)

"There was nevertheless a clear gap in housing standards between those with some power and the powerless, and it was a difference that widened rapidly with the growth of population in the first quarter of the nineteenth century". (12)

As in England, concern was quickly voiced, notably by the Rev. Thomas Chalmers (1821-6) in 'The Christian and civic economy of large towns'. In attempting to reconcile the doctrines of current political economy, which necessitated noxious industry and social distress, with the ethics of the Established Churches, he recommended the application of country parish practices to city populations;

"This brings the two extreme orders of society into that sort of relationship, which is highly favourable to the general blandness and tranquility of the whole population. In a manufacturing town, on the other hand, the poor and the wealthy stand more disjoined from each other....they meet more in the arena of contest than on a field where the patronage and custom of the one party are met by the gratitude and goodwill of the other....We do not aim at the most distant reflection against the manufacturers of our land, but.... their intercourse with the labouring classes is greatly more an intercourse of collision, and greatly less an intercourse of kindness than is that of the higher orders in such towns as Bath, or Oxford, or Edinburgh". (44)

In Glasgow, J.D. Mitchell (1899) summarised the nostalgia for the old paternalist order in recounting the history of an old house in

Anderston;

"When William Gillespie treated himself to a residence in keeping with his own fortunes, he planted it beside his print-field, dwelling among his own people. It was the old way, and a good old way it was; it brought the work right under the master's eye and it favoured kindly, neighbourly feelings between master and man". (4)

Similarly, Chambers (1868) noted with approval the mixing of 'gentle and simple' within the compass of a single close or even a single stair, in old Edinburgh.

Clearly the socio-spatial changes which occurred in the rapidly industrializing Victorian towns were of great significance to the contemporary commentators. The loss of humane contact between the urban classes was frequently cited as a chief cause of disaffection (Chalmers, 1821-6; Disraeli, 1845).

A manifestation of the changing spatial relationship between masters and men has been investigated by Vance (1967). The 'generalization of housing' assumed the decline of work-sited residence, from a pre-industrial model, in which the employer-landlord and the employees-tenants lived under one roof, through a transitional form, such as the factory village (e.g. New Lanark), where paternalism remained important, to the complete separation of housing and industrial capital.

Gauldie (1974a) quoted the Baxter brothers of Dundee, who were finding in 1868, "the double relationship of master and landlord at times awkward" and that "it is against our principle as employers to build houses" (21). The need for housing as an incentive to acceptance of factory discipline had passed; increased house-building costs discouraged industrial capital, and most importantly;

"....there was also a conscious wish by the employers not to be more closely associated than was absolutely necessary with their employees, and above all not to feel any longer responsible for their workers". (21)

To Gauldie (1974a) and MacLaren (1974) the result was not only spatial separation, but psychological abandonment of the working class by the middle class. Individual responsibility and formal policing came to be valued over paternalism and informal social control by example. As Damer (1976) pointed out, there was a strong belief in nineteenth-century Glasgow that slum dwellers were so situated by 'their own fault'. Impersonal authority, in the guise of the midnight inspectors of ticketed properties, reflected, Damer held, the overtly repressive function of apparently altruistic measures. In admitting the 'extraordinary powers' practiced by authority under the provisions of the Glasgow Police Act of 1866, Chalmers, M.O.H. in 1917, claimed their necessity in dealing with the vicious substratum of society, even at the cost of deteriorating property values caused by ticketing. (Damer, 1976; 21)

Mobility between residential locations may be expected to have had some impact upon trends in socio-spatial division. Pooley (1979) revealed that the highest rates of residential mobility were found amongst the working class of Victorian Liverpool. This situation was considered to have been made possible by a much larger and more competitive rental market and ease of poor households' removal, where possessions were few and distances slight. In Glasgow, Butt (1971) argued that working-class mobility in the nineteenth century was severely curtailed by the need for a 'factor's line', a reference presented by new tenants on removal. Factors in charge of better housing were generally unwilling to accommodate tenants moving out of ticketed houses. This structured differential was notorious in Victorian Glasgow, according to Butt. Similarly, 'farmed', or sublet houses where shelter was offered on a daily-payment basis, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, housed a 'trapped' population of transients, hawkers, the unemployed, irregularly and seasonally employed who were unable to enter better housing whether or not they were willing and economically able.

Pooley's (1979) information, obtained from linking Census and directory sources, was of a different order to Butt's, the latter largely inferred from records and documents other than individual household-specific. To what extent the working class of Glasgow was



residentially constrained by the 'factors lines', rather than subsuming a sub-proletarian element, is unknown.\* Although mobility rates in Victorian Liverpool were high, the evidence suggested that such was the spatial constraint on moves that mobility may have enhanced rather than ameliorated social segregation (Lawton and Pooley, 1975; Pooley, 1979).

Concern over the perceived threat to order and health posed by early nineteenth-century social segregation and the dilemma of 'enlightened self-interest' in coping with the problem turned to resignation in the latter decades of the century. Residential segregation was seen as inevitable; only the worst conditions could be ameliorated by public or private intervention.

Ward (1975) commented that concern for inter-class hostility seems to have been aroused by close spatial interdigitation of the social classes as much as by separation, in different towns at different times. He went on to express a significant warning;

"Certainly we need to establish the bases of social stratification more carefully before joining so many contemporary observers in their confused inferences about the relationship between social conditions and segregated social geographic arrangements". (146)

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\* Lawton and Pooley's (1975) study of diarist David Brindley demonstrated high frequency (twelve moves in eight years) coupled with short distances (average : 1,200m). Brindley was a church-going 'superior' or 'decent' member of the working class; again, how representative?

## CHAPTER 4

### THE NATURE OF THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

The information available to students of the Victorian city is plentiful and varied. Indeed, the comparative ease of access and utility associated with detailed nineteenth-century urban data early encouraged urban geographers to develop research in that field (e.g. Lawton, 1955). Langton and Laxton (1978) wrote, with a hint of resignation; "The attraction of huge amounts of raw material, both quantitative and literary, is difficult to resist" (74). The matching of appropriate sources to specific research problems has been a recurring question in historical geography. The tradition of writing source-oriented or technique-oriented research has to some extent been inherited by Victorian urban geography from the study of earlier periods with scarcer sources.

It is perhaps in Victorian urban analysis that the most comprehensive variety of data sources at the most detailed level (individual or household) can be examined, compared to earlier periods or even the present. Whilst studies of previous epochs must be constrained by and dependent on the sources which can be uncovered, hence limiting intercomparability and standardisation, on first glance the social data available for mid to late nineteenth-century towns afforded the opportunity of choice based upon the needs of rigorous hypothesis testing.

Since Lawton's (1955) pioneering geographical study of the 1851 census of Liverpool, this source has proved of lasting popularity with social and economic historians, historical demographers, local historians, geographers and workers in other cognate disciplines. An extensive bibliography grew up during the 1960's and 70's, exploring many of the strengths, weaknesses, possible solutions, adaptations and potential of this source. In one form, the census has been of use and interest for far longer. Booth (1902-3) for instance, used the printed and published

census abstracts. These lists of population characteristics for parishes, Registration Districts, cities and counties have continued in use by contemporary students of the nineteenth century, although their accuracy in reflecting the original returns has been criticised (Tillott, 1968). The distinction between the published abstracts and the original manuscript returns was an important one. The former were available a few years after the enumeration, the latter were not open to public scrutiny until 100 years elapsed, in England and Wales, and 80 years in Scotland. It was the manuscript returns, known as enumerators' books (EBs) which have formed the basis of many studies since Lawton's (1955).

Binford (1975) echoed Glass (1973) in his concern for reflection on the social and political background to the civil census in the United Kingdom. Such an understanding shed light on many problems associated with the contemporary use of surviving records. At the outset, one factor was clear; the census, unlike contemporary questionnaire surveys, was not intended for use by modern urban analysts. John Rickman, chief administrator of the first four censuses (1801 - 1831) was quoted by Glass (1973) in a memorandum of 1800, stating that a census would aid in taxation, recruitment and the regulation of food supplies, and as a demonstration of the authority and good intentions of the government. Reactions by the public against these aims (through fear of increasing state centralism, religious disputes, and so on) and the lobbying of pressure groups for changes in the census format throughout the nineteenth century, introduced problems of error and inter-comparability which were impossible to ignore, yet should not obscure the superior quality of the record. Drake (1972), Anderson (1972), Tillott (1968, 1972) and Barke (1973) amongst others, have between them exhaustively detailed the various sources of inaccuracy arising in published abstracts and EBs. Where they were relevant to small-scale socio-spatial research, the problems of identifying and overcoming irregularities in the census are outlined below. It is perhaps because of the great interest in the census that such a large critical bibliography has developed.

The first four decennial enumerations administered by central government were entrusted for local execution to the parish authorities. The

count was real, rather than ideal (i.e. reflecting an actual situation on a specific point in time, rather than an impression of the 'normal' situation) and included the number of houses, males, females and persons employed in trades and on the land. The results were then forwarded in aggregate from each parish to the Census Office, which duly issued tabular abstracts. Few details of individual characteristics in manuscript form survived from this period of parochial autonomy.

Following local government reorganization in 1837 when Registration Districts were set up for the recording of vital events, the prosecution of the decennial census was put on a more standard and rigorous footing (Morgan, 1979; 98). The abstracts had a strategic rather than local purpose - the supply of national and regional demographic and occupational material at a time when the post-Malthus intelligentsia were acutely concerned about population growth, industrialisation and the potential for recruitment and taxation.

The census of 1841, administered by the new Registrars, provided the earliest series of EBs. In these volumes, the local appointees of the Registrars (the enumerators) listed the name, sex, age, occupation and origin of every inhabitant of the enumeration districts (EBs) under their care. The enumerator was issued with a set of questions, and instructions for the tabulation of the answers from the household member(s) interviewed. On each page of the EBs, individual households, composed of biological family, resident servants, lodgers, apprentices, employees and visitors, were distinguished by ruled lines or dashes on the page. Individual houses were demarcated similarly. Precise address information was often lacking in the 1841 EBs. The Gorbals volumes examined contained references to streets, but no street-numbers. Some interesting surveys have been conducted on the basis of the 1841 EBs. Jones (1975) was able to construct individual-case occupational distributions for Dundee. However, hypotheses about the tenement-scale nature of Irish segregation could not be tested.

One aspect of the spatial character of the mid-century enumerations, illustrative of the disparity between administrative convenience and the modern needs of small-scale research, was the haphazard nature of ED geometries. As the local collection of information was subservient to

subsequent aggregation, equal-sized and uniformly-shaped EDs were not needed. ED layouts were tailored to the enumerators' walks, analogous in their rationale to a postman's round, as the most economic circuit of a given number of households, in terms of time and effort. The problems of using EDs as units of an analytical framework were amply illustrated in Carter and Wheatley's (1975, undated, 1978) investigation of the spatial structure of mid-Victorian Merthyr Tydfil.

Standardisation of ED boundaries was not encountered in any form until the 1871 census in Gorbals, where street-blocks, or street-block sides were adopted as the framework, in place of the fragmentary divisions used previously. The termination of EDs on street intersections, rather than at addresses between intersections, was a great benefit to census-map linkage, and the identification of individual addresses, especially in a high-density tenement housing context. In addition, reference to the 1871 distribution helped in defining locations in 1851.

The census of 1851 inaugurated the period of greatest intercensal and intracensal comparability. The enumerators were issued with schedules in the form of the sheet shown in Fig.3. (details partly reconstructed from an 1851 EB) with a hypothetical example to illustrate the standardisation aspired to by the Registrar General. These schedules were left over census night (commonly March 30th) with the household head, who would enter the particulars of all those sleeping in the household that night. The following day, the enumerator would call, examine the completed schedules for omissions, query these, and fill up schedules on behalf of those unable to do so themselves (Constable, 1977; 2). Collection completed, the enumerator then copied the household schedules on to similar forms which were ultimately bound (in the Scottish census) into books containing about ten EDs, each ED accounting for between 300 and 600 individuals. It was these EBs which survived for modern scrutiny. The 1851 and subsequent enumerations were arguably less prone to errors or disobedience on the part of population and officials alike.

The format of the 1851 and subsequent enumerations was adhered to, with additions rather than substantial change until the end of the century.

Fig 3 EB page 1851.616.17/1 (facsimile, names fictitious)

| Schedule No. | Name of Street & Name or No. of House | Name of each Person who abode in House on 30 <sup>th</sup> March of Year | Relation to Head of Family | Civil Condition | Age of |    | Rank, profession or occupation   | Where Born              | Blind, deaf, dumb |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------|--------|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
|              |                                       |  |                            |                 | M      | F  |                                  |                         |                   |
| 1            | 1 Ayley Place                         | Anna   | Wife                       | Mar.            | 35     |    | Com factor                       | Argyle, Taitlen         |                   |
|              |                                       | John   | Son                        | Single          | 14     |    | Off. Clerk                       | London Glasgow          |                   |
|              |                                       | Elizabeth  | Daughter                   | Single          | 13     |    | Schooler                         | London Glasgow          |                   |
|              |                                       | John Russell   | Servant (Genl)             | Single          | 22     |    | General Servant                  | London, Edinburgh       |                   |
|              |                                       | Angus Macalumn   | Head                       | Mar.            | 50     |    | Traveller                        | Argyll, Campbelltown    |                   |
|              |                                       | Sarah  | Wife                       | Mar.            | 39     |    |                                  | Edinburgh, Dalkeith     |                   |
|              |                                       | Robert   | Son                        | Single          | 17     |    | Traveller                        | Argyll, Campbelltown    |                   |
|              |                                       | Alex   | Son                        | Single          | 10     |    | Schooler                         | Argyll, Campbelltown    |                   |
|              |                                       | Moira  | Daughter                   | Single          | 8      |    | Schooler                         | Argyll, Campbelltown    |                   |
|              |                                       | Ann Brady  | Servant                    | Single          | 40     |    | Domestic Servant                 | Ireland                 |                   |
| 3            | " "                                   | George Reid  | Head                       | Mar.            | 66     |    | Hatter (master, selling trim)    | London, Glasgow         |                   |
|              |                                       | Alex   | Son                        | Single          | 30     |    |                                  | London, Glasgow         |                   |
|              |                                       | Samuel   | Son                        | Mar.            | 25     |    | Writer                           | Glasgow                 |                   |
|              |                                       | William  | Son                        | Single          | 22     |    | Medical student, Glasgow College | Glasgow                 |                   |
|              |                                       | Esther   | Daughter                   | Single          | 3mo.   |    |                                  | at sea                  |                   |
|              |                                       | Mary Kelly   | Servant                    | Single          | 17     |    | Domestic Servant                 | Ireland                 |                   |
| 4            | " "                                   | Flora McRae  | Servant                    | Single          | 15     |    | Domestic - do.                   | Argyleshire, Ross-shire |                   |
|              |                                       | William Pierce   | Head                       | Mar.            | 30     |    | Tobacco-merchant                 | Dumfriesshire, Dumfries |                   |
|              | " "                                   | Helen  | Wife                       | Mar.            | 29     |    |                                  | Argyleshire, Paisley    |                   |
| House total  | 1:2U:0B:0                             | Total of males & females   |                            |                 | 10     | 10 |                                  |                         |                   |

Birthplace information was sketchy in the 1841 EBs; respondents were asked if they were born in their parish of residence or not, within the home country, or to declare their country of origin (e.g. Ireland, France) if beyond that. In the census of 1851 and subsequently, enumerators recorded parish or town and county birthplaces by name if within the home country of the census (Scotland, or England and Wales), occasionally county or town locations in Ireland, and infrequently, cities abroad. Generally, however, birthplaces beyond the British mainland were given as 'Ireland', 'Russian Poland', 'Saxony' or the like. English enumerators often returned Scots-born residents' origins as simply 'Scotland', and Scottish enumerators gave no more detail on English or Welsh-born individuals. The employment pursued by individuals supplanted a general 'family occupation' question in 1831. A language question appeared in the 1881 and 1891 enumerations in an attempt to define the extent of Welsh and Scots Gaelic-speaking. Some Gorbals enumerators in 1891 returned Irish-born individuals as Gaelic-speakers, no doubt accepting the householders' interpretations, but the census clerks invariably pencilled in 'Irish' against the relevant column.

Lunacy was required to be recorded on and after 1871 nationally, and the number of windowed rooms in each household appeared as a question in the Scottish EBs from that date.

The literature surrounding the types and causes of error and inaccuracy in the census EBs has become large and exhaustive, as has the volume of works dedicated to the solution of such problems and the standardised tabulation of the information, (e.g. Anderson, 1972b; Lawton (ed) 1978). Echoing Thernstrom's (1971) contrast between 'hard' and 'soft' data, Binford (1975) suggested some demographers assumed that the introduction of a census marked a new era of 'clean', 'hard', usable data; "But in the census era as in centuries past demographic evidence has been formed and even contaminated by the interests and abilities of the period" (25). Error, as Binford suggests, may have entered at any of three stages - collection, transmission and use. Checks on the first two were difficult or impossible to make. It was probable that one Gorbals enumerator, in 1851 entered all lodgers in his ED as visitors, as noted in Ch. 3. The result was an anomalous ED devoid of lodgers, yet surrounded by lodger-rich divisions, and containing an unusual

concentration of visitors, an insignificant category elsewhere in the study area. In this case the error was detectable; in others of less magnitude or consistency, errors of collection could not be rectified. It was thought likely by Tillott (1968), Wrigley (1972) and Drake (1972) that disobedience (in age declaration and in revealing overcrowding, for instance) laziness and misunderstanding of cryptic instructions shaped the information surviving today. Additionally, the transmission of information into the form of the printed abstracts resulted in 'important discrepancies' between the manuscript schedules and the published tabulations, "...indeed in certain instances it raises issues about the reliability of the published census figures" (Spencer, 1974; 155). Clerical error, lack of individual detail and spatial aggregation conspired to reduce the usefulness of the published census abstracts for all but the broadest national or regional enquiry (Tillott, 1968; 2).

The transmission of the original returns was less problematic, and the original Scottish census volumes were scrutinised using a street index to identify their codes in the General Register Office for Scotland in Edinburgh. On and after the 1861 Census of Great Britain, the enumerations were administered separately for Scotland and England & Wales, although the legal basis remained centrally based. Scottish EBs were available for perusal after 80 years closure, unlike the 100-year closure safeguarding confidentiality in Anglo-Welsh EBs.

Researchers in the Public Record Office in London have been provided with microfilm copies, rather than the original books which "are much clearer, but are not easily available" (Constable, 1977; 2).

The advantage of access to the 1881 and 1891 records enjoyed by Scottish workers (recently rescinded in favour of standardisation with the English regulation) was counter-balanced by the house-definition problem. Notwithstanding a measure of administrative autonomy, the Census of Scotland (together with the previous enumerations) remained subject to a definition which had its roots in English rather than Scots legal and customary usage. Anderson (1972b) wrote;

"The almost hysterical protests of the Scots at having the English definition (which they argued was quite unintel-



ligible in Scotland) thrust upon them, continued until 1881 when a new definition was adopted in Scotland. One important consequence of this is that the data on houses in all Scottish censuses before 1881 are quite meaningless".

(138)

The reason for this anomaly lay in the instructions which directed enumerators to record separate and distinct buildings (demarcated by party walls in terraces) as 'houses', that is, rooms occupied by a household. In Scotland, this commonly meant the tenement building, accommodating anything between six and thirty flats, known as 'houses' in Scots law and common usage. Although enumerators thus defined the tenement street-number as the 'house', in practice the identification of individual households and their premises from the EBs was much less of a problem than Anderson implied. The listing of households (individuals grouped under a 'head', and within the conventional symbols) under an address conformed in number and frequency with inferred tenement structures. Thus, the problem was practically soluble with the EBs, though not for abstracts. Indicators of storey or floor arrangements were absent from the EBs, although some distinctions between front and back building of the same address were given. The complications of multiple occupancy were similarly resolved, as enumerators appear to have distinguished between 'lodger' individuals or households commensal with their hosts, and 'tenant' or 'sub-tenant' individuals or households living in separate houses. Of course, the provisions of the census regulations did not allow for declarations of residential type or status but from the point of view of the fit between social and physical units, the EBs allowed a good measure of specificity. This identification allowed the EB-map linkage which formed the basis of the creation of the 'residential units' discussed in full in Ch.5. The household, rather than the individual, was chosen as the fundamental unit of analysis, in line with the standard tabulation practice advised by Anderson (1972b) as combining convenience with sociological justification. It has been adopted by the majority of social-ecological enquiries into the Victorian city, for instance Dennis (1975), Lamont (1976), Holmes (1977) and Shaw (1977).

Error in use, Binford's (1975) last category, was seen as related to the ways in which researchers match source to method. Thernstrom (1971) has warned against the avoidance of more 'traditional' sources such as newspapers, sermons, manuscripts and novels and bemoaned the attitude that "what can be counted is real; what cannot is to be left to the storytellers and mythmakers. This is dangerously obtuse". (371) More recently Langton and Laxton (1978) noted the 'considerable scope' of the parish registers "for anyone willful enough to resist the census honey-pot" (74). Yet, the census has generally been acknowledged as the most comprehensive set of demographic, social and occupational data for individuals, without demonstrable bias against social, ethnic or religious groups. The precise extent of under-numeration was, of course, impossible to know. Paupers in poorhouses, seamen in ships, soldiers in barracks, patients in hospital were all enumerated separately by those in charge. Vagrants, tramps, transients and the willfully disobedient slipped through the net, but their number cannot have been great. The census was generally available for every district, and was reasonably standard for most questions between 1851 and 1891.

Criticism of its use (or overuse) has stemmed from a) its decennial frequency and cross-sectional nature, b) subjective conversions (e.g. from vague occupational declarations to socio-economic status or class measures) c) the absence of questions more relevant to contemporary problems and modern techniques (e.g. previous residences, place of work and employer, income, education, sanitation and domestic infrastructure) and d) the practical problems of transcription, sampling and analysis associated with such a voluminous body of information.

A salient trend in urban historical geography, evident from seminar and conference discussion (e.g. SSRC, 1980) has been a quest for process explanation, and the use of partial-population or specialist archives (e.g. trades union, local authority, company and other institutional records) to link structural theory with social and economic patterns. Debate has continued into the distinction between and the relations of pattern and process. The use of frequent cross-sectional analyses (using periodic sources, such as the census) has been criticised as

giving the illusion of change, rather than affording insight into process itself. Some researchers (e.g. Lamont, 1976; Pooley, 1979) have progressed from studies of gross patterns in change to elements of population movement, often styled as "dynamic processes of change within urban society" (Pooley, 1979; 258) without clear demonstration of the difference between population mobility and 'changing patterns'. In the context of population mobility within the town, or migration between towns, the census certainly allows crude measures, such as decadal persistence rates in the former case, (Pooley, 1979). Within these parameters, Dennis (1977b) has demonstrated the potential for tracing intercensal population mobility.

From the point of view of detailed mobility accounting, ten year periodicity was too coarse a chronological scale, particularly as evidence from the Merseyside project suggested widespread high-frequency in household mobility (Lawton and Pooley, 1975, 1976; Pooley, 1979; Lawton, 1979). However, with regard to more gradual changes, particularly in the socioeconomic character of places, a decennial periodicity proved to be of efficacy, particularly when the historical reach was increased with the Scottish census material.

Economic analyses have aimed at revealing occupational and industrial structure from the EBs. Armstrong (1968, 1972) has pioneered this field of interpretation, and demonstrated the shortcomings of the occupational question in the Victorian EBs. Problems included terse declarations, often without indication of trade or industry (e.g. 'Labourer', 'engineer' and 'dealer'). Spencer (1974) added the question of unfamiliar terminology applied to archaic trades, explanations for which were not called for in enumerators' instructions.

Similarly, social enquiry making use of the occupational information, as this study did, has been hampered by imprecision. Taken alone, a declaration of 'dealer' might have represented a substantial master, employing assistants and maintaining a large establishment, or, at the other extreme, it might have represented a poor hawker, lacking premises, employees or capital (Holmes, 1977; 174). The 'whitewash' effect of individuals inflating the status of their occupations by false declarations was of concern to Holmes (1977). He did not

mention the possible influence of the enumerator's check of household schedules, nor the possibility of countervailing ideological influences (humility, deference, 'the dignity of labour', for instance).

It has been in the field of historical geography, concerned with urban ecological character, usually inferred via multivariate analysis, that the 'hardness', universality and variable-richness of the census EBs have found their greatest utility to date. However, for a single data source, the census demanded considerable investment in time and effort, particularly if the researcher intended to exploit its strengths to the full. Barke (1973b) acknowledged Tillott's (1972) advice for census-based research to be conducted by teams. For the individual worker, two strategies were open, which tended to sacrifice some strong points of the evidence in favour of others. The most popular, particularly with the multivariate studies of urban ecological make-up has been the area sample, usually focussing on a settlement in its entirety. The alternative approach was through the selection of a small area for blanket coverage; a small town, as in the cases of Barke (1973a), Holmes (1977) and Carter and Wheatley (1979), or a city district, in the context of this project.

Treated with selectivity and caution, the census EBs prove a most productive single source, indeed the most suitable single source for an individual small-scale social study. The difficulties in the use of census information required comparison with the characteristics of the other sources available.

In eschewing a classification of census occupational material, Holmes (1977) turned to rateable value as "the best single indicator of social status". Holmes' concern was the elucidation of socio-spatial continuity and change in the unindustrialised, rather high-class resort of Ramsgate. The rateable value of properties was linked to census demographic information on their inhabitants. This was necessary, as Barke (1973a) found in a study of Falkirk, as the rate books (largely extant from the 1850's in Scotland) lacked standard and regular references to data other than rateable value, (Fox, 1978; 216; Pooley, 1979; 259). In addition, many rate books were unreliable in recording tenant occupiers. In the absence of regular occupational citations,

Fox (1978) used the contrast between landlord and tenant to distinguish social classes, a hazardous strategy in Scotland where middle-class tenancies were common and relatively lacking in social stigma. Lewis (1979) and Carter and Wheatley (1979) claim that Holmes (1977) demonstrated a strong link between rateable value and both class and household characteristics of resident families. Holmes (1977) was more guarded, finding rateable value "not quite so good a predictor of family characteristics" as the Registrar General's classification of occupations designed for the census (176). The drawbacks of the Registrar General's scheme (adopted in large part by Armstrong (1972)) were treated in full in Ch.3. and called to question the efficacy of such a comparison, as did the general confusion of 'status', 'family-characteristics' and 'class'. Ultimately, Fox (1978) could not directly relate the "lower classes" to low value districts given the disparate correlations he revealed (304).

The need for linking rateable values with census material for demographic, origin and other household information was a practical consideration of importance, particularly when combinations of census indicators including occupation, could yield social status and possibly social class measures directly related to household, rather than house-value characteristics (Royle, 1977). The collection of two overlapping, concurrent sources was to be avoided when one sufficed.

Holmes (1973) has contributed to the evidence for intra-urban mobility rates, both in geographical and sociological contexts, using individuals' rates assessments in different properties moved to over a period in Ramsgate. In this context the frequent periodicity of the assessments was a major asset, though one difficult to exploit for more than a handful of selected occupiers.

Unlike the census, which was more or less dependable a priori, the condition, frequency of assessment, survival and content of each local authority's rate books was unknown before detailed examination, and might have precluded inter-city comparability.

The city and county directories issued in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries provided "one of the biggest potential

and still largely untapped data sources for geographers" (Morgan, 1979; 106). The volumes, repositories of parochial and civic information for the traveller, prospective client, customer etc., varied greatly in publisher, format and criteria for inclusion. The Post Office issued a street directory of London listing leading and useful names and addresses in 1800, and the provincial cities acquired similar omnibus listings in subsequent decades. In Glasgow, the Post Office Directory superseded, but largely continued the format of, a local publisher in 1827. Kelly's Directory, covering most English counties from 1845, was published in parish breakdowns, listing the commercial and 'private' residents. In addition, many local publishers continued to produce trade, 'court' and street directories in competition with the national enterprises.

A salient characteristic of all directories, no matter their criteria for inclusion, was their social selectivity. In a study of the changing social relations of housing in Leicester, Pritchard (1976) estimated that between 50 and 60 per cent of city households found representation in the nineteenth-century directories, rising to over 70 per cent in the 1930's. Leicester had an unusually high inclusion rate at all times, linked to its general level of prosperity (Pritchard noted a League of Nations survey of 1920 claimed that the city was the second richest in Europe). The small-scale nature of its industrial base, having retained near-domestic production into the twentieth century, made for the proliferation of small masters and 'own-account' operatives. As much as one-quarter or one-third of the working class population, according to Pritchard's estimates, were represented in nineteenth-century directory volumes. In conclusion, Pritchard made two general statements, that directories were 1) biased, and 2) that their coverage of middle-class households was 'fairly reasonable'. Pooley (1979) on the other hand, found a relatively high inclusion rate in Gore's Liverpool Directory.

Lamont (1976) in considering its potential as a source for the study of socio-spatial change in central Glasgow, remarked that directory information was at best fragmentary, the working class largely unaccounted for. Directory coverage in Gorbals during the period 1802 - 1842 accounted for about 15 per cent, on average, of the total number of

households, assuming one directory entry was equivalent to one CRG, hazardous in itself. Assuming that the included subset of the total population was of interest and shed some light on the dispositions of the excluded group, the utility of directories as social and commercial indicators has been well established. Tunbridge (1977) demonstrated differential rates of suburbanization amongst elite groups in late eighteenth-century Bristol. Oliver (1964), Davies, Giggs and Herbert (1968), Wild and Shaw (1974) and Lewis (1975) described the use of directory data in tracing change and pattern in workshop and retail distributions, irrespective of the availability of census or rate book information. The continuity of mostly annual directory runs throughout the nineteenth century was seen as an important strength, particularly in view of the general avoidance of pre-1851 material, remarked on by Langton and Laxton (1978).

Directories generally listed the names, occupations and addresses of 'principal' inhabitants and/or tradesmen and craftsmen in a particular area. Changing occupational status appeared to have influenced the criteria for admission in the material relevant to Gorbals in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Clerks found ample representation, whilst the downgraded trade of handloom-weaving, though numerically strong, was absent from the pages of the directories. Information on occupations and addresses might have been cryptic. Addresses in Gorbals were no more specific than district or street down to the 1820's, and the change in publisher. Occupation was sometimes missing, in the context of a retired or 'private' person of substance, or where a company address was deemed sufficient by the compilers. Presumably this signified clerical or managerial work (closely related at the time), though partnership or ownership of the firm cited could not be ruled out merely on the absence of 'merchant' or 'manufacturer' declarations. The directories for the City of Glasgow and suburbs from the 1820's gave street-numbered residence addresses, and often workplace addresses in addition, together with useful occupational information. These data have been used to outline some spatial characteristics of Gorbals society for the period before the more reliable and universal data were recorded.

The registration of vital events (locally, before the 1830's, and by the Registrars thereafter) has traditionally been the prime source for historical demography. Again, the availability of the parish registers and their post-reform equivalents for centuries before the 1851 - 1891 census cornucopia has been a major asset. As Lamont (1976) remarked, such material was too voluminous for the single researcher to process for more than a small period or area. As Langton and Laxton (1978) related, the recording and processing of all the parish registers for Liverpool covering the period 1765-74 occupied a team of undergraduates for 2,000 person/hours! The population of the town during the period stood at about 30,000 (a total attained by Gorbals study area in the 1840's). Though demographers have been wary of constructing vital rates from late-eighteenth century parochial data (Langton and Laxton, 1978; 74) the authors hoped to prove their efficacy in "other, perhaps statistically less exacting purposes". By using occupational and address information, they have developed interesting distributions of selected industries and retail specialisms in Liverpool. The difficulties involved in searching and transcribing birth, marriage and death records for these locational clues were insurmountable in a project such as this.

The electoral registers of the nineteenth century varied in their social spectrum with the progressive emancipation of the population down to 1900. Enfranchisement in most constituencies depended upon strictly-enforced rate-paying qualifications during most of the century. By the last quarter, Lamont (1976) estimated 32 per cent of the male population of Gorbals electoral division remained unenfranchised, compared to only 17 per cent in the middle-class Kelvin division. Electoral registration has never included all those legally eligible to vote, a problem particularly acute amongst transient or politically inactive populations. Srivastava (1975), in a study of the Asian community in twentieth-century Glasgow, noted the advantage of the annual periodicity of the registers, but also wrote ;

"....there is no way of knowing how many Asians failed to register as voters through ignorance, disinterest or illegal presence. Certainly, it is probable that the more transient elements of the population, those living in short stay ...



boarding houses, addresses of convenience or reception centres, have been under-recorded".

(Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974; 111)

The sources referred to above were included in Thernstrom's (1971) category of 'hard' data - regularly recurrent, relatively standard in format over time, related to individual characteristics and amenable to numerical analysis. Other records - literary, administrative, institutional and cartographic - survived in notes, reminiscences, account books, for particular periods, places or junctures according to local circumstance. Such partial or specialist information has been used in ancillary capacities, or as Thernstrom suggested;

- 1) to arrange 'hard' data in meaningful categories (such as occupation).
- 2) to yield hints of patterns whose existence can be confirmed and explored through statistical analysis.
- 3) to aid in understanding the perceptions of emotions of contemporaries.

An example of a source yielding information on an important component of the Victorian population - the poor - is the body of records accrued by the parish union guardians after the reform of the Poor Law in 1834 (1845 in Scotland). Gutchen (1975) outlined the problems and possibilities of defining the social, demographic and other characteristics of paupers from workhouse admission and discharge books. Recently, Mathews and Parton (1980) began a study of poverty in Birmingham, largely based on out-relief ('dole') data. The chief problem, familiar to local historians, was the lack of standardisation between different boards of guardians, even to the extent to which they discharged their legal obligations. Many industrial districts found it expedient to continue pre-reform outdoor relief, rather than apply Chadwick's concept of 'less eligibility' (the workhouse test) to applicants for relief (Best, 1971). Whereas detailed and clearly-printed information on outdoor paupers was issued in mid-nineteenth century Birmingham, the surviving Glasgow records were restricted to manuscript accounts of total poor rate and expenditure, rather than social and economic characteristics of the paupers themselves. Only in the special census EBs filled in by their supervisor were Govan Poor-

house inmates individually enumerated, but the rather different format of institutional EBs did not allow separation of normally Gorbals-resident paupers from those living in other parishes of the Govan Union. Paupers recorded at home, in receipt of a dole, were entered in the normal EBs with 'Pauper' in the occupation column, and afforded an opportunity for special study (see Ch.9.).

Most geographical studies using numerical or literary evidence, have called upon cartographic material to provide a physical matrix, in terms of streetplan, land use and building identification. Holmes (1974, 1977) developed a methodology based on 'subtle locational clues', linking census EBs, rate books and maps at the individual building scale. This procedure involved the checking of ED descriptions and household addresses against contemporary map houseplots, monitoring street-numbering changes by cross-references over time, identifying non-residential 'landmarks' (churches, public buildings, factories etc) in rate books and maps and generally acknowledging that the "relation of material to other materials is more important than the material itself" (Holmes, 1977; 51). A methodology analogous to this has been adopted in the following directory and census analyses to identify 'residential units', or building plots, with particular households or directory entries.

This has been facilitated by the detailed and regular coverage of the city and suburbs by cartographers since the mid-eighteenth century. The abundance of maps, together with the numerous descriptions, surveys and enquiries into Glasgow's population, trade and fabric before the 1850's may have been a symptom of the 'demographic narcissism' which Langton and Laxton (1978) noted of its commercial rivals, Liverpool and Bristol.

The annotated list of maps (Appendix 3) and the examples reproduced herewith (Figs. 18, 23 and 24) gave an indication of the cartographic sources indicating building chronologies, exclusive non-residential land use, house-type and plot-size. Lamont (1976), experienced great difficulty in identifying household address from the census with mapped buildings in the congested central 'wynds' of Glasgow. The linkage of the Gorbals EB evidence to large-scale maps (O.S. 1:2500 Lanarks. sheets VI 10, 11, 14, 15, of 1860 and 1896) proved relatively straight-

forward (full discussion in Ch.5.).

The wide range of sources of differing potential was not limited to those mentioned above. It was seen that orientation towards a problem to be solved, rather than to a source to be explored, must be accompanied by a critical attitude towards the data. This study relied heavily on the census EBs, and the city directories, for the latter and former halves of the nineteenth century respectively. The reasons had much to do with convenience of classification and processing, together with consideration for the size of the study area, the historical sweep of the enquiry and the sorts of factors chosen for analysis.

Though disadvantaged by their static, cross-sectional nature and decennial frequency, and thus generally avoided for studies of high frequency events (such as mobility) the value of the EBs as indicators of "the social and economic structure of a town" has been undisputed (Pooley, 1979; 258). Their more or less total coverage of the population was an important advantage in a study of small scale variation. The inclusion of information on servants and employees (the latter in the occupations column) supplemented the evidence of skill and capital-ownership in the occupational declarations. The birthplace declarations were the most detailed of any source (except the parish registers), a factor of importance in investigating ethno-spatial nature and scale. The Scottish EB confidentiality rules enabled a census study to utilise the last enumeration of the nineteenth century. In addition, the Scottish windowed-rooms-per-household measure from 1871 provided a useful guide to the quality of Gorbals housing.

Pre-census data was generally inferior in most respects to EB and rate book information. City directory data were chosen to represent some aspects of Gorbals society between 1800 and 1850 for reasons of ease of access, transcription and portrayal. The trends detailed in Ch.8. were developed from a limited database, and only hinted at the dispositions of the underlying majority. Nevertheless, intrinsic characteristics, such as home and workplace addresses, were used to differentiate between important sectors of the included group. Whilst it was recognised that data-linkage, particularly between contemporaneous EBs, rate books and maps, is ideal in generating the extensive range of variables

necessary for indiscriminate multivariate analyses of ecological patterns, the specific choice of key indicators easily depends upon a single source.

## CHAPTER 5

DATA COLLECTION AND LOCATIONAL IDENTIFICATION.a. Census data collection.

The initial stage in the process of data collection was the nominal and numerical coding of relevant household characteristics for all households recorded in the Gorbals census EBs for 1851, 1871 and 1891. This twenty-year periodicity was chosen to optimise access to the later nineteenth-century Scottish data with the time and effort involved. The period from 1871 to 1891 encompassed the greater part of the activities of the City Improvement Trust south of the Clyde (in Gorbals Parish exclusively), which enabled 'before' and 'after' reconstructions of this important redevelopment episode.

Information was coded on to specially-prepared rectangular matrices, allowing one row for each of the 23,989 households, and one or more columns for each characteristic, or variable. The resulting format was a condensed or shorthand form of nominal and numerical elements in the EBs, rather than a completely digitized computer input file. This allowed preliminary manual manipulation of the 'shorthand' version, before the selection of numerical coding procedures and salient variables for computer analysis.

The primary transcription recorded household information under the following headings:

- 1) Address. The street name and number of the building or group of buildings in which the household was resident.
- 2) Front or backland. Where given, the type of tenement in which the household was resident; that is, either a street-fronting or rear edifice. A code was adopted; 1 : frontland, 2 : backland, blank : no record.

- 3) Household size. The total of those present, excluding 'visitors'.
- 4) Occupation of head. Nominally, as given in EB.
- 5) Employees of head. The number of (normally non-resident) employees, often included in parentheses after the head's occupation. Resident employees were individually enumerated in the household.
- 6) Domestic servants employed in household. A count of resident domestics. Living-out domestics found mention in their own households, and could not be linked to client households.
- 7) Lodgers resident in household. A count of the number. Lodger families were difficult to distinguish from single lodgers within host households, as their 'relation to head' was given ('lodger'), rather than their intrinsic relations to 'lodger-household' heads.
- 8) Lodgers' occupations. Nominally, as given.
- 9) Paupers in household. Number, as declared under 'occupation'.
- 10) Windowed rooms occupied. A count of the total occupied by the household, (1871 and 1891 only).
- 11) Birthplace of head, partner, firstborn and lastborn children. As appropriate, coded in groups thus;
  - 1) Glasgow and Gorbals. 2) 'Home Counties' of Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire and Bute.
  - 3) East, Central and Southern Scotland. 4) Highland (crofting) counties. 5) England and Wales. 6) Ireland. 7) Colonies and at sea. 8) Foreign.
 Notes were taken respecting specifications given by enumerators beyond the basic definitions (e.g. foreign country, Irish county or town, English county).
- 12) Birthplaces of lodgers. A simple tally, using the grouping in 11) above.
- 13) Inferred religion of head. An admittedly subjective assessment, limited to distinguishing Irish and Foreign-born heads with apparently Catholic or Jewish

fore and surnames. Boal (1969) and Srivastava (1975) practiced nominal classification of this type for Catholics in modern Belfast and Asians in modern Glasgow respectively.

The initial collection was structured with speed of transcription in mind. Individuals' characteristics were sacrificed to the collection of selected diagnostic variables relating to the household as a whole or certain components of it, such as lodgers and servants. The substantive database was therefore unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the requirements of factorial ecology. It did provide a considerable array of diagnostic variables for a specialised study of social status and class, birthplace and housing. From this nucleus it was possible to derive compound measures, such as tenement (or address) population, tenement household totals, and house subdivision (based on these measures, and the windowed room data for 1871 and 1891). The important quality of near-universal availability for the household population of a growing and developing study area has been preserved within the limitations of time and labour.

For the purposes of computer-handling, the primary collection was further codified. All the information transcribed for computer use was converted into numerical form, using Royle's (1977) social classification, and each household 'case' was given an identity prefix. This key located each case in a specific census year, study area district, street-side, 'residential unit' and, where declared, whether resident in a front or backland. The study area was divided into five districts, as in Fig.4;

- 1) Gorbals Parish. The area within the boundary of the Quoad Civilia parish as erected in 1771. It was defined in terms of the local Registrar's ED aggregation, and in the Abstracts issued by the Registrar General's office. The district corresponded to the extent of the village of Gorbals and its immediate lands. The Portugal Street-Warwick Street block and the south-eastern corner were the only

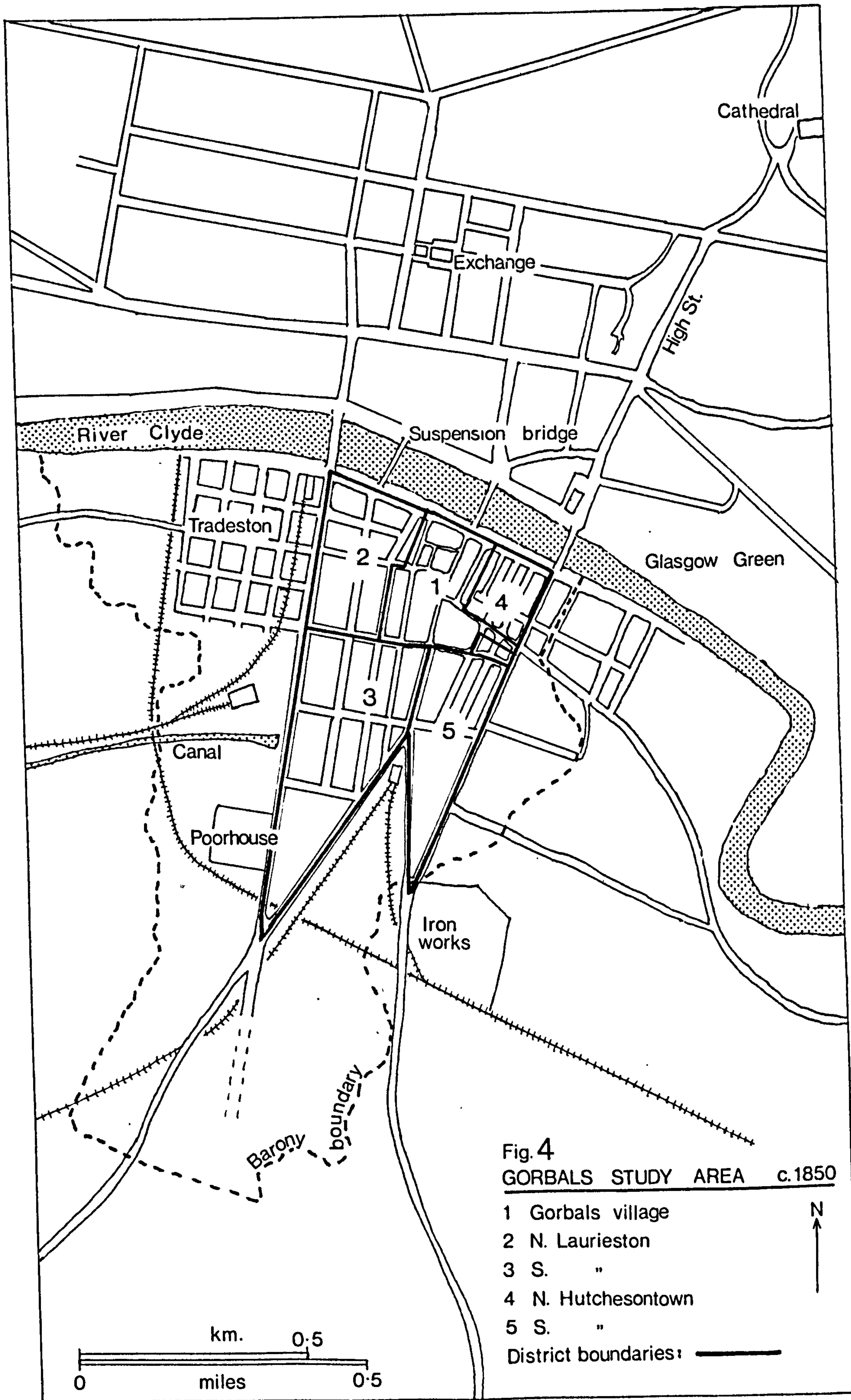


Fig. 4  
**GORBALS STUDY AREA c.1850**

- 1 Gorbals village
- 2 N. Laurieston
- 3 S. "
- 4 N. Hutchesontown
- 5 S. "

District boundaries: ———





large parcels not built up by 1800. The eastern salient (the south side of Rutherglen Loan, though it bisected N. Hutchesontown, was included in the district. The other districts were neither local authority nor registration subdivisions.

- 2) N.Laurieston. Encompassed Laurieston, north of and including the north side of Bedford Street. Largely built up by the 1840's.
- 3) S. Laurieston. Laurieston, south of and including the southern side of Bedford Street. Development, beginning in the 1830's, continued down to the 1890's.
- 4) N. Hutchesontown. Hutchesontown west of and including the western side of Crown Street, bounded on the south by Cleland Street. The blocks to the north of the Gorbals salient were built up by the 1820's.
- 5) S. Hutchesontown. Bounded by Cleland Street and Crown Street, with the southern extension of Main Street formed the mutual boundary with S. Laurieston. S. Hutchesontown was built up by 1890.

These district divisions were based upon morphological and building chronology contrasts - and the divergent historical experiences of the three districts of Gorbals Parish, Laurieston and Hutchesontown. From the following directory analysis (Ch.8.) it was thought likely that inter-district social distinctions would emerge from the census information. Consequently, these convenient divisions formed the basis for the larger scales of analysis in this project.

The address information in the original EBs was sufficiently dependable to allocate household cases to specific streets. The identification of individual buildings required cross-referencing between EBs of different dates and large-scale maps to allow for any changes in street-numbering, additions and subtractions to the housing stock between map surveys and enumerator innaccuracy or error. The adoption by the authorities of street-block or street-block fractions as EDs from 1871 in Gorbals greatly facilitated this operation (similar to that of Holmes (1974)). Total collection

made full use of the locational information inherent in the census, and allowed the arrangement of EB addresses between street junctions to be compared with cartographic representations. This grouping, at least in part, could then be identified in subsequent or preceding records. This process of cross-referencing allowed the construction of a framework of 'residential units' for each census.

b. The nature of the built environment.

Although the tenement formed the dominant domestic building type in Victorian Gorbals, variation in age, size and style within this group complicated the detailed fabric. In addition, small address-populations taken with map and pictorial evidence confirmed the importance of the minority types, notably the terraced town-houses of Carlton Place, the detached villas of S. Laurieston and the cottage or small house properties common in parts of Gorbals Parish, down to redevelopment (1871), and in certain back-streets in Laurieston and Hutchesontown, throughout the study period.

A general distinction was made between the pre-renewal fabric of Gorbals Parish, and the surrounding and post-renewal plan. The physical uniformity of the study area as a whole was greatly enhanced by the redevelopment of the Parish area, which replaced the decayed variety of old and recent tenements, cottages and non-residential uses with massive, standard-height, red sandstone tenements and institutions (see Figs.5, 6 and 7).

Figs.8. and 9. show, in generalized fashion, the variegated fabric of the old Parish area, which contrasted with the more regular building plan of Laurieston (representing Hutchesontown also). Photographs, engravings and paintings of various dates (Figs. 15-21, Ch.7.) suggested that the Parish townscape was composed of elements planned and constructed in isolation, rather than in a street or district context. The historical evidence recounted in Ch.7. suggested that buildings of many dates, adapted and supplemented by later building, formed a high-density infil of both long and short (or subdivided) plots. Building plans were generally small,



Fig.5.  
Gorbals Cross in 1917. The same area as  
Figs.15 and 17, post redevelopment. The  
tram was southbound.



Fig.6.  
The 'Citizens' and 'Palace' theatres,  
Gorbals Street (Main Street), south-eastern  
aspect (1968).

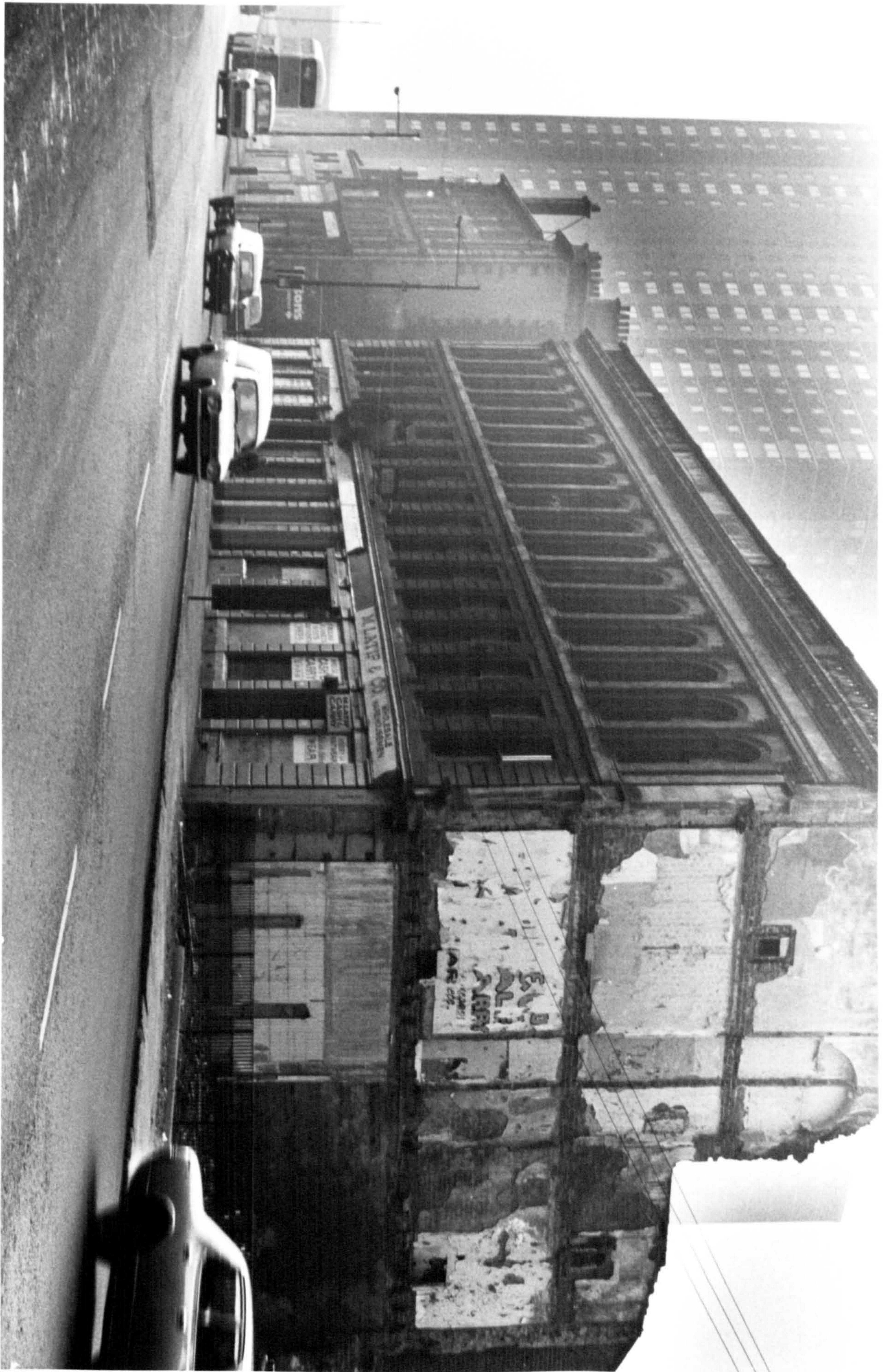


Fig.7.  
Gorbals Public Baths and wash-bouse, Gorbals  
Street (Main Street), in 1976, south-western  
aspect.

but varied in shape and alignment. Street-frontages, the highest-valued element of medieval burgages, tended to be narrow. Visual material further emphasised the variation in height amongst plot-dominant buildings. Unhappily, little visual evidence survived of backlands in the Parish. The O.S. 1:2500 (surveyed in 1858) together with Smith's plans of 1821 and 1828, Martin's of 1842 and the very large scale city Improvement Trust (1:480) plan of 1865 supplied essential information in this regard. It was clear that the process of plot repletion continued in the Parish area during the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the then less congested long plots of the southern half.

By 1865, the year before the City Improvement Act received the royal assent, some vacant land remained in this area. The maps give clues of the size and possible uses of many Parish district buildings. Features shown include outside stairs, which connected upper storeys with ground level in certain (two storey) tenements (Worsdall, 1979; 30), turnpike stair turrets (shown as circular extensions on building backs) giving access to three or four storey structures, common closes (drawn in broken lines) through multi-storey street-fronting and some rear structures and doorsteps (on O.S. 1860), which were useful in identifying some ground-floor addresses.

The elimination of exclusively non-residential structures was facilitated by using the early private surveys and the O.S. (1860), which named churches, factories, schools and public offices. Small-scale trade and retail locations particularly in the Parish area were more difficult to isolate. Again, photographs and drawings showed that at least Main Street was lined with shops and pubs at ground-floor level by the 1860's.

Though the EBs indicated that residences occupied upper floors in plot-dominant structures, it was likely that exclusively residential tenements, exclusively non-residential workshops and stores, and perhaps mixed-use structures, occupied plot tails. Single-storey cottages were less easy to differentiate from possible storage or industrial uses.

Fig.8 GORBALS VILLAGE c.1870

Generalized building pattern

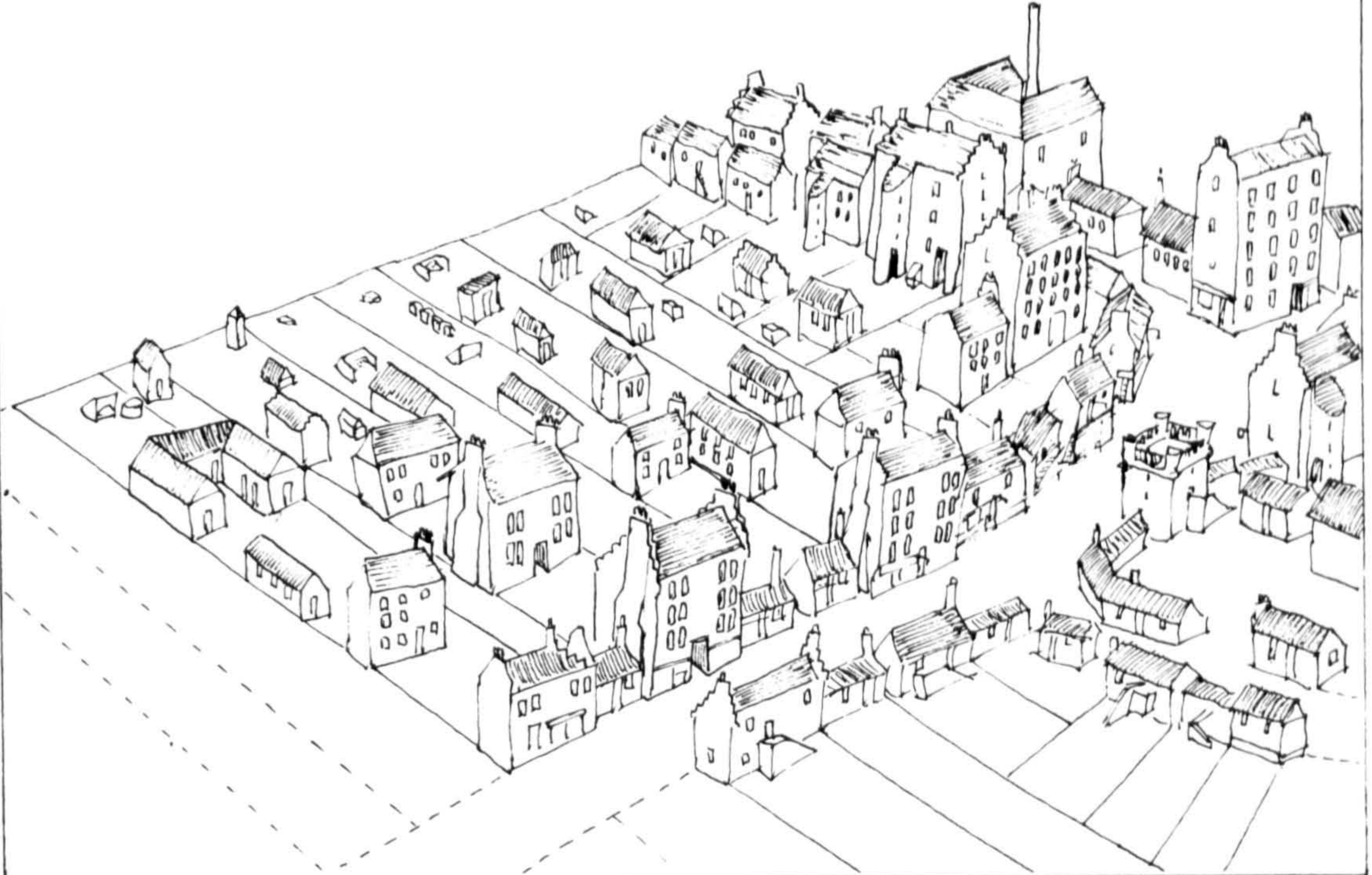
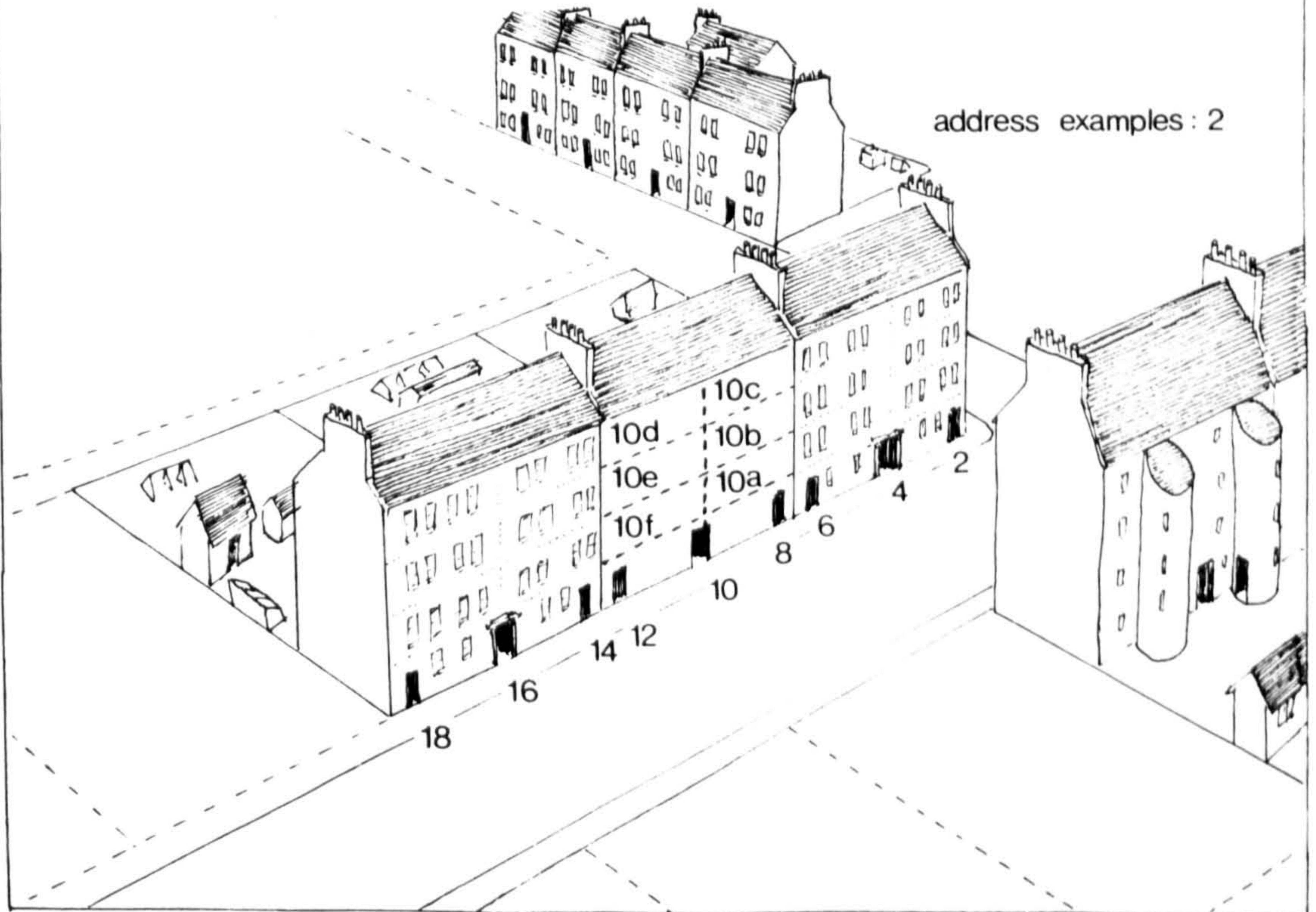


Fig.9 LAURIESTON - HUTCHESONTOWN c.1870

Generalized building pattern



Part of the Improvement Trust plan of 1865 has been abstracted (Fig.10.) to illustrate building depiction. This jumbled group on the southern boundary of Gorbals Parish proved one of the most difficult to interpret and link with the census material. Census addresses associated with multiple household residence were assumed to be linked to common closes serving a number of buildings, or the houses in upper storeys of one building served by close and stair. Addresses linked with one or two households only were taken to indicate an exclusive street door. In general, Gorbals District addresses needed more care in interpretation than those in Laurieston and Hutchesontown.

The development of ancillary structures (backlands) behind street-fronting tenements in Laurieston and Hutchesontown was on a lesser scale to Gorbals at all times. Street numbering of ground-floor houses and common closes followed a regular pattern in the EBs which may be directly related to photographic and cartographic evidence, in the example of Abbotsford Place (Fig.11.). The evidence suggested that many enumerators failed to distinguish between front and backlands, listing all the occupants under their common address. It was thus impossible to distinguish between front and backland characteristics universally.

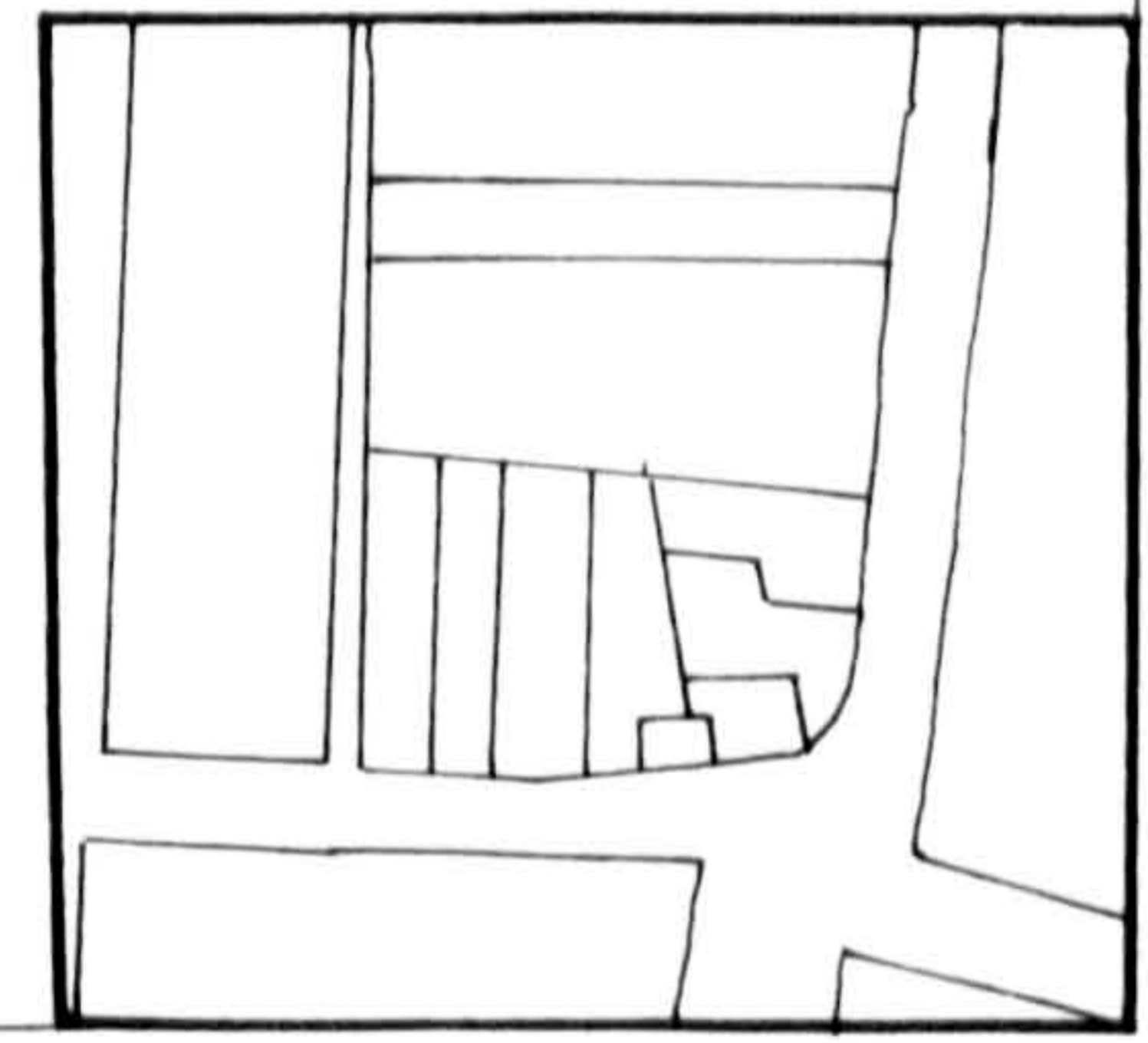
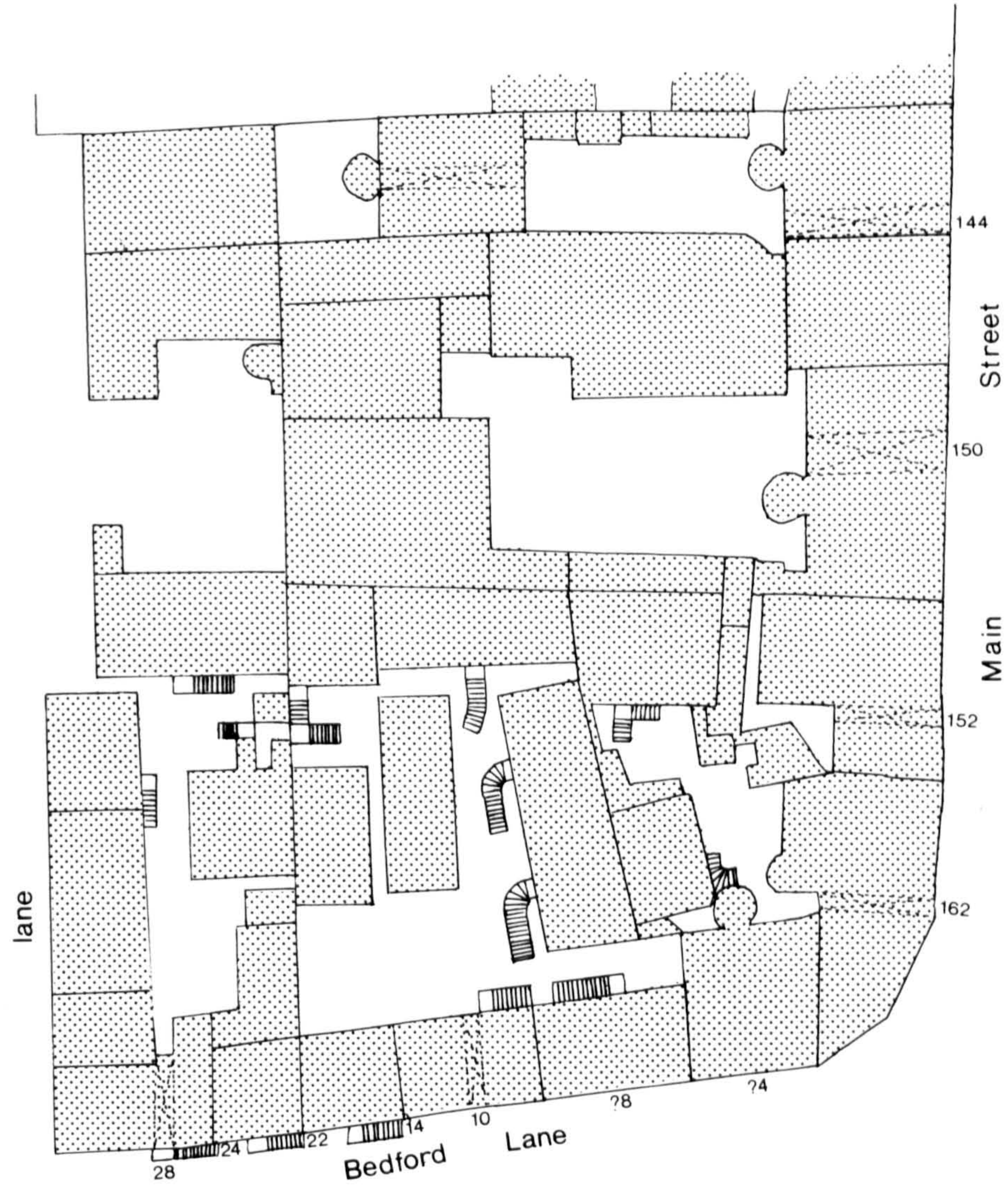
The attempts to link households via census addresses, map, photographic and 'inherent regularities' resulted in the creation of 'residential units' as a basis for small-scale study, (see Map Sequences, Ch.10.). The framework was effectively a compromise solution to a complex of requirements. The matrix roughly corresponded to an inferred building plot map, with exclusive non-residential buildings and extensive non-residential land uses omitted. Each plot roughly retained its position and shape during the study-period, though the number and type of structures and the extent of open land upon it varied. Plots uninhabited at a particular census were omitted from that census framework. Uniformity of extent was only partially attained; uniformity of population size was not. Cottage units may have been occupied by one or two households; one complex Gorbals Parish plot accommodated 60 households with a common address. Additionally, each individual



Fig.10  
Part of GORBALS PARISH from C.I.T. (1865) plan,  
with 1871 census addresses.

Scale: 1:480

Inset: Residential units



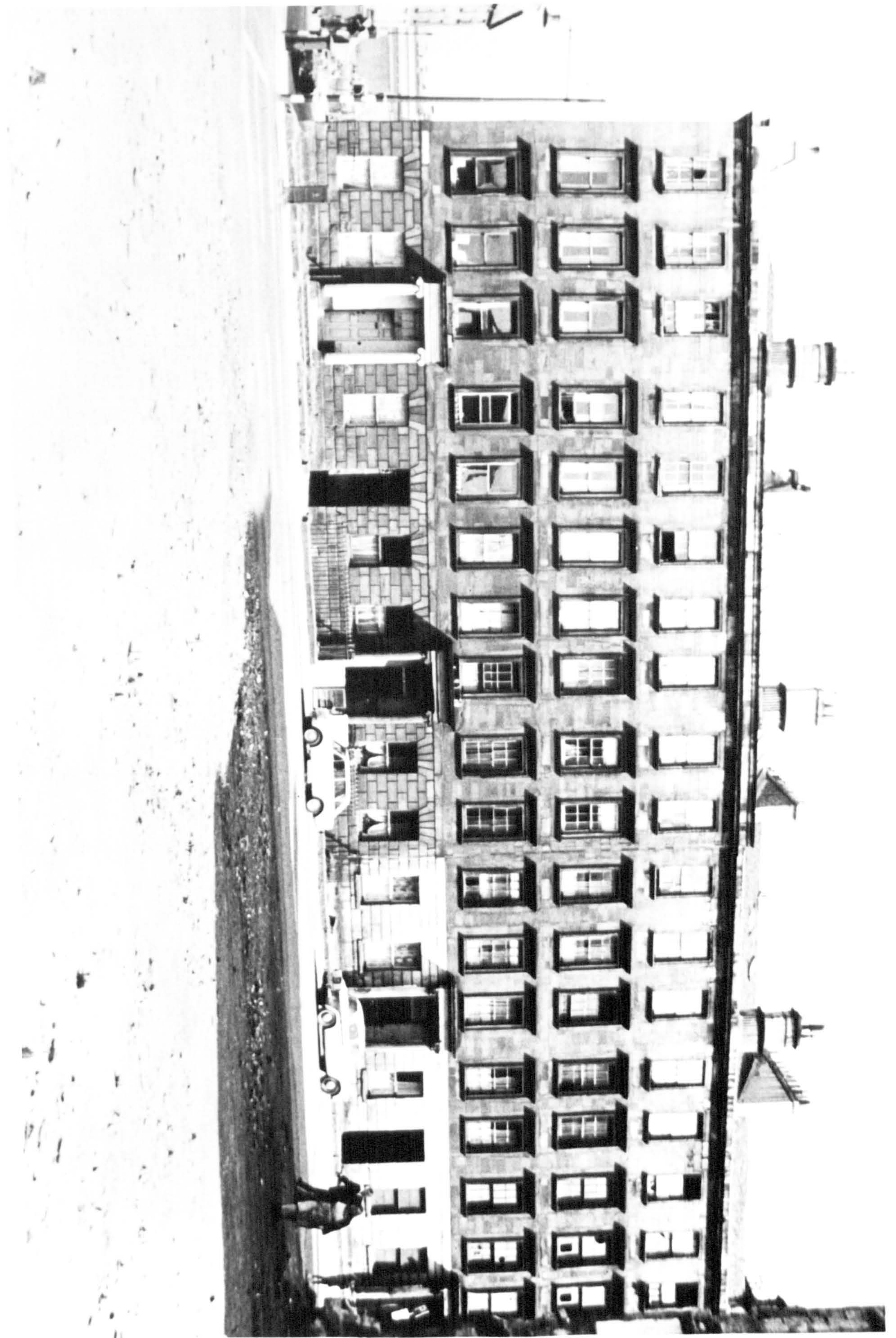


Fig.11.  
Nos.1. to 11. Abbotsford Place in 1968.  
'Large-house' tenements. Note contrasting  
exclusive and common entries.

census address could not be separately represented in the two dimensional framework, as many large tenement buildings incorporated several 'under one roof', one or two for ground-floor houses, and another attached to the common close serving the upper-storey houses (see Fig.9.). Such exclusive addresses were compounded with the common address of a particular tenement for the purposes of spatial integration, even though they would have had the ground-floor privilege of an exclusive street entrance. The extent to which ground-floor tenement houses were considered superior to upper-storey houses is not known. Gauldie (1974a) merely noted that to have one's own entrance was considered enviable amongst the "respectable poor" (15). Ease of access to burglars and relative lack of privacy may have reduced this apparent advantage. The extent to which exclusive-address households differed socially from their common-close neighbours was tested separately (see Ch.9.).

As an approximation to the actual texture of the urban fabric of nineteenth-century Gorbals, rather than an imposed regular geometry, the framework allowed small-scale residential differences to be systematically mapped for visual comparison. Social homogeneity and heterogeneity within these parcels was therefore indicative of the character of a single building, or of a small group of spatially contiguous and historically related structures (by ownership, repletion and shared amenities). As basic small-scale units the framework compared favourably with EDs as Table 2 demonstrates for 1851.

'Residential units' with small numbers of resident households formed a special problem category with regard to statistical analysis. Though perhaps socially important, the significance of two or three socially diverse households inhabiting one unit was of a different statistical order to the heterogeneity of a large unit population, or a street or district. Holmes (1977) excluded grid-squares with less than ten households from his cartographic portrayal, lest random factors caused the emergence of extreme values. In Laurieston, many middle-class tenements (constituting individual residential units) accommodated eight households only. Their exclusion would have caused radical distortion to the pattern. The characteristics of small-population units were considered sufficiently

TABLE 2

Comparison of areal divisions.

|                         | No. census<br>addresses,<br>1851 | No. inhabited<br>'residential<br>units', 1851 | No. enumeration<br>districts<br>1851 |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Gorbals Parish          | 335                              | 180   | 23                                   |
| N. Laurieston           | 277                              | 200   | 16                                   |
| S. Laurieston           | 248                              | 170   | 17                                   |
| N. Hutchesontown        | 207                              | 101   | 13                                   |
| S. Hutchesontown        | 93                               | 71  | 10                                   |
| <hr/> Study Area Totals | 1160                             | 722   | 79                                   |

important in this study to gear the sophistication of the statistical analysis to the most comprehensive and inclusive approach possible. Accordingly, the simplest scoring and averaging methods have been employed for the visual representation in Ch.10.

c. Prospects for data organization.

With the selected characteristics of each household recorded on punched cards together with a locational code, it was possible to process the data numerically, with access to the packaged routines commonly resorted to in Nie, Hull et al (1975). A variety of procedures were adopted varying in both spatial scale and statistical sophistication. The initial task was the organization of material at district scale, in order that coarse spatial and inter-censal comparisons might be made. This was facilitated by the CROSSTABS routine in addition to exploratory manual tabulations. 'Residential unit' or street-side criteria, such as social group scores, were extracted from the computer file using LISTFILE and AGGREGATE in combination with percentage counts within each unit or street side. Lastly, the changing strengths of statistical liaison between aggregated data for each census were explored using the PEARSON CORR and NONPAR CORR packaged correlation routines. The sheer size of the total data file caused many difficulties in the application of routines and hardware designed for the analysis of relatively small population samples. The temptation to compromise the universal quality of the data and either sample from it or aggregate it into fewer cases or spatial units was resisted.

## CHAPTER 6

THE GLASGOW CONTEXT.a. The growth of city and suburb.

A report presented to Glasgow Corporation concerning the state and condition of the Barony of Gorbals (1834) drew comparisons between the city and its transpontine suburb and similar configurations elsewhere; London and Southwark, Edinburgh and Leith, Newcastle and Gateshead. The Report stressed the original administrative inferiority of the satellite places. This theme, together with the gradual loss of separate identity, both physically and administratively, recurred frequently in urban history (e.g. Everitt, 1973) and may be identified in the histories of Calton, Anderston and Gorbals.

Early references, such as Anderson (1793) referred to "the Gorbals of Glasgow" implying domination or ownership of the former by the latter. Speculation over the origin of the name tended to support this aspect of city-baronry relations. Ord (1919) contrasted the view that 'Gorbals' was derived from decimae garbales, or episcopal teind barns, with a derivation from the Gaelic gar baile, meaning the "town's land" or field. As Glasgow's medieval, pre-mercantile raison d'être was the bishopric, subjugation or ownership by bishop or town was virtually synonymous.

By the late eighteenth century, Anderson (1793) had observed that any previous separate social development had ceased, as

"the inhabitants of Glasgow both baptise and bury in the Gorbals and those of Gorbals in the city". (336)

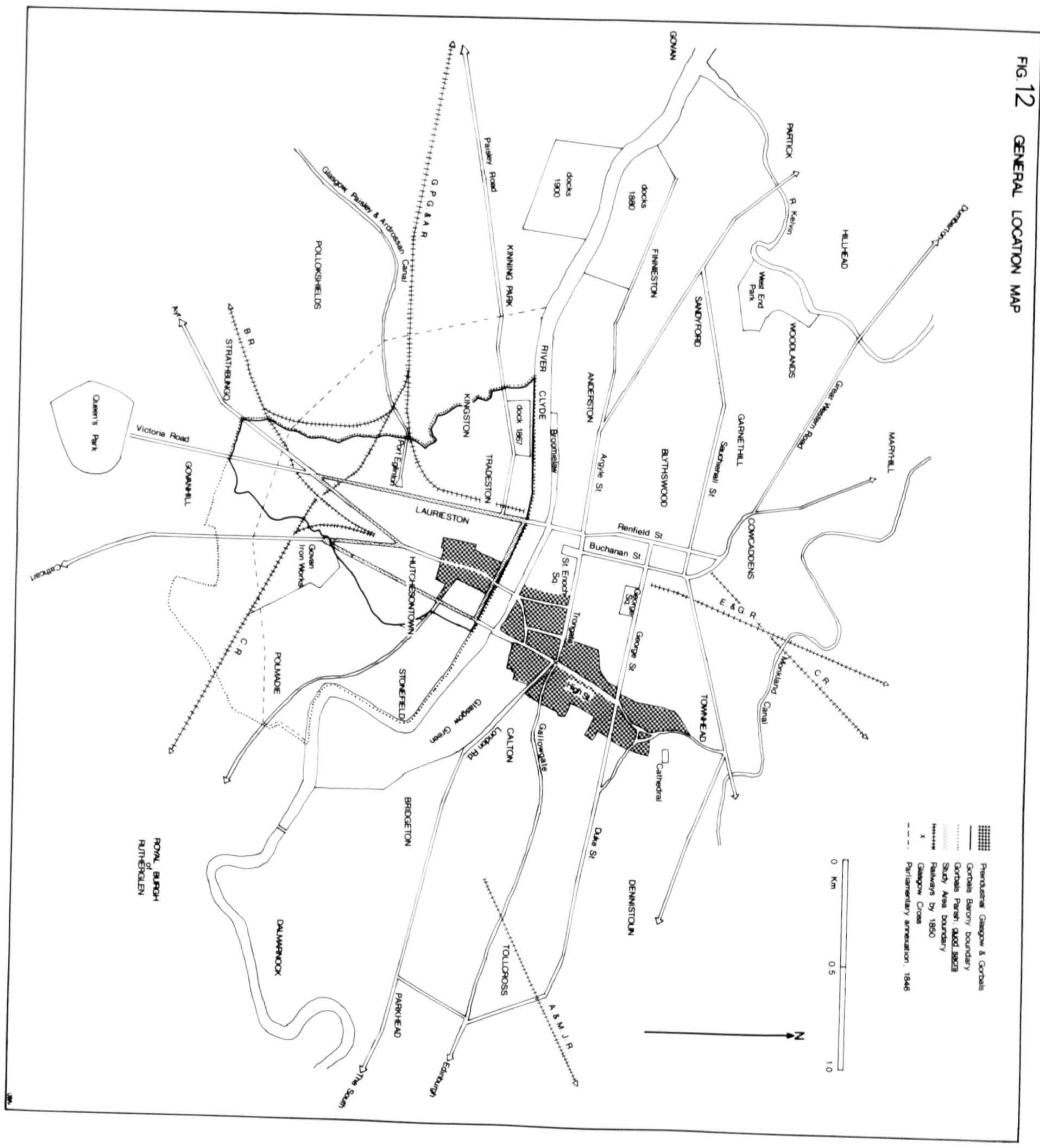
Though full administrative absorption did not take place until 1846, no account of the development of the suburb (and its transformation to inner city) could be attempted without at least outlining the progress of Glasgow itself.

It is generally acknowledged that Glasgow's growth until 1800 was based upon the secularization of ecclesiastical land around the town at the Reformation. The transformation was fuelled by wealth created in long distance trade with the English colonies, legalised by the Treaty of Union in 1707 (Kellett; 1969b). The mercantile city of the eighteenth century acquired the stately mansions of the 'tobacco barons' on its western periphery (Adams, 1978; Worsdall, 1979). This land, once rented by the bishops for agricultural uses, was appropriated by merchants (whose families had frequently been rentallers of the bishops). The Elphinstones, for instance, bought the Lands of Blythswood and the Barony of Gorbals. Corporate bodies, such as the city council and Hutcheson's Hospital, similarly acquired large tracts strategically close to the old city. The immediate western extension of the medieval city today carries street-names redolent of the economic basis of the mercantile era - Virginia Street, Jamaica Street and Havannah Street. Residential differentiation became notable by the mid-eighteenth century as changes in housing fashion drew the merchant elite out of their old city tenements to the mansions of the emerging West End (Worsdall, 1979). This residential shift was known as "brizing yont" (Kellett, 1961) and the trend was consolidated in the closing decades of the eighteenth century with the western and southern extension of the new gridiron street plan in Blythswood and Laurieston. Briggs (1963) noted the consequent decline of the central Saltmarket Street area.

This move toward suburban homes by the professional and mercantile groups in Glasgow coincided with a change in the city's economic base. The mercantile city, whose spires, piazzas and general opulence had so impressed Defoe (1727) and Smollett (1771) was entering an era of industrial expansion, characterised by the decline of the domestic textile crafts and the rise of mills and factories in the suburbs of Anderston, Bridgeton, Calton and Gorbals (Fig.12.). The decline of the area around High Street and Trongate ("The Wynds") was well documented. To Symons, (1839) reporting on the plight of the hand-loom weavers, ".... penury, dirt, misery, drunkenness, disease and crime culminate in Glasgow to a pitch unparalleled in Great Britain".

(566)

FIG 12 GENERAL LOCATION MAP





Symons noted that even the most impoverished\* weavers did not inhabit the "more criminal districts", and although the handloom workers were decidedly "inferior" to every other class of operative, yet the wynds contained ".... a population many degrees worse in terms of physical and social debasement". (565)

'Shadow' (1858) later confirmed Symons impression. To McCaffrey (1976) it was incredible that so compact a city could have encompassed such social extremes. 'Shadow's' aim, like that of Mayhew (1862) and later, Booth (1902-3), was to educate the 'other half' of the city, the middle-class Glaswegians, who knew little of the conditions and society of the old, declining city centre. 'Shadow' picked out the wynds subculture of casual labourers, prostitutes, hawkers and thieves - an 'alien race' - the archetypal slum population. It was the wynds area of Glasgow, rather than Gorbals, which caught the attention and elicited the concern of the mid-century 'social photographer' and reformer as the most debased slum. The population densities, physical decay and apparent depravity in the old central area was acknowledged to be worse than in any other district.

To Checkland (1964),

".... the business community of the high nineteenth century accepted the dilapidation of both industry and persons as a concomitant of the wealth-making process. The fact that whole areas of cities were subsiding into slums .... failed to provoke even an attempt to count unemployment". (38)

and later,

".... segregation, whether due to the unpleasant externalities of industry, or changing vogues in housing fashion, was the spatial form of class-consciousness in Britain". (42)

... Wealth was the key to westward migration, in the footsteps of the

---

\* Average handloom wage (1839): 4s 6d; factory wage 10s (Symons, 1839)

mercantile tycoons, poverty the trap of a central location 'in a state of indigence'. The new labour - intensive industries, the increased activity in docks and central business district alike, encouraged massive immigration whose trigger lay in Highland clearances, the rationalisation of agriculture generally and the history of oppression in Ireland. Between 1780 and 1830, Glasgow's population soared from 40,000 to 200,000. Although the new extensions of the West End and South Side had been started, they accommodated relatively small, relatively prosperous populations. The city's population growth in the nineteenth century is summarised in Table 3.

A massive increase in density within the pre-1800 built-up area was the result. This was achieved by the building of 'backlands' or tenements erected in the back courts of pre-existing street-fronting properties, as Annan's (1977) photographs clearly demonstrated.

Cleland (1840) was at pains to emphasise the overwhelming Irish character of the wynds population (".... the dregs of the Irish canaille ...."), blaming it on the lack of Poor Law provision in Ireland and the sixpenny steerage fare from Belfast to the Clyde.

Checkland (1964) stated that,

"By the 1820's every man of substance had moved to the new areas to the west and the north-west of the former centre, upwind from the smoke of the new engines and on the opposite side of the town from the masses of Calton and Bridgeton and north of Anderston". (43)

Early nineteenth-century experiments with middle-class housing in the south and east (in Laurieston and at Montieth Row north of Glasgow Green) were doomed, according to Checkland, due to industrial impingement, railway encirclement and low-status, particularly Irish, immigration. With the planning of large-scale exclusive developments to the west and the transport improvements that made them viable, the appeal of an inner city pied-à-terre faded (Kellest, 1961; Checkland, 1964).

TABLE 3

## City of Glasgow Population Growth; totals and estimated totals

1801 - 1891.

(Sources: Registrar General, Cleland (1832), Census Enumerators Books.)

| <u>Census Year</u> | <u>City<br/>popn.</u> | <u>No. CRGs<br/>(estim.)</u> | <u>Study Area<br/>popn.</u> | <u>No. CRGs<br/>(estim.)</u>  | <u>Gorbals Parish<br/>No. CRGs estim.</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1801               | 77,385                | 15,500                       | 3,896                       | 779                           | 760                                       |
| 1811               | 100,749               | 20,000                       | 5,199                       | 1,039                         | 950                                       |
| 1821               | 147,043               | 29,500                       | 22,359                      | 4,471                         | 1,060                                     |
| 1831               | 202,426               | 40,500                       | 35,194 <sup>Δ</sup>         | 7,000 <sup>Δ</sup><br>(5,000) | 1,500                                     |
| 1841               | 274,324               | 55,000                       | 48,275 <sup>Δ</sup>         | 9,283 <sup>Δ</sup><br>(6,000) | 2,040                                     |
| 1851               | 329,097               | 66,000                       | 36,147*                     | 7,089*                        | 2,102*                                    |
| 1871               | 466,693<br>517,636†   | 93,000<br>103,500†           | 44,042*                     | 8,942*                        | 2,128*                                    |
| 1891               | 564,981<br>703,211†   | 113,000<br>140,500†          | 39,806*                     | 8,200*                        | 1,121*                                    |

Notes:

CRG (Co-residing group): biological family, plus servants, lodgers etc.

\* Accurate figures from Enumerators Books.

Δ Includes Tradeston and East Hutchesontown. Estimates for study area in parentheses.

† Includes suburban police burghs of Partick, Govan, Hillhead, Kinning Park, Sprinburn and Maryhill. (Greater Glasgow)

In the 1870's and 80's the economy of the city underwent further transformation, characterised by Checkland (1964) as the 'second Industrial Revolution', together with a switch in emphasis from textiles to metallurgy. Urban growth, down to mid-century, had been acknowledged by the authorities in their inclusion of the inner suburbs within the administrative territory of the city in 1846 (Fig.12.). However, shipbuilding and heavy engineering works demanded larger and hence peripheral sites, and industrial land use pushed east to Tollcross, north to Springburn and west to Govan and Partick along the Clyde. The West End residential wedge expanded west and north of the River Kelvin and independent Police Burghs were instigated beyond the 1846 municipal boundary under the provisions of the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act of 1862.

These 'villa burghs', as Adams (1978) called them, (in spite of a preponderance of tenement styles) were functionally linked to the city, particularly by middle-class journeys to work and shop. Yet they remained jealously independent until the 1890's, a 'confederacy of non-cooperation' (Checkland, 1964). Gorbals, Calton and Anderston, the immediate suburbs of 1800, were by 1900 completely engulfed and decidedly 'inner city'. The inner suburbs lost whatever functional independence they had at an early date, whereas by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the peripheral Police Burghs were able to exercise considerable powers and exploit their freedom from relatively high city rates.

#### Housing and feuing.

In the context of housing in the British Isles, Scotland has long been recognized as distinctive (Smith, 1974; Best, 1973). In the extent of their 'housing problem', Scottish cities acquired a peculiarly bad reputation as the nineteenth century progressed (Gauldie, 1974a). Worsdall (1979) wrote,

"The tenement is the traditional form of urban housing in Scotland, and it found its greatest expression during the nineteenth century in Glasgow, in the greatest period of industrial expansion. Glasgow is a city of tenements".

Although largely unknown in England and Wales before 1900, similar types of multistorey dwellings had appeared in Europe and North America, with continuities of style and structure evident from antiquity (Worsdall, 1979). DeForest and Veiller (1903) published a two-volume survey of the 'tenement house problem' in the United States, including a report of the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900, which demonstrated the magnitude of the multi-storey housing sector in that state.

'Tenementum' (Latin: 'a holding') is, as Worsdall (1979) has pointed out, related to the old Scots 'land' and both land and tenement in the context of a building, rather than an area or plot, were common in Scottish nineteenth century sources such as city directories and the reports of Dean of Guild Courts, early council departments entrusted with rudimentary planning supervision.

The Scottish reliance on the canons of Roman Law and continental alliances in the Middle Ages influenced Scottish housing and urban development more than did the propinquity of English examples. The contrasts in building style within Britain has continued, albeit modified by high-rise development and central clearance, into this century as a table in Smith (1974) demonstrated. (Table 4)

Smith (1974), Adams (1978) and Worsdall (1979) related the predominant influence of the Scottish feuing system to tenement development. Other factors, no doubt complementary, such as lack of building space in the cramped defensive sites in Edinburgh and other Scottish medieval burghs, the ease of access to good quality building stone, and the traditions of the tall, narrow, vernacular tower-keep architecture have also been frequently cited as contributory factors.

In Edinburgh, the chief demographic manifestations of the tall 'lands' (often five or six storeys in height) first became evident;

"David Buchanan, a citizen of Edinburgh with a wide knowledge of the continent, writing between 1642 and 1652 commented that 'I am not sure that you will find anywhere so many dwellings and such a magnitude of people in so

TABLE 4

Houses in purpose-built multi-storey dwellings in the major cities of

England and Scotland 1966

| <u>City</u>    | <u>Total No. of dwellings</u> | <u>No. of multi-dwelling buildings</u> | <u>Per cent</u> |
|----------------|-------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| Glasgow        | 322,440                       | 282,190                                | 87.5            |
| Aberdeen       | 60,250                        | 35,310                                 | 58.6            |
| Dundee         | 63,780                        | 41,990                                 | 65.8            |
| Edinburgh      | 157,240                       | 107,680                                | 68.5            |
| Birmingham     | 325,320                       | 30,810                                 | 9.5             |
| Greater London | 2,346,750                     | 557,330                                | 23.8            |
| Leeds          | 174,410                       | 19,220                                 | 11.0            |
| Sheffield      | 169,800                       | 15,160                                 | 8.9             |
| Liverpool      | 200,310                       | 24,040                                 | 12.0            |
| Manchester     | 192,760                       | 17,300                                 | 9.0             |

(Reprinted from Smith (1974, 209) Table 8.1; source - Sample Census Reports 1966)

small a space as in this city of ours' ". (Smith, 1974; 212)

The universality of tenement design since the late eighteenth century has meant that a definition could successfully be applied then as now;

".... a domestic building of more than one storey, all the houses (i.e. flats) of which are reached by a common entrance or stair". (Worsdall, 1979; ix)

This would have recently included high-rise flats, of course. In the nineteenth century, a normal height of four storeys emerged, interspersed by less common blocks of five and three storey design. However, the number of houses in each tenement varied considerably depending on the intended social status or the degree of subsequent subdivision. Often, such characteristics were defined by the superior (original owner) of the land, an early planning feature, similar to covenants between landlord and developer in England.

The ramifications of feuing and the contrast between burgh and feudal suburb were considered in detail by Adams (1978) and Worsdall (1979). The latter gave a particularly succinct account;

"When a (medieval) burgh's elected officials gave grants of land, the new owner held that land directly under the Crown in free burgage for 'services of burgh use and wont'. Outside burghs, land was held for various returns acknowledging the link with the superior or guarantor. These returns originally took the form of services, but with the passing of time were commuted to monetary payments made twice yearly at the terms of Martinmas and Whitsunday. These feudal links produced a special phraseology in which the Crown was superior over all, under it being the King's vassals, who, in their turn as subject superiors, had vassals who might be subject superiors and so on almost ad infinitum. Each superior, on feuing some of his land, granted a charter to his new vassal, who in turn agreed to render certain services, or to pay, in money or in kind,

what was known as feu duty". (Worsdall, 1979; 16 - 17)

In the nineteenth century the feu duty came to mean a ground annual, that is, all or part of the original value of the land converted into an annual payment. Thus in contrast to the English lease and freehold alternatives, in Scotland nearly all land upon which post-medieval urban growth occurred was subject to feu duty in perpetuity in addition to the initial payment.

It was not until 1974 that the feudal suburb "... appeared to throw off the shackles of three hundred years of vassaldom, when the redemption of feus became a statutory right" (Adams, 1978; 187).

As the spirit of improvement swept Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century (culminating in widespread agricultural reforms and the New Town of Edinburgh) superiors began to include prescriptive and prohibitive clauses in the charters they granted to vassals. The superior, intent on gaining security for his feu duty which was the major part (or all) of his expected returns, encouraged the most revenue-productive development possible. The four or five storey tenement containing eight or ten large houses, or forty single-ends (one-apartment houses) was the optimal domestic land-use solution to this particular problem of economy. Naturally, it was in the vassal's interest to maximise his returns from a plot, so as to reduce the proportion needed to pay the fixed duty.

Feuing regulations contained in charters were often detailed and strict. Adams (1978) noted that the New Town of Edinburgh had "... the aesthetic values of an enlightened age imposed upon (it) by very strict feu title". (187) Where a single powerful superior, such as an aristocrat, held sway, the heritage in fine architecture, careful zoning and high status in residential areas may have been evident for decades. The Earl of Moray, for instance, required all plans to be inspected by his own architect before building was allowed on his Drumsheugh estate in early nineteenth-century Edinburgh. The superior undertook the provision of sewerage, roads and gardens (Adams, 1978; 187).



In Glasgow, an early, detailed prohibitive charter (1761) is quoted by Worsdall (1979, 18 - 19) which forbade the jettison of waste into the street (a common practice in eighteenth-century Edinburgh) and enjoined proprietors-vassal to use the midden-stead belonging to the 'land', whereupon all dung collected became the property of the Bailie who undertook to 'keep the Midden decent'. Architectural stipulations, such as the almost universal use of polished ashlar work for tenement fronts in Glasgow, guaranteed a durable high standard for middle-class tenement fabric built after 1800, and working class tenements from the 1870's at least, before building regulations and civic planning superceded the superiors' dicta in the twentieth century.

As the potential for influencing subsequent changes in residential areas rested with the superior during the bulk of the nineteenth century, great variability in the scope and scale of feu formulae was to be expected. Adams (1978) maintained that economic expediency and the rise of the institutional subject superior combined to overlook the original superiors' intentions. Some institutions, such as Hutcheson's Hospital and the City Improvement Trust in Glasgow, strove to maintain exclusivity from noxious and deleterious land-uses. Others, such as the Trades House, demanded little or nothing in the way of nuisance abatement, as their intention was to foster industry. The minimal requirements of nuisance legislation and local ordinances (largely consequent on the Nuisances Removal and Contagious Diseases Act of 1846) proved ineffective in combating the 'externalities' of industry.

b. The housing problem.

Worsdall (1979) claimed that today the word 'tenement' has become synonymous with 'slum' and that this equivalence has meant the twentieth-century destruction of much that was of architectural and social importance. In the nineteenth century, the tenement house was the characteristic domestic unit of a wide social spectrum. During the first half of the nineteenth century, most new building catered for the emerging urban middle class; the professional and mercantile groups, manufacturing masters large and small together with a petit bourgeois component of clerks and managers. Housing for the proletariat was largely confined to the central, pre-

industrial areas of cities, where rents were made low, per capita, by overcrowding and subdivision (Gauldie, 1974b). In these central districts, such as the Wynds of Glasgow, the repletion of burgage plots added low-cost speculative housing to the existing stock. The 'backlands' were considered by Best (1973) to have been "a disreputable means of making a profit". They incurred no additional investment in land or services, the original tenants sharing theirs with their new neighbours.

"From this point onwards the majority of citizens were now denied fresh air and sunlight and compelled to live at densities in excess of 1,000 persons per acre. The classic Glasgow slum had been formed". (Smith, 1974; 214)

Mixed class areas, according to Gauldie (1974b) rapidly deteriorated into one class slums. She admitted that a large number of houses were built in the first half of the nineteenth century, but that "those in need created no demand". Houses were unoccupied because rents were too high, or they were sited too far from places of employment.

"The partition of towns into exclusively one-class areas, was begun then chiefly because of the pressure of rapid population growth upon land resources. Land became so expensive that in some areas it attracted superior estate lay-out, while in others high cost encouraged infilling of marginal land to the detriment of the existing neighbourhood". (Gauldie, 1974b; 19)

This effect could not have been so pronounced without a certain degree of complacency on the part of the urban authorities and the middle class with regard to the condition of the poor.

Filtering, or the progressive 'migration' of housing down the market to satisfy low-income needs, was largely relied upon in nineteenth-century cities in situations where speculative building was unprofitable. Butt (1971) supplied illustration of the failure of the market to provide single-family housing to a growing proportion of Glasgow's population in the latter half of the nineteenth century,

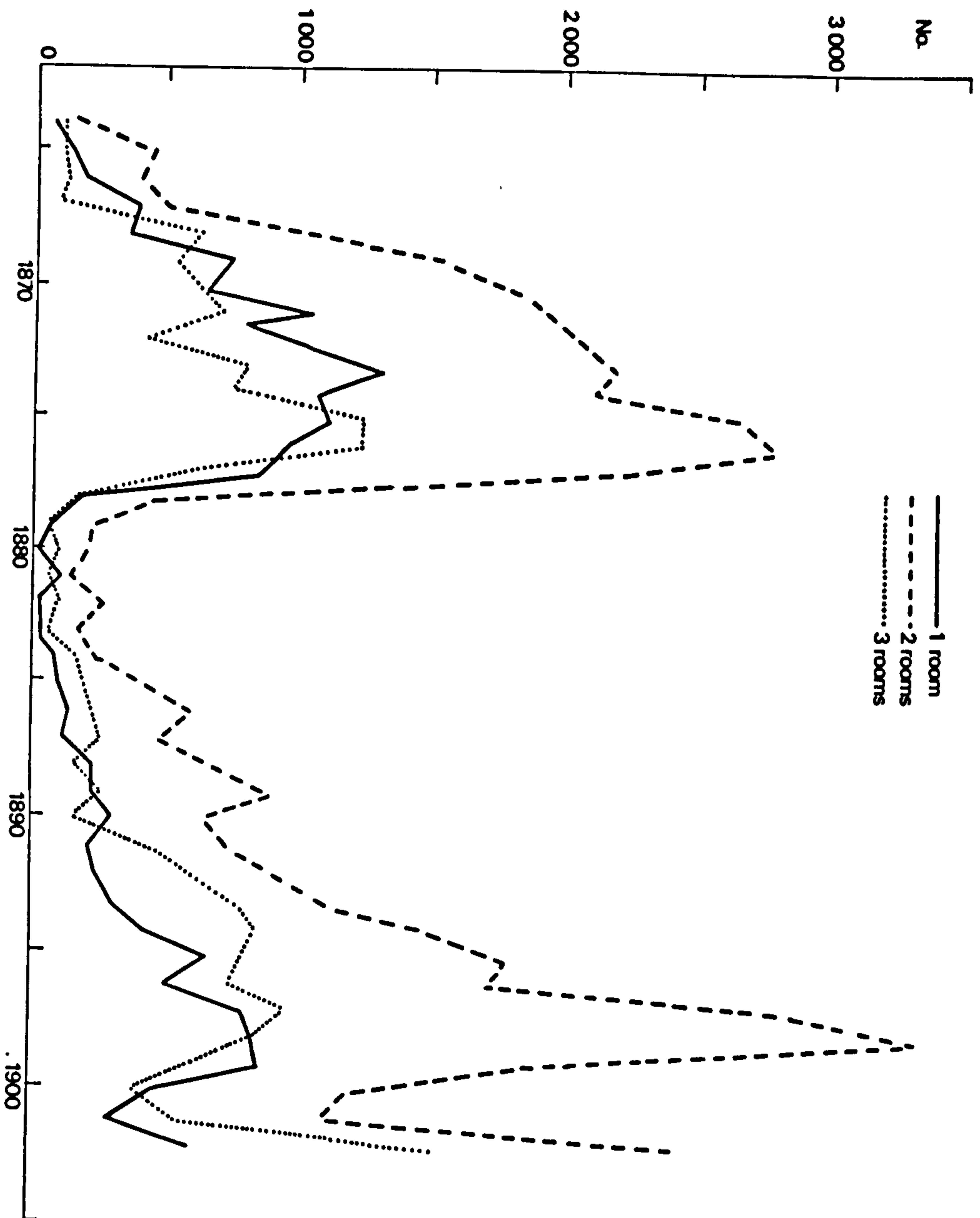
with the concomitant rise in multi-occupancy. (See Table 5.)

The vagaries of the house construction sector in mid to late Victorian Glasgow were well demonstrated by Damer in a graph drawn from Dean of Guild Court records (Fig.13.). The Court required notification of all new house building; it did not record the growth of house units caused by subdivision of old properties. The influence of the national and local financial crisis of the late 1870's and 80's was marked, as were the continued 'popularity' (with builders) of the single-end and room-and-kitchen designs into the present century. This was remarkable, considering the bad reputation of such housing following on the castigation by J.B. Russell (1888), Medical Officer of Health, of 'Life in one room'.

Butt (1971), Damer (1976) and Worsdall (1979) agreed that the primary source of capital for working-class tenements in the middle and latter years of the nineteenth century, was, what Butt calls the 'shopocracy' and Damer the 'small-capital petite-bourgeoisie'. This group suffered an investment crisis in the later decades. Accordingly, Scotland, and in particular, Glasgow, became the testing ground for a battery of local and national legislation, collectively known as municipal socialism. Its origins lay in a very different set of actions in the 1830's and 40's - the movement for the moral and sanitary reform of the lower classes. Their concentration in old central urban areas had roused fears of disaffection and rebellion consequent on combination, a situation largely realized in the working-class ferment of the 'Hungry Forties'. Allan (1965) has traced the gradual acquisition of powers and responsibilities, both by design and expedient, by Glasgow Corporation; the demolition of dangerous or decrepit buildings (1843) followed by the comprehensive City of Glasgow Improvements Act of 1866. The various Public Health and Police Acts, which become more frequent in the latter two decades of the nineteenth century, culminated in widespread and varied municipal ownership in default of private enterprise and through collectivist ideology by the 1890's.

By the latter two decades of the nineteenth century, as the efforts of the authorities to reduce mortality (by the provision of pure water from Loch Katrine and near-universal access to sewerage) had

Fig.13  
Houses in buildings granted linings by Dean of Guild Court, 1862-1902.



source: Damer (1976) p.13

TABLE 5

Glasgow: House and household discrepancy, 1851 - 1891.

| <u>Census Year</u> | <u>Houses available</u> | <u>No. CRG's*</u> | <u>Percent CRG's* above<br/>inhabited houses</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--|
| 1851               | 64,700                  | 64,854            | 2.62   |
| 1871               | 103,010                 | 106,861           | 5.60   |
| 1891               | 140,830                 | 144,828           | 7.24   |

\* CRGs = Co-residing groups.

(Source: J. Butt (1971) Working class housing in Glasgow; Chapman, S.D. (1971) The history of working class housing; a symposium; David and Charles; Newton Abbot; Ch.2. 55 - 92).

begun to bear fruit, attention became focussed more and more on housing. The villain of the piece according to Russell (1888b) was the 'single-end'. Worsdall (1979) considered one-roomed apartments were suitable for single people, but most were overcrowded. 25 per cent of the city's population lived in one room; 45 per cent lived in two in 1888. Russell reported a single-end death rate of 38 per 1,000 that year, compared to 16 - 17 per 1,000 in areas with 'larger houses'.

"I can only venture to lift a corner of the curtain which veils the life which is lived in these houses. It is impossible to do more". (Russell, 1888b; 198)

The Medical Officer's reports showed that an improvement in housing standards for the crowded small-house populations could be possible with an explicit municipal subsidy. Although 'artisans' housing' was eventually built by the City Improvements Trust, which, in the guise of the Corporation, remained the landlord, rents were based on the costs of the purchase and demolition of the old properties plus the construction of the new, investment in land and so on, and remained out of reach of the displaced population. As Allan (1965) remarked,

"Not even municipal Glasgow was prepared, in the 1890's, for publicly subsidised housing". (609 - 610)

The two major forces pitted against the general trend towards inner city dilapidation in the latter half of the nineteenth century, were the City of Glasgow Improvement Trust, set up by Act in 1866, and the competing railway companies desire to establish city centre termini. The Trust bought, and at length demolished, large tracts of 'preindustrial' Glasgow, at first selling off land in building plots, and eventually building a number of tenements and other buildings itself, partly as an example to private enterprise, partly under the influence of socialist ideas in ascendancy in the 1890's. The Trust was unpopular with city ratepayers, who shouldered the initial capital burden; long periods of inactivity as a result of depression in the 70's (following the collapse of the City of

Glasgow Bank in 1878) left it in the shameful position as the city's largest slum landlord. Lucrative slum rents from acquired property awaiting demolition allowed the trust to survive the slump (Allan, 1965; 606). As Allan has demonstrated, by the 1880's, when rebuilding in the old inner areas (including Gorbals village) was under way, many new jerrybuilt slums had appeared which were outside the Trust's remit. Many writers, including Kellett (1961, 1969a), Checkland (1964) and Gauldie (1974b), argued that peripheral districts to the Trust territory suffered further decline due to their reception of the large class of poor people excluded from the more expensive new property (at lower densities and in larger house-units) erected on the cleared land. So much so that Allan (1965) estimated by 1902, when 'preindustrial Glasgow' had largely disappeared, the slum problem was as bad as ever.\* Lamont (1976) considered that the impact of the Trust on Glasgow was immense, both locally, in upgrading the housing and social tone in its area, and for spreading even wider problems of poverty, overcrowding and decay, problems it was not equipped to deal with.

If anything, the railway companies exercised an even less benign influence on the city centre and the inner suburbs. The building of St. Enoch Station entailed the demolition of much of the wynds south of Trongate during 1864 - 76 (Kellett, 1969a), and the College Goods Station-High Street Station complex was sited on the notorious Havannah Street Vennel area to the east of High Street. However, their positive contribution to the city's housing stock was limited to small schemes for their own workers, such as that at Cowlairs, Springburn (Worsdall, 1979; 103 - 4).

Kellett (1969a) claimed that the inner suburbs such as Laurieston were particularly susceptible to the railway expansion of the 1870's and 80's. When the Glasgow and South Western and Caledonian Railway Companies built St. Enoch and Central Stations on the edge of the central business district, the displaced low-status population and

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\* There were 15,000 'scheduled' slum houses in 1866; by 1902 there were 20,000 so described (Allan, 1965; 613).

the 'walled city' effect of new embankments and bridges had caused a rapid deterioration of Laurieston into "a slum annexe of Gorbals" by 1900, according to Kellest (1969, 293). Anderston, Kellest pointed out, suffered a similar decline without railway impingement, indicating causal complexity.

It has been a subsidiary theme of this thesis to explore these contentions further in the light of evidence derived from the Gorbals study.



CHAPTER 7

THE BARONY OF GORBALS: PHYSICAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL CHARACTER.

a. Beginnings.

The history of Gorbals prior to 1800 recalled a Barony of agricultural land and heaths, "upwards of 400 acres in extent" (Anderson, 1793; 333) centred on a village called Bridgend, or Gorbals, on the south bank of the River Clyde nearest Glasgow (Fig.14.).

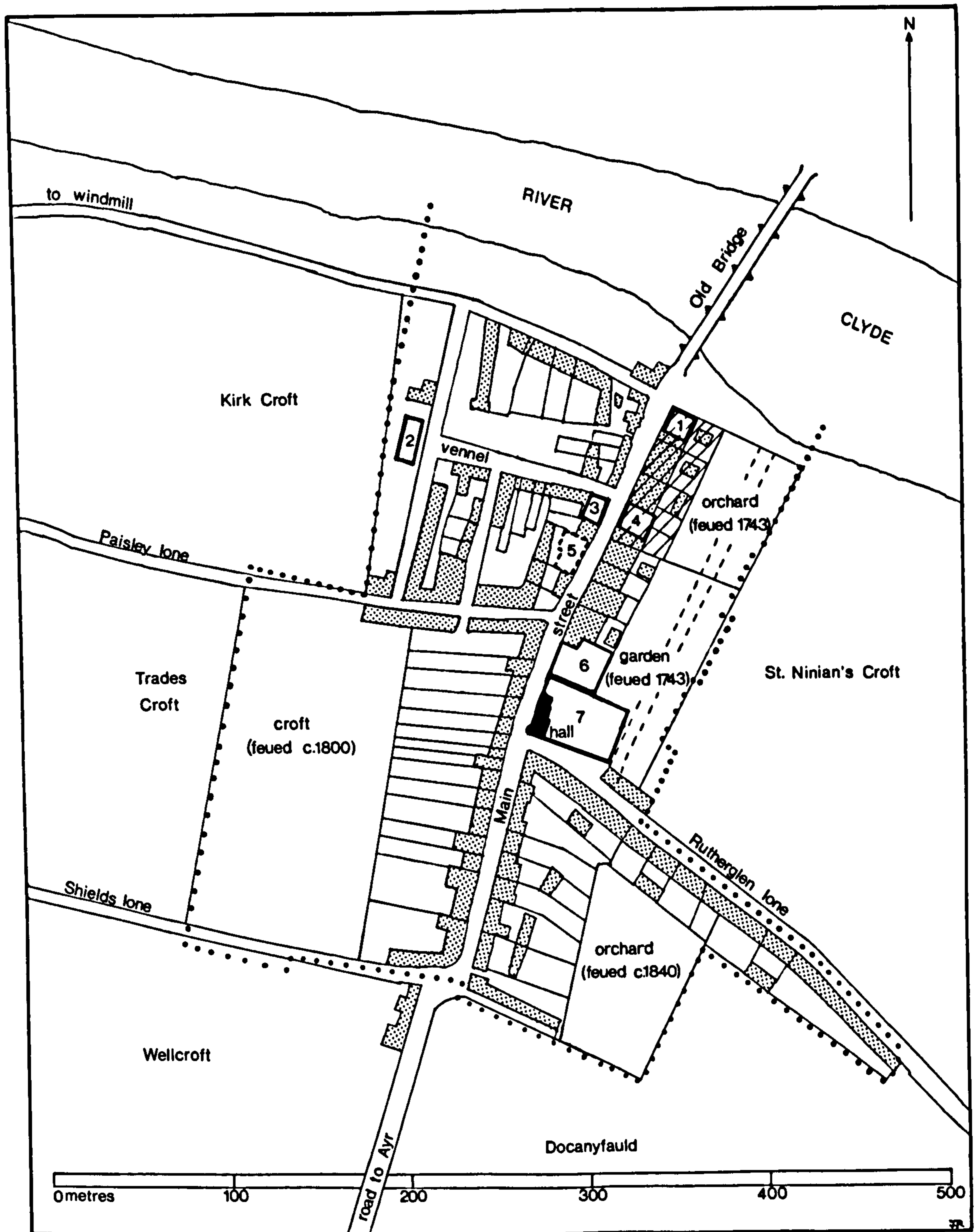
Historians of Glasgow agreed that the village probably pre-existed the first stone bridge, built near the site of a ford, in 1345 at the behest of Bishop Rae (Ord, 1919; Stuart, 1848). Ord (1919) quoted a charter of 1579 in which Archbishop Boyd converted George Elphinstone's rental into a feu holding for,





".... all and whole our six-pound land, of extent, of Gorbellis and Bridgend, with the Pertinents...." (20)

The Elphinstones of Blythswood (Fig.12.), another district to be developed after 1800, held the Barony of Gorbals down to 1634. They obtained greater independence from the Archbishops and more comprehensive legal powers within the Barony. Gorbals was never erected into a burgh, however, as some early historians and later administrators believed (Municipal Report, 1834) and 'village' remained the usual title down to the mid-nineteenth century. Macgeorge (1880) noted that the Elphinstones were granted the offices of hereditary bailie and justiciary in 1607, and had power to hold courts; "the inhabitants were thus formed into a community" (161). The population of the Barony and village in this early period was not known, but by 1771 it had reached a modest 3,000 (Anderson, 1793).

The physical characteristics of the medieval village have been inferred from tradition, rather than extant relics. The oldest buildings surviving into the Victorian period belonged to the baronial complex (See Fig.14.) dating from George Elphinstone's

Fig. 14 GORBALS PARISH: Pre-1800 composite plan



- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Andrew Park's tenement, built 1723 |  Site of Leper Hospital, c.1300 |
| 2. Chapel, 1730; kirk, 1771           |  Parochial boundary, 1771       |
| 3. Community Land, 1748               |  Built-up area, c.1770          |
| 4. John Smith's tenement, c.1694      |  Muirhead Street, c.1800        |
| 5. 'The Ark' (?)                      |  |
| 6. George Swan's lodging, 1687        |  |
| 7. Baronial complex, 1590-1640        |  |

Sources: McDonald (1912); McArthur (1778); Kyle (undated); O.S. (1860)

feudal superiority in about 1600.

Later additions to the turreted house and chapel dated from Viscount Belhaven's superiority in the 1630's. Nineteenth-century graphic and photographic evidence of these buildings abounded (Figs.15,16, 17,19,20 and 21). Of the village itself, Anderson (1793) and Ord (1919) presumed its origins lay in a double row of thatched maltsters' cottages stretching from the bridges and ford southward for some distance along the Ayr road. An early tradition of malting barley in Gorbals was reflected in a number of maltsters' headstones in Gorbals Old Burying Ground (Ord, 1919). The spaces between the earlier steadings were occupied by weavers' houses after 1730 (Anderson, 1793).

McArthur's map (1778) and a sketch by Kyle (1840), probably copied from a map of about 1775, showed that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century building behind the street frontage properties had occurred (See Fig.18.). This tendency for infil, or 'repletion' (Conzen, 1960), was seen along the 'lones'\* leading to Paisley, Rutherglen and Shields, and behind the frontage of north-east Main Street. The most thorough reconstruction of the medieval street plan was confined to this north-eastern quarter of the village (McDonald, 1912). It was thought to have contained a leper hospital and chapel (St. Ninian's), endowed by a contemporary of Bishop Rae, Lady Lochow, and was later the site of the baronial complex, known in the 17th and 18th centuries as the Town's Great Lodging.

A number of early tenements were located in this vicinity (See Fig. 14.) and the extent of the built-up area by about 1750 has best been established there. The orchards and gardens belonging to village feuars were separate from the more extensive surrounding farm crofts. This distinction was further enhanced administratively when the new Parish of Gorbals quoad civilia was disjoined from that of Govan in 1771.

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\* or 'loans' (see Glossary, Appendix 2).

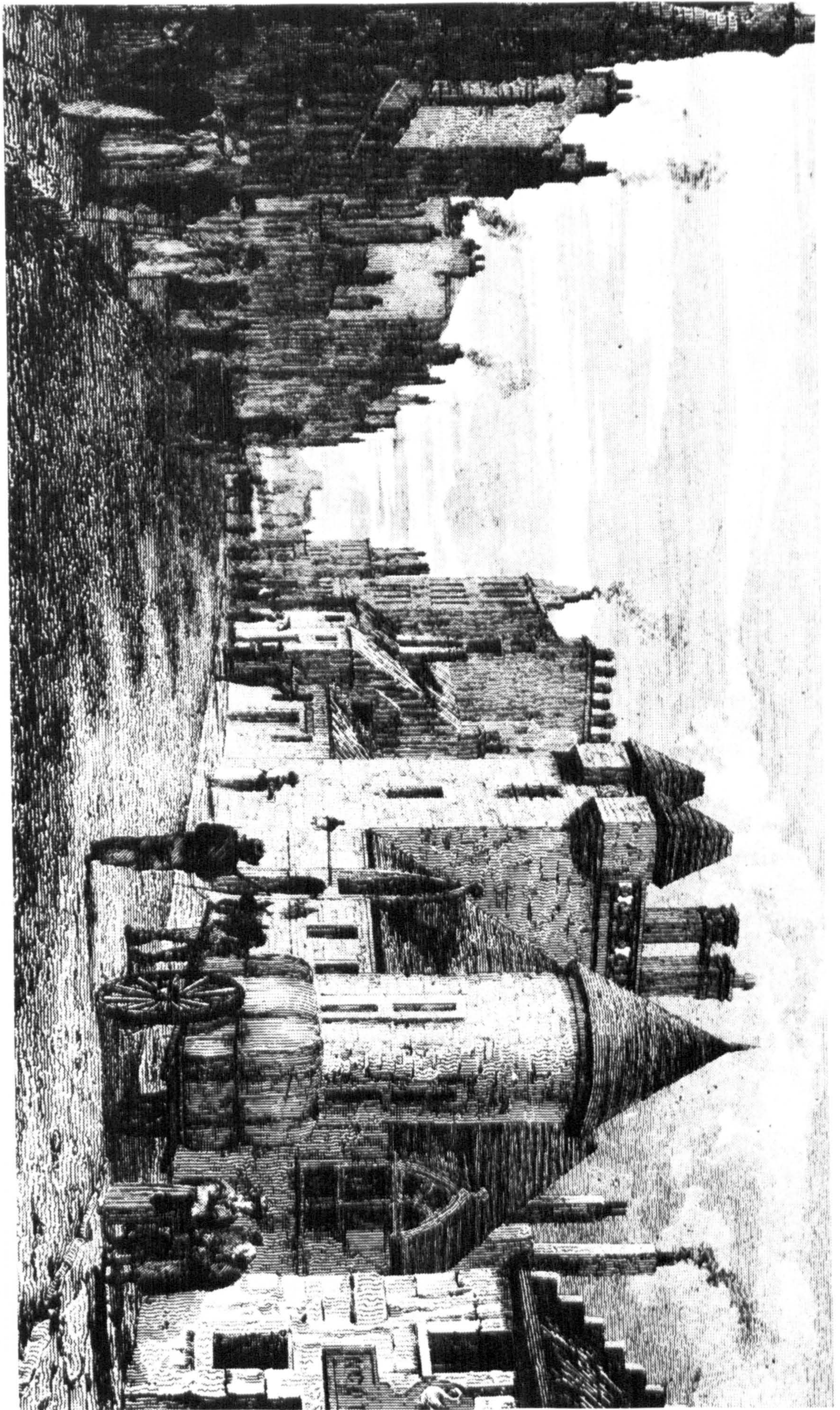


Fig.15.  
Main Street, Gorbals, in 1828 (Swan),  
northern aspect.  
Baronial chapel and tower, centre-right.

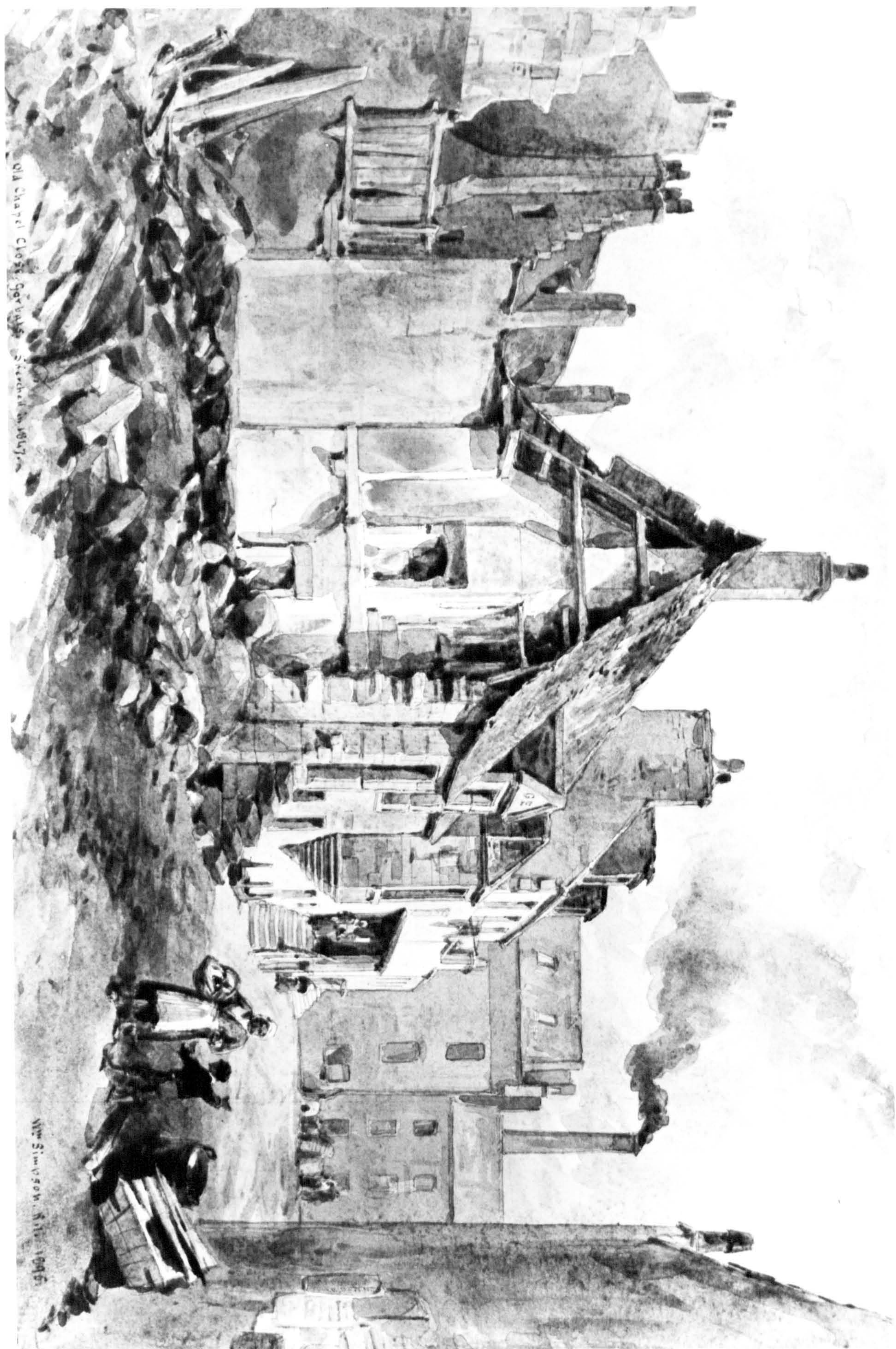


Fig.16.  
'Old Chapel Closs', Gorbals, in 1847  
(Simpson), eastern aspect. Monogram of Sir  
George Elphinstone on cottage, centre.



Fig.17.  
Main Street, Gorbals, in 1868 (Annan),  
northern aspect. Baronial tower, centre-  
right. 'Chapel Cross' second entry on right.

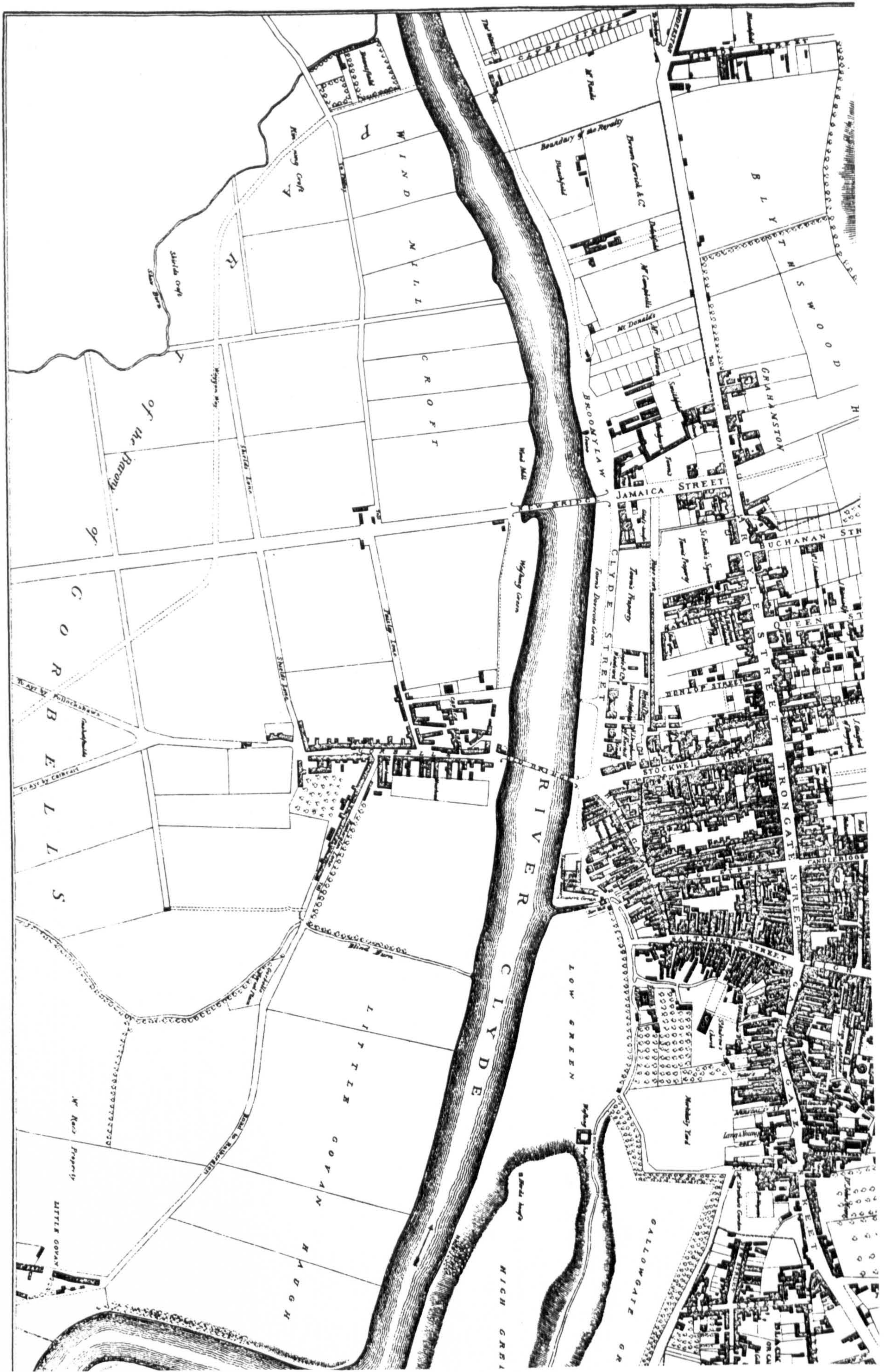


Fig.18.  
Part of McArthur's (1778) map. Eglinton Street connects with the 'New Bridge'.

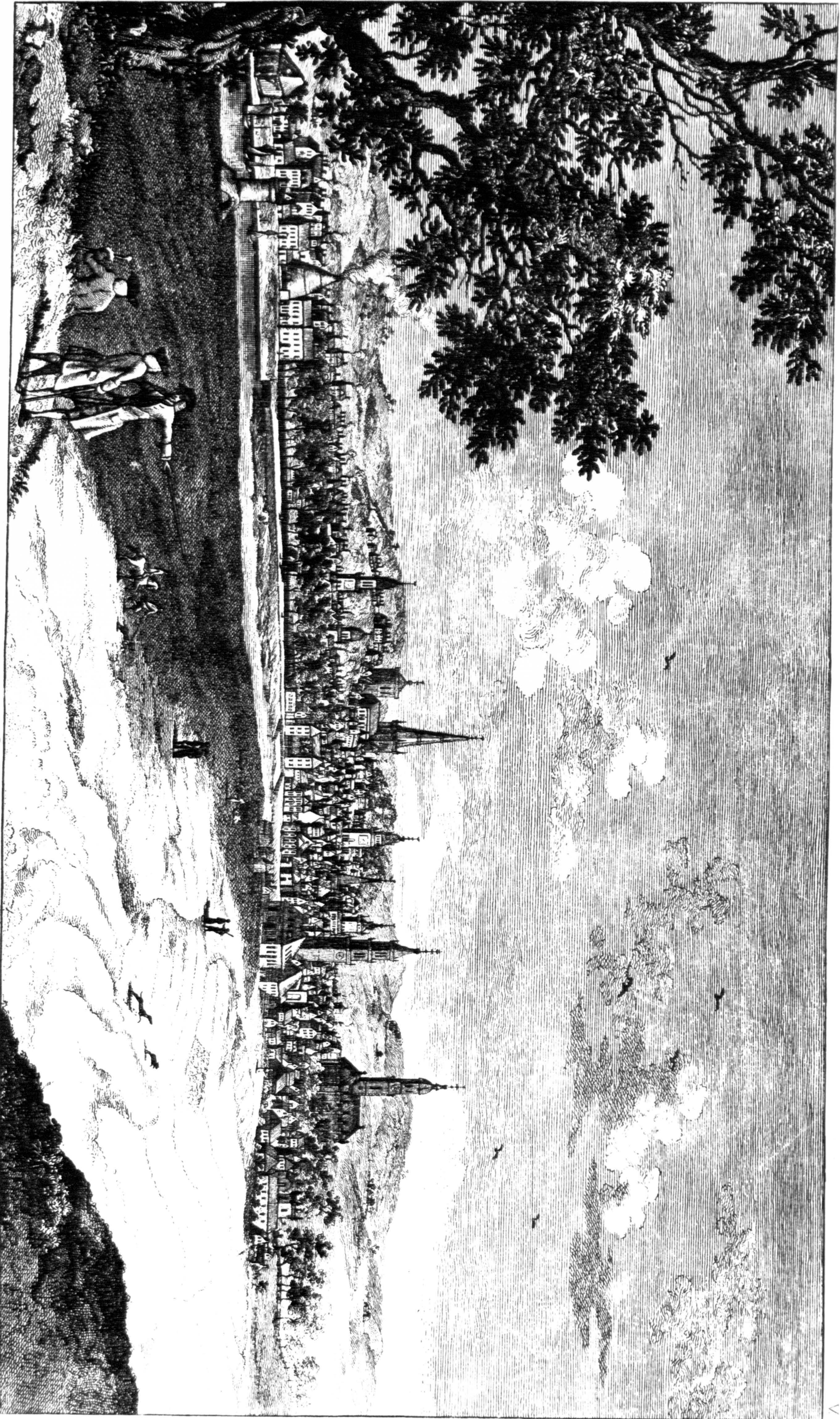


Fig. 19,  
Paul's (1764) View of Glasgow. Baronial  
tower appears on right.

*A View of Glasgow  
from the South-West.*





Fig.20.  
Main Street, Gorbals, in 1868 (Annan),  
southern aspect. Note general dilapidation  
and thatched roof, left.

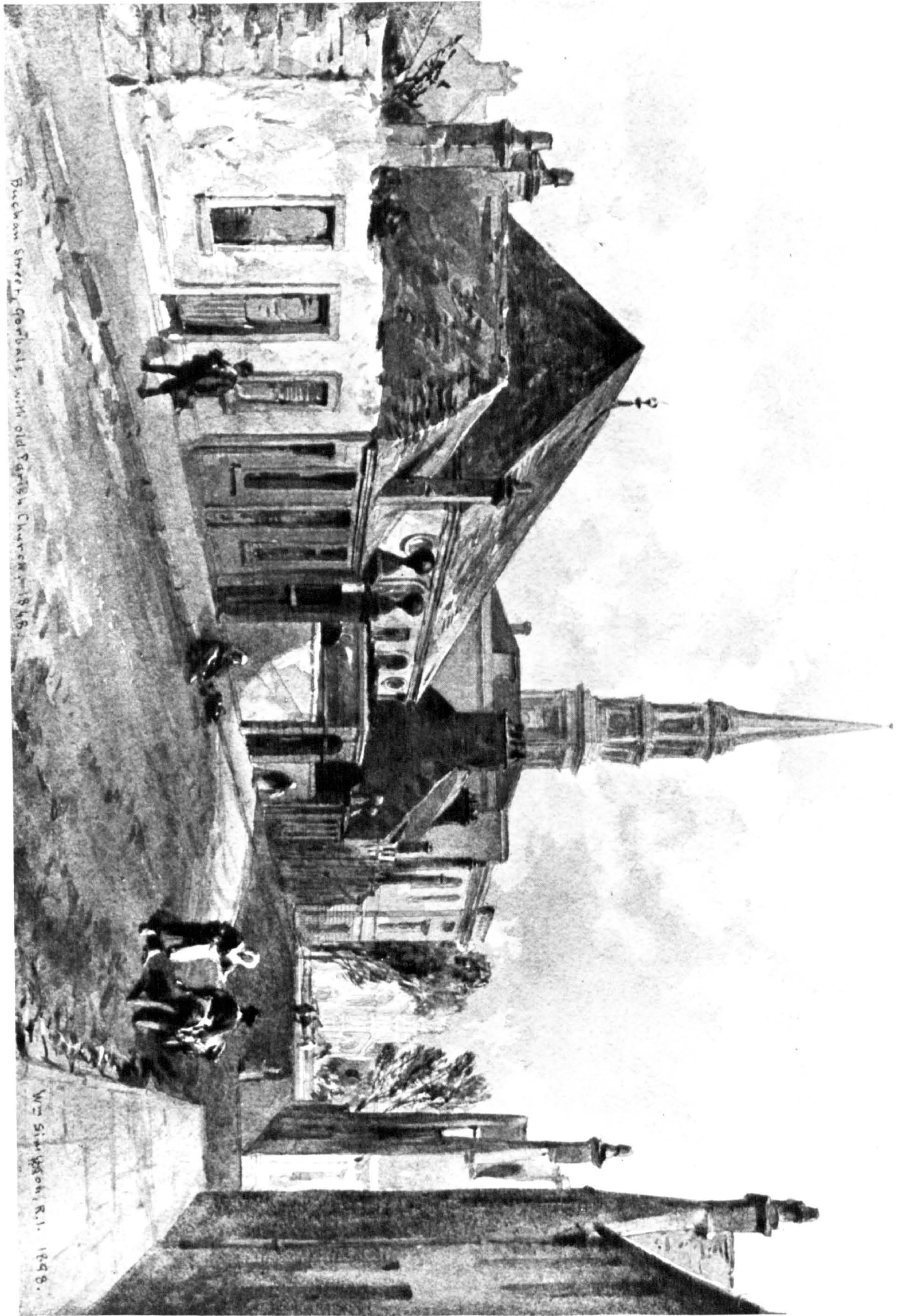


Fig.21.  
Buchan St., Gorbals, in 1848 (Simpson). The  
old parish church, centre-left (then, Gaelic  
Chapel) and spire of the new, centre.

The earliest pictorial evidence of the village as a whole, an engraving in the Mitchell Library (Paul, 1764; Fig.19.) suggested that the baronial residence and chapel marked the southernmost extent of the built-up area in the mid-eighteenth century. The distinctive turreted square tower appears on the immediate right-hand side. This was considered significant, because in later, more detailed maps (particularly Smith's (1821), the Ordnance Survey (1806) and the City Improvement Trust (1865)), the long narrow plots of the southern part of the village were not represented in the more densely built-up area to the north of the baronial complex. As the original central portion of Glasgow (the 'preindustrial' core) had been arranged in traditional burgage plots, it was curious to note that the old property alignments suggested by McDonald (1912), and extant on Smith (1821) (Fig.25.) and the Ordnance Survey (1860) left no room for long, narrow plots. Instead, it seemed as if the special nature of the pre-existing medieval hospital property boundaries influenced the post-Reformation layout in the north-east quarter of the village. The southern village plots, unlike their city counterparts to the north of the river, were not densely built up, according to map evidence, in the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, as Symons (1839), 'Shadow' (1858) and others noted, the greatest population densities, and most desperate squalor, were to be found in the wynds of the city centre. Modern histories repeated this contrast (e.g. Kellett, 1967). A process of gradual repletion of the plots in varied building types was discerned, until the old boundaries and properties were superceded during the City Improvement Trust clearance programme of the 1870's and 80's.

Ord (1919), echoing Anderson (1793), stated that a fire devastated the greater part of Gorbals village in 1748;

"The fire began in the back houses on the east side of Main Street, burned to the front lands and communicated itself to the west side of the street and burned from New Street (vennel, or Kirk Street) to Paisley Loan on both sides",  
(77 - 78)

quoted Ord of a contemporary account. From this, it would appear that back houses, or 'backlands', were in existence as early as the

middle of the eighteenth century, and that the greater part of the village was situated north of Paisley and Rutherglen Loans. Swan's (1828) engraved view of Main Street north and the earliest photographs of Main Street by Annan (1868) showed remarkable continuity in townscape (Figs.15. and 17.).

The baronial tower and several great tenements appeared largely unchanged over the period; Annan's view of Main Street south tended to confirm its lesser density, with fewer street-front tenements. Unfortunately, little pictorial evidence survived of the village area behind the street frontage, excepting the aquatints by Simpson (1896), sketched in the 1840's (Figs.16. and 21.). The painting of 'Old Chapel Cross' gave a particularly fine impression of the state of decay in the older parts of the physical fabric by mid-century.

b. Industrial suburb.

Renwick (1902) suggested that the trades of Gorbals suffered greatly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the repressive influence of the nearby incorporated (hence advantaged) burghs of Glasgow and Rutherglen. Anderson (1793) and Ord (1919) noted that - apart from the original maltsters - weavers, gunsmiths and skinnners settled in Gorbals village, and that the various trades achieved relatively advanced stages of organization for an unincorporated place. Documents, reprinted in the original Scots form in McEwan (1980) related the attempts at agreement in various disputes between the weavers of Glasgow and Gorbals during the seventeenth century.

The Gorbals weavers struggled to be independent from Glasgow's 'booking money' rates (a charge levied on new journeymen settling in a town), from their obligation to sell their wares in the city, and from paying the Glasgow trades for every extra loom set up in Gorbals. The Glasgow weavers, in attempting to equalise the terms of craft membership on both sides of the Clyde met considerable opposition from the Gorbals craftsmen, who considered they were being asked to subsidise their more powerful and privileged city brethren (McEwan, 1908; 99). Ord (1919) cited similar evidence of attempts

to resolve disputes between the skimmers and wrights of Glasgow and Gorbals.

Eyre-Todd (1934) related how the Town Council of Glasgow restrained the feuars of Gorbals after the latter's attempt to act as an independent community by setting up their own mill in 1715. The Council promptly withdrew the privilege of a toll-free pontage, and encumbered the bailie of Gorbals with the expense of running a school.

"These measures helped to bring the feuars to reason, and their case became still further urgent when they saw the road through the village sink deeper and deeper in mire for the lack of means to repair it properly". (83)

Later, David Laurie (1813), the co-developer of the Lauriston scheme, inveighed against the relict powers of the Royal Burgh of Rutherglen. Whereas Rutherglen was exempt from certain dues and taxes, Gorbals payed more than its due "thus arresting the progress of building houses of certain descriptions in the Gorbals", and that "Rutherglen, in point of rental and population, is not one eighth of Gorbals, and her parliamentary importance as a burgh is scarcely equal to one eighth part of the decayed borough (of Old Sarum) ....". (15 - 16)

Laurie also complained of the continued burden of pontages and tolls carried by the people of Gorbals in their trade with Glasgow, unchanged by the purchase of the Barony superiority by the city in 1650. Gorbals village remained a fief of the magistrates and town council of Glasgow after the landward Barony had been subdivided and feued out in the 1790's. The village and most of the Barony became incorporated into the city proper by the extension of the parliamentary and municipal boundary south of the Clyde in 1846. Adams (1978) maintained that medieval Scottish suburbs generally prospered, even though extra-mural crafts were forbidden by an Act of 1593.\* Edinburgh's purchase of the neighbouring Portsburgh superiority in 1649 effectively removed a threat of competition from beyond the city gates. It is probable that most unincorporated suburbs trod a tightrope between the benefits of freedom from urban restrictions and fees and the ill effects of urban competition,

\* This did not affect suburbs in baronies.

legal supremacy and suppression.

c. Administration.

Until it was absorbed by the city, the management of the 'community of Gorbals' remained unconnected with that of Glasgow, except for the usual right of the baronial superior to appoint bailies (Municipal Report, 1834). The sub-feuars' inability to elect their own magistracy was seen as a great handicap by 1834. Similarly placed districts, such as Greenock, Leith, Portobello, Paisley, Oban and Port Glasgow, "and even the suburban districts of Calton and Anderston" could do so (Municipal Report, 1834; 5). Local rates, such as twopence on a pint of ale, were levied in Gorbals and paid to its superior, Glasgow, in line with ancient seigneurial agreements, wholly irrelevant in the context of a municipal, rather than aristocratic, 'laird'.

Prior to 1827, the parish poor had been subsidised from a voluntary stent, or assessment, rather than the mandatory poor rate levied in English and some Scottish parishes. This had long ceased to be sufficient, and the parish boundary between Gorbals (the village) and Govan (including the new building projects of the Barony) became a marked social boundary. Laurie (1826) noted that "no Parish in Scotland has such an enormous preponderance of paupers as Gorbals Parish proper". (3)

In an early exposition of the ideology of reform which was to take the centre of the political stage in the 1830's, Laurie (1826) blamed the inabilities of the Gorbals authorities on corruption in civil and sacred affairs. The constitution, Laurie remarked, treated all heritors (land-holders) equally, allowing an 'illiberal' element of small heritors to push through 'outrageous measures', such as withholding the minister's stipend. Records have survived in the Regional Archivist's Office of long submissions involving Gorbals Parish ministers, the 'community' preses and bailies, heritors, Govan Parish and Glasgow Town Council arguing for various measures. These included the augmentation of the Gorbals stipend, raised in a peculiar manner, from the 'common good' or community fund of the village (McLean, 1824), a clarification of the confusion

surrounding the true administrative status of the village preses and managers (some held that they constituted a Corporation), their rights to compensation on the annexation in 1847 (Reddie, 1847) and attempts to commute the ancient landholding system of Gorbals (Parliamentary Bill, 1857 - 8).

The feudal, or sub-feudal, administration of Gorbals remained intact down to 1847, and its ramifications, particularly with regard to the 'community debt' (arising from the assumption of civil, but not parochial responsibility by the city corporation in 1847) continued for much of the rest of the nineteenth century (Muir, 1882).

d. Property; public and private.

The old community property consisted of the Parish Church, elevated from a Chapel-of-ease connected to Govan Parish, in 1771, a burial ground beyond the eastern boundary of the Barony (becoming a unique detached portion of the Parish in 1771), and a tenement called the 'Community Land', producing £100 per annum in 1846, and built in 1748 (Muir, 1882; Ord, 1919). This latter structure was not the earliest example of the characteristic Scottish urban house-type south of the Clyde. The frontland of Swan's Lodging dated from 1687 (Ord, 1919), a tenement of houses was erected by one John Smith about 1694 (McDonald, 1912; Ord, 1919) and a tenement known as 'Andrew Park's' was built in 1723; they were all constructed in the north-eastern quarter of the village (Fig.14.). Another early tenement, called 'The Ark', probably stood not far from the 'Community Land', so called because its builder laboured for nearly twenty years, using casually-obtained materials of great variety to complete it (Pagan, 1884). The date of 'The Ark' did not appear in any source, but it was probably built in the eighteenth century.

The deliberations of the city Dean of Guild Court in the 1840's were much concerned with the condition of the old tenements and other buildings in Gorbals. In 1841, for instance, the 'Community Land' was ".... hanging together rather from old attachment than from solid cohesion ...." (Pagan, 1884; 23) and 'The Ark', then inhabited by 30 families ".... will either be taken down or thoroughly gutted and renovated" (op. cit.).

Pagan, whose notes were taken in the 1840's, was much impressed by the durability of Swan's Lodging, and pleaded for its conservation;

"This building is situated .... nearly opposite Malta Street, and presents one of the most perfect specimens in existence of the old Scottish urban manor-house. It has the old tympany windows, and the outside oaken staircases in the inner court are still in good preservation. Here, too, is still the ring to which the horses of travellers of old used to be attached; but the 'louping-on-stane' (mounting-block) like the Cross of Glasgow, has disappeared. Tradition tells that Prince Charles Edward (Stuart) was entertained in this house during his brief sojourn in Glasgow. Latterly, it was used as the residence and place of business of a thriving blacksmith. We trust that, by timely care, this house may long escape the notice of the Dean of Guild inspector". (Pagan, 1884; 33)

The reference to the blacksmith's tenantry illustrated the diverse economic activity of the old village. Maltsters (probably commemorated in the name of Malta Street), gunsmiths (extant in the earlier City Directories, and noted by tradition) weavers and smiths worked and lived, usually in the same premises. Small-scale factory industry, involving short journeys-to-work, appeared about 1800 in Gorbals. The first distillery licenced by the Government in Glasgow was built in Kirk Street in 1786, and was subsequently relocated on Donaldson's old feu (See Fig.14.) to the east of Main Street, where it remained a prominent landmark down to the 1960's (See Fig.22.). Muirhead's old feu accommodated two cotton spinning factories, a flour mill and machine works fronting Muirhead Street, newly opened in the 1820's. Much of the old garden and orchard land of the village was developed in industrial uses during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the form of small factories, workshops, smithies, sheds and so on. The identification of non-residential buildings from cartographic sources, though difficult, has confirmed this general tendency.

The unusual nature of the land-holding practices of the Barony has been





Fig.22.  
Gorbals from Victoria Bridge in 1968,  
southern aspect. Distillery centre-right.

alluded to (Parliamentary Bill, 1857 - 58). In an investigation by the Town Clerk of Glasgow in 1861 on the 'Superiority of Gorbals', it was found that, although annual feu duty on properties was nominal, the entry of a new vassal entitled the superior to a year's rent of ground and buildings thereon. This was considered a serious hindrance to new building and the sale of properties. Every addition to a building further increased the amount payable by a new vassal on entry. Purchasers, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had become satisfied with imperfect title deeds, on which no entry payment was required, but which lead to further bad management. Investment in repairs was discouraged, as such improvement could not easily be converted into sale-value.

"This holding is injurious to property in all cases, but it is peculiarly injurious in large cities, and tells with peculiar effect against property of an inferior description such as generally prevails in the Gorbals lands". (Town Clerk's Report, 1861; 1)

The peculiarities of land-holding and administration which bedevilled improvement in the Parish area found parallels in similar locales elsewhere. Briggs (1963) classified the late-medieval European faubourg as an extra-mural settlement where artisans who could not find accommodation or permission in a city, lived and worked. Everitt (1973) identified peripheral 'alehouse settlements'; suburbs characteristic of seventeenth and eighteenth century English towns such as Moulsham (Chelmsford), Speenhamland (Newbury) and Bishop's Fee (Leicester). The latter was interesting as its name may be equivalent to a liberal translation of the original name for Gorbals. These districts were commonly outside borough or urban parochial jurisdiction, and were a frequent source of trouble to county constables and concern to those interested in maintaining moral standards in the neighbourhood. Everitt (1973) stated that Moulsham's unregulated pawnshops were seen by authority as detrimental to the interests of the poor of Chelmsford. Such suburban developments Everitt regarded as profitable augmentations to mercantile towns, providing suitable services to the increased road traffic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, restricted from traditional

market places by the narrow streets and small-scale of preindustrial urban fabrics.

According to Gideon Sjoberg's (1960) preindustrial city model, suburban settlements such as these were of low social status and environmental quality. Carter and Wheatley (1979) seemed to confirm this in their investigation of the borough of Aberystwyth and its satellites of Penparcau and Trefechan in the mid-nineteenth century. Trefechan in particular resembled contemporaneous Gorbals in its socio-environmental characteristics, on a smaller scale. Both were old, bridgehead extra-mural suburbs, with poor images in the eyes of the town inhabitants and a mixture of industry and housing.

Such similarities, and the temptation to define an 'ideal type' of such peripheral settlements did not obscure the evidence for similar areas existing within burghs and boroughs (e.g. Manchester Old Town). A history of administrative and economic inferiority is not enough to place Gorbals village, Trefechan, the Leylands of Leeds (Buckman, 1968), Southwark and the rest in an exclusive generic grouping. For instance Cox (1973) revealed social and environmental conditions in the centre of mid-nineteenth century Croydon analogous to those in Gorbals, albeit masked by a "thin trading veneer on the main streets" echoing Engels' observations on Manchester (Cox, 1973; 185).

e. Society and perceptions of Gorbals, 1800 - 1850.

Contemporary evaluations of Gorbals' social structure began in the early nineteenth century. David Laurie's views were coloured by his wish to create a wealthy residential suburb on the agricultural Barony crofts to the immediate west and southwest of the village-parish area, later call Laurieston. In order to attract suitable clients to feu, build and occupy his plots, Laurie exploited perceived contrasts between city and village. The Gorbals, to Laurie (1810) possessed;

".... a great population which is continually increasing, and advantages, which, if the trade of Glasgow shall continue to be prosperous, may soon dispose the wealthiest inhabitants of the city to fix their abode there, it being a village, to which the noisome atmosphere of the city, for three-fourths

of the year, has no access". (67)

By 1826, as Glasgow's trade had not only flourished but had begun to change character from a mercantile to an industrial base, Laurie's view of the village had changed. His hopes for a rapid feuing of the Laurieston lands remained largely unrealized, as the slow addition of new heritors' name to the Laurieston Feuing Book atests. This manuscript volume, preserved in the Mitchell Library, recorded the progress of feuing in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Laurie's opinion on the density of paupers has already been noted; he connected a certain "... growing laxity of principle ...." in the population with the influx of Irish poor. Anticipating Engels' (1845) argument, he blamed the Irish labourer for taking wages "...no honest Scotsman would accept, and quartering their families on the public at large" (Laurie, 1826; 5). Engels (1845), amongst others, further developed the thesis by claiming the Irish immigrant debased the native workers by introducing a peasant lifestyle, debilitating the solidarity of the industrial proletariat. Further, it was assumed that there was a close association between the poorest and most decrepit districts of a town, and Irish settlement (Engels, 1845; 52). However, Engels blamed mid-nineteenth century inner city decay on industrial capital. In Glasgow, the blame for fabric decline was laid with the Irish immigrants by public servants such as James Pagan (1884) on behalf of the Dean of Guild Court. The near-collapse of the one-hundred year old 'Community Land' in 1841 was seen as the result of rowdy and dissolute Irish revelry rather than of its uninhabitable condition. The disapproval bestowed on Irish peasant customs and their cheerful irreverance towards urban authority at times touched on the racist.

The unco-operative attitude of the village landlords was a salient feature of the records of the first half of the nineteenth century. The Minute Book of Gorbals Police Establishment (1815 - 1836) frequently carried orders for the demolition of ruinous buildings in the village, often without subsequent action, which necessitated the repetition of pleas. Peter Bain's property, somewhere on Main Street north, was threatened with demolition in June, 1816 and again in June, 1819, illustrating the ineffectiveness of rudimentary

nuisance removal powers prior to the Act of 1846.

Speaking for the Dean of Guild Court in 1849, on the matter of the proposed demolition of the baronial complex (not carried out until the 1870's), Pagan (1884) wrote;

"We are really grieved to part with some of these old landmarks of the city, and we cannot help urging the proprietors of such houses as still exist to pay some little attention to them, and above all to prevent them falling prey to the hordes of Irish immigrants, who have a fancy to burrow in these ancient spots. When once tenanted by these modern Huns, the destruction of the fabric is not far distant".

(33)

This belief in the pernicious effects of Irish immigrants was partly rooted in the strongly Presbyterian complexion of Glasgow's social and administrative elite. Elsewhere Pagan noted with chagrin the 'intrusion' of nuns into a house in the city once occupied by the philanthropic industrialist, David Dale, "the staunch supporter of an orthodox, pure and simple mode of worship" (Pagan, 1884; 131). This attitude betrayed little consideration for other, perhaps less obvious causes, such as the land-holding peculiarities already noted, or to changes in fashion which militated against the 'respectable' population inhabiting obsolete properties, no matter how exalted their original occupiers.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the village-parish area had grown in population from 3,896 in 1801 to 11,181 in 1851, whilst retaining its original legal boundary.

Greater population density probably acted as one catalyst to a mid-century attempt at replanning the village area. In 1845, the demolition of the Main Street front and back properties, the straightening and widening of the street and the rebuilding of Gorbals as a commercial suburb was envisaged. The Interim Secretary of the Gorbals Improvement Company, Andrew Gemmill, issued a prospectus to prospective investors, pointing out the "crooked, narrow and consequently dangerous condition of Main Street .... an

inconvenience and a reproach to Glasgow as one of the chief approaches to the city". (Gemmill, 1845; 1).

Its widening would remove "the pestilential nuisances which exist on both sides of the street, and which are so pernicious to the health of the community" (op.cit.). Gemmill graphically described the physical and social condition of the Main Street area;

"The all but ruinous condition of almost all the buildings in front of the Street renders them of little value, and the background, generally, is either vacant, or occupied only by temporary erections and therefore the whole property might be acquired at comparatively small cost" (op. cit.).

It was proposed that 'respectable shopkeepers' be installed after redevelopment;

".... while the upper flats of the tenements would be occupied by them as dwelling houses or by a class superior to the generality of the present tenantry of the street" (op. cit.).

The Gorbals Improvement Company failed altogether to influence the character of the village. No record survived of subsequent activity in the field until the City of Glasgow Improvement Act of 1866 inaugurated redevelopment in the village-parish area and the old town of Glasgow in the 1870's.

Further descriptions of the village-parish area before the 1870's emphasised the low-status population, the decrepit fabric and the perceived influence of Irish immigration. Pagan (1884) like Gemmill, felt Main Street a reproach to Glasgow's civic pride, particularly as it provided the shortest route from the old, peripheral Southside Station (Caledonian and Barrhead Railways - See Fig.12.) to the city centre. In 1849, Pagan described the erection of a new, wide bridge, Victoria Bridge, between Gorbals Main Street and Stockwell Street in the city, as "an absurdity", as;

".... passengers would be decoyed thence into the dirty funnel of Main Street, only twenty-five feet wide, and even this space is lessened by herring barrels, apple stands,

crockery, and old iron placed before the doors, and the children of the lazy Milesians (sic) tumbling in the gutters within an inch of the coach wheels".

(Pagan, 1884; 142)

An appeal to capital to "make the locality one of the most remunerative business marts of the city" again fell on deaf ears.

Stuart (1848) noted, with regret, that the Elphinstone mansion was rarely visited by tourists,

".... placed as it is now in a densely crowded and anything but attractive locality. (The old house) .... raises its arid walls not amid drooping bough and mantling ivy green, but in the noxious atmosphere of a mean and crowded district".

(35)

The first definitive accounts of public health in Gorbals dated from after 1850, perhaps a reflection of the concern for mortality in the more crowded and infected inner city districts to the north before that date. The M.O.H. for Glasgow was moved to strong comment on the health of Gorbals in 1863;

"(Typhus) .... fever in this district has been very prevalent, especially in the parish of Gorbals, almost all the principal streets of which have furnished groups of cases to the infirmary. Thus in lower Main Street I have received notice of not less than nineteen different closes in which more or less fever has occurred .... other streets which have furnished groups of fever cases have been Kirk Street, Muirhead Street, St. Ninian Street, Hospital Street, Portugal Street and Moncrieff Street (in the last two mainly isolated cases). (He notes the absence of smallpox from south of the river, a disease prevalent in "one or two localities in the Central District".) The other streets worthy of notice as having been the seats of groups of fever cases are Rutherglen Loan and Road, Rose Street in Hutchesontown, Dale Street and Nelson Street in Tradeston,

Cumberland Street (a single locality, since improved) and South Coburg Street in Laurieston ...." (Cumberland Street, as the Census analysis will show, was then middle-class, South Coburg Street was working-class). (M.O.H. Report 1863; 9)

The M.O.H., unusual for a public servant of the time, held a rather longer historical perspective on the causes of poverty, and hence disease concentration, in the parish-village area;

"The whole parish, notwithstanding some improved localities in which the Corporation has already bought up a considerable amount of decayed property, may be described, without much exaggeration as a swarming mass of pauperism, and too-often hopeless indigence, in which the value of property is depreciated to the last degree by exorbitant poor rates, and by certain unfortunate peculiarities in the feudal tenure, which obstruct the freedom of sale, and tend to prevent the investment of capital in house-property in the way of repairs. Having only recently been made aware of the peculiarities referred to, I may be excused for leaving the discussion of them to those citizens of Glasgow to whom they have long been familiar, and who have at various periods endeavoured to find a remedy for the disastrous state of this unhappy parish of which I will only say further that it presents all the evils of the Bridgegate (north of the Clyde) in an exaggerated degree". (M.O.H. Report; 9 - 10)

The officer, evidently much moved by his inspections, went on to recount the domestic condition of a poor old couple living on a tiny amount of out-door relief in a ruinous hovel - "clearly an illegal one under the Police Act".

There was some evidence for a decline in social status and environmental conditions during the nineteenth century in Gorbals Parish, though the evidence at the beginning of the period was less clear. Certainly, contemporary testimony was unanimous over the pauperization and physical decay in the place having reached desperate



proportions by the middle decades of the century. Meanwhile, neighbouring events in land-transfer, building and occupancy were laying the foundations of marked socio-spatial differentiation.

f. Nineteenth-century suburban development in the Barony.

In 1812, Chapman wrote,

"This prosperous Barony, once an insignificant village, is situated on the south bank of the Clyde opposite the city, running parallel with it for nearly a mile. From a few scattered houses it has suddenly (sic) become a rich, populous and flourishing suburb, emulating the city itself in the elegance of its buildings, the public spirit of its inhabitants and the liberality and good sense which characterise its local institutions". (74)

Pagan could contrast old Gorbals village with more recent Lauriston in 1847 thus,

"The lower and working classes of the Barony generally reside in the original burgh (sic) .... the old baronial hall.... still stands, but badly shorn of its original dignity, for the lower part is occupied as a spirit vault and the upper sections as dwelling places by the humblest. Of late some spacious streets have been built in the outlying parts of the Barony, such as Portland Street and Abbotsford Place which are generally tenanted by genteel people of the middle classes who have their places of business, or attend to professional avocations, in Glasgow". (133 - 134)

The journey to work structure and its social implications were explored more fully in the section concerned with the analysis of the City Directories, Ch.8.

The extensive feuing of the Barony lands beyond the village-parish core (See Fig.23.) began in 1792, with the subdivision of agricultural crofts belonging to the city, the Trades House and Hutcheson's Hospital, the latter two both important city institutions.

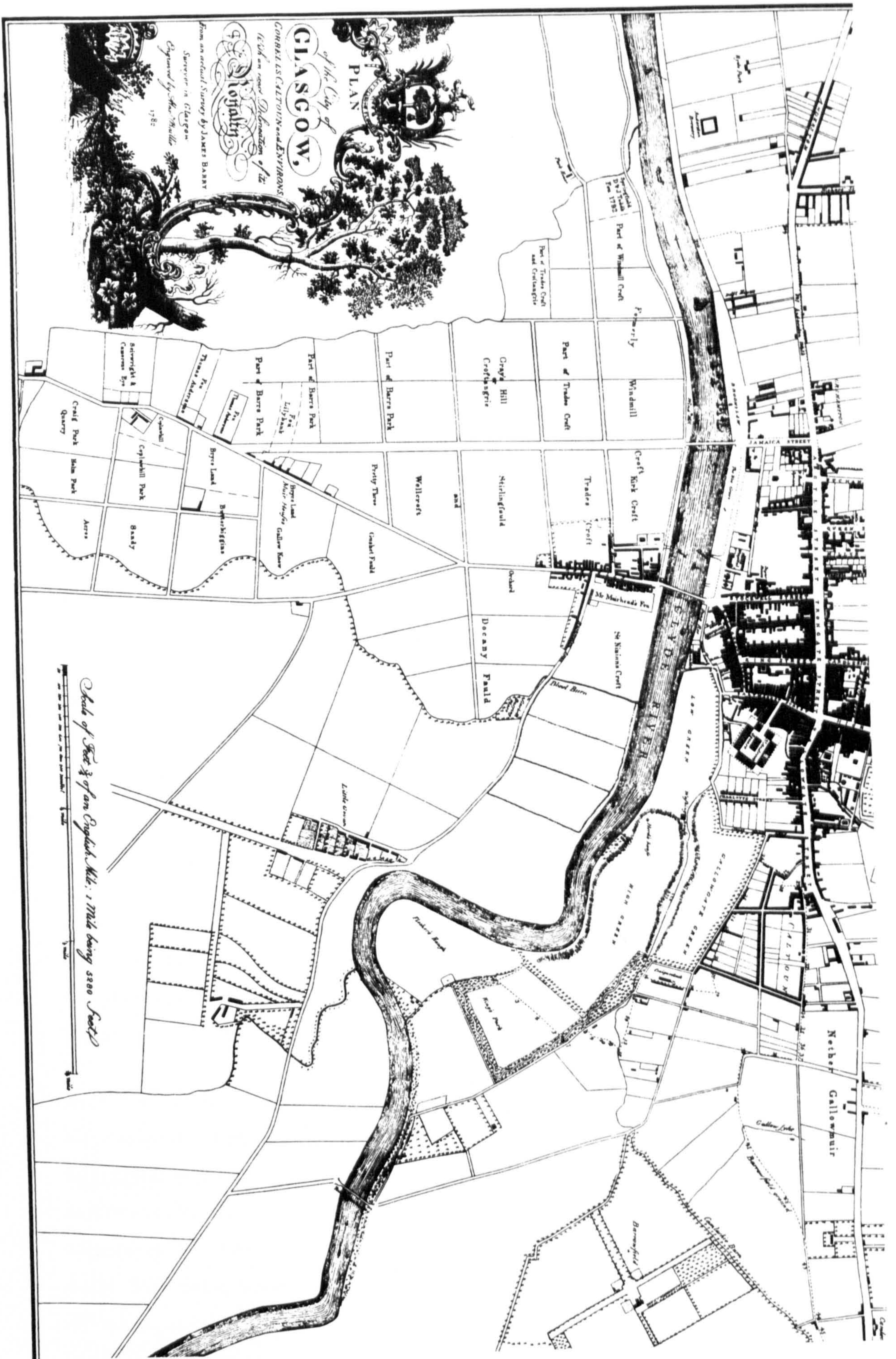


Fig.23.  
 Part of Barry's (1782) map. Each Barony  
 croft is named, and some planned street  
 alignments are shown.

In 1802, David and John Laurie acquired Kirkcroft and Stirlingcroft which were to become the northern part of Laurieston. Fig.24. shows the plan of a section of Kirkcroft (so called by its propinquity to the old parish kirk) in the event of its subfeuing to a timber merchant, one John Bryce. The plan, which accompanied the official sasine, referred to the prohibition of nuisances on the steading. Other features included the appearance of back-houses in neighbouring Gorbals village plots at this juncture (1817) and the narrowing of Norfolk Street as it enters the old village area. Cartographic evidence (particularly D. Smith, 1821, 1828) suggested that the plot was developed in tenements during the eighteen-twenties. The names of other feuars appeared on the earlier map (Fig.25.).

St. Ninian's Croft, to the east of the village-parish area, was divided between a number of feuars, including David Laurie's rival, the industrialist William Dixon. This parcel became the northern portion of Hutchesontown. Kellett (1961) has outlined the role of property speculation in the spectacular growth of Glasgow in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The lands of Blythwood, Meadowflats and Ramshorn, to the west of old Glasgow, and the southern districts of Tradeston, Laurieston and Hutchesontown differed in their susceptibility to social and environmental decline, claimed Kellett, due to such factors as the social standing of their developers (221), the relative speed of subinfeudation (222), and the planning provisions of the feu contracts (225). The Lauries' estate was "particularly susceptible to the operations of the local industrialists". (226)

Although David Laurie (who emerged as the dominant partner) took care to include "every necessary restriction in regard to nuisances" (Glasgow Herald, 3rd October 1814, rep. in Worsdall (1979); 78), the surrounding estates allowed industrial uses to undermine the value of property in Laurieston (Laurie, 1813a, 11). The Laurieston Feuing Book included a manuscript memorial to one George Jardine, Professor of Logic, enjoining him not to build steam engines "or other noxious works" in 1819.

Ord (1919), Kellett (1961) and Checkland (1964) related the



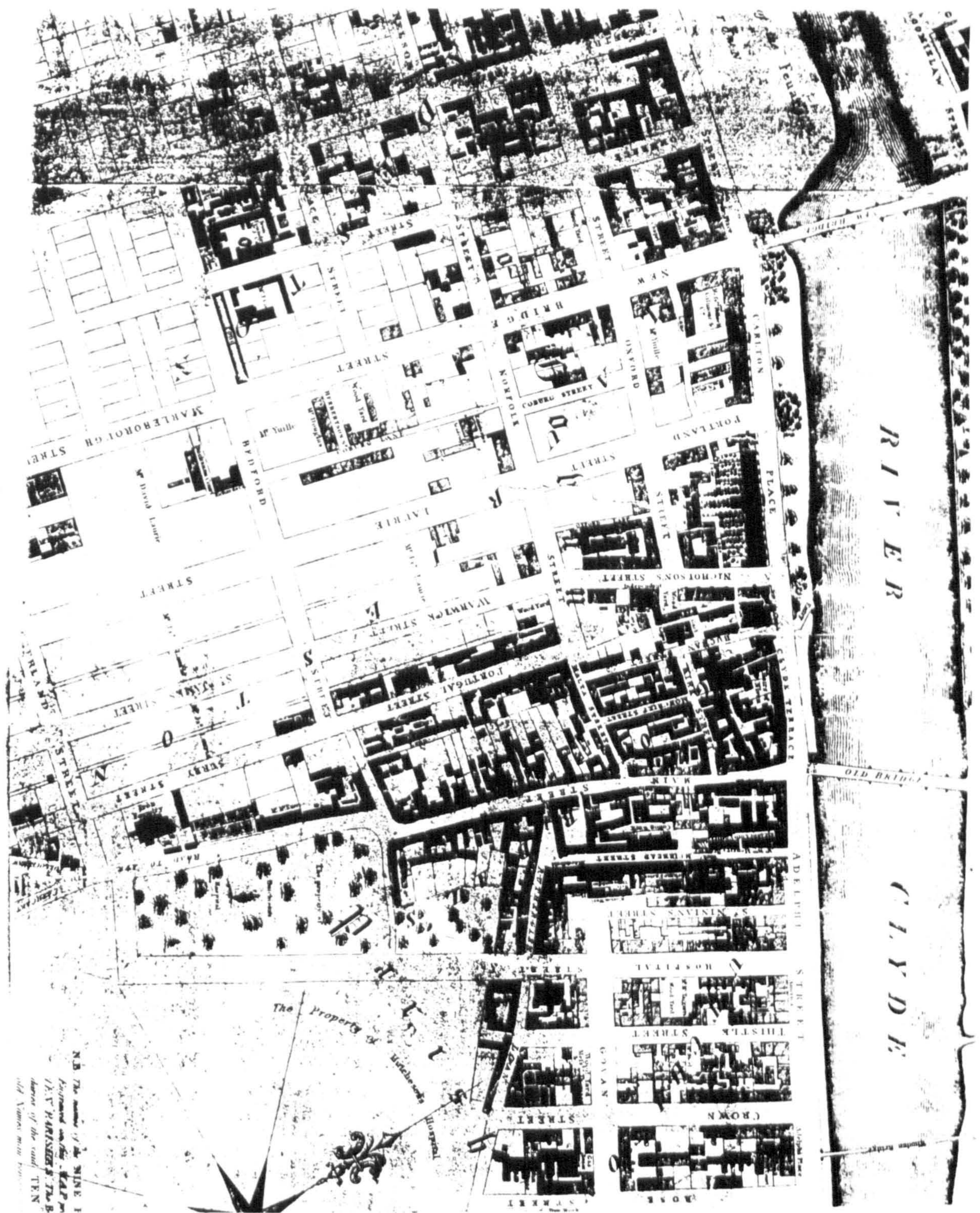


Fig.25.  
 Part of Smith's (1821) map. Whilst the village and Hutesontown appear built-up, Laurieston was only partially developed.

celebrated coup de main whereby William Dixon, coalowner and iron-master, obtained a temporary recall of Laurie's interdict preventing Dixon's Govan Coal Company from building a waggonway diagonally across embryonic Laurieston to coaling quays in Tradeston. By working through the week-end, the 'unscrupulous' Dixon tore up part of Eglinton Street and constructed an embankment, facing Laurie with the most adverse influence on his putatively elegant estate. Kellett and Checkland concurred on the decline that the waggonway symbolised; "... a project for the middle class dwelling on the south side was destroyed; the gains to the industrialist made him wholly without scruple" wrote Checkland (1964, 45). "The hoped-for arrival of the wealthy middle-class people upon which the Laurie brothers had relied never occurred, and those streets which had been laid out in spacious and expensive style remained as follies, tokens of the Lauries' ambitious intentions for the area", echoed Kellett (1967, 6). Those genteel residents who had arrived soon decamped for the more guaranteed exclusivity of the Blythswood estate and the growing outer West End, leaving Gorbals to be "rapidly overrun by the working class" (Simpson, 1977; 4 - 6). The housing in Laurieston was left "...to become warrens of one and two-roomed houses for casual labourers ...." (Kellett, 1969b; 12) and "a slum annexe to Gorbals" (Kellett, 1969a; 292). So much so, wrote Lindsay (1972), that by the 1880's Gorbals Ward had become "... perhaps the worst and certainly the most notorious slum in Europe ...." (12).

Kellett (1961) noted that the Laurieston Feuing Book contained indicators of incipient social segregation in the variation in original prices of the building plots. Carlton Place, Laurie's riverside showpiece (Fig.26.) and the first unified terrace design in Glasgow, contained a plot worth £2,500 (number 7) whereas 'nondescript' sites further south were sold for £200 in the second decade of the nineteenth century (Kellett, 1961; 222). The size of the Lauries' holding and the initial slowness of feuing encouraged the proprietors to compromise David's intentions with regard to social tone, and from an early date, working class housing had a significant representation in Laurieston, as the Census analysis and cartographic evidence confirmed.

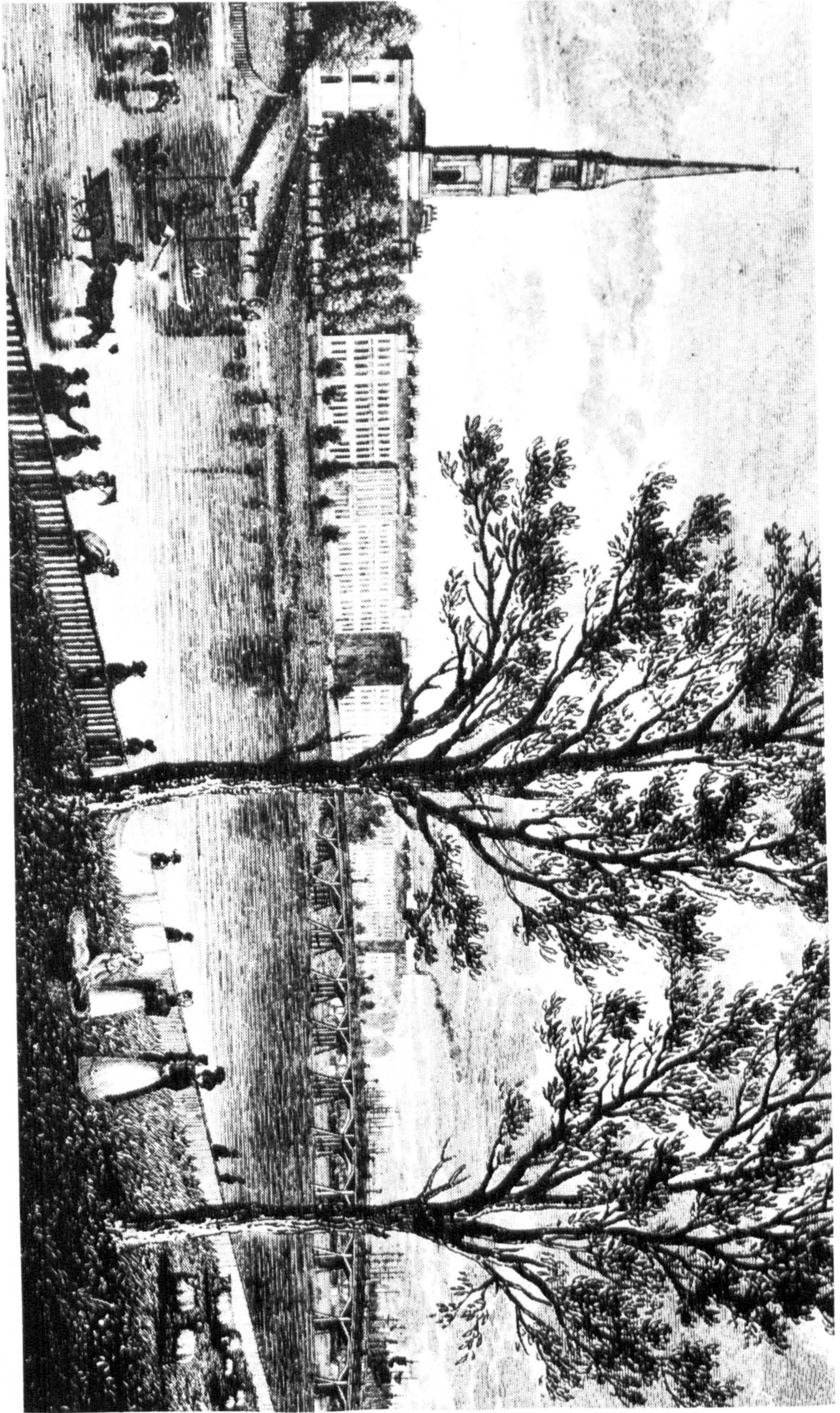


Fig.26.  
Carlton Place in 1828 (Swan), south-western  
aspect. The wooden predecessor of the  
Suspension Bridge is shown.

Contemporary accounts of mid-nineteenth century Laurieston did not give an impression of sweeping social and physical decline. Indeed Carrick, in Pagan (1884) was of the opinion that the new suburbs "had the effect of withdrawing the respectable inhabitants of .... the old Gorbals, leaving their houses to be subdivided and occupied by the lower classes" (xviii - xix), a stage in the filtering model. Pagan, writing in 1849, reported recurring waves of confidence in the district. An application to the Dean of Guild Court for building substantial tenements in Apsely Place, then only partly developed, met with Pagan's approval;

"This is a sign of returning improvement in this locality, for several years have now elapsed since any addition was made to the fine middle class houses which were planted there by Mr. York .... it has surprised many that this fine locality, which is within a few minutes walk of the heart of the city, and yet possesses all the advantages of rurality, has not been sooner built up". (Pagan, publ. 1884; 139)

The belief that 'Dixon's Blazes', the ironworks established by William Dixon to the south (Fig. 4.), discouraged middle class settlement in south Laurieston was not accepted by Pagan. He maintained that the inhabitants soon got used to the monotonous strokes of Condie's steam hammer, while the 'cheering blaze' did the job of a score of policemen, perhaps making a virtue out of necessity.

The administrative regime of Laurieston was also considered conducive to genteel settlement in mid-century as it lay outside Gorbals parish, which was sorely pressed to find resources for poor relief, and the city parishes, which favoured the 'grinding and inquisitorial means and subsistence system'. The moderate character of the poor rate in Govan Annexation (which included Laurieston) "meant many persons whose avocations permit it have taken houses on the south side of the river". (Pagan, op. cit.; 149).

Amenity was further enhanced with the building of a suspension foot-bridge, which linked the top of South Portland Street with the nascent



central business district of Glasgow. Amongst the proposers of the Parliamentary Bill to sanction this construction in 1852 was Andrew Gemmill, unsuccessful promoter of the Gorbals Improvement Company.

The suburban character of mid-century Laurieston and its contrasts with the city were neatly summarised by Alexander Brown (1858), who, as 'Shadow', explored the conditions of the Wynds and their inhabitants, in the fashion of Henry Mayhew (1862).

".... directing our course southwards .... we are struck by the appropriate characteristics of the locality. Young men in respectable attire and of a business air, are wending their way with impatient step homeward. They are quitting the close confines of the city, where they have been breathing a dusty pestiferous atmosphere in pent up shops and warehouses, for ten to twelve hours together, to betake themselves to the purer air of this more healthy vicinage. .... Passing through a number of small thoroughfares and quieter neighbourhoods, it is pleasing to rest the eye again upon objects more cheering, - to think that while humanity is thus defaced in our streets, she is better represented here in firesides of comfort, and homes of happiness and love". (62 - 64)

Laurieston, if not the seat of 'polished society', as Laurie (1810, 67) had intended, was evidently inhabited by a population who were able to separate home from work and maintained an image of 'firesides of comfort', according to this mid-century commentary. Contemporary accounts of socio-spatial characteristics contained many clues and tempting indications, but their purposes were often polemical, their accuracy and comprehensiveness always debatable. Of particular interest in this regard was the genre of nostalgic reminiscences which became important in Glasgow with the realization of widespread clearance and re-development in the pre-industrial quarters under the provisions of the Improvement Act of 1866. Pagan's mid-century dilemma of conservation versus demolition in the context of old buildings in Gorbals, became a guilt-tinged regret for a vanished place and way-of-life by the last quarter of the nineteenth

century. Memorials, such as Fairbairn's (1885) 'Relics....' and Smith's (1919) 'Family memories of the Gorbals', cannot be relied upon to provide descriptive evidence, so different were the outlooks of mid and late nineteenth century commentators. Smith's reminiscences, of the type often dubbed 'urban kailyard' in Scottish literary parlance (Burgess, 1972) painted a picture of a close-knit community, replete with colourful Dickensian characters - drovers, hermits and gluttons. It was largely at odds with the contemporary observations of the Lauries, Pagan, Stuart, Gemmill and the others, concerned as they were with the inefficiencies of the parochial administration, industrialization and immigration.

Impressions of Hutchesontown in the first half of the nineteenth century were absent from contemporary accounts, due in part to the lack of a single, energetic and voluble developer in the mould of David Laurie. Ord (1919) confined remarks on the development of the district to terse statements of isolated milestones in growth. It was apparent from the flurry of early nineteenth century cartography (Map List, Appendix 3) that Hutchesontown was more quickly developed than Laurieston (Fig.25.), and Ord recorded that the first house built there dated from 1794. Laurie's grand Carlton Place, the pioneer project in the western district, was not begun until 1802. Whilst Laurie attempted to preserve social exclusiveness in Laurieston, the many small proprietors in Hutchesontown were less concerned with, or less able to influence, overall nuisance abatement. As early as 1818, the sisters Bryce (not known to be related to Laurie's client) of Thistle Street, Hutchesontown, were complaining to the Gorbals Police Commissioners of smoke issuing from a neighbour's starch house (G.P.E. minutes; 11th December 1818). Evidently, the original holders of the land, Hutcheson's Hospital, merely planned the street pattern of Hutchesontown and left the building and social character of the district to the divers intents of their subfeuars.

Worsdall (1979) noted;

"Hutchesontown began as a middle-class development, but by mid-century with the growth of a multiplicity of industries

close by it subtly changed to a working class area". (78)

This social change was not evidenced in the physical fabric, continued Worsdall, which retained its architectural unity and sophistication, at least outwardly. Hospital Street in particular, contained fine ranges of middle-class tenements, divided into 'Places' - Walmer, Castlemilk, Bryce and Lucknow - with houses of three, four or five apartments dating from the middle decades of the nineteenth century (O.S., 1860; 1 = 2500).

It was tempting to suggest that the documentary and literary paucity over Hutchesontown was due to its unremarkable and moderate socio-environmental profile, in comparison with its rather more divergent western neighbours (See Figs.27. and 28).

The indicators of local social and physical character that emerged from examination of the literary historical record were as follows;

- 1) The central core of the Barony was built up in the form of a village whose relict physical structure suggested growth by plot-infill and piecemeal replacement to 1850. New development and upkeep were hampered by an equally outmoded administrative structure. Historic buildings decayed, whilst Irish immigration and high disease rates compounded a poor image in the eyes of mid-century civic officials.
- 2) The development of the Barony lands reflected both the optimism of a unified design and the narrower vision of small-scale speculation. Though the development of prestigious new residences fluctuated in Laurieston, it had not disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century. Within a relatively narrow compass, wide social and environmental divisions had become established.



Fig.27.  
Thistle Street in 1917. Note the  
contrasting quality of the tenement backs  
(fronting on Crown Street).

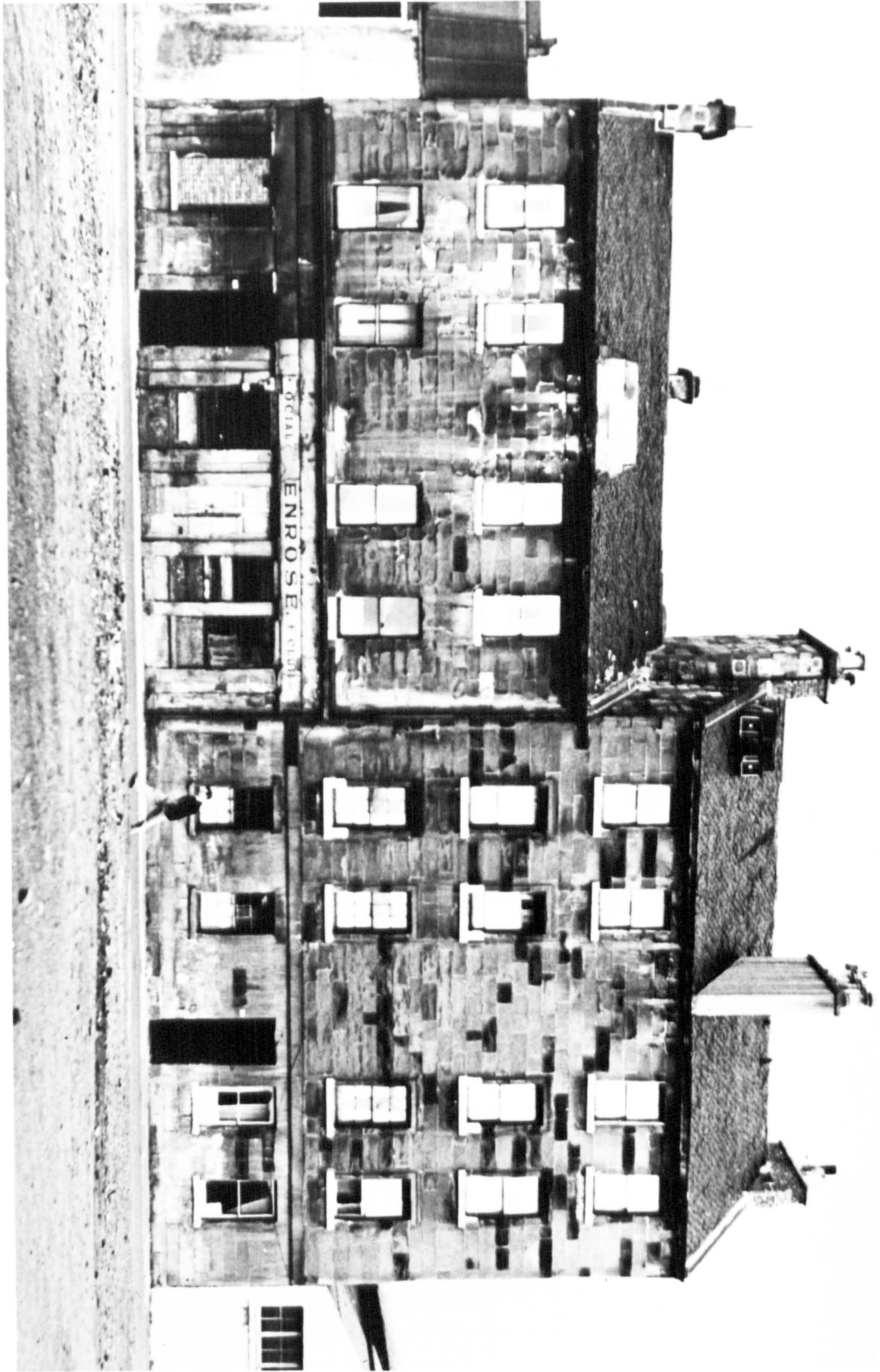


Fig.28.  
Thistle Street in 1968. Two 'small-house'  
tenements, dating from the mid-nineteenth  
century.

CHAPTER 8

INDICATORS OF RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION: 1803 - 1843.

a. An analysis of the City Directories.

The first source turned to for detailed evidence of the socio-spatial differences in the study area identified in contemporary accounts was a series of city directories. The first such volume to appear in Glasgow was published by J. Tait (1784), entitled 'A directory for the City of Glasgow, villages of Anderston, Calton and Gorbals; also for the towns of Paisley, Greenock, Port-Glasgow and Kilmarnock'. Tait set out to enumerate the 'names and places of abode of Gentlemen, merchants, professionals and mechanics and all other Persons in public business'. A total of 1,900 entries appeared for the city and suburbs, of which only five were identifiably inhabitants of Gorbals. They were given thus;

James Aiken; Brewer, Gorbals.

John Alexander; bank teller, Gorbals.

Rev. Wm. Anderson; Minister, Kirk-Street, Gorbals.

Robert Archibald; manufacturer, Gorbals.

Robert Semple; Excise supervisor, Gorbals.

Only the minister's entry (the same Anderson who submitted the parochial report for Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791 - 1799) supplied more precise locational information than simply 'Gorbals'. It was likely, judging from cartographic sources such as McArthur (1778) and subsequent directory evidence that most or all of the others were resident in Gorbals Main Street.

The criteria for admission to Tait's Directory, apart from the above rubric, were unknown. In a late eighteenth-century 'trades-and-crafts' suburb such as Gorbals, with a population of between three and four thousand, a larger proportion of 'mechanics' would have been expected in the volume. The over-representation of those groups deemed 'important' by the compiler was a constant feature of city directories, and one which has limited their use

in urban historical enquiry (see particularly Lamont, 1976; 61).

In the nineteenth century, Glasgow city directory publishers (McFeat to 1827, then the Post Office) adopted a more broadly based inclusion policy, listing many tradesmen and shopkeepers alongside professionals, officials and larger capitalists. Locational information rapidly improved upon Tait's (1784) vagueness; by the volumes of the 1820's, most entries carried numbered street addresses. In the first two decades of the century, address references were limited to a few named tenements, e.g. 'Pollock's corner land', 'Cuthbertson's land' and 'Park's land' (Andrew Park's tenement, built 1723; see Fig.14.).

A cursory examination revealed certain internal distinctions in the occupational and address information, which proved of use as indications of social changes in the growing suburb.

These distinctions, partly related to modernity and sophistication and partly to social status, further emerged when a classification of all entries associated with the study area at decennial intervals was undertaken. The grouping procedure, based on the relatively limited variable-range available, distinguished between professional-mercantile and trades-crafts entries, and between 'one-address' and 'two-address' cases. Workplace locations, invariably the second address in the latter type, were recorded from the first decade of the century; how exhaustively could not be judged. Second addresses often contained a company name, or references to an office, warehouse or factory.

The achievement of a separation between work and home and the increase in journey to work distances, in a theoretical context, had profound implications for the scale and development of industrial cities (Warnes, 1969). In the early and mid-nineteenth century, before the era of mass transport, such a development was generally considered to have been the hallmark of particular social and occupational groups. Tunbridge (1977) has demonstrated differential out-migration of professionals, gentry and similar groups from the centre of late eighteenth-century Bristol. Such processes were obviously closely related to the emergence and development of an exclusive central business district.

The following classification has been adopted, with crude approximations to the Census schemes developed by Armstrong (1972) and Royle (1977) given on the right;

TABLE 6

Directory entry classification scheme.

| <u>Group</u>   | <u>Armstrong</u> | <u>Royle</u> |
|--|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Professionals: One or two addresses.  | I                | I, II        |
| 2. 'Merchants' and 'manufacturers' with one or two addresses.<br>All other occupations with two addresses. | I, II            | I, II        |
| 3. Commercial: One address.  | III              | III          |
| 4. Trades and crafts: One address.   | III              | III, IV      |
| 5. Other; Manual, services: One address.   | III              | IV           |
| 6. Unspecified: Retired, independent means etc.  | VI               | VI           |



Fig. 29  
CITY DIRECTORY ENTRIES :  
POPULATION CHANGE INDICATORS

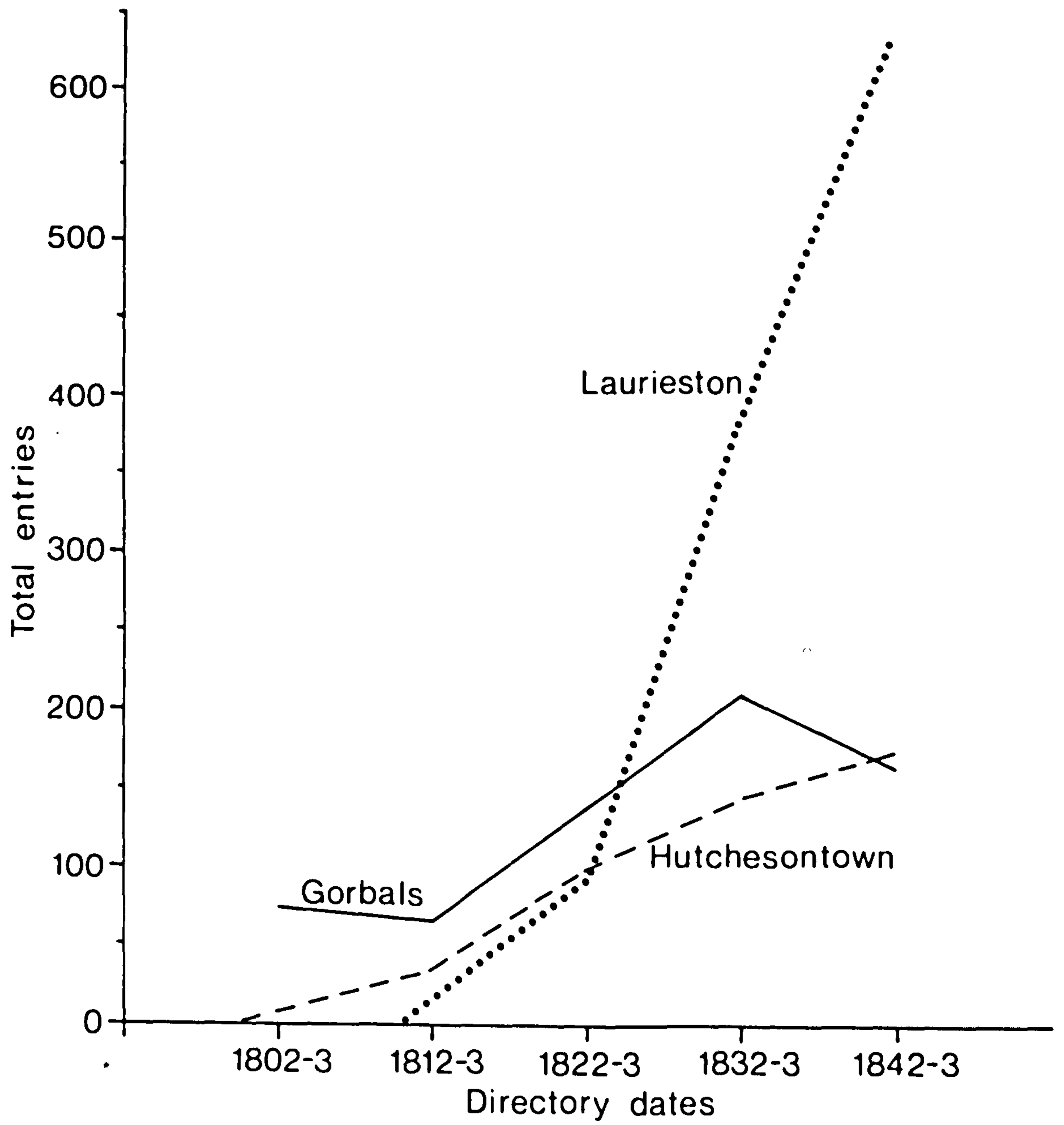


Fig. 29. shows the total numbers of entries located in Gorbals Parish and the districts of Laurieston and Hutchesontown at decennial junctures. The village-parish population, in total, stood at about 5,000 in the first decade of the nineteenth century, (Cleland, 1828) compared to a handful of inhabitants in Hutchesontown and probably none in Laurieston until the completion of the first houses in Carlton Place about 1805.

The rapid growth of Laurieston's 'directory population' (effectively a sample of the total) is well illustrated, compared to Gorbals village, the graph for which fluctuates markedly, and the shallower rising trend of Hutchesontown. The chief implication of the inbuilt bias against low-status, specifically working-class, entries was the social 'take-off' of Laurieston as a middle-class suburb. Perhaps this occurred later than David Laurie had intended, and without the cachet of 'polished society' (Laurie, 1810; 67); nevertheless the inter-district contrasts were significant.

A crude analysis of the changes in social composition of the 'directory population' is presented in Fig.30. as a percentage of the total entries in each directory in each socio-occupational group, divided between the three districts adopted. The relative decline of the Gorbals Parish share of the study area total was clear, as was Laurieston's proportional rise.

In 1802 - 3, the parish district was characterised by a preponderance of trades and commercial small masters (presumably) with one declared address. Traditional urban occupations, such as shoemakers, tailors, spirit dealers and grocers typified the village entries. A slight shift in emphasis from trades and crafts to shopkeeping was identified throughout the period. Group 1 and 2 entries in the Parish area varied only between 16 and 24 over the period under study, suggesting a relatively small high-status community component.

Laurieston developed a large concentration of entries in Groups 1 and 2, from 0 to 442 over the period, and their dominance was

obvious from the 1842 - 3 profile of Fig.30. The district's character as a suburb in the modern sense (where home and workplace are separate, rather than united as in the traditional faubourg)\* emerged in the breakdown of the 1842 - 3 'directory population' as seen in Table 7.

In Table 7 Laurieston and Hutchesontown were subdivided in accord with the Census study divisions of the 1851 - 91 period, as the occupied residential area had extended into the southern part of the study area by 1840 (Fig.4.). The variation between the proportions of each district's directory entries with separate home and workplace addresses indicated a degree of differentiation within the study area as a whole. The Laurieston and embryonic S. Hutchesontown 'directory populations' contrasted in their indicators to the parish-village and N. Hutchesontown measures.

Within Laurieston a difference in two-address entry concentration was evident between the northern and southern divisions (11.6 per cent), implying a slighter north-south contrast on that measure than between N. and S. ('old' and 'new') Hutchesontown. The spatial evolution of the 'directory population' within districts thus deserved closer examination. As address information had become sufficiently precise by 1822 - 3, a series of maps was prepared from that and subsequent directories, showing the first addresses of entries falling into selected occupational groupings. Selection, admittedly arbitrary, was based on representing the major professional-mercantile and dealing groupings, and locating the individuals' home addresses, as seen in Table 8.

The selective distributions shown on Figs. 31. to 33. bore out the inferences drawn from the graph, histogram and table (Figs. 29. and 30; Table 7.). In all these maps, symbols appearing on streets signify a lack of address precision.

The 1822 - 3 pattern (Fig.31.) shows a concentration of trades-

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\* Gray (1978) has called attention to the problems of cultural and temporal shift in simple everyday terms used in urban geography, such as 'suburb'.

TABLE 7

## City directory 1842 - 3: Address information by district.

| <u>District</u>   | <u>Total entries</u> | <u>Percent of study area total</u> | <u>Total of 2-address entries</u> | <u>Percent of district totals with 2 addresses</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Gorbals           | 162                  | 16.9                               | 18                                | 11.1   |
| N. Laurieston     | 392                  | 40.9                               | 222                               | 56.6   |
| S. Laurieston     | 233                  | 24.3                               | 159                               | 68.2   |
| N. Hutchesontown  | 141                  | 14.7                               | 30                                | 19.0   |
| S. Hutchesontown  | 30                   | 3.1                                | 14                                | 46.7   |
| Study area totals | 958                  | 99.9                               | 443                               | -  |

TABLE 8

Selected occupations from directories; 1822 - 3 - 1842 - 3.

1. Professional: Ministers of religion
  - Medical doctors and surgeons
  - Others; writers, teachers, accountants, architects.
- Merchants (not wine or provision)
- Manufacturers
  
2. Trades and dealing: Metal workers (ironfounders, brassfounders, smiths, blacksmiths, tin-smiths, coppersmiths, gunsmiths)
  - Bootmakers, shoemakers
  - Tailors
  - Spirit dealers

Fig. 31

GORBALS 1822-3

Selected directory entries;  
residential distribution.

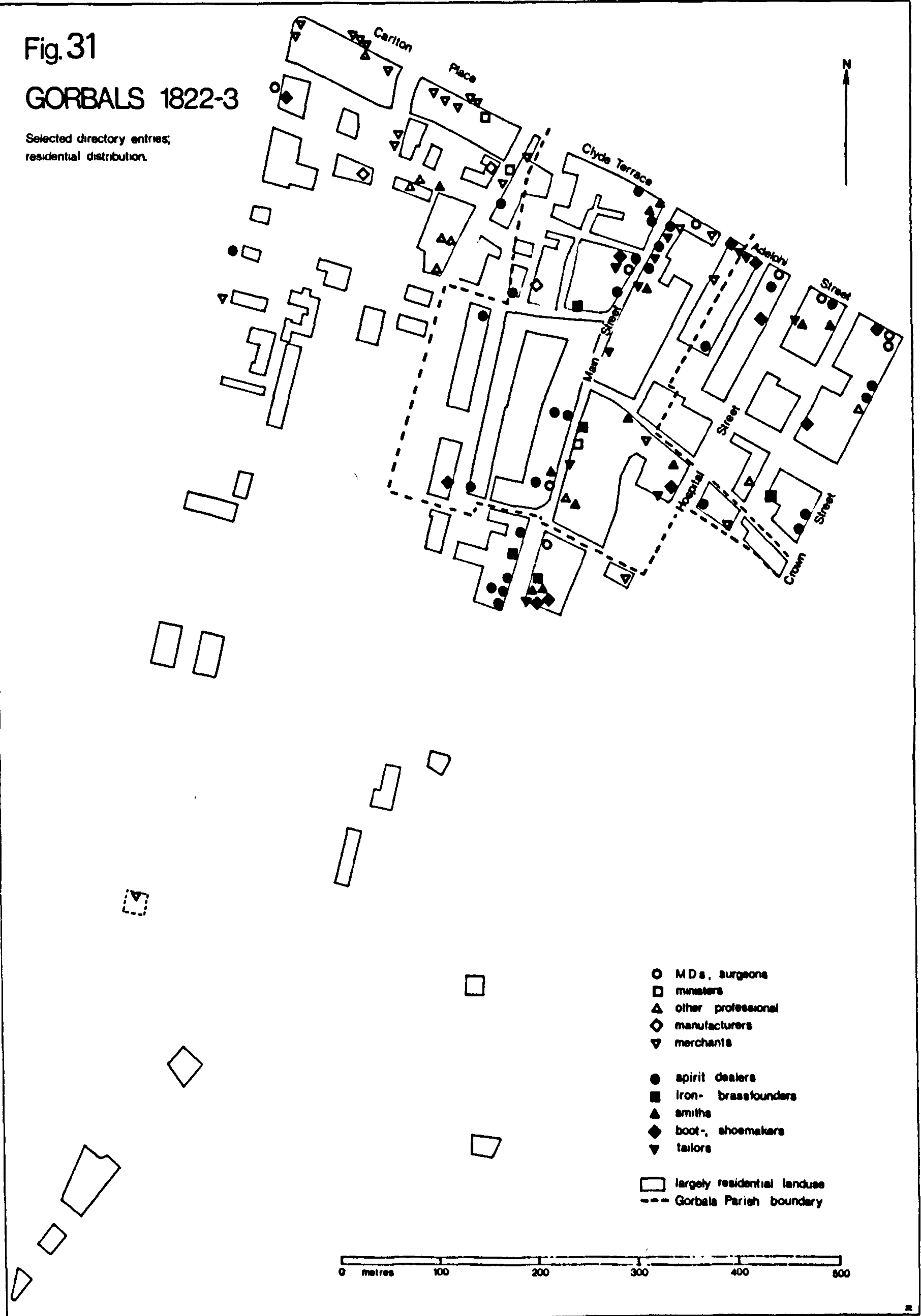


Fig. 32

GORBALS 1832-3

Selected directory entries;  
residential distribution.

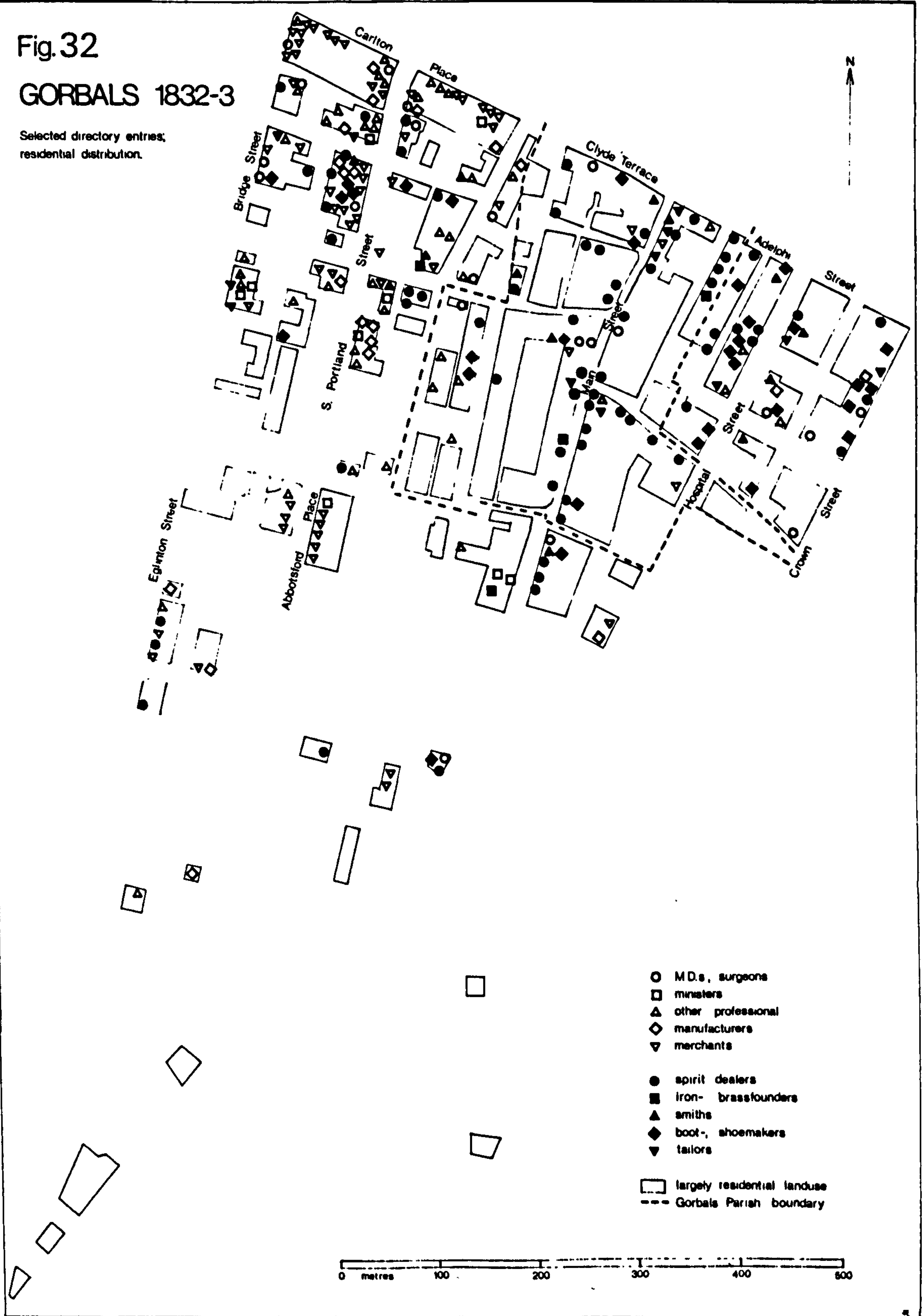
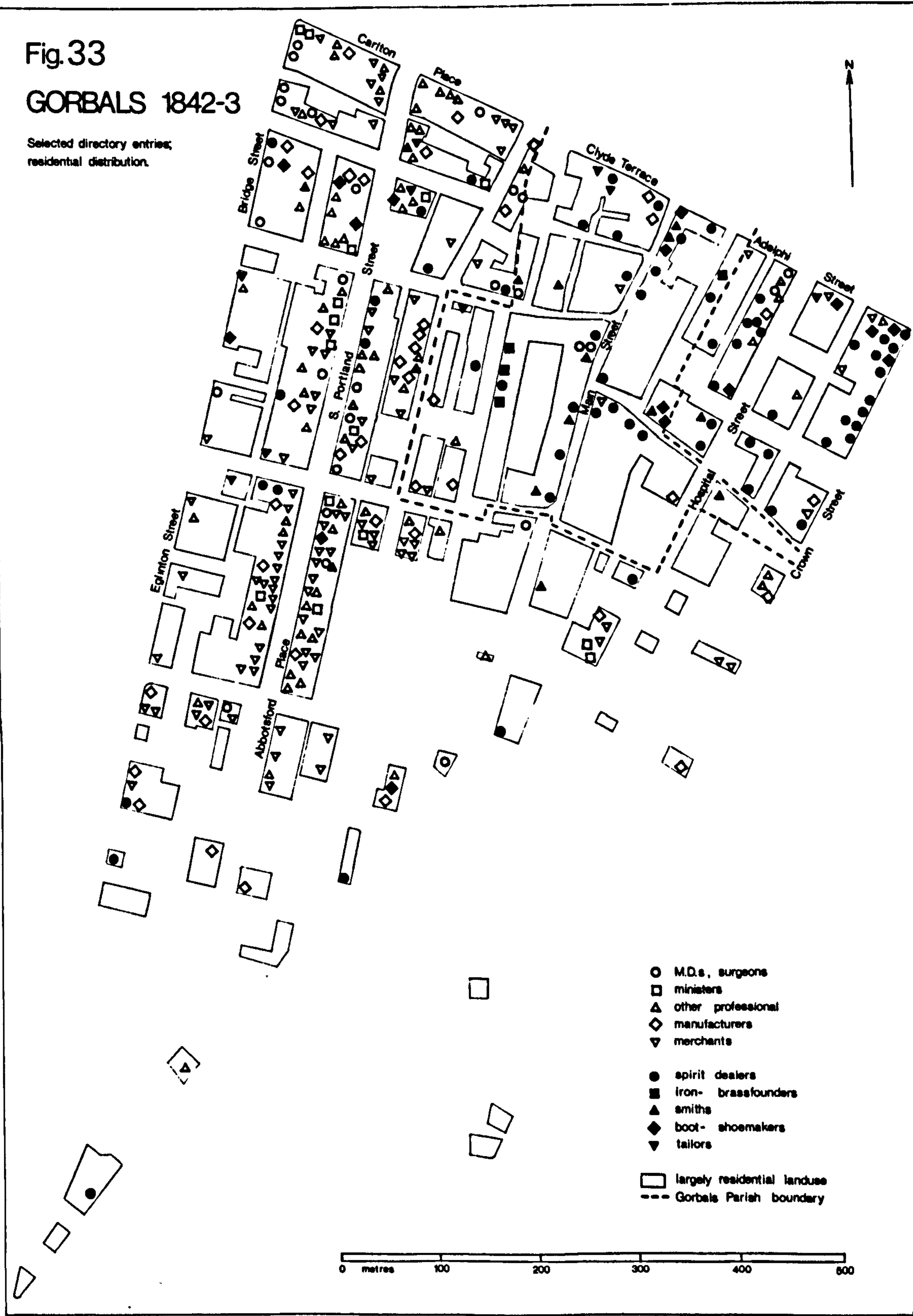


Fig.33  
**GORBALS 1842-3**

Selected directory entries;  
 residential distribution.





dealing entries in Gorbals-N. Hutchesontown districts, a disposition which remained extant through 1832 - 3 (Fig.32.) and 1842 - 3 (Fig.33.). The 1822 - 3 pattern of professionals was less compact and distinctive, particularly with regard to surgeons. Tunbridge (1978) remarked that surgeons in late eighteenth-century Bristol were "a sub-group of doubtful professional status, since they sometimes performed the roles of apothecaries and midwives". (172) Tunbridge's directory-based 'professionals' distribution included a number of surgeons in the oldest, central part of Bristol, and their 'doubtful professional status' was invoked by Tunbridge to explain this aspect of an otherwise general decentralizing trend amongst the professional 'directory population'.

In the Gorbals patterns, it was expected that as the status of M.D.'s and surgeons increased (with more general training and formal practice) so their criteria for residential location would change. In 1822 - 3, the medical group numbered seven entries in Gorbals and N. Hutchesontown, from a study-area total of nine. By 1843, Gorbals-N. Hutchesontown retained seven M.D.'s and surgeons from a study area total of 30. In Gorbals Parish alone, the number of entries in this grouping varied hardly at all over the period under study; from three in 1822 - 3 to four in both 1832 - 3 and 1842 - 3. The large increase in numbers of doctors in the directories down to 1842 - 3 were accommodated mainly in Laurieston. 19 of the 1842 - 3 total of 30 were housed in N. Laurieston alone.

The decennial patterns of merchants' housing locations showed a clear and early Laurieston concentration in 1822 - 3, which persisted down to 1842 - 3, with a minor subsidiary distribution in S. Hutchesontown. In 1822 - 3, the settlement of Carlton Place by the mercantile group was well advanced. Twelve of the study area total of 23 merchants were established in the Lauries' showpiece terrace at that juncture, including the elder brother, James, entered at No.8. (an address occupied by his family until some time after the Census of 1851). The southern development of Laurieston in 1832 - 3 was reflected in the southward extension of merchants' entries into Abbotsford Place. Though these were

lacking street numbers, it was likely that only the northernmost two or four tenements of this street were occupied by that date. The continuity of the preference of the mercantile and manufacturing groups for fixing their abodes in Laurieston was demonstrated in the 1842 - 3 pattern. Out of a study area total of 140 entries, 111 were located in Laurieston, 54 in the northern division, 57 in the south. This north-south symmetry in the mercantile manufacturing group was not reflected in the distribution of professionals in Laurieston. From a study area total of 99, 52 selected entries were fixed in N. Laurieston, 31 in the southern division. This proportional difference between the professional and mercantile-manufacturing groups in the divisions of Laurieston helped to explain the 2-address percentage difference in the all-entry analysis of Table 7. Virtually all the merchants and manufacturers in Laurieston by 1842-3 had recorded separate workplace addresses in their directory entries. Few medical practitioners worked away from home, and many writers and teachers similarly combined home and workplaces.

The trades and dealing groups represented in the map series suffered a gradual exclusion from N.Laurieston. In 1822 - 3, these groups numbered 35 selected entries in Laurieston, 27 in the northern division, eight in the southern. By 1842 - 3, they numbered 29, divided between 18 in the north and 11 in the south. A general eastwards shift of emphasis in the distribution of the trades and dealing groups was detected over the period of study.

The growth of the spirit trade in the study area, from 30 dealers in 1822 - 3 (23 in Gorbals-N.Hutchesontown) to 58 (43 in Gorbals-N.Hutchesontown), had implications for the representation of the mass of the population not entered in city directories. As early as 1793 the Gorbals parish minister (Wm. Anderson) counted 60 public houses "which hurt the morals of the people not a little". During the early decades of the nineteenth century, whisky (and whiskey!) replaced ale as the popular drink of the urban Scots worker. Smollett (1771) noted a boundary between lowland ale-drinking and Highland spirit-taking at a 'change-house' near Luss on Loch Lomond-side, where both types of beverage were

consumed by their traditionally distinct clienteles. As Highland and Irish immigration into lowland urban centres increased with the onset of industrialization and rural 'rationalization', the spirit trade and Government responded with the licensing of lowland distilleries.

The fourth licensed distillery to be set up in Scotland, and the first in Glasgow, was opened in 1786 in Kirk Street, Gorbals village (Ord, 1919; 30). Middle-class taste was indirectly reflected in the lower incidence of spirit dealers in Laurieston and a contrasting higher incidence of wine merchants. In 1842 - 3, eight out of 13 entries declared as 'wine merchants' were resident in Laurieston. It was likely that the number of spirit outlets was under-represented by the directories as spirit-shop, as distinct from distillery, regulation was rudimentary and definitions indistinct down to the 1870's.

Street tallies of all-entry totals confirmed the small-scale occupational group distributions indicated by the selected entry distribution maps. Table 10 shows the percentages of professional-mercantile and trades-dealing groupings located in the streets of the study area which were fully built up (according to cartographic evidence) by 1842 - 3. The percentages were of each district's all-entry total. The discrepancies between the total percentages and 100 were due to a residuum of unspecified entries.

From the evidence portrayed in Table 10, the social profiles of the major N.Laurieston thoroughfares had acquired significant middle-class characteristics by 1842 - 3; Carlton Place and S. Portland Street in particular. Other Laurieston streets, notably Oxford and Norfolk Streets, combined major Group 1 and 2 with Group 3 and 4 components, suggesting a more mixed social complexion from the point of view of the groupings used in this analysis.

The greatest degree of segregation between professional-mercantile and trades-crafts groups occurred in Main Street, Gorbals Parish, where 40.1 per cent of the entire district's entries were concentrated in the trades and dealing groups (3 and 4).

TABLE 10

Percent directory entries by socio-occupational group, district and  
street; 1842 - 3.

| <u>District</u> | <u>Street</u>               | <u>Groups 1 &amp; 2</u> | <u>Groups 3 &amp; 4</u> | <u>Street total</u> | <u>Census 1851*</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Gorbals Parish. | Main                        | 4.3                     | 40.1                    | 44.4                | 40.1                |
|                 | Clyde Ter.                  | 3.0                     | 9.8                     | 12.8                | 5.0                 |
|                 | Adelphi                     | 0.6                     | 6.7                     | 7.3                 | 1.8                 |
|                 | Muirhead                    | 0.0                     | 1.8                     | 1.8                 | 4.4                 |
|                 | Rú'glen Loan                | 0.0                     | 7.4                     | 7.4                 | 11.3                |
|                 | Hospital-Thistle-Greenside  | 0.6                     | 0.0                     | 0.6                 | 4.5                 |
|                 | Buchan                      | 0.6                     | 1.2                     | 1.8                 | 3.7                 |
|                 | Kirk-Moncrieff-Malta        | 0.6                     | 2.4                     | 3.0                 | 14.2                |
|                 | Portugal                    | 2.4                     | 7.4                     | 9.8                 | 8.0                 |
|                 | E. Warwick                  | 2.4                     | 1.2                     | 3.6                 | 3.8                 |
|                 | N. Puddock Row <sup>1</sup> | 0.0                     | 0.0                     | 0.0                 | 2.5                 |
|                 |                             |                         | <u>99.5</u>             | <u>99.4</u>         |                     |
|                 |                             |                         | n = 162                 | n = 1884            |                     |
| N.Laurieston.   | Carlton Place               | 6.1                     | 0.5                     | 6.6                 | 1.4                 |
|                 | E. Bridge                   | 1.5                     | 3.0                     | 4.5                 | 4.3                 |
|                 | E. Eglinton                 | 4.3                     | 3.3                     | 7.6                 | 4.3                 |
|                 | S. Portland                 | 23.9                    | 5.3                     | 29.2                | 15.5                |
|                 | Oxford                      | 6.3                     | 4.0                     | 10.3                | 8.7                 |
|                 | Nicholson                   | 5.8                     | 0.2                     | 6.0                 | 12.4                |

(Cont.)

\* Census of 1851 column shows proportion of each district's population inhabiting each street at that date for crude comparison to directory proportions in 1842 - 3 volume.

<sup>1</sup> renamed Bedford Lane by 1851.

|                               |              |      |         |             |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| N.Laurie-<br>ston.<br>(Cont.) | N. Coburg    | 3.5  | 0.0     | 3.5         | 5.5          |
|                               | N. Norfolk   | 4.0  | 7.3     | 11.3        | 5.9          |
|                               | S. Coburg    | 0.2  | 1.0     | 1.2         | 20.0         |
|                               | Herbertson   | 0.0  | 0.0     | 0.0         | 3.7          |
|                               | W. Warwick   | 3.5  | 1.5     | 5.0         | 5.0          |
|                               | N. Bedford   | 2.0  | 1.7     | 3.7         | 2.0          |
|                               | Norfolk Lane | 0.2  | 0.2     | 0.4         | 5.0          |
|                               | Oxford Lane  | 0.2  | 0.2     | 0.4         | 5.0          |
|                               | Carlton Ct.  | 0.0  | 0.0     | 0.0         | 1.3          |
|                               |              |      |         | <u>89.7</u> | <u>100.0</u> |
|                               |              |      | n = 392 | n = 1575    |              |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown.        | Adelphi      | 3.5  | 13.4    | 16.9        | 5.1          |
|                               | W. Crown     | 13.4 | 19.1    | 32.5        | 14.3         |
|                               | Thistle      | 4.2  | 7.8     | 12.0        | 26.6         |
|                               | Hospital     | 5.6  | 14.8    | 20.4        | 21.0         |
|                               | St. Ninian   | 0.0  | 4.2     | 4.2         | 18.1         |
|                               | Govan        | 0.0  | 9.2     | 9.2         | 8.2          |
|                               | Ru'glen Road | 0.7  | 0.7     | 1.4         | 4.1          |
|                               | N. Cleland   | 0.7  | 0.0     | 0.7         | 2.3          |
|                               |              |      |         | <u>97.3</u> | <u>99.7</u>  |
|                               |              |      | n = 141 | n = 1271    |              |

Although unfinished in the early 1840's, certain streets in S. Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown demonstrated nascent social 'tone' in the directory material. Abbotsford and Apsley Places, and Castlemilk Place in Hospital Street, accommodated professionals and merchants (see selected occupations distribution map, Fig.33.). Abbotsford and Apsely Places accounted for 44.2 and 9.4 per cent of the S. Laurieston all-entry total of 233 respectively, in groups 1 and 2.

Of 33 entries in S. Hutchesontown, eleven were classed 1 and 2 and located in Castlemilk Place.

In both Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown, the percentage balances were in favour of Groups 3 and 4, except in E. Warwick Street, Gorbals Parish, a street, morphologically and in terms of building history, with more affinity to Laurieston. Crown Street, in N. Hutchesontown, approached a balance between the professional-mercantile and trades-dealing groups; Adelphi, Thistle and Hospital Streets incorporated smaller Group 1 and 2 proportions.

In Laurieston, a number of street percentages exhibited trades-dealing concentrations, and Bridge, N. Norfolk and S. Coburg Streets indicated larger Group 3 and 4 than Group 1 and 2 'directory populations'.

On Table 10, the Census percentage column contrasts the street proportions of directory and Census (1851) 'populations'. This enabled an indication of the under or over-representation of streets in the directory of 1842-3, assuming that relative street population densities remained unaltered between 1842 and 1851 in the streets fully built-up by the former date.

Inspection revealed the under-representation in the directory of certain side-streets in Gorbals Parish (Muirhead, Kirk, Buchan and Moncrieff together with Hospital, Thistle, Greenside and Rutherglen Loan). In N. Laurieston, S. Coburg Street evinced a major under-representation of directory entries vis-a-vis the Census population; Nicholson, Herbertson, Norfolk Streets and Oxford Lane exhibited lesser discrepancies. In N. Hutchesontown, St. Ninian, Thistle

Streets and Rutherglen Road were similarly under-enumerated in the directory.

The significance of the under-representation was realized in the nature of the un-entered population, those following occupations deemed insufficiently important by the compilers. Although a social gradation was evident within the 'directory population', its application in the identification of the social tenor of particular streets and districts could only yield general indications. The unskilled and semi-skilled manual worker was entirely excluded from the directory pages at every date studied. Only established masters of the skilled trades and the more substantial dealers were expected to find substantial representation. There was no guarantee that every independent retail or trade practitioner was entered. Certain declining crafts, such as hand-loom weaving and domestic spinning did not appear as occupations in any directory studied. The change in status of this occupational group has been noted in Ch.3. In the light of this indirect evidence, it was possible to surmise that the streets with greater Census than directory proportional 'populations' incorporated large low-status elements.

Cleland's (1831) enumeration, conducted for the national Census authorities, provided a detailed accounting of occupations in the greater Gorbals area (the parliamentary division south of the Clyde). Unfortunately, information thus aggregated was impossible to extrapolate at street level. Separate figures for Laurieston and Hutchesontown were similarly unobtainable, as Cleland included them in an administrative area larger than the study area. Cleland counted each gainfully employed head-of-household and his or her dependants for each occupational group, summarized in Table 11.

In order to standardise Cleland's information, the occupational totals were aggregated into groupings roughly comparable with the directory classification. These totals were then divided by five in order to obtain a value labelled 'household equivalents'. In the 1851 Census the average co-residing group size in the study area was 5.0 individuals, in 1871 it was 4.9 individuals and in 1891 it was 4.8 individuals; five was thus considered the nearest whole number to the

TABLE 11

Comparison of Cleland's Enumeration, 1831, and directory of 1832 - 3.

| <u>Cleland, 1831</u>                         |              |   | <u>Directory, 1832 - 3</u> |            |
|--|--------------|---|----------------------------|------------|
| (standardised to household-equivalents)      |              |   | (household-equivalents)    |            |
| <u>Group</u>                                 | <u>No.</u>   |   | <u>Group</u>               | <u>No.</u> |
| Professional*                                | 95           | . | 1.                         | 74         |
| Merchants, manufacturers, clerks,<br>agents. | 175          | . | 2.                         | 191        |
| Commerce.<br>(shopkeepers)                   | 293          | . | 3.                         | 292        |
| Weavers, spinners.                           | 854          | . | -                          | -          |
| Metal crafts.                                | 175          | . | 4.                         | 143        |
| Other trades.                                | 867          | . | -                          | -          |
| Labourers, hawkers, manglers,<br>porters.    | 317          | . | 5.                         | 3          |
| Miscellaneous.<br>(inc. servants?)           | 941          | . | 6.                         | 24         |
| Total  | <u>3,111</u> | . |                            | <u>272</u> |

\* included students and 'literary persons'.



probable mean household size in the study area in 1832 - 3. The spatial extent of Cleland's enumeration under the definition 'Gorbals' was not clear. As the Parish area probably contained between 1,500 and 2,000 households at that time, it was likely that the Barony area formed Cleland's Census district. The parliamentary boundary, extended south of the City by 1831, included the same extent of built-up territory. Had Cleland used either boundary, a similar population catchment would have resulted.

Though the directory of 1832 - 3 appeared to have under-represented many skilled and nearly all manual occupational groups (including a substantial population dependent on handloom-weaving) the professional, industrial, commercial and clerical directory entries were well reflected in the proportions in the 1831 enumeration. Within this restricted status range, the use of directory materials as general indicators was considered valid.

The second addresses given for the Laurieston entries were concentrated in the Exchange area of the city which formed the CBD of the period, directly opposite Laurieston on the north bank of the river. A pedestrian bridge, first constructed in the 1840's and rebuilt as the present-day Suspension Bridge in 1851, symbolised the mode and direction of the journey-to-work links between Laurieston and the city centre. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the S. Portland Street - Abbotsford Place alignment was planned as a southern extension of Buchanan Street, then a new and potentially prestigious street on the western fringe of the city's built-up area. A westward shift may be detected in the concentration of middle-class workplaces on Figs.34. to 36. On these maps, the selected entries located in Figs.31. to 33. for the 1822 - 3, 1832 - 3 and 1842 - 3 directories were linked to their respective workplace addresses by a matrix analogous to a journey-to-work pattern. The emergent concentration of Laurieston-resident second addresses in 1822 - 3 lay largely between Queen Street and Candleriggs on the west and east, and between Ingram Street and Trongate-Argyle Street on the north and south. This district, to the immediate west of the Old Town centred on the Cross and High Street, was the first major extension of Georgian Glasgow.







The 1832-3 map, Fig.35., shows a continued concentration of links between Laurieston and the district outlined above. The area west of Queen Street including Buchanan Street, had acquired a number of Laurieston-resident workplace entries. The few links shown from Gorbals Parish and Hutchesontown tend to have terminations at workplaces south of the river, or in Glasgow's Old Town. Four selected individuals who lived outside the Parish of Gorbals worked within its borders.

The workplace locations on the 1842 - 3 map (Fig.36.) show a consolidation of the western shift. The Laurieston workplace 'field', by that time, extended from the older business streets - Hutcheson Street, Miller Street, Glassford and Virginia Streets - to Renfield, Union and Jamaica Streets to the west and George Street to the north. This enlarged 'employment field', with less emphasis on the Georgian streets, corresponded to the approximate extent of commercial and office activity today, lacking only the large-scale retail outlets of Sauchiehall Street, which remained largely residential until the late nineteenth century. Recent CBD extension has resulted in modern high-rise office development associated with slum clearance and motorway construction in the Charing Cross area. This westward shift is further emphasised in Table 12, where the changing proportions of the totals of two-address entries from 1822 - 3 to 1842 - 3 in the major CBD streets were set out. The figures for 1822 - 3 are numbers of entries, those for 1832 - 3 and 1842 - 3 are percentages.

The network emanating from Gorbals Parish and Hutchesontown on the 1842 - 3 map continued the 1832 - 3 pattern of largely local links. Again, a small number of links originating in Hutchesontown and Laurieston terminated at workplaces in Gorbals Parish, but not vice versa.

The growth of the CBD and its residential 'hinterland' within the study area involved changes in the length of the average journey to work. In 1842 - 3, the direct link incorporating the Abbotsford Place - S. Portland Street - pedestrian bridge - St. Enoch Square - Buchanan Street axis involved a maximum journey of 1.5 km from the

TABLE 12

Key CBD streets: Study area second-address directory entries.

| <u>Street</u>                        | <u>Directory</u> |               |               |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
|                                      | <u>1822-3</u>    | <u>1832-3</u> | <u>1842-3</u> |
| Virginia                             | 3                | 5.4           | 2.4           |
| Miller                               | 4                | 5.4           | 2.1           |
| "EAST" Brunswick Place<br>and Street | 2                | 8.6           | 2.1           |
| Trongate                             | 0                | 10.8          | 5.5           |
| Argyle                               | 1                | 11.8          | 11.0          |
| Jamaica                              | 0                | 0.5           | 3.3           |
| "WEST" Queen                         | 0                | 6.4           | 9.7           |
| Buchanan                             | 1                | 3.8           | 10.0          |
| Others                               | 9                | 47.3          | 53.9          |
| Total                                | 20               | 100.0 n=185   | 100.0 n=327   |

southern extent of the built-up area to the northern end of Buchanan Street, a twenty-minute walk. It was found difficult to specify the causality of the Suspension Bridge, and its ephemeral wooden predecessor (Fig.26.) in journey pattern change. The permanent structure may have influenced office migration in the CBD (thus reducing average pedestrian journeys from Laurieston and the west). Alternatively, it may have been built in response to ecological CBD growth. The original alignment of Abbotsford Place - Buchanan Street suggested that Laurie envisaged a bridge link at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There was no evidence of a bridge on any pre-1840 map, or indeed in any source apart from Swan's View.

The benefits of propinquity to the city centre were early realized by David Laurie and the first Laurieston feuars. A pedestrian link was only feasible where journey to work distances were relatively short. It was further considered a desirable mode as it effectively excluded vehicular traffic from Carlton Place and suppressed north-south movement on the S.Portland Street - Abbotsford Place alignment. The feuars and tenants of Laurieston were allowed free pontage on the pedestrian bridge, a considerable advantage over those using the vehicular bridges until tolls were abolished in the 1850's. Such an arrangement, in terms of residential exclusiveness, was seen as a successor to Laurie's original scheme of prohibiting wheeled traffic (and presumably undesirables) from Carlton Place by means of supervised gates at either end. The barrier to traffic posed by the pedestrian and later Suspension Bridge probably had great effect on the general level of street activity in Laurieston's central spine. The absence of shops and through-traffic contrasted with the bustle of Eglinton Street, Main Street and Crown Street. As a traffic-selective link with the city centre, it was probable that the Suspension Bridge influenced the development of Laurieston in terms of its social composition for many years after its construction.

A newspaper advertisement of 1814, quoted by Worsdall (1979), invited prospective builders to acquire plots in Laurieston, as;

".... though not 9 minutes walk from the Exchange, the situation is pleasant, healthful, genteel and most agreeable for places of residence". (78)

b. The reliability of directory material in the Gorbals context.

Census data published in the first half of the nineteenth century appeared in aggregates generally incompatible with the study area. Population totals were given at the scale of the city and the larger suburbs and were subject to periodic inflation due to boundary changes. From the Government abstracts, and from local summaries such as Cleland's '1831) the precise extent of the Census tracts was often unclear. 'Gorbals Parish', for instance, might have referred to the parish quoad civilia ('Gorbals proper', as it was often styled in contemporary accounts), the civil jurisdiction disjoined from Govan in 1771 and used throughout this study. Alternatively, it may have been used to include both the parish quoad civilia and quoad sacra. During the early part of the nineteenth century, much of the Barony beyond the civil parish was joined to it for religious purposes, that is quoad sacra. The difference was crucial in a study of small scales, especially in the absence of corroborative enumerators' schedules before 1841 and precise addresses before 1851. Without an accurate total population figure for the study area at each directory date, it was impossible to check variation in the proportion of the population entered in the directories and thus express a relationship between the growth of the 'directory population' and the universe of total population from which it was drawn. It was possible that the changing entry criteria from the time of Tait (1784) influenced the size of the subset entered in the directories as much as immigration to the new suburban streets. In Tait's case it was certain that trades masters were excluded from his directory. Not even the famous (Ord, 1919) gunsmiths of Gorbals renowned in earlier times and finding mention in later directories, were considered 'useful' enough to merit inclusion by Tait.

Table 13 shows that the under-representation of the study area in the directories declined as the proportion of the study area population gaining admission increased down to 1841.

The standard Census social status classifications, after Armstrong (1972) or Royle (1977) were inapplicable to the socially biased 'directory populations'. In order to fully exploit the limited



TABLE 13

Study area and city percentage comparisons; city directory and  
total household estimates.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Study area<br/>directory entries<br/>as per cent city total</u> | <u>Study area estimated<br/>household totals as<br/>percentage city total</u> |
|-------------|--|---|
| 1802-3      | 2.6  | 5.0   |
| 1812-3      | 2.6  | 5.2   |
| 1822-3      | 5.0  | 15.1  |
| 1832-3      | 6.9  | 12.3  |
| 1842-3      | 8.4  | 10.8  |

information available, the classification used in the directory analyses linked social status and residence-workplace separation. In so doing, clerical workers, nearly all of whom declared separate workplaces in the directories, were included with merchants and manufacturers in Group 2. In the classifications developed for Census analyses (particularly Armstrong's, 1972) clerks were placed in the same grouping as shopkeepers. In the light of previous discussion (Ch.3.) on class and status in the context of clerical workers, it was considered feasible to include such employees amongst mercantile and manufacturing employers in the directory classification scheme.

Their inclusion in the directories implied esteem in the eyes of the selectors, an important contemporary status factor. Traditionally, clerical work formed the eighteenth-century Glasgow merchant's apprenticeship, (Galt, 1823) and the social cachet appears to have persisted in the listing of clerks down to 1841 in the city directories. Social standing may have been compounded by more utilitarian considerations. The listing of certain clerks may have inferred that they held managerial positions. From the point of view of prospective clients, the entry of clerks' home and workplaces would only have been useful if the listed individuals subsumed managerial or executive functions under the title 'clerk'.

Similarly, attention was paid to the aims of visual scrutiny of the distribution of tradesmen entered in directories. The classification adopted did not imply a manual - non-manual or employer - employee distinction between Groups 3 and 4. To meet the criteria of selection, it appeared that individuals entered were established, and possibly substantial, masters. Smout (1972) noted the dominance of 'businessmen' in early nineteenth century Glasgow directories, compared with a professional majority in those of Edinburgh. He goes on to surmise that only the 'most middle class artisans' would have been included in the former. (358) A concentration of trades masters, as in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown, did not necessarily imply a substantial low-status population, unrepresented in directories, but resident in the same neighbourhood. This was true even if such a concentration coincided

with a marked absence of higher status groups. The externalities of noxious metal trades may be expected to have repelled those not intimately linked to those trades by manual employment, or ownership, in a 'small way'.

Given the theoretical argument for an increase in social segregation scale with time, the necessity for a precise definition of population not finding mention in the pages of directories became imperative. In attempting to link the 1842 - 3 directory entries with the first locationally precise Census enumerators books - those for 1851 - it was intended that the known social bias of the volumes be balanced by the known near-universal standard of the Census. The difference in emphasis at street level between the directories and Census in the districts fully built up by the former date revealed several densely populated streets with scant directory coverage. The obvious implication was that these streets accommodated a large proportion of working-class households (that is of a status lower than directory entry thresholds). Less segregated streets, containing significant frequencies of directory entries and Census population did not necessarily emerge from the comparative table.

In 1842 - 3, the directory record showed that Mullan's Irish Provision Store was doing business at 164 Main Street, Gorbals village, whilst a few hundred metres away, the City Chamberlain had fixed his residence at 11 Carlton Place. Between the social milieux thus symbolized lay the varied status grades of Gorbals society, a social spectrum closely linked to physical contrasts in close spatial propinquity.

This preliminary survey of a partial source in the half-century before the relatively reliable Census enumerators' books were written has yielded insights into socio-spatial dispositions in the study area. At a relatively large scale (district level) areas emerged as singular entities, having undergone significant changes and continuities during the period.

A tendency for N. Laurieston to exhibit a more exclusively professional-mercantile-manufacturer profile amongst directory

entries recorded as residents balanced the development of a more limited social composition in the parish area. Hutesontown stood somewhat apart from this polarization, having maintained, with modification rather than change, a degree of mixing of the elements chosen for indication.

No attempt has been made to test hypotheses such as that of Carrick (in Pagan, 1884), that the 'respectable inhabitants' of old Gorbals (parish) were drawn to Laurieston, leaving their houses to be subdivided for low-status use, in line with classical housing market filtering theory. Such investigation would require record-linkage over a wider area (to account for deaths) and surname-searches, and would of course underplay or miss out working-class movement. Directory evidence was not considered sufficiently universal to construct more than general areal indicators of underlying whole-population distinctions. Such distinctions helped to put a longer temporal perspective on the Census-derived results.

It was clear that Laurieston's sizeable bourgeois population became well-established in the early nineteenth-century. Contrary to the assumptions of economic historians (Kellest, 1961, 1967, 1969 a and b; Checkland, 1964 and Simpson, 1977) and at least one geographer (Adams, 1978; 79), southern growth seemed to enhance that character, whilst the northern division became more exclusively professional-mercantile in composition with the marked reduction of the trades-crafts component.

Portrayal of the detailed disposition of the complete social spectrum and class contrast required the use of the enumerators books from the Census of 1851 and subsequently.

## CHAPTER 9

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### THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE STUDY AREA DISTRICTS; 1851 - 1891.

#### a. General Survey.

The foregoing interpretation of the city directory entries yielded several indications of the socio-spatial evolution in Gorbals study area down to the 1840's. Within this small compass, distinct contrasts were evident from an early date. The progressive decline of the proportion of directory entries for Gorbals Parish, together with the preponderance of trades and crafts occupations suggested the social decline of a physically 'pre-industrial' district. By contrast, Laurieston's physical growth was closely related to its development of a 'superior' social profile, dominated by professionals, merchants and manufacturers living away from their workplaces. Little could be directly revealed about the disposition of the working class, excluded from the directories. Nevertheless, the evidence suggested, and cartographic and literary sources confirmed, that the five-district division was an optimum regionalisation, in that historical, building and developmental contrasts were best accommodated thus at a 'macro' scale. Social factors culled from the census also found expressive deployment in this manner.

Table 14 shows total population change in terms of individuals rather than households. An important feature is the fluctuation and decline of the populations in the northern three districts, contrasting with the rapid growth of the two southern divisions, particularly between 1851 and 1871 when new house building progressed rapidly. N. Hutchesontown's population suffered a greater net loss over the period 1851 - 1891 than did N. Laurieston, but the greatest decline was seen in Gorbals Parish where the 1871 total was nearly halved by 1891 following clearance and rebuilding there under the Improvement Trust. The other major structural change was the building of a railway embank-

TABLE 14

Population totals.

| District          | 1851   |                             | 1871   |                             | 1891   |                             |
|-------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
|                   | Number | percentage study area total | Number | percentage study area total | Number | percentage study area total |
| Gorbals Parish    | 11,181 | 30.9                        | 10,162 | 23.1                        | 5,709  | 14.3                        |
| N. Laurieston     | 8,257  | 22.8                        | 8,724  | 19.8                        | 7,925  | 19.9                        |
| S. Laurieston     | 6,490  | 18.1                        | 11,764 | 26.7                        | 12,309 | 30.9                        |
| N. Hutchesontown  | 6,591  | 18.2                        | 5,996  | 13.6                        | 5,279  | 13.3                        |
| S. Hutchesontown  | 3,628  | 10.0                        | 7,396  | 16.8                        | 8,584  | 21.6                        |
| Study area totals | 36,147 | 100.0                       | 44,042 | 100.0                       | 39,806 | 100.0                       |

Source: census enumerators' books.

ment between Southside Station and St. Enoch Station, cutting through parts of Hutchesontown, and accounting for at least some of the population loss in the north with the disappearance of several 'residential units' by 1891. These physical changes will be represented in the Map Sequences of Ch.10.

An indication of inter-district housing contrasts is given in Table 15, which equates census addresses with tenements, thus obscuring the cottage, terrace and villa variations.

A rising study area average between 1851 and 1891 implied the subdivision of large houses and/or the building of new tenements with more but smaller houses. Cottage replacement by tenements was also a possible explanation. The trend for N. Laurieston, for instance, may have reflected existing house subdivision, as the district was built up by 1851 and suffered population loss between 1871 and 1891. That loss may have been tied directly to few-household addresses being vacated. The divergent, shallower rise in S. Laurieston indicated the progressive occupation of new, small-house tenements. The comparatively high measures for Gorbals Parish and Hutchesontown as a whole suggested a higher density residential environment to Laurieston (the latter was consistently below the rising study area average); N. Hutchesontown emerged in 1891 as the district with the highest average number of address inhabitants. The fluctuating range between highest and lowest averages indicated a slight widening of the gap between least and most populous address averages.

Table 16 shows that the decline in average house size (in terms of the number of windowed rooms associated with each household) between 1871 and 1891 was slight in Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown. The Gorbals Parish measure rose substantially with the improvements to the fabric of that district.

This local improvement accounted for the slight rise in the total study area average. N. Hutchesontown exhibited the greatest decline in this measure, which when taken together with the address-population evidence, suggested that by 1891 N. Hutchesontown had become the poorest district in terms of housing quality.

TABLE 15

Average number of Census address inhabitants.

| District               | 1851 | 1871 | 1891 |
|------------------------|------|------|------|
| Gorbals Parish         | 33.6 | 31.1 | 34.8 |
| N. Laurieston          | 22.6 | 25.6 | 28.4 |
| S. Laurieston          | 22.2 | 25.8 | 26.2 |
| N. Hutchesontown       | 30.4 | 36.8 | 38.8 |
| S. Hutchesontown       | 33.0 | 39.8 | 37.0 |
| Average for study area | 27.4 | 29.9 | 31.1 |
| Range                  | 11.4 | 14.2 | 12.6 |

Source: census enumerators' books.



TABLE 16

Average number of windowed rooms in each household.

| District               | 1851      | 1871 | 1891 |
|------------------------|-----------|------|------|
| Gorbals                |           | 1.7  | 2.3  |
| N. Laurieston          |           | 2.9  | 2.8  |
| S. Laurieston          | (no data) | 2.7  | 2.7  |
| N. Hutchesontown       |           | 2.1  | 1.9  |
| S. Hutchesontown       |           | 2.6  | 2.6  |
| Average for study area |           | 2.4  | 2.5  |
| Range                  |           | 1.2  | 0.9  |

Source: census enumerators' books.

The foregoing information was derived manually from the intermediate transcription. Preliminary computer organization of the secondary encoding produced a series of contingency tables (from CROSSTABS) which allowed comparison between different socio-ethnic measures. Table 17 demonstrates, in general terms, aspects of socio-spatial continuity between the city directory patterns and the census district evidence.

The socio-economic classification, based on Royle's (1977) scheme, has been aggregated into two groups, taken as indicators of the working class and middle class proportions in the five districts. The large manual occupational bias in 1851 Gorbals Parish intensified into the 1871 - 91 period, when, as foregoing evidence hinted, the reduction in and improvement of the housing stock resulted in a reversal of the increasingly proletarian tendency of the social character between 1851 and 1871. In all other districts increases in the working class percentage (as defined in this way) continued throughout the study period. The steepness of this increase varied considerably. The two southern districts underwent compositional change in almost identical fashion, from just over half their households (or co-residing groups: CRGs) in social groups IV and V in 1851, to just over two-thirds so classified in 1891. N. Hutchesontown had the second highest percentage of households in groups IV and V in 1851, a proportion which increased in convergence with the Gorbals Parish measure by 1871. Though this trend levelled between 1871 and 1891, N. Hutchesontown emerged with the highest district proportional working class population by 1891.

N. Laurieston seemed to have undergone the steepest and most consistent rise in this proportion, from just over half in 1851 to nearly three-quarters by 1891. Again, the steepest trend occurred between 1851 and 1871

Evidently, the study area as a whole underwent a transition from a situation of internal social balance in 1851, with considerable district-level variation in proportions, to a general dominance of group IV and V households in 1891, with a rather less extreme divergence between social group proportions, at district level.

TABLE 17

Social structure change 1851 - 1891.

A Per cent CRGs in Royle's groups I, II and III  
 B Per cent CRGs in Royle's groups IV and V

| <u>District</u>  | <u>Year</u> |             |             |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                  | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
| Gorbals          |             |             |             |
| A                | 17.2        | 11.7        | 24.3        |
| B                | 82.8        | 88.3        | 75.7        |
| N. Laurieston    |             |             |             |
| A                | 44.9        | 32.8        | 27.7        |
| B                | 55.1        | 67.2        | 72.3        |
| S. Laurieston    |             |             |             |
| A                | 47.4        | 36.5        | 32.5        |
| B                | 52.6        | 63.5        | 67.5        |
| N. Hutchesontown |             |             |             |
| A                | 26.0        | 13.7        | 13.3        |
| B                | 74.0        | 86.3        | 86.7        |
| S. Hutchesontown |             |             |             |
| A                | 48.6        | 35.4        | 32.8        |
| B                | 51.4        | 64.6        | 67.2        |

Source: census enumerators' books.

Servant-keeping, outlined in Table 18 was commonly considered to have been the touchstone of the Victorian middle class (see discussion in Ch.3.). The EB evidence confirmed the trends noted in Table 17. 'Living-out' domestics were not recorded with client households; they may have been of significance in petit bourgeois and 'worker aristocrat' households. N. Hutesontown witnessed a decline in servant-keeping which resulted in its emergence as the district with fewest servant-keeping households in 1891. Though Laurieston as a whole had a relatively high proportion of households with resident domestics in 1851, this proportion declined more rapidly than the social measures of Table 17 suggested. S. Hutesontown, similar to S.Laurieston in terms of the aggregated social groupings of Table 17, included a very much lower proportion of servant-keeping households, roughly half of S. Laurieston's percentage throughout the study period. The decline-and-rise trend of Gorbals Parish on this indicator confirmed foregoing evidence of social and physical 'improvement'.

An insight into these contrasts was further afforded by comparative analysis of the percentage shares of resident servants between non-manual groups II and III, numerically the most important servant-keeping groups. The loss of general servant-keeping status by group III households was a particularly significant factor in S. Hutesontown. Decline in group III servant-keeping was a feature of all the other districts throughout the study period, save N. Hutesontown, where loss from group II appeared to have been more significant.

This general contrast between trends in servant-keeping in Laurieston and Hutesontown underlined the problems associated with the application of a single criterion over a long time span. Servant-keeping may have been the touchstone of the mid-Victorian middle class, but by 1891 this association was less straightforward. The evidence for S. Hutesontown suggested the early emergence there of a substantial lower middle-class population, unreliant on resident domestics, in contrast with the stronger association between group III and servant-keeping in Laurieston down to 1871.

The impression created was of an important general difference between the populations of Laurieston and Hutesontown, over-riding in part the north-south distinction. The small-master trades-and-crafts

TABLE 18

Servant-keeping change 1851 - 1891.

A Per cent CRGs with one or more servants  
 B Per cent share of servants by occupational groups II and III

| <u>District</u>         | <u>Year</u> |             |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                         | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
| <b>Gorbals</b>          |             |             |             |
| A                       | 6.3         | 3.1         | 4.2         |
| B II                    | 24          | 37          | 64          |
| III                     | 70          | 62          | 34          |
| <b>N. Laurieston</b>    |             |             |             |
| A                       | 26.6        | 13.6        | 6.7         |
| B II                    | 30          | 28          | 37          |
| III                     | 66          | 69          | 60          |
| <b>S. Laurieston</b>    |             |             |             |
| A                       | 31.5        | 14.2        | 6.1         |
| B II                    | 33          | 35          | 56          |
| III                     | 59          | 57          | 32          |
| <b>N. Hutchesontown</b> |             |             |             |
| A                       | 8.9         | 3.2         | 2.6         |
| B II                    | 30          | 24          | 25          |
| III                     | 67          | 70          | 68          |
| <b>S. Hutchesontown</b> |             |             |             |
| A                       | 16.6        | 7.6         | 3.6         |
| B II                    | 18          | 37          | 59          |
| III                     | 74          | 61          | 39          |

Source: census enumerators' books.

character implied in the early nineteenth-century directory information for N. Hutesontown seemed to find expression in the society of S. Hutesontown during the census study period. In contrast, N. Laurieston extended the mercantile-professional profile into S. Laurieston, in terms of the relatively high levels of opulence and social exclusiveness inferred from the evidence so far presented.

The lodger was an important figure in Victorian urban society (Table 19). Due to housing shortages and the rapid development of industrial and service employment in towns, areas like Gorbals contained large migrant or post-migrant lodger populations.

Generally, in the study area as a whole, households accommodating middle-class lodgers were outnumbered by those housing working-class lodgers, as Table 19 illustrates. For the purposes of this study, a distinction between group IV and V lodgers has been maintained. A concentration of group V lodgers in the pre-redevelopment Gorbals Parish was evident as was the apparent 'transfer' of the bulk of group I, II, III lodgers between N. and S. Laurieston in the period 1851 - 1871.

Table 20 treats lodger-keeping throughout the study area in terms of a host-lodger social group comparison. This was taken to represent an aspect of 'proximity tolerance', or the extent to which host households accommodated socially different lodgers throughout the study period. Of particular note in Table 20 was the shift of emphasis in the skilled manual lodger group (IV) with regard to the grouping of their host households. Group IV lodger-keeping amongst group II hosts rose from 4.9 per cent to 8.0 per cent, and amongst group III hosts from 13.2 per cent to 21.1 per cent between 1851 and 1891.

The decline of lodger keeping at either extreme of the host household social spectrum may have indicated greater discrimination by hosts in high status households and by lodgers in low-status host households. The rise in disposable incomes amongst the working class may have increased the potential range of lodgings available. Evidently, from a wide social spectrum of hosts in 1851, the keeping of lodgers became, by 1891, the preserve of a narrower social stratum of households.

TABLE 19

Number of households with one or more lodgers in social groups I - V.

|                  | Year | Group I,II,III | Group IV | Group V | Total |
|------------------|------|----------------|----------|---------|-------|
| Gorbals Parish   | 1851 | 44             | 473      | 221     | 738   |
|                  | 1871 | 22             | 352      | 273     | 647   |
|                  | 1891 | 38             | 240      | 65      | 343   |
| N. Laurieston    | 1851 | 159            | 293      | 71      | 523   |
|                  | 1871 | 94             | 401      | 70      | 565   |
|                  | 1891 | 92             | 296      | 59      | 447   |
| S. Laurieston    | 1851 | 39             | 134      | 33      | 206   |
|                  | 1871 | 123            | 350      | 92      | 565   |
|                  | 1891 | 96             | 313      | 116     | 525   |
| N. Hutchesontown | 1851 | 45             | 276      | 80      | 401   |
|                  | 1871 | 23             | 250      | 82      | 355   |
|                  | 1891 | 9              | 213      | 111     | 333   |
| S. Hutchesontown | 1851 | 32             | 56       | 15      | 103   |
|                  | 1871 | 86             | 158      | 57      | 301   |
|                  | 1891 | 57             | 256      | 61      | 374   |

Source: census enumerators' books

TABLE 20

Lodger-keeping change (study area) 1851 - 1891.

| <u>Occup. group</u>                                     | <u>Year</u> |             |             |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|   | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
| A per cent CRGs with one or more Group I,II,III lodgers |             |             |             |
| I   | 2.4         | 1.8         | 0.0         |
| II  | 7.4         | 7.4         | 5.1         |
| III   | 8.7         | 10.4        | 8.7         |
| IV  | 2.9         | 2.8         | 2.7         |
| V   | 1.1         | 0.9         | 0.8         |
| B per cent CRGs with one or more Group IV lodgers       |             |             |             |
| I   | 1.2         | 1.8         | 0.0         |
| II  | 4.9         | 9.5         | 8.0         |
| III   | 13.2        | 19.4        | 21.1        |
| IV  | 19.9        | 19.9        | 17.6        |
| V   | 23.4        | 16.5        | 13.5        |
| C per cent CRGs with one or more Group V lodgers        |             |             |             |
| I   | 0.0         | 0.0         | 0.0         |
| II  | 1.2         | 0.2         | 1.1         |
| III   | 2.2         | 2.7         | 3.7         |
| IV  | 5.5         | 5.2         | 4.2         |
| V   | 22.2        | 14.6        | 10.2        |

Source: census enumerators' books



The birthplace classification of household heads supplied the data for indicating 'ethnicity' amongst the five study area districts on Table 21. Notable features were the increasing proportion of households with local-born heads in all districts over the study period. The rise in the foreign-born category seen by all districts between 1871 and 1891 was closely related to the immigration of Polish and other eastern European Jews. The most remarkable factor to emerge was the concentration of Irish-born household heads in Gorbals Parish, a feature which continued down to 1871, when just over half of the 2,057 households were 'Irish' in the sense adopted here. The virtual halving of the Irish-headed proportion by 1891 in the Parish was accompanied by the rise of the N. Hutchesontown percentage. Though the surrounding districts exhibited consistent growth in their proportions of Irish heads (in the case of the small S. Hutchesontown figure, doubling between 1851 and 1871) Gorbals Parish clearly formed the highest concentration of this important minority at district scale.

Table 22 indicates that the social experience of Irish-born migrants in Gorbals varied considerably in time and space. Unsurprisingly, the lowest social grouping and highest Irish-born measures coincided most markedly in pre-redevelopment Gorbals Parish. Three-quarters of all the group V household heads were of Irish birth in this district, and 58 per cent of Irish heads resident there were recorded in unskilled (group V) occupations.

The 'social amelioration' of Gorbals Parish between 1871 and 1891 was again notable in respect of the Irish community. In other districts, the decline of the Irish-born share in unskilled occupations (row A in Table 22) was slighter and possibly related to the growth in number of Glasgow-born second generation households, as immigration to the study area became less important than natural increase. S. Hutchesontown, by 1891, exhibited a distinctly higher status Irish-born profile. However, the Irish-born population was small in that district (14 per cent of the study area total for 1891).

Table 23 takes household heads of 'Home Counties' origin as an example of a relatively high-status group of immigrants. These households differed in their areas of residence from the Irish-born, being

TABLE 21

Percentage district CRG origins: Household-heads' birthplaces.

| Birth region. | 1851            |                |                |                   |                   |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|               | Gorbals Parish. | N. Laurieston. | S. Laurieston. | N. Hutchesontown. | S. Hutchesontown. |
| 1.            | 22.2            | 20.9           | 19.0           | 21.4              | 22.3              |
| 2.            | 20.5            | 34.1           | 37.8           | 13.2              | 39.2              |
| 3.            | 10.7            | 18.0           | 16.9           | 13.2              | 17.1              |
| 4.            | 5.8             | 12.7           | 9.6            | 7.9               | 10.1              |
| 5.            | 2.0             | 2.5            | 4.5            | 2.4               | 5.4               |
| 6.            | 38.3            | 11.0           | 11.4           | 23.8              | 5.2               |
| 7.            | 0.2             | 0.3            | 0.5            | 0.1               | 0.1               |
| 8.            | 0.2             | 0.4            | 0.4            | 0.0               | 0.5               |
| Birth region. | 1871            |                |                |                   |                   |
|               | Gorbals Parish. | N. Laurieston. | S. Laurieston. | N. Hutchesontown. | S. Hutchesontown. |
| 1.            | 18.3            | 22.6           | 22.8           | 26.2              | 19.9              |
| 2.            | 16.2            | 30.0           | 34.5           | 26.0              | 39.3              |
| 3.            | 6.7             | 17.2           | 15.4           | 12.1              | 18.1              |
| 4.            | 4.1             | 10.8           | 8.2            | 5.0               | 8.1               |
| 5.            | 2.3             | 3.3            | 3.1            | 2.7               | 3.5               |
| 6.            | 51.8            | 15.4           | 15.7           | 27.4              | 10.7              |
| 7.            | 0.2             | 0.2            | 0.1            | 0.1               | 0.1               |
| 8.            | 0.3             | 0.5            | 0.2            | 0.3               | 0.3               |
| Birth region. | 1891            |                |                |                   |                   |
|               | Gorbals Parish. | N. Laurieston. | S. Laurieston. | N. Hutchesontown. | S. Hutchesontown. |
| 1.            | 26.1            | 28.7           | 29.9           | 31.4              | 25.2              |
| 2.            | 16.9            | 23.6           | 26.8           | 14.0              | 30.2              |
| 3.            | 11.2            | 13.9           | 14.1           | 8.5               | 16.6              |
| 4.            | 7.8             | 9.9            | 9.0            | 4.0               | 8.5               |
| 5.            | 5.8             | 2.7            | 2.9            | 3.7               | 3.4               |
| 6.            | 26.1            | 18.7           | 16.5           | 35.2              | 12.9              |
| 7.            | 0.3             | 0.4            | 0.2            | 0.3               | 0.3               |
| 8.            | 5.8             | 2.1            | 0.6            | 3.0               | 2.7               |

1. Glasgow and Gorbals. 2. 'Home Counties'. 3. South and east Scotland.  
 4. Highland Counties. 5. England and Wales. 6. Ireland. 7. Colonies and at sea. 8. Foreign.

These definitions discussed in Ch.5.

TABLE 22

Low-status immigrants 1851 - 1891.

A Per cent CRGs with head group V and of Irish origin  
 B Per cent of Irish CRGs with head group V

| <u>District</u>  | <u>Year</u> |             |             |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                  | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
| Gorbals          |             |             |             |
| A                | 70.5        | 74.9        | 48.7        |
| B                | 51.3        | 58.6        | 36.8        |
| N. Laurieston    |             |             |             |
| A                | 33.2        | 39.9        | 39.1        |
| B                | 37.6        | 42.2        | 49.3        |
| S. Laurieston    |             |             |             |
| A                | 41.7        | 45.4        | 39.4        |
| B                | 53.8        | 52.8        | 50.7        |
| N. Hutchesontown |             |             |             |
| A                | 58.6        | 54.1        | 51.2        |
| B                | 43.9        | 44.0        | 49.4        |
| S. Hutchesontown |             |             |             |
| A                | 20.0        | 33.9        | 31.2        |
| B                | 26.3        | 37.2        | 36.3        |

Source: census enumerators' books

TABLE 23

High-status immigrants 1851 - 1891.

A Per cent CRGs with head group II and of 'Home Counties' origin  
 B Per cent 'Home Counties' CRGs with head group II

| <u>District</u>  | <u>Year</u> |             |             |              |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
|                  | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |              |
| Gorbals          |             |             |             |              |
| A                | 29.4        | 24.0        | 23.3        |              |
| B                | 5.9         | 0.3         | 15.7        |              |
| N. Laurieston    |             |             |             |              |
| A                | 39.8        | 39.8        | 33.6        |              |
| B                | 14.8        | 10.3        | 13.4        |              |
| S. Laurieston    |             |             |             |              |
| A                | 35.0        | 39.9        | 38.3        |              |
| B                | 14.3        | 11.4        | 18.5        |              |
| N. Hutchesontown |             |             |             |              |
| A                | 43.6        | 38.5        | 18.1        | (Irish 22.3) |
| B                | 8.6         | 3.2         | 6.3         |              |
| S. Hutchesontown |             |             |             |              |
| A                | 35.3        | 40.7        | 32.0        |              |
| B                | 10.4        | 8.7         | 14.7        |              |

Source: census enumerators' books

concentrated in Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown. This group, included a large Ayrshire-born component.

The main railways linking Glasgow and Ayr passed through or near to the study area, and the main stations serving Ayrshire (Bridge Street, and later St. Enoch) were located close by throughout the study period. The low figure for N. Hutchesontown in 1891 again resembled the measure for Gorbals, and was in this district alone exceeded by the proportion of group II heads of Irish birth. Associations of provincial migrant communities with points of entry was demonstrated in Paris in 1911 (Ogden and Winchester; 1975; 38).

Table 24 extracts some indicators of housing quality change via the windowed rooms measure for the five districts from 1871, when this information first became available. The concentration of housing in the one-apartment ('single-end') and two-apartment ('room-and-kitchen') houses was notable in all districts in 1871 save S. Hutchesontown, where over 38 per cent of households inhabited three-roomed houses. With over 85 per cent of its households resident in the smallest two size-groups (the dominant grades of working-class housing until after the First World War, according to figures in Baird (1958))\* . Gorbals Parish in 1871 exemplified the most uniformly low-quality district in terms of housing.

By 1891, the spectacular shift in the Parish away from single-ends towards three-apartment houses in particular was not matched in the surrounding districts. N. Hutchesontown saw an increase of 5 per cent in the share of this size-group. The differences implied in the data previously examined emerged again in respect of S. Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown. At both dates, the latter district contained fewer extremes in house-size. Perhaps most remarkable was the lack of evidence for the widespread subdivision of middle-class properties between the two dates, an expected process in a hypothesised context of environmental and social

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\* More than 70 per cent of the city population lived in one or two apartment houses between 1851 and 1891.

TABLE 24  
House size 1871 - 1891.

Per cent CRGs inhabiting houses of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5+ rooms with windows.

| Districts        | Year |      |      |      |      | Year |      |      |      |      |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                  | 1871 |      |      |      |      | 1891 |      |      |      |      |
| No. of Rooms     | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5+   | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5+   |
| Gorbals          | 45.9 | 40.7 | 9.1  | 3.1  | 0.8  | 13.3 | 45.1 | 34.9 | 5.7  | 1.1  |
| N. Laurieston    | 23.9 | 30.5 | 14.0 | 15.1 | 16.7 | 21.5 | 33.1 | 18.0 | 15.5 | 12.0 |
| S. Laurieston    | 24.4 | 32.7 | 17.9 | 10.2 | 14.7 | 23.1 | 33.3 | 22.3 | 8.3  | 12.7 |
| N. Hutchesontown | 29.5 | 43.5 | 19.7 | 5.1  | 2.2  | 34.4 | 43.7 | 16.6 | 4.0  | 1.4  |
| S. Hutchesontown | 10.4 | 35.6 | 38.3 | 13.3 | 2.3  | 11.9 | 37.8 | 35.1 | 13.2 | 2.1  |

Source: census enumerators' books

decline into slum conditions.

In Laurieston as a whole, though there was loss of four or more-roomed houses, single-ends too were lost, and the three-roomed houses increased in proportion. Of course, this evidence was not discordant with a marginal degree of house subdivision and the building of medium house-size tenements, but it cannot support the thesis that a 'slum annexe to Gorbals' (Kellest, 1969; 293) emerged during the latter part of the nineteenth century in Laurieston.

Taken with foregoing evidence, it seemed that the processes of socio-environmental decline, in terms of social and ethnic groupings and house-size, occurred very unevenly over the total study area, and that low-status or working class population components in Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown were long-established by the last decade of the nineteenth century, and had grown only slowly during that time. Though decline in the frequency of middle-class residence was a pervading feature of the entire study area, a considerable bourgeois (groups I, II, III) presence was retained in 1891, particularly in Laurieston as a whole, and S. Hutchesontown.

A clue to the variation and changes in the social relations of house-size may be found in Table 25.

In 1871, Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown had the highest proportion of their small total of middle-class households living in single-ends and room-and-kitchens, whereas S. Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown had the lowest. The high proportion of Gorbals Parish groups I, II, III households resident in one and two-roomed houses was surprising. It indicated the tolerance for small houses amongst the group, consistent with a large "trades" component, and the low quality of the available housing. An increase in the proportions of the working-class households (groups IV and V) living in houses with at least three apartments was recorded for all districts by 1891, save N. Hutchesontown, highlighting the continued shortage of large houses in that district, and the improvements in Gorbals Parish (see Ch.10.).

TABLE 25

Social character and house size, 1871 - 1891.

A Per cent CRGs of social groups I,II,III in 1 and 2-roomed houses  
 B Per cent CRGs of social groups IV,V in 3-roomed or larger houses

|                  | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Gorbals Parish   |             |             |
| A                | 50.4        | 35.0        |
| B                | 8.4         | 34.2        |
| N. Laurieston    |             |             |
| A                | 18.4        | 17.9        |
| B                | 25.7        | 31.3        |
| S. Laurieston    |             |             |
| A                | 15.8        | 19.8        |
| B                | 18.2        | 24.4        |
| N. Hutchesontown |             |             |
| A                | 32.3        | 48.5        |
| B                | 20.7        | 16.8        |
| S. Hutchesontown |             |             |
| A                | 17.4        | 24.2        |
| B                | 38.0        | 37.7        |

Source: census enumerators' books



Table 26 compares the average house-sizes of selected household-head birthplaces in two of the five districts. Of interest was the divergence in the trends for Irish and Highland-born groups, the latter established in larger houses more commonly than the former. In post-redevelopment Gorbals Parish (1891) the Irish concentration in the smaller houses remained, whereas the Highlander-headed households were more successful in colonizing the three-roomed stock and had effectively quit the single-ends. Differential access to larger houses was seen in the N.Laurieston example where Highland-headed households declined in single-end and room-and-kitchen tenancy, whereas Irish-headed room-and-kitchen tenancies grew relative to the other house-sizes. It was likely that this apparently 'ethnic' differential was an aspect of the social distinctions implied in Table 17. The extent to which Irish and non-Irish residential experiences differed is examined more closely in Ch.10.

From the evidence presented, the distinctive characteristics of the five districts was summarised in terms of the older, low-status and working-class districts of Gorbals Parish (before redevelopment) and N. Hutchesontown, contrasted with the newer, middle-class (with working-class components) districts of Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown. This aggregated distinction was further explored by means of selected diagnostic indicators.

McGee (1976) described the persistence of a social group or sub-group in Third World cities which he labelled the 'protoproletariat' - the non-peasant residuum of urbanization. Such unskilled immigrants and the indigenous urban poor contributed to an informal or 'lower circuit' urban economic sector, in which small-scale, labour-intensive and irregular activities provided minimal incomes and security (Santos, 1977; 51). Geertz (1963) and McGee (1976) likened the characteristics of such a group to nineteenth-century Western urban formations, most obviously the lumpenproletariat of Marx and Engels. Such a sub-class would have contained costermongers, beggars, thieves, prostitutes and those who scraped a living from small-scale individual or family enterprises that resembled domestic-industrial organization. The perception of such

TABLE 26

House size and immigrants 1871 - 1891.

Per cent CRGs by birthplace of head inhabiting 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5+ rooms in selected districts.

| No. of Rooms         | 1871 |      |      |      |      | 1891 |      |      |      |      |      |     |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|
|                      | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5+   | n    | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | n   |
| <u>Gorbals</u>       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |     |
| Born in:             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |     |
| Glasgow              | 46.0 | 37.8 | 11.2 | 4.3  | 0.8  | 376  | 18.6 | 46.1 | 29.8 | 4.7  | 0.6  | 295 |
| 'Home Counties'      | 31.4 | 44.6 | 16.8 | 5.1  | 2.1  | 334  | 10.5 | 36.6 | 41.9 | 8.4  | 2.6  | 191 |
| S.E. Scotland        | 40.6 | 32.6 | 16.7 | 8.0  | 2.1  | 138  | 4.7  | 44.1 | 41.7 | 8.7  | 0.8  | 127 |
| Highlands            | 32.9 | 38.8 | 14.1 | 10.6 | 3.6  | 85   | 3.4  | 43.2 | 44.3 | 6.8  | 2.2  | 88  |
| Ireland              | 52.5 | 41.6 | 4.8  | 0.7  | 0.4  | 1066 | 18.6 | 49.3 | 28.7 | 3.0  | 0.3  | 296 |
| <u>N. Laurieston</u> |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |     |
| Born in:             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |     |
| Glasgow              | 28.2 | 28.4 | 13.2 | 12.4 | 18.1 | 387  | 28.3 | 32.2 | 15.2 | 12.1 | 11.9 | 453 |
| 'Home Counties'      | 18.1 | 24.2 | 17.2 | 21.6 | 19.0 | 513  | 13.7 | 24.7 | 22.3 | 23.9 | 15.1 | 372 |
| S.E. Scotland        | 17.0 | 24.1 | 16.0 | 19.4 | 23.5 | 294  | 15.1 | 26.9 | 20.5 | 22.8 | 14.7 | 219 |
| Highlands            | 22.8 | 41.3 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 11.9 | 184  | 15.9 | 35.7 | 21.7 | 14.0 | 12.8 | 157 |
| Ireland              | 36.9 | 45.2 | 7.2  | 5.7  | 5.0  | 263  | 29.7 | 49.0 | 11.5 | 5.7  | 4.1  | 296 |

Source: census enumerators' books

a group found expression in many mid-Victorian commentators, such as Dickens and Mayhew, with 'Shadow' (1858) and Bell (1850) providing Scottish examples. The association of this group with old, central housing was clear. It was expected that Gorbals Parish provided such a locus for some part of the post-1851 period.

To explore this possibility, the incidence of hawkers (group V) and handloom-weavers (group IV) was separately recorded from the initial transcription of the census EBs. Before factory weaving became common, handloom-weavers had been an independent, respected and economically important group. By the time of the Parliamentary Report (1839) on their condition, handloom-weavers in Glasgow and elsewhere had become socially and economically degraded.

Immigrants could speedily acquire the necessary skill, and equipment was cheaply loaned. Hawking, or street-vending, was possibly the slum occupation par excellence, the last resort of the impoverished urbanite; the first step of the unskilled and disadvantaged migrant. It was thought that other part-time, subsidiary, seasonal, intermittent and illegal occupations were prosecuted (perhaps under the catch-all declaration, 'general labourer'), but the census format precluded their recording. Significantly, the declaration 'unemployed' was almost unheard of before 1871. Only in 1891 did the increasingly formal division between being in and out of work become evident. Theory suggested that underemployment was the chief problem in an 'informal' economic regime.

Table 27 shows the distribution of the two selected groups of household heads between the five districts. The declining absolute total was mostly attributable to the near-extinction of the archaic handloom-weavers by 1891. Their number had declined from 136 in 1851 to 27 in 1891.

Gorbals Parish accommodated over half of this group down to the decades of redevelopment, whilst residence in N. Hutchesontown rose to pre-eminence over the same period, with the decline of the Gorbals Parish proportion.

TABLE 27

Selected 'pre-industrial' occupations: Per cent of total household heads  
in each district

|                  | 1851  | 1871  | 1891  |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Absolute Totals  | 193   | 142   | 101   |
| Gorbals          | 67.3  | 52.8  | 19.8  |
| N. Laurieston    | 10.7  | 9.2   | 17.8  |
| S. Laurieston    | 10.7  | 14.8  | 19.8  |
| N. Hutchesontown | 9.3   | 19.7  | 35.7  |
| S. Hutchesontown | 2.0   | 3.5   | 6.9   |
|                  | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: census enumerators' books

A further element, small enough in number to facilitate manual plotting, yet with diagnostic qualities of the type required, was that of paupers receiving out-relief. Unfortunately, the belated enforcement of the strictly-applied poorhouse test (on the Chadwickian principle of 'less eligibility') seemed to have drastically cut out-relief between 1851 and 1871 in Gorbals. As some normally Gorbals-resident paupers were probably inmates of Govan Union Poorhouse (situated closed by Gorbals Parish, on the west side of Eglinton Street) at all times, the distribution on Table 28A and the following map was recognized as a subset of the total pauper population, itself a subset of 'the poor' generally. It was likely that the granting of outdoor relief was biased in favour of the established, native-born poor who had gained a settlement.

Pauperism had long been recognized as a special problem in the old Parish area (Laurie, 1826). The extent of the pauper distribution, and its association with the parochial boundary by mid-nineteenth century was of interest in terms of district and intra-district scales.

Table 28A, based on individual returns of 'pauper' and 'parish relief' under 'Occupation', revealed the decline in out-relief in the study area in the 1850's and 60's. Though the majority lived in Gorbals Parish in 1851, considerable minorities lived in the surrounding districts with N. Laurieston accommodating a perhaps uncharacteristic proportion on the balance of the foregoing evidence.

The distribution of individuals' occupations given as 'annuitant' appears in Table 28B, in a subjective attempt to generate a distribution negating the above, socially and spatially. Paupers and annuitants were hardly homogeneous groups. Historians (e.g. Harrison, 1971; Best, 1971; Rose, 1972) suggested that divergent interpretations of the Poor Law produced varied local pauper characteristics, as did economic factors.

In Gorbals, pauperism, as suspected, did not seem to have been closely related to Irish-originating households. Only 24 per cent of the 1851 individual pauper population were of Irish birth, and 13 per cent were classified as Roman Catholics according to nominal

TABLE 28

Comparison of pauper and annuitant populations.A. Paupers

|                          | 1851       |                 | 1871       |                 | 1891       |                 |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
|                          | <u>No.</u> | <u>per cent</u> | <u>No.</u> | <u>per cent</u> | <u>No.</u> | <u>per cent</u> |
| Gorbals                  | 90         | 58.4            | 5          | 31.2            | 0          | 0.0             |
| N. Laurieston            | 28         | 18.2            | 0          | 0.0             | 0          | 0.0             |
| S. Laurieston            | 11         | 7.0             | 10         | 62.5            | 5          | 100.0           |
| N. Hutchesontown         | 20         | 13.0            | 1          | 6.2             | 0          | 0.0             |
| S. Hutchesontown         | 5          | 3.2             | 0          | 0.0             | 0          | 0.0             |
| <b>Study area totals</b> | <b>154</b> | <b>99.9</b>     | <b>16</b>  | <b>99.9</b>     | <b>5</b>   | <b>100.0</b>    |

B. Annuitants

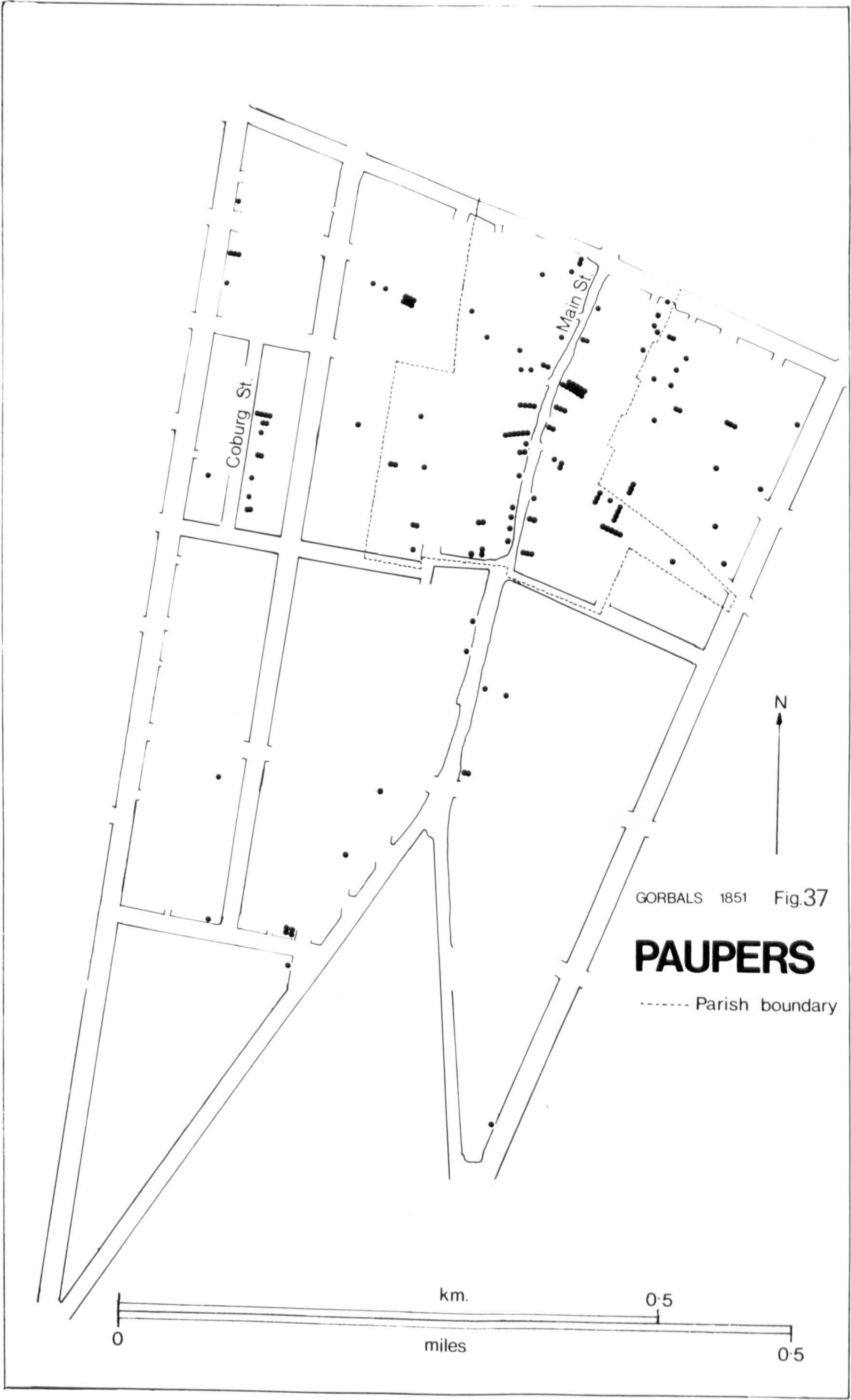
|                          | 1851       |                 | 1871       |                 | 1891       |                 |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
|                          | <u>No.</u> | <u>per cent</u> | <u>No.</u> | <u>per cent</u> | <u>No.</u> | <u>per cent</u> |
| Gorbals                  | 14         | 6.8             | 8          | 4.9             | 9          | 4.8             |
| N. Laurieston            | 62         | 30.1            | 29         | 17.9            | 35         | 18.7            |
| S. Laurieston            | 90         | 43.7            | 85         | 52.5            | 8          | 43.3            |
| N. Hutchesontown         | 20         | 9.7             | 9          | 5.6             | 14         | 7.5             |
| S. Hutchesontown         | 20         | 9.7             | 31         | 19.1            | 48         | 25.7            |
| <b>Study area totals</b> | <b>206</b> | <b>100.0</b>    | <b>162</b> | <b>100.0</b>    | <b>187</b> | <b>100.0</b>    |

Source: census enumerators' books

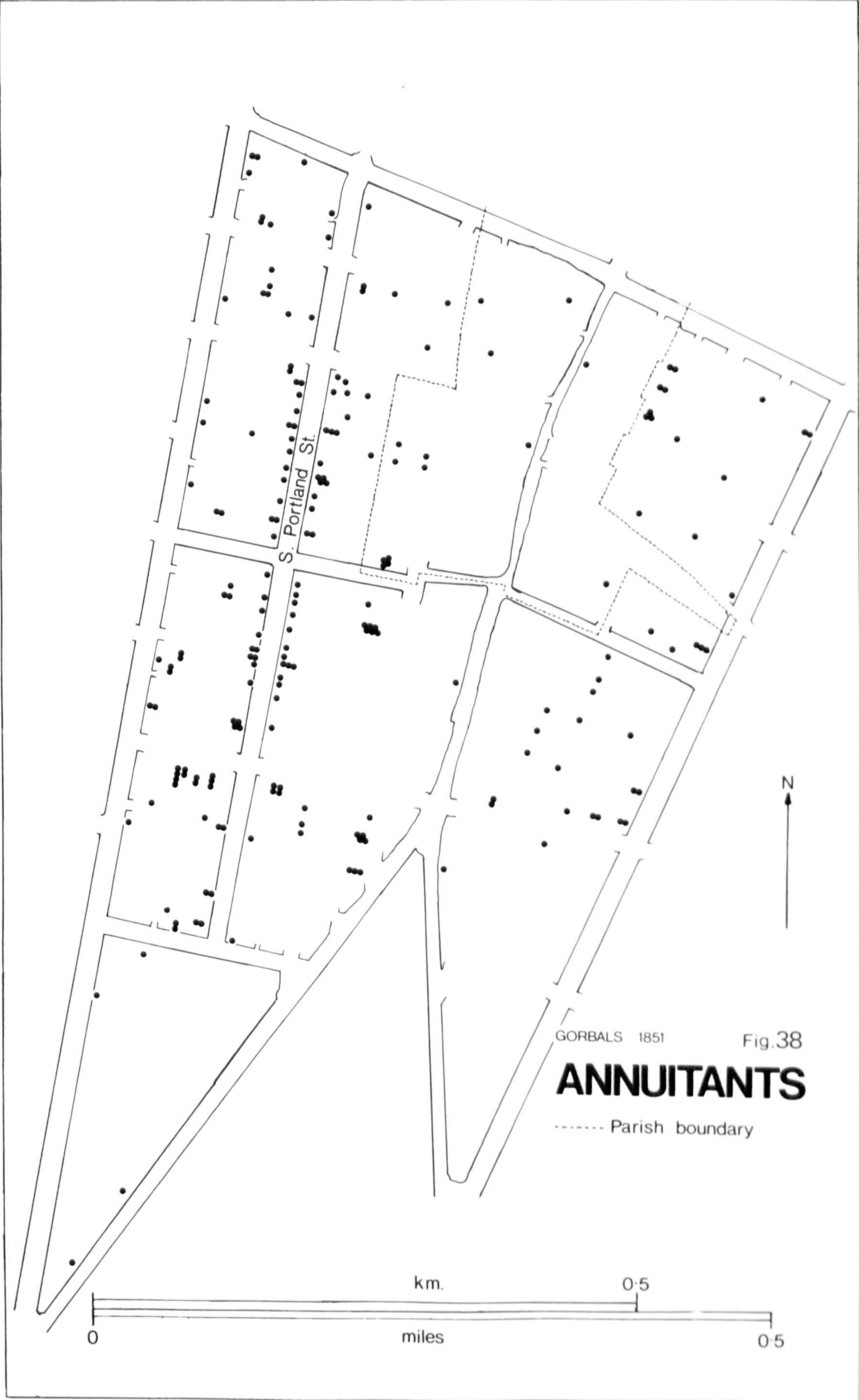
evidence. 42 per cent of the 1851 pauper population were further distinguished in the EBs as widows. As this information was not mandatory (widows were usually heads of households, and were declared as such) it was thought to be an underestimate. Similarly, the transcribed EB information indicated an ageing female demographic profile for those returned as 'annuitants'. Though Armstrong (1972) classified annuitants as Class II, a decision unchallenged by Royle (1977), it appeared that annuitants in the study area varied considerably in status, between servant-keeping (relative) affluence and lodger-dependent subsistence. As annuities required past providence and command of some investment capital by annuitants or their relatives, there would appear to have been a class distinction between annuitants and paupers. Where past occupations were declared for paupers, they were invariably manual in character.

Table 28B demonstrates the concentration of annuitants in Laurieston as a whole in 1851 (73.8 per cent). It seemed that this share was reduced throughout the study period by the attraction of the continued building of middle-class housing in S. Hutchesontown, rather than by a substantial diminution of the total annuitant population. Within that general observation, N. Laurieston lost nearly half of its annuitant population between 1851 and 1891. A comparison of the figures for 1851 showed that one district-scale distribution tended to negate the other in respect of Laurieston and Gorbals, though the N. Hutchesontown and N. Laurieston figures seemed to be concealing important anomalies. In general, however, these socially distinctive groups in Gorbals tended to take up distinctive spatial dispositions at that date.

Figs. 37. and 38. were devised from simple individual pauper and annuitant distributions, based on the address-location procedure adopted for the identification of 'residential units'. Consisting of only a few hundred individuals from a densely-populated study area at one census, the distributions taken together roughly defined the inhabited area at that time. The concentration of paupers in households resident in Main Street, Gorbals Parish, was clear, as was the contrasting distribution of annuitants clustered around Laurie's great axis of S. Portland Street-







Abbotsford Place. Outliers of pauper residence included Coburg Street in N. Laurieston, Nicholson Street to the north-east and St. Ninian Street in N. Hutchesontown.

Apart from S. Portland Street - Abbotsford Place the annuitant distribution appeared more scattered, with a notable concentration on Cumberland Street, S. Laurieston. The two patterns were chiefly mutually exclusive, particularly in S. Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown. Only in N. Hutchesontown did there appear to be much intra-district propinquity between members of the two groups. Apart from Main Street, paupers everywhere tended to occupy the less important streets and lanes, whereas the annuitants seemed to congregate on the most prestigious thoroughfares, with the notable exception of the showpiece terrace, Carlton Place.

Attention was paid to the extent to which exclusive addresses for individual households, within a tenement housing context, betokened variation from the general social profile of the residents sharing a common close and living in the storeys above.

Mention has already been made of the evidence for commercial premises lining Main Street, Gorbals Parish. The pre-1851 directories (one-address shopkeepers' entries), drawings and photographs confirmed this. It was clear from the census data occupational declarations that many Main Street single-household addresses were occupied by shopkeepers. In a generally low status and working class tenement and cottage neighbourhood, the presence of ground-floor commercial and residential combinations would input a higher-status component to the socio-residential profile.

Apart from Eglinton Street and Crown Street, where purpose-built retail units were included in tenement design, much of the rest of the study area relied on scattered ground-floor room-and-kitchen conversions (Figs. 39., 40. and 41.). The development of the retailing structure of nineteenth-century Gorbals is a study in itself, and no doubt such an enquiry would rely upon valuation and commercial directory sources. As such, it fell outside the scope of this project. The extent to which residence and retail premises were linked was unclear in detail from census, map and visual



Fig.39.  
Crown Street in 1976. Ground-floor  
retailing. Bay windows suggest large houses  
within. South-western aspect.

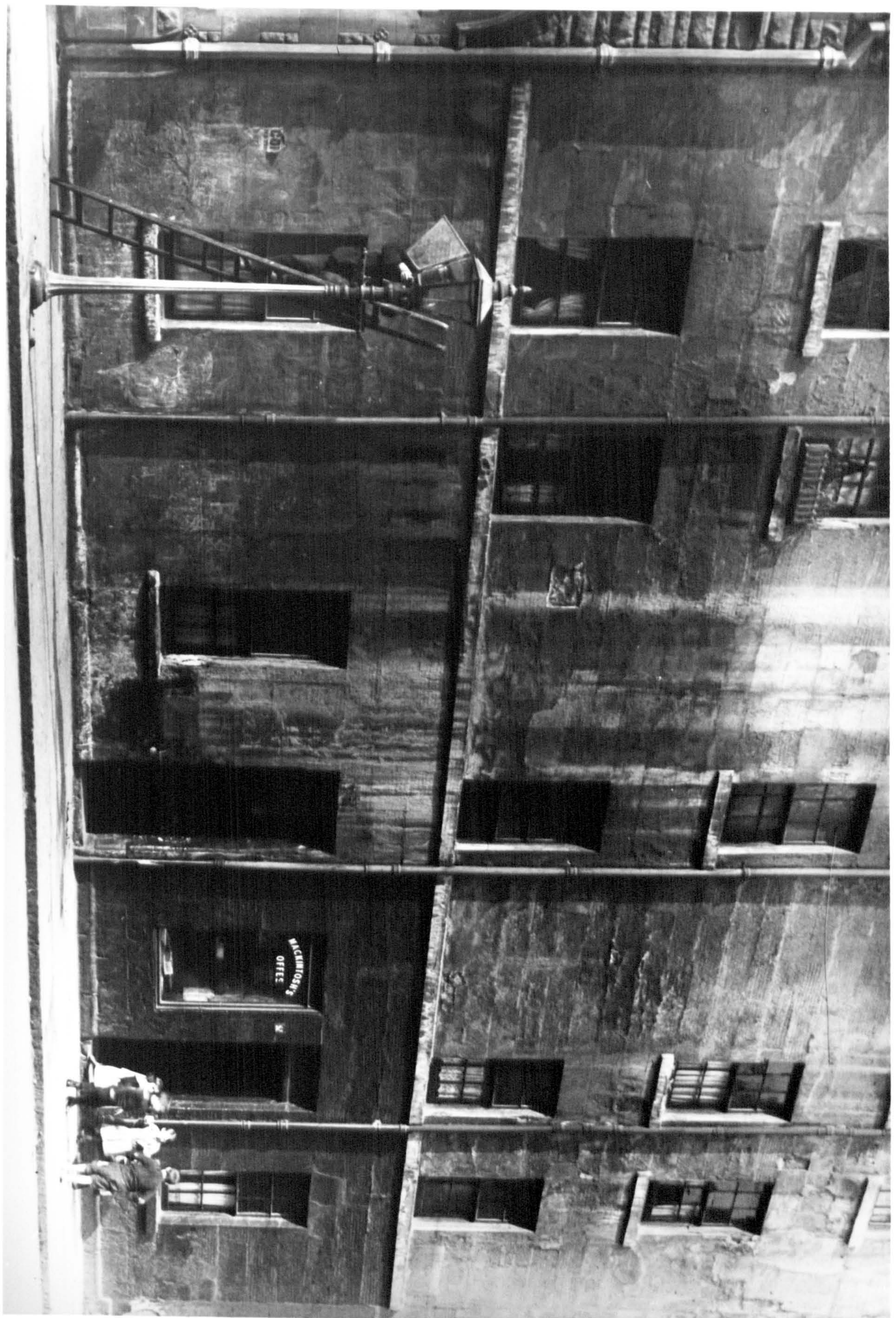


Fig.40.  
Portugal Street in 1917. Ground-floor house-  
shop conversion. Grim 'small-house' storeys  
above. Western aspect.



Fig.41.  
Corner of Oxford and Coburg Streets in 1976.

evidence alone. Purpose-built shops were less likely to be combined with residences than the two-apartment house conversions. Worsdall (1979; 28) implied this, and stated that 'better-class' tenements never contained shops, or the adaptability for conversion offered by the 'room' of a ground floor 'room-and-kitchen'. From scrutiny of the transcribed census data, the social situation in purely residential ground-floor (exclusive-address) contexts appears to have been rather different to the Main Street model.

In order to further explore these impressions, and to decide on possible exclusion or special treatment for exclusively-addressed households, where they were identified, a random sample of such addresses was made from the initial transcription. In addition, characteristics of those households inhabiting upper storeys of the same building were collected. A simple average social group score (after Royle, 1977) was generated for each upper-storey tenement population, and this was compared to the social group of the household (s) occupying exclusive-address houses on the ground floor. Table 29 shows the results of this investigation for 1851.

As expected, Gorbals Parish emerged with a clear social distinction between the inhabitants of mainly shop-fronted ground floor residences and households living above ground floor in the same building. A similar contrast was seen in the case of the N. Hutchesontown average difference. In other districts, the results were more ambiguous. In S. Hutchesontown, these seemed to have been an inversion of the Gorbals Parish pattern in many cases, which suggested that exclusive addresses in that area were not sought after by the comparatively better-off residents.

In treating exclusive-address households separately from common-address households there was the difficulty in comparing numerically disparate populations. The comparison of a single household's social score with an average for ten or forty common-address households resident above was precarious. Without considering the frequency distribution of the individual household social group scores, only 19 of the sampled 75 residential units comprised common-address households universally of lower status than the

TABLE 29A

Residential units: Sample survey of difference between common and exclusive  
address household social group averages.

|                  | No. resid. units with exclusive<br>address CRGs of <u>higher status</u><br>than common address CRG average. | No. resid. units with <u>equal</u><br>scores. | No. resid. units with<br>exclusive address CRGs of<br><u>lower status</u> than common<br>address CRG average. |
|------------------|---|---|---|
| Gorbals Parish   | 18  | 1   | 2   |
| N. Laurieston    | 9   | 2   | 6   |
| S. Laurieston    | 7   | 3   | 9   |
| N. Hutchesontown | 8   | 0   | 3   |
| S. Hutchesontown | 3   | 2   | 2   |

Total 75 residential units, 10.4 per cent of study area total.

Total 921 CRGs, 13.2 per cent of study area total.

Total exclusive address CRGs, 115 : 12.5 per cent of sample total.

TABLE 29B

District average difference between exclusive-address and common-address  
households' social group scores amongst the sample.

|                  | Exclusive address<br>average. | Common address<br>average. | Difference. |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| Gorbals Parish   | 3.3                           | 3.9                        | + 0.6       |
| N. Laurieston    | 3.9                           | 4.0                        | + 0.1       |
| S. Laurieston    | 3.2                           | 3.5                        | + 0.3       |
| N. Hutchesontown | 3.2                           | 3.8                        | + 0.6       |
| S. Hutchesontown | 3.8                           | 3.5                        | - 0.3       |



exclusive address household or households. In other words, the majority of households with their own street doors lived in tenements where at least one socially similar household occupied an upper-storey common-addressed house in 1851.

'Residential units', as devised for this study, often included a number of subsidiary buildings, for the most part impossible to separate from the street-fronting addresses. So too, individual tenement buildings may have included a number of subsidiary residential addresses. Though there was a general tendency in the 1851 data for these exclusive addresses to be occupied by a socially distinctive 'shopocracy' in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown, this was by no means certain for purely residential tenements. As shopkeepers formed an important group amongst the owners of nineteenth-century tenements, and as they were likely to closely associate themselves with the retail needs of the immediate vicinity (including those living above) it seemed reasonable to retain exclusive address households within the research framework.

b. Front and back tenements; a comparative socio-residential survey.

The social and sanitary characteristics of backlands and their residents were of significance to a number of late nineteenth and early twentieth century commentators. Often, the backland was ranked with the single-end and the ticketed house as a major manifestation or cause of poor health and morals, (e.g. Russell, 1874, 214; Fyfe, 1901; Bolitho, 1924; Baird, 1958).

Bolitho (1924) in Cancer of empire saw the housing problem as the root of social unrest on Clydeside which had culminated in the first few months of 1919 with the Forty Hours Strike (Milton, 1978).

Bolitho wrote;

"There are no statistics for the different chances of life of backlanders and frontlanders, but I am assured it is considerably in favour of the latter". (29)

Though no surveys of sanitary conditions had been made comparing front to backland populations in substantiation of the general impression, a Chief Sanitary Inspector, (Fyfe, 1901) had attempted

to evaluate the extent of social differentiation between inhabitants of the two building types. Fyfe sampled 5,508 one and two-apartment ticketed houses, 999 of which were situated in frontlands, the remainder in backlands, throughout Glasgow.

Superficially, this survey appeared comprehensive, itemising measures for rent and cubic space of houses, average earnings of head and other family members, average length of tenancy, size of family, 'Respectability', birthplace and religious observance. Table 30 presents Fyfe's findings. From this he concluded that there were no major differences between the two sets of families, except in church attendance, and,

".... in this matter the word of the tenants themselves is all we have to go upon". (17)

A number of features of this study may be noted which limit the applicability of the evidence. By 1901, the task of the City Improvement Trust was all but complete (Allan, 1965; 610). Many old backlands in central districts were thus lost. In limiting the survey to one and two apartment houses within ticketed buildings (those with stipulated maximum numbers of occupiers), the resulting tabulation ignored the possibility that front and back combinations were composed or partly composed of larger, non-ticketed houses. Lastly, Fyfe's sample was heavily biased numerically towards backland households, and there was no attempt made to distinguish contrasts between front and back components within individual combinations.

It was noted in Ch.2. that enumerators were not unanimous in differentiating between front and back buildings of the same address. Though some symbolised individual buildings with marginal scores in the EBs, many failed to do so, and some further distinguished the position of structures by writing 'frontland' or 'backland' (or variations thereof) in the address column. The available evidence was thus a self-selecting sample of the total population of the study area resident in front-backland combinations. Recourse to 'spotting' building positions from household social or house-size information would have pre-judged the associations between these elements and building position.

TABLE 30

A socio-economic comparison of back and frontland households after Fyfe

| <u>Characteristics</u>           | <u>(1901).</u>    |               |                  |               |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
|                                  | <u>Frontlands</u> |               | <u>Backlands</u> |               |
|                                  | <u>1-apt</u>      | <u>2-apt.</u> | <u>1-apt.</u>    | <u>2-apt.</u> |
| Total No. of houses              | 682               | 317           | 2638             | 1871          |
| Av. rent per month               | 9/9½              | 12/1          | 8/4½             | 11/11½        |
| Av. cubic space                  | 1210'             | 1893'         | 1298'            | 1978'         |
| Av. earnings of head             | 18/1½             | 19/2          | 16/1             | 18/5½         |
| Av. length of tenancy            | 3½ yr.            | 6 yr.         | 3 yr.            | 4 yr.         |
| Av. No. of family                | 3.2               | 4.3           | 3.0              | 4.2           |
| Per cent with working families   | 10.8              | 22.4          | 12.3             | 18.7          |
| Av. total earnings (weekly)      | 21/1              | 28/9          | 19/7             | 28/-          |
| 'Respectable' tenants (per cent) | 82.5              | 88.6          | 76.6             | 83.3          |
| English (No.)                    | 14                | 6             | 75               | 42            |
| Irish (No.)                      | 249               | 133           | 970              | 787           |
| Scots (No.)                      | 417               | 177           | 1584             | 1023          |
| Foreign (No.)                    | 2                 | 1             | 9                | 19            |
| Roman Catholic (No.)             | 286               | 160           | 1236             | 967           |
| Protestant (No.)                 | 395               | 157           | 1383             | 886           |
| Jews (No.)                       | -                 | -             | 1                | 9             |
| None (No.)                       | -                 | -             | 18               | 9             |
| Church attendants (percent)      | 82                | 86            | 59.8             | 74.8          |

Table 31 presents the available evidence for a social contrast within identifiable frontland-backland combinations. The absence of backlands from S. Hutesontown in 1851 and 1891 was understandable, in view of the more restricted plot-sizes prevalent in that district shown on O.S. surveys of 1860 and 1896. The post 1871 reduction in the household population associated with backlands in Gorbals Parish was related to Improvement Trust clearance, again observed from the maps of the period.

Though arbitrarily selected, the household breakdown and study-area percentages gave an insight into change over the study period, 1851 - 1891. Certainly, backlands at all dates had a more limited average social profile according to the social grouping used here. In addition, backlands seem to have been socially more inclined towards the unskilled manual group (V). Over the study period, this group rose to proportional dominance over the skilled working-class stratum within backlands generally. Changes in the frontland components of combinations included a dramatic rise in the group V and a concomitant fall in groups I, II, III household proportions. In terms of percentage difference, there was evidence of a convergence between front and backland group V proportions. This was indicative of a general lessening of social distinctions between populations in the two components of building combinations.

From original cartographic evidence and the residential unit social composition maps (Sequences 3 and 4) it was clear that the available backland information was confined to dominantly working-class streets (Appendix 1 lists the addresses which were internally distinguished between front and back components by enumerators). Most areas of exclusive middle-class habitation lacked secondary plot infill of this type altogether, and many dominantly working-class streets lacked sufficient space for backland development (most notably, Thistle Street, S. Hutesontown).

It was difficult to generalise from what was probably a small and arbitrarily selected subset of backland-frontland combined households. Regarding social class, it seemed that where backlands appeared, frontlands were dominated, increasingly, by group IV households. Throughout the study period, the social contrasts

TABLE 31

Comparisons of the social composition of tenements with associated backlands;

numbers of households in social groups I - V.

| District              | Frontlands |     |      |      |      | Backlands |     |     |      |      | Total No. of<br>CRGs | Total No. of<br>Units |
|-----------------------|------------|-----|------|------|------|-----------|-----|-----|------|------|----------------------|-----------------------|
|                       | I          | II  | III  | IV   | V    | I         | II  | III | IV   | V    |                      |                       |
| <u>1851</u>           |            |     |      |      |      |           |     |     |      |      |                      |                       |
| Gorbals<br>Parish     | 0          | 5   | 21   | 75   | 22   | 0         | 0   | 12  | 75   | 52   | 262                  | 16                    |
| N. Laurie-<br>ston    | 2          | 2   | 8    | 28   | 8    | 0         | 2   | 9   | 66   | 36   | 161                  | 6                     |
| S. Laurie-<br>ston    | 0          | 3   | 5    | 23   | 8    | 0         | 0   | 0   | 4    | 12   | 55                   | 5                     |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | 0          | 4   | 12   | 24   | 9    | 0         | 0   | 5   | 48   | 42   | 144                  | 8                     |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | 0          | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0   | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0                    | 0                     |
|                       | 0.7        | 5.4 | 17.8 | 57.9 | 18.1 | 0.0       | 0.3 | 7.2 | 53.2 | 39.2 | *                    |                       |
| <u>1871</u>           |            |     |      |      |      |           |     |     |      |      |                      |                       |
| Gorbals<br>Parish     | 0          | 7   | 20   | 89   | 44   | 0         | 1   | 7   | 78   | 118  | 364                  | 19                    |
| N. Laurie-<br>ston    | 0          | 6   | 10   | 51   | 14   | 0         | 2   | 7   | 74   | 25   | 189                  | 8                     |
| S. Laurie-<br>ston    | 0          | 9   | 25   | 135  | 49   | 0         | 2   | 10  | 104  | 79   | 413                  | 22                    |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | 0          | 2   | 12   | 65   | 11   | 0         | 1   | 6   | 97   | 71   | 265                  | 10                    |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | 0          | 0   | 0    | 6    | 10   | 0         | 0   | 0   | 1    | 3    | 20                   | 1                     |
|                       | 0.0        | 4.2 | 11.8 | 61.2 | 22.6 | 0.0       | 0.9 | 4.4 | 51.6 | 43.1 | *                    |                       |
| <u>1891</u>           |            |     |      |      |      |           |     |     |      |      |                      |                       |
| Gorbals<br>Parish     | 0          | 2   | 8    | 17   | 4    | 0         | 1   | 5   | 16   | 2    | 55                   | 2                     |
| N. Laurie-<br>ston    | 0          | 0   | 2    | 5    | 6    | 0         | 0   | 0   | 8    | 9    | 30                   | 1                     |
| S. Laurie-<br>ston    | 0          | 7   | 10   | 40   | 22   | 0         | 3   | 6   | 34   | 53   | 174                  | 9                     |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | 0          | 2   | 15   | 91   | 60   | 0         | 1   | 5   | 73   | 78   | 325                  | 13                    |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | 0          | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0   | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0                    | 0                     |
|                       | 0.0        | 3.8 | 12.0 | 52.6 | 31.6 | 0.0       | 1.7 | 5.4 | 44.7 | 48.1 | *                    |                       |

\* Percentage of households in study-area totals of identified back and frontland households.

between the elements of building combinations were reduced. As Best (1974) noted, the saving to the proprietor was particularly great in backland development, as the land was already feued and new tenants could be made to share a common close and facilities with those already resident in the frontland. A general decline in amenity, in both front and back structures, would have resulted in the convergence of social profiles noted above, and the lack of variation in the worst properties (those ticketed by the authorities) which Fyfe (1901) observed.

Table 32 presents the results of a less rigid approach to the data; a summary of households in contexts which suggested a building combination in individual units, but which lacked precise definition by the enumerators. The procedure involved 'spotting' internal unit clues, such as building demarcation lines in the EB address column, the interposition of a single-household address in the midst of a continued multiple-household listing and discontinuities in listed household characteristics (such as changes in the distributions of house-size, social-group or Irish birth).

The patterns within addresses often suggested a combination of buildings sharing a common close address. There remained several instances, particularly in the high-density Main Street, Parish, units, where maps and household numbers suggested building combinations, but where households were entered in apparent disorder.

Table 32 indicates that larger subsets of households were included by this method, accounting for over 10 per cent of the study area at each census. This larger combination population, subsuming that of the more rigorous survey, followed the latter relatively closely with regard to proportional social structure. It did reveal more fluctuation in certain trends, particularly those group IV and V household proportions adduced to have been resident in backlands and those group IV households allocated to frontland categories.

This section sought to reveal the outlines, in a descriptive way, of social patterning and change within a fivefold subdivision of the study area. It has demonstrated that a thesis of overall socio-environmental decline only held true in aggregate. Within the study

TABLE 32

Comparisons of frontland-resident household social characteristics with those of adjacent backland populations, including unspecified combinations; study-area, 1851 - 1871.

| <u>Census</u> | <u>Frontlands</u>                            |     |      |      |      | <u>Backlands</u> |     |     |      |      |
|---------------|--|-----|------|------|------|------------------|-----|-----|------|------|
|               | I  | II  | III  | IV   | V    | I                | II  | III | IV   | V    |
| 1851          | 0.6  | 6.2 | 20.7 | 55.7 | 15.1 | 0.0              | 1.7 | 6.7 | 49.2 | 39.7 |
|               | n = 757, 10.8 per cent of study-area total.  |     |      |      |      |                  |     |     |      |      |
| 1871          | 0.2  | 5.2 | 13.0 | 57.0 | 22.3 | 0.0              | 1.3 | 6.1 | 52.3 | 38.6 |
|               | n = 1272, 14.4 per cent of study-area total. |     |      |      |      |                  |     |     |      |      |
| 1891          | 0.0  | 4.5 | 11.3 | 53.3 | 30.2 | 0.0              | 0.9 | 3.5 | 46.6 | 47.1 |
|               | n = 823, 10.1 per cent of study-area total.  |     |      |      |      |                  |     |     |      |      |

area, great variation in susceptibility to change was evident. Moreover, the intra-district variations hinted at (particularly in the pauper and annuitant patterns) encouraged the exploration and specification of change in terms of the smallest possible level of analysis - the 'residential units'.



## CHAPTER 10

SMALL-SCALE PATTERNS OF DIFFERENTIATION; 1851 - 1891.

This chapter is concerned with the interpretation of cartographic and tabular information on housing, social and ethnic characteristics presented at the scale of residential units for each of the three surveyed censuses. No house-size data for 1851 however were available.

This approach entailed a somewhat impressionistic appraisal of intercensal changes across what, for the most part, emerged as a subtly-changing and finely-detailed mosaic. The difficulties in evaluating the extent of change in a multitude of individual cells presented complications in an analysis of this kind where statistical verifications was both cumbersome and technically constrained. The handling of data at district level has proved useful in eliciting a number of relatively small-scale socio-demographic trends. The districts themselves corresponded roughly in area with the sizes of many enumeration districts used as study-units in less densely built-up towns and regions. Gorbals Parish, itself composed of 22 and one part EDs in 1851 nearly equalled in extent the Village District ED in Merthyr Tydfil in that year, and a number of inner-suburban EDs in Dundee in the 1841 enumeration (Carter and Wheatley, undated; Jones, 1975).

Though relatively small-scale in area, the districts were very densely populated. They may have concealed extensive socio-economic variation.

After considerable evaluation of alternative numerical methods of defining the extent and significance of change, it was considered most revealing, and most preservative of the data, to reconstruct several sequences of 'snap-shot' maps. These depicted unit compositional status on a number of measures, to allow comparison between sequential patterns of the same attribute and cross-reference between coeval patterns of differing attributes. To balance this literary,

descriptive component, indicators of changing unit exclusiveness and mixing were treated in tabular form at district level as numerical supplements to the visual comparisons.

Within the pragmatic structure, several sub-strategies were adopted in pursuit of a degree of methodological rigour and objectivity. In comparing sequential patterns, certain groupings of units were systematically observed.

- a) Aggregations of similarly-characterised units (e.g. those occupied exclusively by working-class households) either conterminous (e.g. at street scale) or semi-conterminous (e.g. at district scale).
- b) The character of new or renewed development, where that was identifiable (e.g. the continuing building of new housing at the southern fringe, infil of vacant units, and changes identified as tenements replacing villa and cottage property, or units coming in or going out of residential use).
- c) The overall frequency of perceived significant characteristics within district and study-area totals. This latter set of observations was backed by tabular presentations.

In general terms, each sequential survey aimed at evaluating persistence and change in foci of various scales of aggregation based upon individual residential units. In this context, locational accuracy was considered important. Classification and correlation procedures based upon non-spatial criteria (e.g. the ordering of data in terms of housing type or unit population) or large-scale areal divisions failed to satisfy this requirement. Statistical correlation or clustering procedures proved too cumbersome to use at residential unit scale. Computer technology and the normally-accessible packaged programmes have yet to allow for the processing of very large data files within the constraints of core processor time and cost. In addition, the large number of units, their relatively small and variable number of cases and the potential difficulty for the reader assimilating the resulting voluminous matrices militated against this strategy.

Instead, most of the following map sequences demonstrated the composition of each unit in terms of percentages derived from the LISTFILE S.P.S.S. data-handling computer routine. Considering that the modal class in the households-per-unit measure for most district/censuses was 3 - 10 (see Table 33), and that the unit with the largest population accommodated 60 households (on Main Street, Gorbals Parish in 1871), the use of percentages may be criticised. In terms of the exclusive presence of an attribute amongst the households in a unit (100 per cent) and the absence of a characteristic (0 per cent), percentage measures were thought valid. Yet a measure of 75 per cent for a variable in a unit of four households may be considered in a different light to a similar proportion for a unit containing 20 households, for instance. The implications for social heterogeneity within these units differed with respect to the numerical size of the 25 per cent minority. It was conceivable that a weighting procedure could have been employed to emphasise the more numerically significant proportions. Whether one socially deviant household amongst four or five in a small unit was considered more or less indicative of residential intimacy by contemporaries than five or six amongst 20 in a larger unit, cannot now be gauged. The optimum solution was considered to be the retention of percentages as proportional measures indicating intra-unit exclusive, equity and minority situations, in close conjunction with the household density information portrayed in Map Sequence 1.

The variables selected for the sequential reconstructions and accompanying tables, were as follows;

- 1) Household density distribution between residential units. In this context, 'small-population units' is a shortened form signifying those units occupied by two or fewer households only. These units were identified as cottage, villa and terraced houses, and a small number of partially-occupied tenement buildings.
- 2) House-size distribution between residential units. This sequence defined the degree of structural heterogeneity within individual units as the number of windowed rooms occupied by each household. The percentage of households occupying three or more rooms was taken as the

pivotal criterion. This distinction was taken as an indication of the most important single divide in the quality of housing. Worsdall (1979) was of the opinion that working-class houses in Glasgow "comprised those with no more than three apartments" (95), though no empirical justification for this distinction was given for any specific period. In the light of the findings for mid to late nineteenth century Gorbals presented in Table 25, Ch.9., the distinction between the single-end and room-and-kitchen types and the larger houses was considered more critical, regarding the social relations of housing.

- 3) Aspects of social separation (social groups IV and V unit composition). In this sequence, social classifications IV and V are taken together as representative of working-class character on the basis of the manual nature of the declared occupations of household heads. The degree of exclusivity or mixing between non-manual and manual occupational groupings within units was surveyed.
- 4) Aspects of social separation (social groups I and II unit composition). The proportion of high-status non-manual households in each unit was portrayed, in order that the extent of residential exclusivity at unit level for the elite of Gorbals be surveyed. For both Sequences 3 and 4, tables show the changing percentages of exclusive units in each district, for different unit populations, together with ancillary information.
- 5) The importance of the Irish immigration, to both contemporary observers and the ultimate cultural identity of the study area, was acknowledged with a sequence devoted to unit proportions of households with Irish-born heads. A discussion of the demographic and cultural segmentation of the Irish community in nineteenth-century Gorbals formed a prelude to consideration of the degree of separation between Irish and non-Irish residential structures. A note on the numerically less significant, and later, Jewish immigration was appended.

These selected variables were chosen to represent a three pronged approach in the investigation of small-scale residential composition, in terms of socio-economic, housing structure and ethnic characteristics. The reconstruction and comparative work was essentially exploratory and empirical within the broad parameters discussed in Ch.2. in the form of working hypotheses. The first goal was to monitor the changes that took place. The second was to define such explanations as were compatible and relevant to the restricted areal base and information field available. As nothing was known of micro-scale residential change in the rest of the city throughout the study period, most observations were made strictly in relation to the study area, or relative to districts or localities within it. The final section of this chapter summarised the more notable points to emerge from the process of comparison and 'visual correlation'.

Household density distributions; 1851 - 1891.

Table 33 outlines the basic population dimensions of the district stocks of residential units. Several salient features were noted;

- a) The concentration of the larger-population units in pre-redevelopment Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown. The Parish, which contained the largest absolute number of the 21-plus household category in 1851, was overtaken by N. Hutchesontown by 1891 in this group. N. Hutchesontown at all dates maintained the largest proportion of units in the 11 - 20 class.
- b) The dominance of the medium class (3 - 10) in the other three districts and in post-redevelopment Gorbals Parish. Apart from N. Laurieston in 1871, this group accounted for over half the three other districts' stock at all dates. The two southern districts saw increases in the proportion of units in this medium category over the study period as a whole.
- c) The overall decline of small-population units. Street names are given in Fig.42.

Map A (1851) in Sequence 1 clearly shows the concentration of units in the two larger population classes in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown.



Fig 42  
STREET MAP

----- Gorbals Parish  
boundary

TABLE 33.

Residential units; household density distributions, 1851 - 1891,  
with percentages of district totals.

| <u>District</u>       | <u>No. of<br/>CRGs</u> | <u>1851</u>             |                | <u>1871</u>             |                | <u>1891</u>             |                |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
|                       |                        | <u>No. of<br/>units</u> | <u>Percent</u> | <u>No. of<br/>units</u> | <u>Percent</u> | <u>No. of<br/>units</u> | <u>Percent</u> |
| Gorbals<br>Parish     | 1 & 2                  | 33                      | 18.3           | 33                      | 18.8           | 8                       | 7.1            |
|                       | 3 - 10                 | 74                      | 41.1           | 67                      | 38.3           | 73                      | 65.2           |
|                       | 11 - 20                | 47                      | 26.1           | 48                      | 27.4           | 23                      | 20.6           |
|                       | 21 +                   | 26                      | 14.4           | 27                      | 15.4           | 8                       | 7.0            |
|                       | n                      | 180                     |                | 175                     |                | 112                     |                |
| N. Laur-<br>ieston    | 1 & 2                  | 42                      | 21.0           | 44                      | 21.5           | 26                      | 14.8           |
|                       | 3 - 10                 | 102                     | 51.0           | 100                     | 49.0           | 94                      | 53.4           |
|                       | 11 - 20                | 49                      | 24.5           | 52                      | 25.5           | 49                      | 27.8           |
|                       | 21 +                   | 7                       | 3.5            | 8                       | 3.9            | 7                       | 3.9            |
|                       | n                      | 200                     |                | 204                     |                | 176                     |                |
| S. Laur-<br>ieston    | 1 & 2                  | 47                      | 27.2           | 30                      | 11.8           | 29                      | 10.2           |
|                       | 3 - 10                 | 92                      | 53.5           | 141                     | 55.6           | 169                     | 59.7           |
|                       | 11 - 20                | 24                      | 13.1           | 66                      | 26.1           | 71                      | 25.1           |
|                       | 21 +                   | 10                      | 5.7            | 16                      | 6.3            | 14                      | 4.9            |
|                       | n                      | 172                     |                | 253                     |                | 283                     |                |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | 1 & 2                  | 7                       | 6.9            | 7                       | 8.0            | 5                       | 6.1            |
|                       | 3 - 10                 | 38                      | 37.6           | 29                      | 33.3           | 26                      | 31.7           |
|                       | 11 - 20                | 46                      | 45.5           | 38                      | 43.6           | 38                      | 45.3           |
|                       | 21 +                   | 10                      | 9.9            | 13                      | 14.9           | 13                      | 15.8           |
|                       | n                      | 101                     |                | 87                      |                | 82                      |                |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | 1 & 2                  | 4                       | 5.6            | 6                       | 4.2            | 3                       | 1.7            |
|                       | 3 - 10                 | 42                      | 59.1           | 84                      | 59.5           | 101                     | 59.1           |
|                       | 11 - 20                | 22                      | 31.0           | 46                      | 32.6           | 62                      | 36.2           |
|                       | 21 +                   | 3                       | 4.2            | 5                       | 3.5            | 5                       | 2.9            |
|                       | n                      | 71                      |                | 141                     |                | 171                     |                |

Map Sequences 1 to 5; letters representing exclusively non-residential  
landuse (individual establishments).

- B. Public baths and wash-house
- C. Churches and chapels
- I. Industrial uses
- O. Baronial and police office
- R. Railway company property
- S. Schools
- ST. Station
- T. Theatres



GORBALS 1851

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



GORBALS 1871

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



SEQUENCE 1 MAP B  
No. CRGs/UNIT  
1, 2  
3-10  
11-20  
21+  
Parish boundary

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500

GORBALS 1891

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



SEQUENCE 1 MAP C

| No. CRGs/UNIT   | Symbol         |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1, 2            | Cross-hatched  |
| 3-10            | Light stippled |
| 11-20           | Diagonal lines |
| 21+             | Solid black    |
| Parish boundary | Solid line     |
| C.I.T. limit    | Dashed line    |

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500

JOR

Units in the smallest population category cluster in the terrace of Carlton Place and the cottage properties in north-west Gorbals Parish, in the backlanes of S. Laurieston and at Muirhouses. This latter old row at the southern extremity of Laurieston was a feature of early maps (e.g. Barry, 1782). Cottage or villa development appear to have occupied much of Eglinton Street south of Cumberland Street. In addition, the taking of the census coincided with the first feuing and occupation of new tenements on Apsley Place, two of which were then only partially inhabited. The rest of Apsley and Abbotsford Places, much of S. Portland, Warwick, Oxford and Hospital Streets (Castlemilk Place in the latter) appeared built up in the modal population size category (3 - 10 households).

Map B shows the results of intervening construction down to 1871 - mainly in the modal 3 - 10 category - in Crown and Hospital Streets, and in the southern triangle of S. Laurieston. Construction in Thistle Street, S. Hutchesontown, Salisbury and Surrey Streets, S. Laurieston, introduced a notably larger proportion of units in the 11 - 20 group.

Broadly speaking, any expected overall increase in pre-existing unit populations was not evident between 1851 and 1871. Streets were generally extended during this interval in housing of a similar population size to that already built. This was particularly true of Abbotsford Place, Eglinton, Cumberland, Hospital and Crown Streets in the modal 3 - 10 category. Changes beyond the class-divisions in pre-existing units were not visually obvious. As most tenements within the modal class accommodated actual totals of between 7 and 10, house subdivision resulting in higher densities would have been detected by means of the classification adopted.

Increases in unit populations appeared locally. The block bounded by Abbotsford Place, Cumberland and Cavendish Streets in S. Laurieston was partially developed in 1851, with the internal and western units evidently in cottage or villa occupation. By 1871, the south-western corner and the internal lane had undergone a substantial population increase consequent upon tenements replacing villas and/or backland construction. The decline in number of the smallest population

category in S. Laurieston appeared to be associated with the removal of urban-fringe cottage and villa building and the construction of tenements.

Of declines in unit population, the most noticeable was that associated with several units in central Gorbals Parish, including the old baronial complex on the corner of Main Street and Rutherglen Loan, possibly a consequence of C.I.T. purchase in the previous five years. Some of the units on Rutherglen Loan and St. Ninian Street, N. Hutchesontown, and Greenside Lane, S. Hutchesontown, were taken out of residential use altogether, probably in preparation for the construction of the railway embankment linking Southside and St. Enoch Stations.

The pattern of 1891 (Map C, Sequence 1) tended to confirm the projection of 1851 - 1871 trends - the continuity of unit populations between dates, the development of new housing in line with the character of previous construction on that street, etc.

The rebuilding of most of Gorbals Parish in tenements of 3 - 10 households was very clear. Significantly, unit populations increased locally in those fringes of the Parish untouched by C.I.T. development - the north end of Muirhead Street, Hospital Street within the Parish and Portugal Street. Elsewhere, the pattern of existing large-population units is remarkably similar to that of 1871.

The nature of the newly-occupied units in the southern districts, in terms of population size, followed the trend established in the previous interval. The character of Thistle Street south of Rutherglen Loan contrasted with its parallel neighbours in both unit area and population. McKinlay Street in S. Laurieston took on a similarly contrasting population structure to the pre-existing streets.

With these southern additions to the residential stock of the study area, substantial subtractions occurred in the Parish with the construction of utilities, institutions; broader roads and the railway. 1891 saw a further reduction in the smallest unit category, partly due to units being removed from residential use (especially in Carlton Place), the standardising influence of the C.I.T. in Gorbals Parish

and further villa/cottage replacement by tenements.

Overall, between 1851 and 1891, the dominant process at work on the unit population structure in the study area was one of standardisation towards the modal size-class. Hutesontown, as a whole, developed a concentration of units in the larger size category of 11 - 20. In Laurieston, this class, and the largest, appear to have been best represented in the back lanes and minor streets, with isolated persistent high-density units on Nicholson Street (dating back at least to 1851) and intermittent high-density units on S. Portland, Bridge, Eglinton and Cavendish Streets.

House-size distributions; 1871 - 1891.

Table 34 and Maps 2A and B portray aspects of the census evidence for individual house-size within the residential units. Table 24, Ch.9. has demonstrated the persistence of average rooms-per-house figures for Laurieston and S. Hutesontown, with the Parish house-size increasing in average, whilst that for N. Hutesontown decreased.

Table 34 shows the frequency and distribution of exclusively 1 and 2 apartment units and exclusively 3 or more apartment units. In addition, a distinction was made between the percentages of all units in each district, and those occupied by three or more households, in order that tenement and terrace-cottage elements might be distinguished. It was thought possible that variation in intra-unit structural heterogeneity was related to social variation within tenements, a suspicion pursued in the forthcoming section on unit social composition.

In 1871 Gorbals Parish presented the largest proportion of exclusively small-house units, with over half the district's stock in this category. Over one third were small-house tenements or tenement-complexes, according to the definition adopted. In Laurieston as a whole and S. Hutesontown, exclusively large-house units formed the majority; in S. Laurieston large-house tenements comprised 30 per cent of the stock. N. Hutesontown was the district with least exclusive units in either house-size category.

By 1891, the changes evident in Gorbals Parish reflected the influence

of reconstruction, which resulted in a structurally less-exclusive tenement stock; most units comprised both large and small houses, as defined here. In Laurieston a slight overall increase in the exclusive large-house proportion may be detected, whereas the N. Hutchesontown unit stock underwent a shift between the exclusive large-house and small-house proportions.

TABLE 34.

Unit house-size composition; 1871 - 1891.

A. Exclusive percentages of total units per district.

B. Exclusive percentages of units comprising 3 or more CRGs.

| <u>District</u>        |   | 1871   |  | 1891   |  |
|------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
|                        |   | <u>Exclusively<br/>large-house<br/>units</u> | <u>Exclusively<br/>small-house<br/>units</u> | <u>Exclusively<br/>large-house<br/>units</u> | <u>Exclusively<br/>small-house<br/>units</u> |
| Gorbals<br>Parish      | A | 6.9  | 51.1   | 14.4   | 26.1   |
|                        | B | 3.4  | 37.9   | 12.6   | 20.7   |
|                        |   | n=175  |  | n=112  |  |
| N. Laur-<br>ieston     | A | 37.9   | 18.2   | 38.8   | 19.4   |
|                        | B | 23.6   | 12.3   | 29.7   | 14.3   |
|                        |   | n=204  |  | n=176  |  |
| S. Laur-<br>ieston     | A | 32.9   | 28.2   | 33.3   | 27.3   |
|                        | B | 30.1   | 20.6   | 29.8   | 22.3   |
|                        |   | n=253  |  | n=283  |  |
| N. Hutch-<br>iesontown | A | 12.8   | 18.6   | 9.9  | 27.2   |
|                        | B | 8.1  | 15.1   | 4.9  | 25.9   |
|                        |   | n=87   |  | n=82   |  |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown  | A | 28.6   | 14.3   | 27.0   | 16.5   |
|                        | B | 26.4   | 12.1   | 26.5   | 15.9   |
|                        |   | n=141  |  | n=171  |  |

N.B. Small houses comprised 1 or 2 apartments; large houses comprised 3 or more apartments.

GORBALS 1871

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



SEQUENCE 2 MAP A  
HOUSE - SIZE: CRGs WITH 3 OR  
MORE ROOMS

|                      |                 |   |
|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| [White box]          | 100             | % |
| [Diagonal lines box] | 80-99           |   |
| [Cross-hatch box]    | 21-79           |   |
| [Solid black box]    | 1-20            |   |
| [Empty box]          | 0               |   |
| [Dashed line]        | Parish boundary |   |

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500



GORBALS 1891

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



SEQUENCE 2 MAP B  
HOUSE SIZE: CRGs WITH 3 OR MORE ROOMS

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
|  | 100 percent     |
|  | 80-99           |
|  | 21-79           |
|  | 1-20            |
|  | 0               |
|  | Parish boundary |
|  | C.I.T. limit    |

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500

Perusal of Map A, Sequence 2 (1871) revealed a general pattern similar to that of Map 1B. Gorbals Parish was the most extensive tract of low quality (small-size) housing in the study area. In the Parish, a thin scatter of large-house units corresponded closely with the distribution of small-population units on Map 1B. Most small-population units in the Parish appear to have comprised one and two-roomed houses, well illustrated in the north-western quarter of the village area.

Beyond the Parish boundary, universally small-house units appeared most frequently in the back-lanes and minor (narrow, short) streets of Laurieston, particularly in the vicinities of S. Coburg Street - Margaret Street, Wellcroft Place and a discontinuous swathe running from the southern border of Gorbals Parish parallel to Main Street and Pollokshaws Road.

The distribution of exclusive small-house units followed closely that of the smallest and two larger unit population categories in Map 1B. Similarly, the distribution of exclusively three+apartment units corresponded to that of the 3-10 household size-category, except in the case of the terraced properties of Carlton Place. Exclusively large-house units occupied the principal streets of Laurieston, and much of Hospital Street and Crown Street, Hutchesontown.

The extent of internal unit heterogeneity is of particular interest in this study. As Worsdall (1979) reported, many tenement designs included provision for houses of different sizes;

"There were variations on this (working-class) plan according to the site and area. Instead of a 2-1-2 (house sizes on each floor) division, it might be 3-2-3, which, if that failed to attract, could easily be subdivided to form a 2-1-2-1-2 plan". (95)

The proportional distinctions adopted in Map Sequence 2 attempted to differentiate units with small proportions of houses in certain size classes from more evenly balanced structures. Units with large-house minorities had a close spatial affinity with exclusively small-house units, concentrating in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown. Units with small-house minorities appeared most commonly in S. Hutchesontown.

Map 2B demonstrates the extent of change in this measure by 1891. The replacement of most of the universally small-house stock in Gorbals Parish was obvious; the reconstructed units comprised mainly mixed structures in terms of house size.

In the south, the building of further mixed-structure tenements was evident, with a salient concentration of new wholly small-house units on Thistle Street. The pattern of change in the rest of the study area was complex. Isolated tenements on the principal streets of Laurieston lost exclusive large-house status. Carlton Place sustained two radical transformations in exclusiveness. Large-house minorities were lost from units in north-east N. Hutchesontown. Some wholly small-house units were taken out of residential use, and some new infill occurred during the period 1871 - 1891 in the old-established parts of Laurieston (the south Main Street area in the north-eastern corner of S. Laurieston was a focus of additions to the stock).

Elsewhere, small-house minorities disappeared, consolidating tracts of universally large-house units, most notably Crown Street and Hospital Street, south of Cumberland Street.

Taken together, the house-size composition sequence again demonstrated the marginality of structural change. The outlines of universal large-house and minority small-house aggregates appeared relatively constant, with changes in structural status occurring in local contexts. The spread of exclusive small-house units appears to have been limited largely to the margins of pre-existing small-house milieux. Certain increases in unit house-size suggested that reconstruction, or internal conversion, did not always result in the provision of smaller houses. It was the occupation of new, wholly large-house tenements which was lacking in the period 1871 - 1891.

#### Aspects of social separation; social groups IV and V.

Table 35 demonstrates the general decline in the proportion of wholly exclusive groups I, II, III (or middle-class) units in each district across the study period. Associated with this decline was a more variable rise in the proportion of units occupied exclusively by households allocated to groups IV and V (working-class). The chief

TABLE 35.

Aspects of change in residential exclusiveness;1851 - 1891, social groups IV and V.

A. Exclusive percentages of total units/district.

B. Exclusive percentages of units with 3 or more households.

| <u>District</u>       |   | 1851                      |                            | 1871                      |                            | 1891                      |                            |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
|                       |   | NO<br>CRGs<br><u>IV,V</u> | ALL<br>CRGs<br><u>IV,V</u> | NO<br>CRGs<br><u>IV,V</u> | ALL<br>CRGs<br><u>IV,V</u> | NO<br>CRGs<br><u>IV,V</u> | ALL<br>CRGs<br><u>IV,V</u> |
| Gorbals<br>Parish     | A | 5.5                       | 25.5                       | 2.2                       | 37.1                       | 3.5                       | 16.9                       |
|                       | B | 0.5                       | 16.6                       | 0.0                       | 22.2                       | 0.0                       | 13.4                       |
|                       |   | n=180                     |                            | n=175                     |                            | n=112                     |                            |
| N. Laur-<br>ieston    | A | 32.5                      | 10.5                       | 20.5                      | 16.6                       | 11.4                      | 18.3                       |
|                       | B | 15.5                      | 7.0                        | 6.8                       | 11.2                       | 3.4                       | 11.4                       |
|                       |   | n=200                     |                            | n=204                     |                            | n=176                     |                            |
| S. Laur-<br>ieston    | A | 36.0                      | 23.2                       | 20.1                      | 18.2                       | 12.7                      | 19.8                       |
|                       | B | 26.1                      | 8.7                        | 16.6                      | 11.5                       | 8.1                       | 14.8                       |
|                       |   | n=172                     |                            | n=253                     |                            | n=283                     |                            |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | A | 2.9                       | 12.8                       | 4.5                       | 19.5                       | 3.6                       | 30.5                       |
|                       | B | 1.9                       | 8.9                        | 0.0                       | 17.2                       | 1.2                       | 26.8                       |
|                       |   | n=101                     |                            | n=87                      |                            | n=82                      |                            |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | A | 18.3                      | 4.2                        | 2.8                       | 9.9                        | 1.7                       | 6.4                        |
|                       | B | 12.6                      | 4.2                        | 1.4                       | 7.8                        | 1.2                       | 5.8                        |
|                       |   | n=71                      |                            | n=141                     |                            | n=171                     |                            |

departures from these trends were;

- a) the interruption of the tendency towards the extinction of exclusive groups I, II, III units in Gorbals Parish and the concomitant decrease in the proportion of units exclusively occupied by groups IV, V during the period 1871 - 1891,
- b) a levelling-out of the relative increase in exclusive working-class units in N. Laurieston, partially reflected in S. Laurieston, during the same period,
- c) the marked decline in exclusive working-class units in S. Hutchesontown between 1871 and 1891.

Evidently, reduction in the proportions of exclusively middle-class units was in no district automatically linked to increase in similarly-segregated working class units. The gross percentages indicate the increasing proportion of each district stock which was socially mixed. The differences between total units and large-house units are again given, and illustrate the large proportion of wholly middle-class units which were comprised of one or two households in Gorbals Parish. The N. Hutchesontown percentages were low in this measure, but as the total number of inhabited units fell below one hundred in this district in 1871 and 1891, percentages are somewhat misleading.

S. Laurieston, in 1891, maintained the closest association between total and medium-population middle-class unit percentages. The results suggested that S. Laurieston retained the most completely middle-class and medium unit-population occupancy proportions, whilst N. Hutchesontown had developed by the latter year the most segregated large-population working-class element.

Map 3A depicts the 1851 social situation in the study area residential units. The concentration of exclusive and large-majority working-class units within Gorbals Parish echoed patterns for the same date in Map Sequence 1, though the degree of visual contrast between the Parish and the surrounding four districts is stronger than that for the unit population size pattern. Within the Parish, the major

GORBALS 1851

RESIDENTIAL UNITS

N  
▲



SEQUENCE 3 MAP A  
GROUPS IV, V

|                 |
|-----------------|
| 100 percent     |
| 80-99           |
| 60-79           |
| 40-59           |
| 20-39           |
| 1-19            |
| 0               |
| Parish boundary |

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500

GORBALS 1871

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



GORBALS 1891

RESIDENTIAL UNITS





departures from units with 80 per cent or more groups IV, V households fell into two categories, from the evidence presented here;

- a) Peripheral tenemented (medium unit-population) units on land developed since 1800; particularly, the Warwick, Hospital and Adelphi Street neighbourhoods. The persistent wholly middle-class unit seen on all maps of Sequence 3 was identified as the Catholic manse, next door to the church, on Portugal Street.
- b) Scattered exclusive middle-class properties, which the tables and map cross-checks confirmed were inhabited by one or two households only. Indeed, the large exclusive middle-class unit near to the corner of Clyde Terrace and Main Street and that on Warwick Street were the only two exclusively middle-class medium-population units in the Parish in 1851.

Beyond the Parish boundary the pattern of exclusive and large-majority working-class units defines the older blocks of building, the areally-smaller plots and those on back-lanes and minor streets. Reference to the series of pre-Ordnance Survey plans showed that N. Hutchesontown, north of Rutherglen Road, was densely developed by 1820, and that building in Laurieston was by no means restricted to Carlton Place by that date. Muirhouses and the group of units in the north-eastern corner of S. Laurieston appeared on Barry's plan of 1782 (Fig.23).

Smith's (1821) detailed map (Fig.25) shows that much of the S. Coburg Street and Buchanan Court areas were built up by 1820. Whilst the Laurie brothers appear to have retained possession of the vacant Abbotsford Place, S. Portland and Apsley Place lots, with subfeuars such as Yuille and Douglas, whose names appear on Smith's map, allowing back-lane plots to be developed.

The updated and smaller-scale version by Martin (1842) shows evidence of back-lane building activity south of Cumberland Street. This was associated with industrial uses around Port Eglinton (at the termination of the canal on the opposite side of Eglinton Street) on Surrey and Cavendish Streets; again, before the major street-fronting lots in the area were built up. This pre-1850 small-plot residential

development (tenements in N. Laurieston, cottages in S. Laurieston, according to unit-population evidence) was characterised by largely or exclusively group IV, V unit occupation.

The pattern of exclusively middle-class units in Laurieston in 1851 was characteristically 'T'-shaped, with the small-population terrace of Carlton Place forming the horizontal and the medium-population tenements of S. Portland Street - Abbotsford Place forming the vertical. This configuration was broken by a group of socially mixed units in the northern half of S. Portland Street. Apsley Place, then half completed, and western Cumberland Street, were notable outliers of semi-continuous exclusive group I, II, III residence. In S. Laurieston at that time, exclusive middle-class tenements formed the edge of the continuously built-up area.

In Hutchesontown, as Table 35 suggests, the difference between north and south is much more noticeable in terms of the distribution of socially-exclusive units. However, Castlemilk Place on western Hospital Street, (S. Hutchesontown) was the only street or area where unit exclusiveness approached the intensity and degree of clustering found in Laurieston. Hutchesontown as a whole shows a more mixed residential profile in terms of unit composition. Again, the Gorbals Parish projection eastwards formed a visual boundary between working-class majorities dominant to the north, and middle-class majorities dominant in the units to the south, with the exceptions of Thistle Street and Greenside Lane.

As Table 35 indicates, a relative decline in the proportion of total units which were socially exclusive occurred in the study area between 1851 and 1871. Comparison of Maps 3A and B confirmed this macro-scale tendency, whilst underlining the specific case of the increased proportion of exclusive units in Gorbals Parish.

The Parish by 1871 encompassed the largest concentration of exclusively working-class units and Table 35 indicates that this increased segregation occurred in both small-population and tenemented units. Population reductions, noted in the foregoing discussion of Map Sequence 1, resulted in the emergence of newly-exclusive groups IV, V units. Building or conversion between 1851 and 1871 (on the west side of Muirhead Street and in the north-west quarter) added newly-occupied

exclusive units, and previously mixed units had lost varying proportions of middle-class households. The peripheral milieux, noted above, show the intensification of the segregation process. The absolute number of exclusively middle-class units fell from 10 to 5.

The visual correlation between social exclusivity and housing quality (as measured in size) was clear for 1871. Only in the extreme western Warwick Street block of the Parish did largely and universally large-house tenements survive in number, and here lay most of the few middle-class majority units extant by that date.

In Laurieston the pattern of majority and exclusive working-class units followed that for 1851 very closely, with the addition of newly-occupied units in the south contributing a socially more mixed component to that district. The housing-size measure depicted in Map Sequence 2 matches the pattern of social exclusivity. Older and more recent (1851 - 1871) back-lane properties continued to accommodate largely working-class households in small (1 and 2 roomed) houses. An important feature was the association between structurally mixed units and socially mixed units, best represented in N. Laurieston.

Of those areas inhabited by 1851, one which showed great change was the block bounded by Cumberland Street, Abbotsford Place and Cavendish Street in S. Laurieston. Here, almost all the Abbotsford Place tenements lost their exclusively middle-class profiles, each with two or three households on average in groups IV and V by 1871. Similarly, some Cumberland and Eglinton Street units lost exclusive status as the block became more densely built up. The continuity in this block in terms of unit household population (Maps 1A and B) belied suggestion that house subdivision was necessarily associated with social decline. Neither the Cumberland Street nor Abbotsford Place units yielded to group IV, V majorities by 1871.

According to cartographic evidence the development of Salisbury Street began in the 1840's. The larger western plots were developed with mixed house-size structures though the smaller east-side plots were uniformly built in small-house tenements. Map 1A revealed that the original units accommodated over 10 households on average, more than the units on Abbotsford and Apsley Places nearby, and that large-

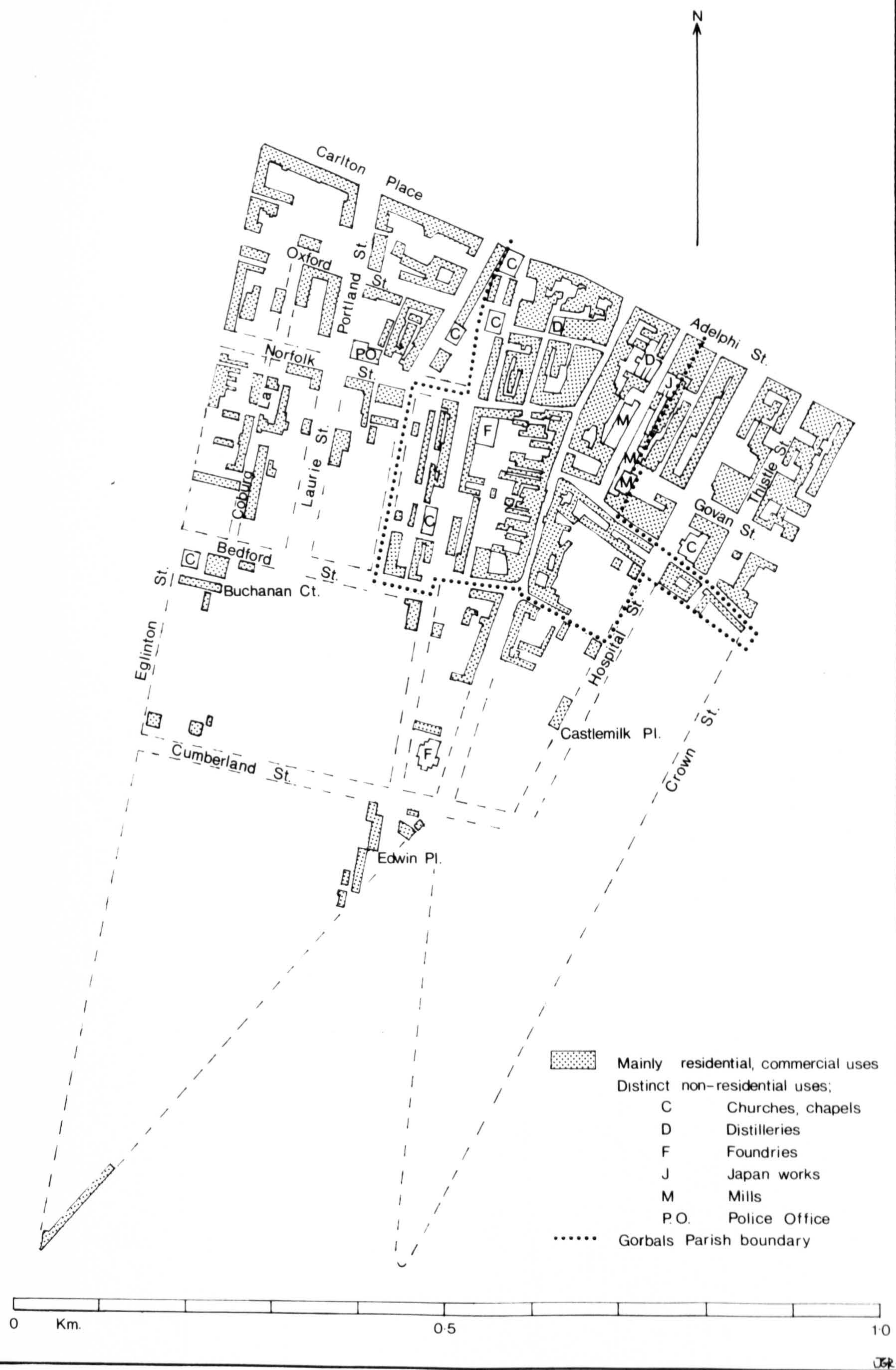
population units continued to be the norm in this locale. The Lauries, or their immediate subfeuars, may have intended Salisbury Street to be a fitting southern continuation of middle-class Apsley Place; if so, their plan soon failed. The original western plots of c.1851 were largely of a size comparable to those of Apsley Place. Plots developed down to 1871 occupied narrower frontages. The eastern side of Salisbury Street suffered from the early development of small, high-density units fronting on the back lane, which effectively halved the available space. Apparently, the speculative building of relatively small-house, high-density tenements on these restricted plots provided the most optimistic return on investment. The character of the whole neighbourhood had taken on a markedly proletarian complexion by 1871, with the notable conversion of the old Edwin Place block (Fig. 43) from middle-class to working-class majority residence. The spatial association between these conversions and new working-class dominated development with nearby industrial landuse cannot be overlooked, both in terms of industrial externalities and the close availability of factory employment.

The southern half of S. Portland Street was the focus of the most sweeping unit compositional change in terms of social exclusivity in N. Laurieston. There, exclusively middle-class tenements declined by half between 1851 and 1871 with one unit showing a two-thirds group IV, V majority by the latter date. Reference to Map Sequence 1 showed that household population increased in this unit over the same period, as it did in the south-easternmost plot fronting S. Portland Street. There, however, internal subdivision was not connected with loss of exclusive middle-class occupation.

Change in Hutchesontown between 1851 and 1871 may be summarised by an overall reduction in middle-class unit exclusiveness and majorities. N. Hutchesontown, north of Rutherglen Loan, saw the intensification of groups IV, V majority occupations, the extinction of middle-class majorities and balanced compositions, and the restriction of exclusive middle-class occupation to small (1 and 2 household) population units.

South of Rutherglen Road, the absolute decline in the number of exclusively middle-class units matched the increase in segregated working-

Fig. 43 BUILT-UP AREA; Gorbals 1830



class tenements. The loss of group I, II, III units occurred on Hospital Street (Castlemilk Place continued to change from the largely middle-class social character suggested by the pre-censal Directory evidence) whilst the bulk of newly-exclusive working class units appeared on Thistle Street.

In this context, the character of those units first occupied during the period 1851 - 1871 was of particular interest. The emerging character of established Thistle Street, north of Cumberland Street was confirmed by its southward extension by 1871. Over half of the 22 new units to appear were dominantly or exclusively working-class, either thus composed at the outset, or becoming so rapidly in the interval. As few units changed radically in character over a twenty-year span, it was thought likely that group IV and V majorities occupied most new Thistle Street tenements from their original letting. The new additions to Thistle Street were built on areally smaller plots than previous development. As Maps 1B and 2A suggest, there was a proliferation of exclusively small-house and large-population units in Thistle Street. With southern extension building plots on Thistle Street had yielded area to those on Crown Street in the 1851 plan. In the extension built to 1871, they were areally inferior to Hospital Street plots also.

The character of new development to 1871 in the other streets of S. Hutchesontown and S. Laurieston was remarkable in the lack of socially exclusive units. The completion of Abbotsford and Apsley Places gave rise to 10 out of 14 mixed units with middle-class majorities. To the south and east, balanced social compositions appeared common on the 1871 map. By that date, the frontier of inhabited development had a socially mixed structure, contrasting with the more segregated transitional zone of 1851.

Structurally, most new units contained a diversity of house-sizes in the S. Laurieston additions. Notable concentrations of wholly large-house (3-plus rooms) units appeared in the Crown and Hospital Street extensions (Maps 3B) furthering the existing structural and social contrasts between them and the generality of Thistle Street units.

The final map of Sequence 3 indicates the continuance of several micro-spatial trends apparent in the foregoing comparisons. In terms of

socially exclusive occupation, the patterns revealed the elimination of wholly working-class units from much of the area of Gorbals Parish. The impact of redevelopment on social patterning was obviously great. Though most of the new units were about two-thirds occupied by group IV and V households, the eastern side of Main Street near the new Cross and fountain (Fig.5) and in the north-west, comprised more balanced unit social structures.

It should be emphasised that the Parish boundary and the official limit of City Improvement Trust activity did not exactly coincide. Early nineteenth-century tenements escaped demolition in the Warwick - Portugal Streets block, and beyond the railway embankment in the south-east. The surviving old buildings of the eastern salient along Rutherglen Road were similarly excluded from the C.I.T. remit, together with three plots in the north-western corner of the Parish. It was possible that small-scale private redevelopment forestalled municipal action in these peripheral locales. Building plans on the O.S. (1860) and O.S. (1896) maps suggest that rebuilding took place at the latter site. Allowing for the slight changes in symbol and draughting style between the surveys, no structural change occurred at the other sites. As an example, the block of units in the Parish salient between Hospital and Thistle Streets remained unchanged in plan between Smith (1821) and O.S. (1896).

Similar exterior structural continuity prevailed amongst units which lay beyond the Parish boundary but were within the C.I.T. limits. The block at the northern end of Muirhead and St. Ninian Streets, astride the Parish boundary, was perhaps the more important locale. Though within the area scheduled for demolition in the 1870's, this block remained occupied by the 1890's. The intensification of exclusive group IV and V units in these tenements, which had mostly increased in population during the preceding forty years, suggested a continued process of working-class colonization, as sequential study further confirmed.

A local increase in exclusive and majority working-class units was seen in the Warwick-Portugal Street block, a process noticeable over the entire study period. Apart from small-population units with

exclusive middle-class occupation (such as the Catholic manse) only one middle-class majority medium-population tenement appeared in the block by 1891.

The building of the embanked railway, together with a small passenger station on Greenside Lane further disrupted the built environment. The C.I.T. boundary may have been extended eastwards from the Parish in order that the Trust's and the railway company's responsibilities and costs were shared and no anomalous land or property was left between their territories. No written record of any such arrangement survived, but the unknown author of a sketch map of 1847 showed the proposed route of the line passing west, rather than east of Main Street. This route would have passed through more residential property than the final line did and the depopulation of those units on the final route between 1851 and 1871 has already been noted. Increases in working-class proportions in the vicinity were also noted between 1871 and 1891, particularly on Hospital Street. A precise relationship with railway noise and smoke cannot be proved and social decline in Hutchesontown certainly predated railway construction. The growth of group IV and V majority units throughout the study area is as likely to have stemmed from working-class displacement from central Glasgow, Gorbals Parish included.

There does not appear to have been an acceleration in the growth of working-class units from 1871 to 1891 over the rate of change in the previous twenty years, a possible expectation as a consequence of large-scale working-class displacement.

By 1891, N. Hutchesontown contained the most continuous area of exclusive and large majority working-class units, supplanting Gorbals Parish as the district with the smallest unit proportions of groups I, II, III as foregoing tabular evidence implied.

Elsewhere, the pattern of segregated working-class units appeared largely as an intensification of the 1871 large-majority unit distribution. Table 35 shows that the distribution of exclusive middle-class terrace, villa and tenement units underwent further erosion. The 'T' configuration on Map 3C was recognisable only in terms of middle-class majorities, rather than exclusive occupation. Carlton



Place, exclusively bourgeois in 1851, had forty years later a very mixed profile, associated with the progressive loss of units to non-residential use, and the partial use of others by institutional caretakers, allocated to group IV under the rules adopted for social classification. The scale of change in Carlton Place was emphasised by the smaller population-per-unit in terraced town houses.

The surviving exclusively middle-class tenements in Laurieston were concentrated in a core area centred on north Abbotsford Place (Fig.11) with isolated outliers in Cumberland Street and Apsley Place. Increases in groups IV, V proportions (up to about one-third) characterised many units in S. Portland Street, Apsley Place and southern Abbotsford Place.

It appeared that the important changes took place in terms of proportionate shifts within mixed units. In addition, new development, in filling out the southern tips of the study area, did so in socially and structurally mixed units, as the 1851 - 1871 comparison also implied. The visual evidence suggested that the change from middle-class majorities to working-class majorities occurred in a limited number of milieux, tending to intensify previously existing largely working-class unit aggregates. Hospital Street, south of Rutherglen Loan, was an example, with a notable spread of group IV, V majorities, particularly on the eastern side during the 1871 - 1891 interval. This tendency was further emphasised in the character of new development in the south. A decidedly middle-class street in 1851, over half the units in the extended street of 1891 comprised working-class majorities. In these broad comparative terms, Thistle Street changed very little over the same interval, and the west side of Crown Street underwent a more moderate reduction in middle-class occupation; it retained the only three exclusive middle-class tenements in S. Hutchesontown in 1891. The persistent northernmost of these, extending between Crown and Thistle Streets, comprised a large villa, in extensive grounds, inhabited throughout the census study period by the family Edmiston. 'Mr. Edmiston's woodyard', first recorded on Martin's (1842) map, occupied the non-residential area to north and south.

Further majority conversions between group I, II, III and groups IV, V occupation may be detected in the area of structurally-mixed large-

house units in N. Laurieston. In the area of N. Coburg and Oxford Streets a progressive mounting of working-class majorities occurred between 1851, when a balanced social mix with a semi-bourgeois character prevailed, and 1891, when working-class majorities were dominant. Yet, the process, as in N. Hutchesontown, was not a middle-class rout. A number of middle-class majorities remained at the latter date, as did four exclusive groups I, II, III units in Oxford Street, roughly half the total for 1851. In this neighbourhood, the most dramatic change was purely local - the transition of the large corner plot on Nicholson and Oxford Streets from a small-population wholly middle-class unit in 1851, to a large-population exclusively working-class unit in 1871.

Lastly, the spread and consolidation of working-class occupation in the S. Laurieston block bounded by Cumberland, Eglinton and Cavendish Streets, noted above, continued during 1871 - 1891. The decline of middle-class majorities was here most evident, particularly so over the complete time-span. From the internal lanes and an exterior nucleus in the south-west corner, the predominant trend was the creation of working-class majorities in new units concurrent with the decline of middle-class exclusive and majority occupation. A number of working-class cottages were rebuilt as tenements during 1851 - 71, strengthening the numerical base of groups IV, V within the block. Most vacant land was occupied in 1871, and there was a shift towards the conversion of majorities between the classes in existing units, and a further reduction in the number of middle-class majority units.

In general, however, the character of change between censal patterns has tended to marginal rather than radical transformation. Marginal, in the sense that relatively few units changed between middle-class and working-class dominance in any 20 year period, and also in the sense that aggregations of working-class exclusivity and dominance tended to expand at their margins, rather than in any widespread fashion. The final picture, of 1891, differed from the first most obviously in terms of C.I.T. activity and the character of private development infilling the south. The majority of the original middle-class units remained dominated by middle-class occupation. The increasing segregation of exclusive working-class units in Gorbals Parish in 1871 appeared to have

been interrupted in the 1891 pattern, but the rise of new dominantly working-class units throughout the study area appeared to have been associated with new building and with changes in the social composition of existing stock. The decline in number of socially exclusive units was most remarkable, allied with the emergence of widespread working-class majorities of between two-thirds and four-fifths (60 - 79 per cent).

Between 1851 and 1871 the percentage of units in this class rose only from 13.5 to 14.8, whilst the measure between 1871 and 1891 rose to 23.3 per cent of the total study area stock at each date.

The variations between the study area percentages of units in each of the compositional classifications is given in Table 36.

Whereas the highest concentrations of working-class households appeared to have declined relative to the total of inhabited units between 1871 and 1891 (largely due to redevelopment in Gorbals Parish) the 60 - 79 per cent class emerged as the mode, suggesting that in most tenements at least two middle-class households lived in close proximity to (i.e. in the same unit as) at least eight working-class households, as defined here.

The change in the relationship between structural and social composition within the residential units was explored by means of a contingency table, based on the percentage of units falling into specific categories at the censuses of 1871 and 1891.

The large proportions of district totals with both socially and physically mixed profiles on Table 37 was particularly illustrative. For the study area as a whole, this cell (B2) in the contingency table recorded a rise from 41.1 per cent to 43.8 per cent, confirming the strong link between social and structural heterogeneity, particularly in the context of the renewed housing stock in Gorbals Parish and the continued building in the southern districts.

The N. Laurieston data recorded a slight decrease in this socio-structurally mixed percentage (B2), whilst a larger decline emerged from the N. Hutchesontown data. This latter change was associated with

TABLE 36.

Change in unit social composition; study area, 1851-1891.

| <u>Units occupied by:</u>  | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Groups IV, V exclusively   | 15.2        | 20.3        | 18.4        |
| 80 - 99 percent groups IV, V   | 18.6        | 23.3        | 20.0        |
| 60 - 79 percent groups IV, V   | 13.5        | 14.8        | 23.3        |
| 40 - 59 percent groups IV, V   | 12.4        | 11.6        | 11.2        |
| 20 - 39 percent groups IV, V   | 14.1        | 16.2        | 15.4        |
| 1 - 19 percent groups IV, V  | 7.0         | 3.8         | 5.0         |
| Groups I, II, III exclusively  | 19.0        | 10.0        | 6.6         |
| Unsegregated percentage<br>(total percentage of socially<br>mixed units) | 65.8        | 69.7        | 75.0        |
| Totals   | 99.9        | 100.0       | 99.9        |

TABLE 37.

Contingency table demonstrating change in social and physical characteristics of residential units, 1871-91.

Unit structure: A. Units entirely composed of houses with 2 or less rooms as percentages of district totals.

B. Units composed of houses in either size category as percentage of district totals.

C. Units entirely composed of houses with 3 or more rooms as percentage of district totals.

Social structure: 1. Units occupied exclusively by groups I,II,III.

2. Socially mixed units.

3. Units occupied exclusively by groups IV,V.

| <u>District</u>  |   | A    |      | B    |      | C    |      |
|------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                  |   | 1871 | 1891 | 1871 | 1891 | 1871 | 1891 |
| Gorbals Parish   | 1 | 0.0  | 2.7  | 0.0  | 0.0  | 2.3  | 0.9  |
|                  | 2 | 25.0 | 14.0 | 34.3 | 55.5 | 2.3  | 12.0 |
|                  | 3 | 25.6 | 10.1 | 8.1  | 4.6  | 2.3  | 0.0  |
| N. Laurieston    | 1 | 1.9  | 1.2  | 1.0  | 0.6  | 17.6 | 10.2 |
|                  | 2 | 7.3  | 8.4  | 39.3 | 38.2 | 16.6 | 26.2 |
|                  | 3 | 8.8  | 6.6  | 4.4  | 4.7  | 2.9  | 3.5  |
| S. Laurieston    | 1 | 1.2  | 1.1  | 1.6  | 1.4  | 17.3 | 9.9  |
|                  | 2 | 12.9 | 11.4 | 33.9 | 34.5 | 14.9 | 21.7 |
|                  | 3 | 15.3 | 14.9 | 2.4  | 3.9  | 0.4  | 1.1  |
| N. Hutchesontown | 1 | 1.1  | 0.0  | 0.0  | 1.2  | 3.4  | 2.4  |
|                  | 2 | 6.9  | 10.9 | 60.5 | 51.2 | 9.3  | 3.6  |
|                  | 3 | 10.4 | 15.8 | 8.1  | 10.9 | 0.0  | 3.6  |
| S. Hutchesontown | 1 | 0.0  | 0.0  | 0.0  | 0.6  | 4.3  | 1.1  |
|                  | 2 | 8.5  | 12.8 | 53.2 | 53.5 | 24.8 | 25.6 |
|                  | 3 | 4.9  | 3.5  | 4.3  | 2.9  | 0.0  | 0.0  |
| Study area       | 1 | 0.9  | 1.0  | 0.7  | 0.6  | 10.8 | 6.3  |
|                  | 2 | 12.7 | 11.3 | 41.1 | 43.8 | 13.8 | 20.4 |
|                  | 3 | 13.6 | 10.2 | 4.9  | 4.7  | 1.3  | 1.5  |

the increased proportions of exclusively small-house units accommodating social mixture and wholly working-class residence. This intensity was not reflected in the corresponding Study Area cells (A2, 3), suggesting the anomalous position of N. Hutesontown as the district of most housing stress following the renewal of Gorbals Parish.

The increased proportions of socially-mixed large-house units in Laurieston and Gorbals Parish (C2) was as impressive as the lack of significant working-class exclusiveness in the large-house category (C3), particularly in S. Hutesontown. A slight rise in middle-class exclusive residence in small-house properties was entirely due to the improvement of stock in this class in the Parish area.

An impression of a varied and selective decline in middle-class occupancy levels throughout the study area has been gained from these visual comparisons. It was by no means a mass evacuation, and the census of 1891 recorded a generally higher percentage for the total of unsegregated units than that of 1871. This was also true of 1871 compared to 1851, suggesting that the destruction of one-class tenements in Gorbals Parish in the 1870's was only part of the explanation. The overwhelmingly mixed nature of units first occupied during the comparative intervals from 1851 must be noted in this context.

It might have been expected that a narrower definition of 'middle-class' households, excluding those characterised by petit-bourgeois occupational evidence (the commercial, own-account and clerical groups) would have been characterised by a greater degree of residential exclusiveness.

#### Aspects of social separation; social groups I and II.

Sequence 4 portrays the changing residential disposition of this elite group within the Gorbals context. The 1851 pattern (Map A) shows that most units in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutesontown were lacking in group I, II occupation. However, 34.4 and 42.6 per cent of the units in those districts respectively accommodated at least one high-status household. The sole exclusively-occupied groups I, II unit in Gorbals Parish was identified as the Catholic manse on Portugal Street. In common with that isolated example, all other exclusively-occupied units accommodated two or less households. The exception was a tenement on

GORBALS 1851

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



GORBALS 1871

RESIDENTIAL UNITS

N



| SEQUENCE 4            | MAP B           |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| GROUPS I, II          |                 |
| [Stippled pattern]    | 100 percent     |
| [Diagonal lines /]    | 80-99           |
| [Diagonal lines \]    | 60-79           |
| [Cross-hatch pattern] | 40-59           |
| [Horizontal lines]    | 20-39           |
| [Vertical lines]      | 1-19            |
| [Solid black]         | 0               |
| [Dashed line]         | Parish boundary |

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500



GORBALS 1891

RESIDENTIAL UNITS



| SEQUENCE 4         | MAP C           |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| GROUPS I, II       |                 |
| [White box]        | 100 percent     |
| [Diagonal lines /] | 80-99           |
| [Diagonal lines \] | 60-79           |
| [Cross-hatch]      | 40-59           |
| [Horizontal lines] | 20-39           |
| [Vertical lines]   | 1-19            |
| [Solid black box]  | 0               |
| [Solid line]       | Parish boundary |
| [Dashed line]      | C.I.T. limit    |



S. Portland Street occupied by eight group II households. The eastern half of Carlton Place was the largest continuous concentration; unlike the groups I, II, III distributions revealed in Sequence 3, relatively few Abbotsford Place tenements were composed of large professional-mercantile majorities. The most prestigious river-fronting element in the Laurie scheme, Carlton Place, had attracted a largely well-to-do set of occupiers, yet the widespread mixing of high-status households with others at unit scale was obvious. Castlemilk Place (Hospital Street), the eastern side of incomplete Apsley and Abbotsford Places and isolated units of Eglinton, Oxford and Cumberland Streets were majority locales.

The 1871 distribution (Map 4B) shows an overall tendency towards contraction and decline in the groups I, II residential structure. This was particularly noticeable with regard to the fall in the proportion of units accommodating at least one groups I, II household in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown (21.7 per cent and 27.6 per cent respectively). With regard to exclusive unit residence, less than half the Carlton Place terraced houses thus occupied in 1851 remained so. The pattern of unit majorities similarly contracted to a discontinuous core centred on northern Abbotsford Place. The decline of group I, II proportions in Hospital Street, in south-west Laurieston and in new development generally is striking. To an extent, the pattern of surviving majorities for groups I, II in 1871 was similar to that for units exclusively occupied by groups I, II, III in 1891, with a fragmented Carlton Place concentration and a retracted Abbotsford Place core.

By 1891 (Map 4C), there was evidence of a slight expansion in high-status residence, rather than the expected further contraction. This was true of Gorbals Parish, with the introduction of widespread proportional structures reflecting larger group I, II minorities in the new unit stock than previously. Similarly, increased minorities appear to have proliferated on Crown Street south of Rutherglen Road and on S. Portland Street.

The majority core-area on north Abbotsford Place appeared more continuous, with evenly-balanced unit social structures replacing many

group I, II minorities. This was particularly notable south of Cumberland Street, where an exclusively high-status profile appeared in two tenemented units within the modal population size-grouping.

In purely visual terms, there was evidence of a growing spatial correlation between high-status residence and middle-class residential dispositions in toto, centred on the north-Abbotsford Place - Cumberland Street core area, and retreating from sometime middle-class neighbourhoods such as S. Portland Street, Hospital Street and Crown Street. The palatial Regency terrace of Carlton Place had taken on a very mixed profile by 1891; partly occupied by group I, II households and partly by institutions and offices. Ord (1919) noted that the parochial offices of Govan Union were moved there in the first decade of the twentieth century, and today Carlton Place is wholly institutional in character.

Table 38 gives evidence of a general increase in the proportions of district unit stocks occupied by 'socially diverse' households, that is those classified in social groups I and II, and those in groups IV and V, in terms of unit co-residence.

A survey of small-population units, specifically those accommodating two households, one in each diverse social grouping, yielded the following count; 1851 - 6, 1891 - 1, for the study area as a whole.

The decline in middle-class occupation in Gorbals Parish between 1851 and 1871 was well illustrated by the proportional decline of these socially diverse units. A similar trend was evident in the figures for N. Hutchesontown for the 1851 - 1871 interval. In the other districts socially-mixed units multiplied at all times and in Gorbals - N. Hutchesontown between 1871 - 1891. This was seen in terms of single representatives of both socially diverse types, and of multiple representation. The trend was particularly true in S. Hutchesontown.

#### Irish residential patterns.

The incidence of Irish-born household heads was taken as an indicator of the residential dispositions of this most important ethnic group in nineteenth-century Gorbals. This measure excluded locally-born

TABLE 38.

Changes in aspects of intra-unit social diversity; 1851 - 1891.

A. Units with at least one CRG of groups I,II and one CRG of groups IV,V, as percentage of district unit total.

B. Units with at least one-in-four CRGs of groups I,II and one-in-four CRGs of groups IV,V, as percentage of district unit total.

| <u>District</u>  | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Gorbals Parish   | A 32.2      | 21.2        | 56.2        |
|                  | B 6.1       | 1.7         | 13.4        |
|                  | n=180       | n=175       | n=112       |
| N. Laurieston    | A 32.5      | 31.4        | 38.6        |
|                  | B 6.0       | 6.3         | 11.4        |
|                  | n=200       | n=204       | n=176       |
| S. Laurieston    | A 22.7      | 32.8        | 40.6        |
|                  | B 5.8       | 5.9         | 13.8        |
|                  | n=172       | n=253       | n=283       |
| N. Hutchesontown | A 39.6      | 27.6        | 35.4        |
|                  | B 3.9       | 11.1        | 7.3         |
|                  | n=101       | n=87        | n=82        |
| S. Hutchesontown | A 42.2      | 53.2        | 59.1        |
|                  | B 4.2       | 7.8         | 20.5        |
|                  | n=71        | n=141       | n=171       |

second-generation Irish people, many of whom would have maintained links with Ireland, their religious denomination and use of the Erse language. It also assumed that household heads necessarily represented the cultural and migratory characteristics of the entire household. In this respect, the analysis as seen in Table 39 of Irish-headed household compositional change is informative.

The composition of Irish-headed households tended to change in all districts with the progressive inclusion of greater proportions of non-Irish-born members. Over 60 per cent of married heads of Irish birth had Irish spouses by 1891 in all districts. The last-born child indicator shows a more dramatic reduction in Irish-born proportions, particularly in the Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown data, which show evidence of a transition from accommodating many recent migrants from Ireland to areas characterised by established households with Irish heads.

Though an Irish household head was taken to be a reasonable indication of the character of that household, the cultural segmentation of Irish migrants in Glasgow has already been noted. The significance of Ulster Protestants within the household-head population is indicated in Table 40.

The apparent size of the non-Catholic element within the Irish-headed household population compounded the problem of identification amongst native-born heads of Irish descent; Irish Protestants commonly appeared in the EBs with Scots fore- and surnames. Such an analysis was not attempted. The increase in the 'Catholic-named' proportion from a situation of denominational near-equity in 1851 was most pronounced in Gorbals Parish (by 1871) and N. Hutchesontown (by 1891), and this crude observation may be borne in mind on examination of Irish-headed household unit composition patterns in Map Sequence 5 in conjunction with Table 41.

The extent of change in the residential segregation of the Irish group for the five districts is summarized in Table 41. The absence of Irish heads from the bulk of the Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown units was particularly noticeable in the 1851 and 1871 data. This contrasted markedly with the groups IV, V distribution outlined in Table 35.

TABLE 39.

Selected household characteristics; Irish-born heads.

- A. Percent of partnered household heads with Irish-born partners<sup>1</sup>.  
 B. Percent of heads with resident children, the youngest being of Irish birth<sup>2</sup>.

| <u>District</u>  |   | <u>1851</u> |       | <u>1871</u> |       | <u>1891</u> |       |
|------------------|---|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| Gorbals Parish   | A | 80.4        | n=573 | 83.1        | n=763 | 69.5        | n=213 |
|                  | B | 32.3        | n=477 | 13.3        | n=639 | 6.3         | n=173 |
| N. Laurieston    | A | 73.0        | n=137 | 62.2        | n=209 | 66.5        | n=212 |
|                  | B | 26.8        | n=97  | 7.2         | n=152 | 14.4        | n=181 |
| S. Laurieston    | A | 70.7        | n=116 | 76.5        | n=298 | 63.8        | n=312 |
|                  | B | 17.7        | n=90  | 13.3        | n=241 | 8.3         | n=241 |
| N. Hutchesontown | A | 79.8        | n=224 | 74.7        | n=249 | 65.1        | n=252 |
|                  | B | 28.3        | n=180 | 14.8        | n=174 | 2.5         | n=237 |
| S. Hutchesontown | A | 68.9        | n=29  | 66.6        | n=126 | 64.6        | n=161 |
|                  | B | 25.0        | n=24  | 20.8        | n=101 | 10.7        | n=140 |

1. Generally, the wife of a male head, occasionally a sibling. Widows, widowers and absentees excluded.

2. The last-born child of any family numbering two or more children.

TABLE 40.

Percentage of total Irish-headed households classified as Catholic, 1851 - 1891.

| <u>District</u>  | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Gorbals Parish   | 53.0        | 74.5        | 76.3        |
| N. Laurieston    | 41.8        | 51.8        | 65.8        |
| S. Laurieston    | 41.2        | 60.5        | 71.5        |
| N. Hutchesontown | 39.1        | 64.6        | 83.7        |
| S. Hutchesontown | 46.1        | 53.3        | 64.3        |

TABLE 41.

Aspects of residential unit composition; Irish-born  
household heads, 1851-1891.

- A. Exclusive percentages of total units per district.  
B. Exclusive percentages of units with 3 or more CRGs.

| <u>District</u>       |   | 1851                       |                             | 1871                       |                             | 1891                       |                             |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                       |   | NO<br>Irish<br><u>CRGs</u> | ALL<br>Irish<br><u>CRGs</u> | NO<br>Irish<br><u>CRGs</u> | ALL<br>Irish<br><u>CRGs</u> | NO<br>Irish<br><u>CRGs</u> | ALL<br>Irish<br><u>CRGs</u> |
| Gorbals<br>Parish     | A | 26.1                       | 8.0                         | 15.4                       | 11.4                        | 19.6                       | 3.5                         |
|                       | B | 16.6<br>n=180              | 1.7                         | 8.0<br>n=175               | 2.2                         | 16.9<br>n=112              | 0.0                         |
| N. Laur-<br>ieston    | A | 64.0                       | 0.5                         | 50.0                       | 1.0                         | 50.0                       | 0.0                         |
|                       | B | 43.5<br>n=200              | 0.5                         | 32.2<br>n=204              | 0.0                         | 36.4<br>n=176              | 0.0                         |
| S. Laur-<br>ieston    | A | 68.0                       | 4.1                         | 58.1                       | 2.3                         | 49.5                       | 2.1                         |
|                       | B | 45.9<br>n=172              | 0.6                         | 49.0<br>n=253              | 0.4                         | 43.1<br>n=283              | 0.0                         |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | A | 30.6                       | 2.9                         | 29.9                       | 1.1                         | 12.2                       | 1.2                         |
|                       | B | 24.7<br>n=101              | 2.0                         | 22.9<br>n=87               | 0.0                         | 7.3<br>n=82                | 0.0                         |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | A | 71.8                       | 1.4                         | 55.3                       | 0.0                         | 44.4                       | 0.0                         |
|                       | B | 67.7<br>n=71               | 0.0                         | 51.8<br>n=141              | 0.0                         | 42.7<br>n=171              | 0.0                         |



GORBALS 1851

RESIDENTIAL UNITS

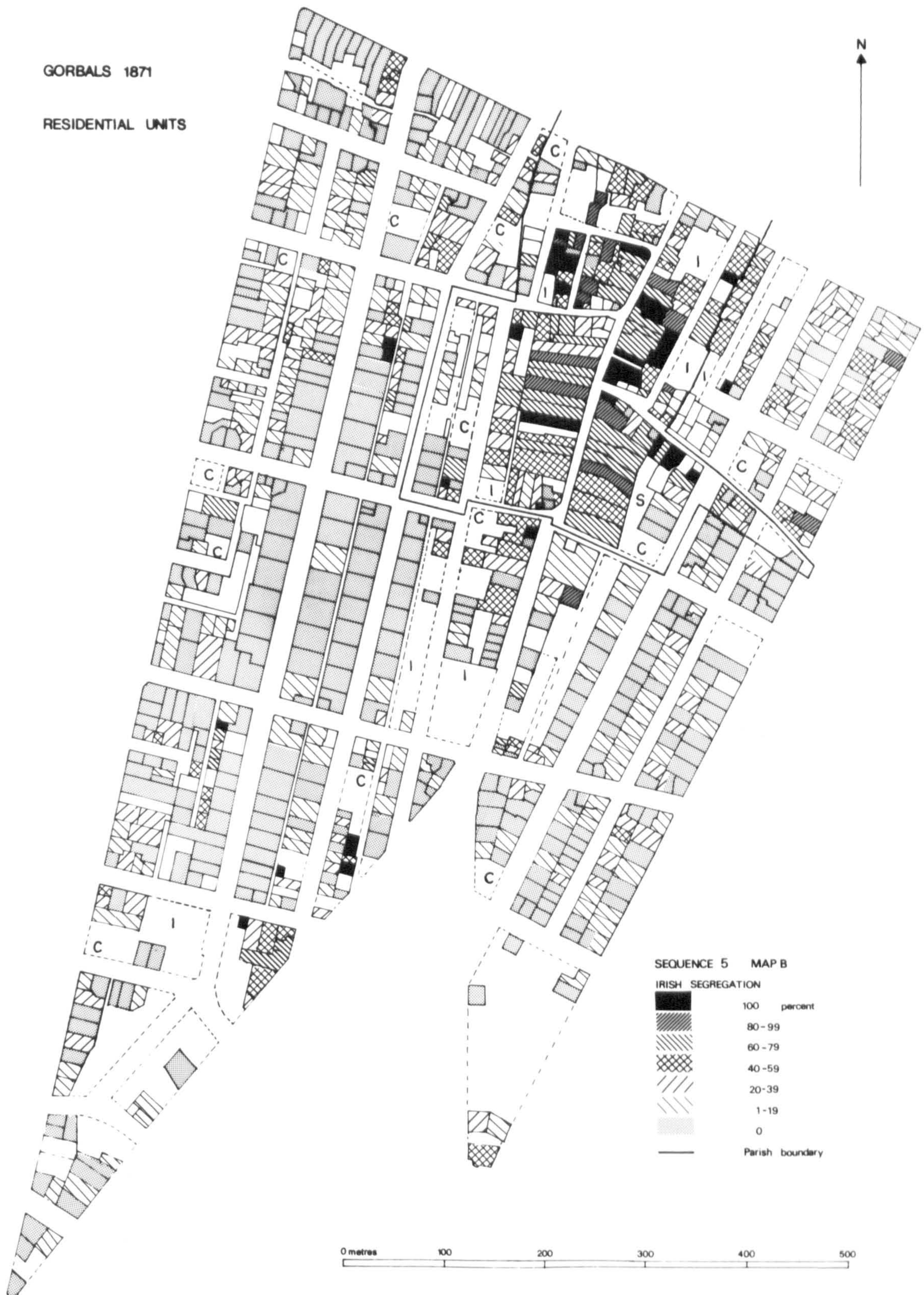


SEQUENCE 5 MAP A  
IRISH SEGREGATION

|  |                 |         |
|--|-----------------|---------|
|  | 100             | percent |
|  | 80-99           |         |
|  | 60-79           |         |
|  | 40-59           |         |
|  | 20-39           |         |
|  | 1-19            |         |
|  | 0               |         |
|  | Parish boundary |         |

0 metres 100 200 300 400 500

GORBALS 1871  
RESIDENTIAL UNITS



SEQUENCE 5 MAP B

IRISH SEGREGATION

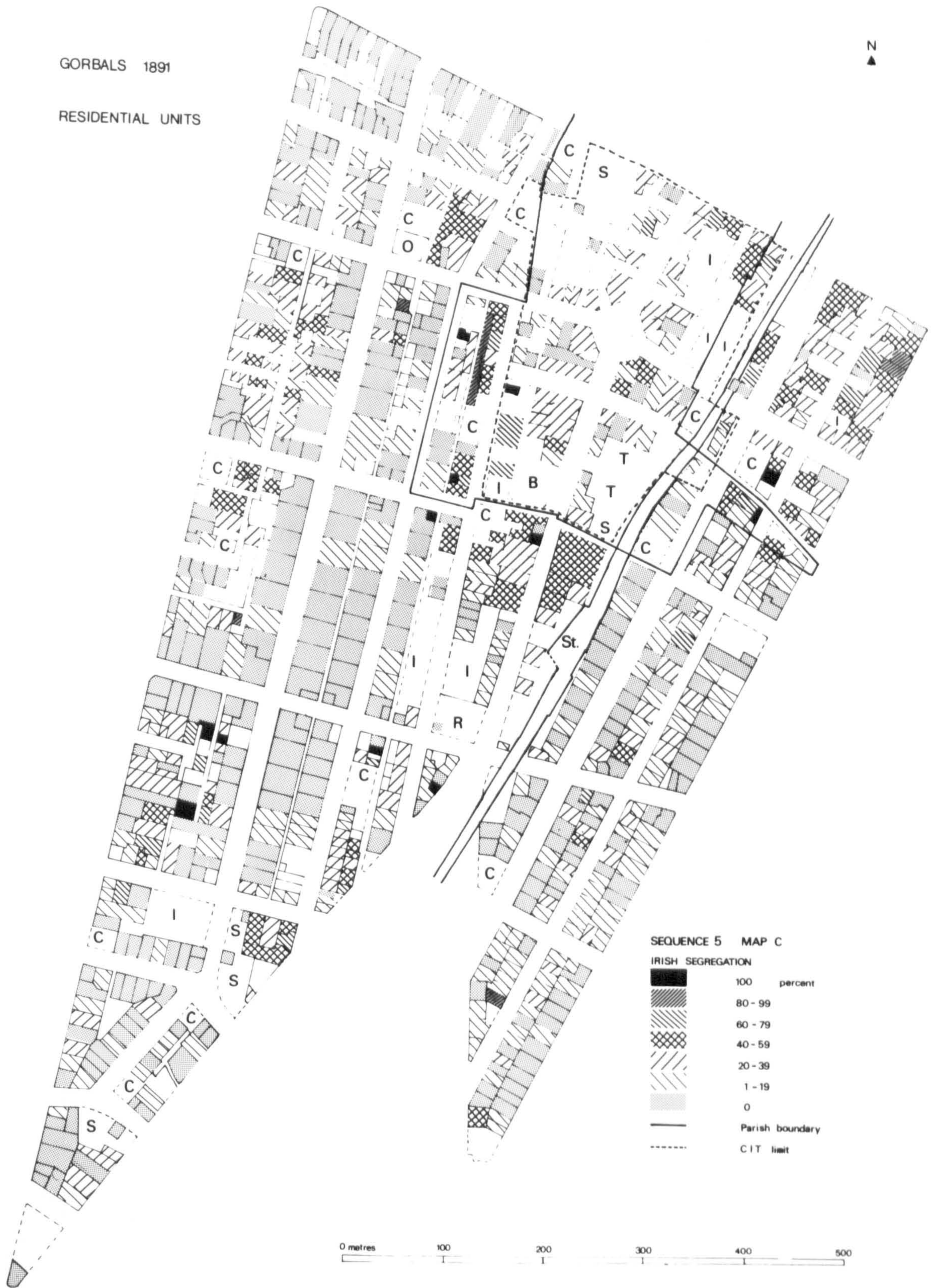
|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
|  | 100 percent     |
|  | 80-99           |
|  | 60-79           |
|  | 40-59           |
|  | 20-39           |
|  | 1-19            |
|  | 0               |
|  | Parish boundary |



GORBALS 1891

RESIDENTIAL UNITS

N



In addition, the percentage of units wholly occupied by Irish-headed households was small in all districts, except pre-redevelopment Gorbals Parish. This disparity was most obvious in N. Hutchesontown by 1891 as well. Nearly one third of the units in this district were wholly working-class by that date. It would appear that the Irish residential structure was rather different from the working-class pattern as a whole. The detailed disposition is revealed in Maps 5 A, B and C.

The 1851 map displays a very pronounced clustering of majority and exclusively-occupied 'Irish' units in Gorbals Parish. Elsewhere, large majorities and exclusively-Irish units were to be found in a small number of scattered places, nearly all of them back-lane or minor street sites. The largest extra-parochial concentration was in Surrey Lane in south-east S. Laurieston in areally-small, small-medium population units. In this respect, the pattern only partially corresponded with that for majority or exclusive working-class units. The degree of intensity varied between the close correlation in some Gorbals Parish plots, and the obvious disparity between high group IV, V incidence and low Irish incidence elsewhere.

The 1871 map tends to confirm this picture, showing a spread of exclusively-Irish 'ghettoes' within Gorbals Parish, particularly in the depopulated centre-east area, and a general change from compositional equity to Irish predominance in many other Parish units. There was a reduction in exclusively non-Irish units, with the rise of Irish proportions in the Parish fringe area and adjacent units of the surrounding districts, particularly in the east and south. Elsewhere, the most obvious change was a proliferation of Irish minorities, particularly in Thistle, Crown, N. Coburg and Oxford Streets. Some small back-lane properties in S. Laurieston took on a more Irish character over the period. The concentration and growth of Irish-dominated units in Gorbals Parish was consistent with the assumption that the Irish immigrants found accommodation in the oldest and lowest-quality working-class housing in the study area. Comparison of Map 5B with the house structure map for 1871 (2A) confirmed this apparent selectivity of Irish residence. The visual correlation between largely small-house units (under 3 rooms) and Irish majorities was particularly

noticeable in the Parish, though the association was remarkably lacking in low-quality locales beyond the core of older housing in the Parish and its immediate environs.

As Table 21, Ch.9. suggests, the general trend for increases in the district proportions of Irish households was interrupted only in Gorbals Parish as a consequence of the remodelling of the fabric between 1871 and 1891. Here, the proportion fell from over half to over a quarter of the total. It was thought significant that the rate of intercensal proportional change moderated in the period 1871 - 1891, relative to the change in interval 1851 - 1871 in Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown. The later interval saw the acceleration of the growth of the 'Irish' proportion in N. Hutchesontown.

The last map of Sequence 5 illustrates in a dramatic way the disappearance of 'ghetto' units in the area covered by the Improvement Trust operations. Beyond this redeveloped tract, the scattered distribution of segregated Irish units remained small, virtually unchanged in number throughout the study period as a whole. Local intensifications of Irish occupancy proportions were seen in Laurieston back-lanes and along Thistle Street, together with the extra-C.I.T. fringes of the Parish area. N. Hutchesontown presented the largest semi-conterminous aggregation of proportional increases. In all these localities, the changes resulted in larger minorities or equity between Irish and non-Irish elements. Throughout the study period, the salient spatial feature of the Irish household residential structure was dispersal, from Irish spatial concentration at both district and unit scales.

In comparing the 1891 Irish distribution with the social segregation map for that year (3C), a number of observations were made. The pattern of exclusively non-Irish units coincided with the exclusively groups I, II, III core and its 'middle-class dominant' fringe in Laurieston and Crown Street. However, many sometime middle-class areas in decline continued to maintain largely non-Irish residential structures, notably Hospital Street, Oxford Street and west Salisbury Street. In addition, many new socially-mixed tenements in the south were not occupied by Irish households. Within largely working-class units, Irish born proportions rarely rose above equity. The 1891

pattern was deeply suggestive of an even spread of Irish-headed households amongst the larger set of dominantly working class occupation, whereas the correspondance between Irish and general working-class dominance in the 1851 evidence was much less even.

A note on Gorbals Jewry; 1851 - 1891.

The identification of Jewish households from the census EBs was based upon nominal and birthplace evidence, and proved straightforward compared to the interpretation of the evidence for Irish Catholics. The birthplaces of Jewish heads were generally given as 'Poland' or 'Russian Poland', and fore- and surnames were usually prominent, unadapted eastern European forms (e.g. Abraham, Hyman, Goldberg, Aaronovitch), though occasionally Anglicised (e.g. Harris, as a fore-name). It was possible that thoroughly Anglicised Jews (e.g. second generation immigrants), might not have been recorded, but nothing can be done to check this. The Jewish population identified for the three censuses was as seen in Table 42.

Table 43a and b sets out the important features of the socio-economic structure of the Jewish settlement for 1891, divided into districts. These figures indicate a degree of concentration of Jewish households within the restructured Parish area and in Hutchesontown and N. Laurieston, together with their notable absence from the largest district in 1891, S. Laurieston. The social balance bespeaks a more entrepreneurial group, rather different from the Irish social profile, with the non-manual element concentrated in Gorbals Parish and S. Hutchesontown and the manual groups most evident on N. Hutchesontown. The dependence of the majority on a relatively narrow occupational base was suggested by Table 43b, again showing a contrast between N. Hutchesontown and the other districts with regard to emphasis. Though the Jews may have formed a visually prominent minority element in early twentieth-century Gorbals, (Ord, 1919; Reid, 1970; Rodgers, 1979) the average measure of Jewish households-per-unit (column D of Table 43a) did not suggest concentrations within units rivalling the Irish residential patterns, far less exclusively-Jewish tenements by 1891.

TABLE 42.

Gorbals Jewry; population 1851-1891.

| <u>Study area</u> | <u>1851</u> | <u>1871</u> | <u>1891</u> |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Individuals       | 3           | 45          | 925         |
| Households        | 1           | 12          | 163         |

NB: In 1891 the Jewish population identified accounted for 2.3 percent of the study area total.

TABLE 43a.

Gorbals Jewry; selected socio-demographic and residential characteristics, 1891.

- A. Total number of identified individuals.  
 B. Total number of identified households.  
 C. District percentage of total population.  
 D. Average number of households in units of Jewish settlement.  
 E. Number of heads of household in social groups I,II,III.  
 F. Number of heads of household in social groups IV,V.

| <u>District</u>  | A   | B   | C    | D   | E  | F  |
|------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|----|----|
| Gorbals Parish   | 326 | 60  | 35.2 | 1.6 | 37 | 23 |
| N. Laurieston    | 137 | 19  | 14.8 | 1.5 | 7  | 12 |
| S. Laurieston    | 6   | 1   | 0.6  | 1.0 | 1  | 0  |
| N. Hutchesontown | 219 | 39  | 23.7 | 1.9 | 5  | 34 |
| S. Hutchesontown | 237 | 44  | 25.6 | 2.2 | 33 | 10 |
| Totals & means   | 925 | 163 | 99.9 | 1.8 | 83 | 79 |

TABLE 43b.

Gorbals Jewry; occupational structure, 1891.

| <u>District</u>       | Number of:           |                     |                        |  |          | Relig-<br>ious. * | Others.   |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--|----------|-------------------|-----------|
|                       | Tailors,<br>drapers. | Picture<br>traders. | Unspec.<br>travellers. |  |          |                   |           |
| Gorbals<br>parish     | 15                   | 14                  | 9                      |  | 1        |                   | 21        |
| N. Laur-<br>ieston    | 8                    | 2                   | 2                      |  | 2        |                   | 5         |
| S. Laur-<br>ieston    | 0                    | 0                   | 0                      |  | 0        |                   | 1         |
| N. Hutch-<br>esontown | 19                   | 4                   | 2                      |  | 0        |                   | 14        |
| S. Hutch-<br>esontown | 7                    | 18                  | 9                      |  | 1        |                   | 7         |
| <b>Totals</b>         | <b>49</b>            | <b>38</b>           | <b>22</b>              |  | <b>4</b> |                   | <b>48</b> |

\*Includes rabbis, kosher killers.



Summary of observations.

A survey of the magnitude and type undertaken in this chapter requires a summary of the prominent features of the changing social topography within the study area, together with some speculation. The most important general trend noted was the decline in district proportions of socially exclusive units. This occurred absolutely, in the case of the erosion of the middle-class exclusive core in Laurieston and the removal of old working-class housing in Gorbals Parish, and relatively, in terms of the mixed social profiles of new units built in the south.

The spread of increasing working-class proportions amongst extra-parochial units was not accompanied by widespread subdivision of large middle-class houses in the majority of cases, as density and house-size measures confirmed. Substantial stocks of small-house, high-density units existed in Laurieston and Hutchesontown from the earliest development stages. The persistence of exclusive and majority group IV, V occupation in these back-lane and minor street locales was clear from 1851.

The persistence of local social characteristics was often extended into adjoining, more recent development. The nature of progressive additions to Thistle Street, for instance, reflected the social tone and structure of pre-existing units, diverging with the evolution of neighbouring Hospital and Crown Streets. This aspect may have arisen through optimising decisions on the part of builders and speculators, interested in matching the rents of new development with the likely clientele and the perceived standard of the existing environs. Indeed, the proliferation of tenements with internal structural diversity (both large and small houses), in new southern and central development may be seen as an entrepreneurial tactic to cater for intra-unit social duality, then emerging in one-time segregated units.

Though the evidence suggested a spatially-uneven decline in middle-class residential segregation, this was certainly not accompanied by a whole-scale exodus. Indeed, unit co-residence by haut-bourgeois and proletarian households increased in proportion. Close scrutiny of the results (Table 38) revealed evidence of a recession in socially-diverse

unit co-residence between 1851 and 1871 in Gorbals Parish and N. Hutchesontown with slight increases in the other three districts. The reversal of those trends in the subsequent interval was thus only partly due to the Improvement Trust rehabilitation of Gorbals Parish.

In a number of respects, 1871 emerged as a critical time. The intensification of working-class and Irish residence in the Parish reached its peak about that year, immediately prior to municipal and railway company intervention. It was tempting to suggest that in 1871 Gorbals Parish suffered from an early form of planning blight. Though the Improvement Act was passed in 1866 and the railway plan dated from the 1840's, it was clear that little had been done by 1871, though the eventuality of action would have been realised by the local heritors.

In addition, the interval down to 1871 saw the virtual end of construction and occupation of exclusively middle-class tenements and other house-types. Smaller plot-areas and socially-mixed units prevailed upon the fringes of development. By 1891, there was evidence of a partial return to the pattern of 1851 on a number of measures. This was particularly notable in the consolidation of the high-status (group I, II) residential core in Laurieston. The employment of three comparative cross-sections allowed hints of cyclical or oscillatory trends to emerge.

In general, the most visually significant socio-spatial change was that from aggregate or individual unit segregation to intra-unit social mixing. Within this, islands of resistance to change contrasted with areas of relative flux. The established socio-residential extremes tended to persist with relatively marginal social downgrading, whilst units of socio-structural plurality in 1851, and subsequently, tended to sustain the most radical change.

In many respects, Irish residential segregation differed from that of general working-class distributions. The concentration of identified Irish households within the Parish area down to 1871 and the relative lack of Irish-dominated units in Laurieston and S. Hutchesontown down to 1891 contrasted with growing working-class proportions in many areas. Whilst poverty effectively limited the Irish-born to the long-condemned

Parish stock in mid-century, it may have been discrimination which resulted in the apparent selectivity of working-class colonisation in one-time middle-class neighbourhoods by 1891.

CHAPTER 11A COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL ASSESSMENT OF SELECTED VARIABLE ASSOCIATIONS;RESIDENTIAL UNITS, 1851 - 1891.

The visual comparisons in the preceding chapter have provided abundant scope for interpretations. It is intended that this section, in returning to a district scale of analysis, will create a more rigorous base from which a synthesis between interpretation and explanation might be prosecuted. Using residential unit composition on a number of key selected variables, it was practicable to generate a series of correlation matrices for the study area as a whole, and for units in the five separate districts, for all of the census years for which data was available.

Correlation coefficient matrices are frequently generated for urban historical study, often as a preliminary stage in a series of more sophisticated multivariate measures of association. Porteous (1969) for instance pioneered the application of these techniques in historical geography, and Fox's work on Stirling is a good example of a more sophisticated presentation.

A battery of methods are normally available, selection depending upon the metric properties of the data and their frequency distribution. The statistics yield a coefficient for every variable pair which lies between 1.0 (perfect positive correlation) and -1.0 (perfect negative correlation) with zero indicating a total lack of statistical covariance between the two paired measures (Blalock, 1972; Hammond & McCullagh, 1978). In addition, a degree of statistical significance is customarily calculated, which indicates the probability of the coefficient reflecting chance factors in the sample, rather than underlying connections within the background population.

The use of correlation procedures as parameters rather than statistics is not common in the literature. A parameter is a feature of a population (or universe), whilst 'statistics' properly refer to

generalizations inferred from a sample, or sub-set, of the background population, whose parameters are usually unknown due to great size, or the inexpediency of total data collection. Cliff (1973) observed that;

"a parameter evaluated for a population is simply a description of a property of that population, and we cannot ask whether it is significant or not". (240)

In addition, the level of significance of a particular coefficient varies in direct proportion to the number of cases sampled, or collected in toto, so that quite small coefficients (that is, near to zero) may be statistically significant in a large data set where comparatively trivial associations tend to be emphasised (Hammond & McCullagh, 1978; 182).

In this analysis, correlation coefficients were generated as parameters, representing measures of association within the total 'population' of inhabited residential units at each censal date. Their relative strengths were interpreted without recourse to the varying levels of significance on each paired variable, as the universe (n) varied between 859 units (for the entire study area in 1871) and 71 units (for S. Hutesontown in 1851).

The specific procedure chosen was Pearson's product-moment coefficient, a parametric test. This powerful and rigorous method is eminently accessible, in practice. It is the programme of the SPSS correlation package most able to assimilate both a large data set and an acceptably-broad variable list, without 'trade-off' between the two elements. It was selected by Fox (1979), though rejected by Holmes (1977) as incompatible with the properties of his data-set. Nie et al (1975; 276) suggested that the usual avoidance of 'classical' parametric coefficients such as Pearson's (requirements of intervals or ratio levels of measurement and a normal distribution about the mean) was possibly misguided.

In this analysis data was presented in intra-unit percentages, a form sufficiently metrical and normally distributed to comply with the demands, and similarly used without transformations, in Fox (1979). The two housing variables - average number of rooms-per-household and

average number of persons-per-room - were thought to have distributions skewed towards the lower end of their scales (from evidence in Tables 24 and 25., Ch.9.). This was not thought to be sufficiently critical to invoke the use of a logarithmic transformation, or similar device.

The chosen variables for correlation were as follows:

For each residential unit;

- The percentage of households with domestic servants ('Servants').
- The percentage of households with resident lodgers ('Lodgers').
- The percentage of households in social groups I and II ('Groups I, II').
- The percentage of households with Irish-born heads ('Irish').
- The mean size of unit houses, in rooms; 1871 - 1891 ('Av. rooms').
- The mean number of persons-per-room; 1871 - 1981 ('Av. persons').
- The percentage of households with five or more members ('Large households').

The two measures of social status and birthplace were selected to represent changing residential associations, within residential units, of the social elite of the study area - professionals, employers, and the retainers of proportionally large retinues of domestics (see Table 1., Ch.3.) - and an ethno-socially distinctive group. It was not intended that the coefficients should supply a 'statistical verification' of measures derived for a wider social and ethnic spectrum in the preceding chapter, but rather that complimentary material be brought to bear, with points of mutual contact, allowing a measure of cross-interpretation. The relations of the higher status middle-class group and the Irish-born with the housing characteristics were supplemented by servant and lodger-keeping inter-relationships, and the demographic 'large households' variable to vary the data-base from that adhered to in the preceding chapter.

The changing strengths of the linkages between the social and house-type criteria were those most emphasised in the interpretations of the following matrices, each of which contains coefficient time-series, subject to the availability of the data.

This comparative technique raised the problem of interpreting the significance of change between correlation coefficients generated for different census years. In effect, the coefficients were generated from different populations of residential units - differing in number and characteristics at each date. The values representing the difference between consecutive coefficients made up a new level of statistical abstraction. A test of the statistical significance of the inter-coefficient differences was thought necessary.

As the probability distribution frequency of the difference of two coefficients proved to be skewed and non-normal, a Fisher-Z transformation was applied to the coefficients. The differences between the transformed coefficients was approximately normal, with a mean of zero.

From this distribution it was possible to isolate those changes significant at the 95 per cent level, or two standard errors from the mean. The following tables indicate those changes gauged significant at this level by linking pairs of coefficients symbolically.

The study area coefficients (Table 44) reveal the predictably strong positive association between the middle-class group and the larger average house-sizes, and the persistent negative linkage between larger-house units and Irish residence, unmitigated by improvements at this scale. In addition, there was a low and declining negative co-variance in lodger and servant-keeping associations. It appeared that servant and lodger-keeping households were not strongly segregated at unit scale, less so with the passage of time from 1851 onwards.

The originally strong link between Irish birth and lodger-keeping declined dramatically after 1851 to a situation of non-association by 1891. This appeared to reflect intra-household variation rather than simple intra-unit relationships, and suggested that lodgers had a particularly significant role in mid-century Irish migration to Gorbals, a pre-eminence later lost.

In effect, Irish migration to Gorbals focussed strongly on compatriot

TABLE 44.

Study area \_\_\_\_\_, 1851 - 1891; correlation coefficients on  
selected variables.

|                     | Lodgers | Grps I,II | Irish | Ave. rooms | Ave. pers. | Large CRGs |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Servants</b>     |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                | -0.18   | 0.64      | -0.34 | -----      | -----      | 0.15       |
| 1871                | -0.04   | 0.66      | -0.24 | 0.74       | -0.49      | 0.27       |
| 1891                | -0.05   | 0.59      | -0.24 | 0.67       | -0.34      | 0.23       |
| <b>Lodgers</b>      |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         | -0.15     | 0.33  | -----      | -----      | 0.36       |
| 1871                |         | -0.07     | 0.03  | 0.05       | 0.03       | 0.24       |
| 1891                |         | -0.10     | 0.00  | 0.13       | -0.05      | 0.30       |
| <b>Grps I,II</b>    |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           | -0.26 | -----      | -----      | 0.06       |
| 1871                |         |           | -0.28 | 0.55       | -0.48      | 0.15       |
| 1891                |         |           | -0.23 | 0.66       | -0.45      | 0.24       |
| <b>Irish</b>        |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       | -----      | -----      | 0.13       |
| 1871                |         |           |       | -0.39      | 0.61       | 0.00       |
| 1891                |         |           |       | -0.39      | 0.49       | -0.04      |
| <b>Ave. rooms</b>   |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            | -----      | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            | -0.66      | 0.33       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            | -0.68      | 0.43       |
| <b>Ave. persons</b> |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            |            | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.03       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.01       |

n = 1851 - 724; 1871 - 859; 1891 - 824.

No data: -----

Significant to 95 percent limit (Fisher Z test):



host-households in 1851. \* There was an intensification of the groups I, II association with larger-house units, and a lessening of the servant-large-house link was also evident after 1871. The upper middle-class group became more concentrated in large-house tenements and terraces, whilst the broader servant-keeping group became comparatively less associated with larger houses. The Irish link with high proportions of households with over five members lessened from 1851, corresponding to the decline in the significance of both the Irish-lodger and the Irish average-persons positive connexions. This suggested that the high residential densities resulting from the Irish immigration of the 1840's became less marked after 1871.

In Gorbals Parish (Table 45), a number of similar and some opposing trends were detected in terms of coefficient time-series. Groups I, II households appeared less connected with large-house units, a measure declining in intensity though not significantly. Servant-keeping households were statistically more strongly connected with large-house units after the improvements of the 1870's and 80's. If clearance and rebuilding resulted in a loss of groups I, II small-house residence, this was compensated by the occupation of new socially and structurally mixed tenements. The stronger positive relationship between the larger group of servant-keeping households and average house-size was probably due to the creation of a larger stock of such housing which caused a marked convergence of servant-keeping households with larger house units. The strong negative link between Irish and group I, II households in 1871 is statistically striking.

The strong negative connection between Irish birth and larger houses and the positive link between Irish and residential density are notable, as is the very high negative association between the number-of-rooms and density variables for 1871. The intensity and the extent of the change by 1891 both contrast with the same pairing for the study-area as a whole, though the change was not statistically significant.

The set of coefficients for N. Laurieston (Table 46) reflects generally

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\* A proportional increase in Glasgow-born household-heads hosting Irish relatives and friends must account for part of the change after 1851.

TABLE 45..

Gorbals Parish , 1851 - 1891; correlation coefficients on  
selected variables.

|                     | Lodgers | Grps I,II | Irish | Ave. rooms | Ave. pers. | Large CRGs |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Servants</b>     |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                | -0.10   | 0.41      | -0.17 | -----      | -----      | 0.00       |
| 1871                | -0.10   | 0.56      | -0.23 | 0.48       | -0.20      | -0.20      |
| 1891                | -0.10   | 0.57      | -0.24 | 0.77       | -0.39      | 0.26       |
| <b>Lodgers</b>      |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         | -0.04     | 0.27  | -----      | -----      | 0.59       |
| 1871                |         | -0.04     | 0.00  | 0.05       | 0.13       | 0.13       |
| 1891                |         | -0.19     | -0.03 | 0.07       | 0.11       | 0.30       |
| <b>Grps I,II</b>    |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           | -0.09 | -----      | -----      | -0.01      |
| 1871                |         |           | -0.31 | 0.63       | -0.33      | 0.18       |
| 1891                |         |           | -0.06 | 0.51       | -0.25      | 0.16       |
| <b>Irish</b>        |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       | -----      | -----      | 0.26       |
| 1871                |         |           |       | -0.43      | 0.49       | 0.22       |
| 1891                |         |           |       | -0.30      | 0.46       | 0.04       |
| <b>Ave. rooms</b>   |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            | -----      | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            | -0.70      | 0.30       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            | -0.54      | 0.41       |
| <b>Ave. persons</b> |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            |            | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.22       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.29       |

n = 1851 - 724; 1871 - 859; 1891 - 824.

No data: -----

Significant to 95 percent limit (Fisher Z test):

TABLE 46.

N. Laurieston, 1851 - 1891; correlation coefficients on

selected variables.

|              | Lodgers | Grps I,II | Irish | Ave. rooms | Ave. pers. | Large CRGs |
|--------------|---------|-----------|-------|------------|------------|------------|
| Servants     |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851         | 0.10    | 0.63      | -0.35 | -----      | -----      | 0.32       |
| 1871         | -0.03   | 0.60      | -0.27 | 0.74       | -0.54      | 0.27       |
| 1891         | -0.13   | 0.58      | -0.27 | 0.72       | -0.40      | 0.28       |
| Lodgers      |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851         |         | -0.18     | 0.15  | -----      | -----      | 0.19       |
| 1871         |         | -0.12     | 0.05  | 0.00       | 0.08       | 0.35       |
| 1891         |         | -0.13     | -0.08 | 0.12       | -0.17      | 0.30       |
| Grps I,II    |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851         |         |           | -0.28 | -----      | -----      | 0.10       |
| 1871         |         |           | -0.19 | 0.47       | -0.45      | 0.09       |
| 1891         |         |           | -0.28 | 0.73       | -0.51      | 0.33       |
| Irish        |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851         |         |           |       | -----      | -----      | -0.07      |
| 1871         |         |           |       | -0.32      | 0.52       | 0.08       |
| 1891         |         |           |       | -0.39      | 0.47       | -0.13      |
| Ave. rooms   |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851         |         |           |       |            | -----      | -----      |
| 1871         |         |           |       |            | -0.67      | 0.31       |
| 1891         |         |           |       |            | -0.70      | 0.49       |
| Ave. persons |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851         |         |           |       |            |            | -----      |
| 1871         |         |           |       |            |            | 0.00       |
| 1891         |         |           |       |            |            | 0.10       |

n = 1851 - 724; 1871 - 859; 1891 - 824.

No data: -----

Significant to 95 percent limit (Fisher Z test):

that of the study-area as a whole, and differs from the Parish matrix in the groups I, II relationship with larger-house units. This measure dramatically intensified between 1871 and 1891, as did the coefficient measuring the negative link between persons-per-room and groups I, II residence. In N. Laurieston, it appeared that the segregation of groups I, II households into structurally better-quality units (on average) became more pronounced. The Irish-born and large-house negative association further intensified in the period 1871 - 1891, suggesting that this group suffered an opposing trend of differentiation. In N. Laurieston, the positive connection between servant-keeping and large households was stronger than that between lodger-keeping and large households in 1851, though these measures converged to 1891.

In S. Laurieston (Table 47) on the other hand, the different measures of the relationships of groups I, II and Irish birth to unit house-size indicated a trend of convergence, rather than divergence. In addition, the coefficient for the Irish-groups I, II linkage tended to moderate to 1891, whilst that for the same variables in N. Laurieston retained a strongly negative index, though dipping in intensity at 1871. The main structural difference between the two divisions of Laurieston was the concentration of new, largely socially mixed, building in the south. The figures for both divisions of Laurieston and the study-area in total indicate agreement on the rise of the positive link between groups I, II and numerically large households within the unit context. S. Laurieston emerged in the 1891 matrix with the highest negative association between the residential density and rooms-per-household measures, which suggested that the widest range between unit levels of domestic overcrowding occurred there. Gorbals Parish at that time held the narrowest range between those variables.

The coefficient time series for the two Hutchesontown districts (Tables 48 and 49) differ from those already considered in a number of respects. The positive relationships between groups I, II and servant-keeping were less strong, declining to 0.36 in N. Hutchesontown in 1891 which is the lowest coefficient recorded on this measure. Here the negative links between the Irish-born group and servant-keeping were particularly weak, notably in S. Hutchesontown. However, the

TABLE 47..

S. Laurieston , 1851 - 1891; correlation coefficients on  
selected variables.

|              | Lodg<br>ers | Grps<br>I,II | Irish | Ave.<br>rooms | Ave.<br>pers. | Large<br>CRGs |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Servants     |             |              |       |               |               |               |
| 1851         | -0.15       | 0.69         | -0.32 | -----         | -----         | 0.11          |
| 1871         | -0.09       | 0.68         | -0.27 | 0.79          | -0.52         | 0.30          |
| 1891         | 0.05        | 0.66         | -0.25 | 0.59          | -0.32         | 0.17          |
| Lodgers      |             |              |       |               |               |               |
| 1851         |             | -0.16        | 0.26  | -----         | -----         | 0.26          |
| 1871         |             | 0.02         | -0.07 | 0.11          | -0.08         | 0.18          |
| 1891         |             | 0.02         | 0.05  | 0.16          | -0.13         | 0.23          |
| Grps I,II    |             |              |       |               |               |               |
| 1851         |             |              | -0.26 | -----         | -----         | 0.05          |
| 1871         |             |              | -0.28 | 0.70          | -0.53         | 0.16          |
| 1891         |             |              | -0.20 | 0.68          | -0.47         | 0.29          |
| Irish        |             |              |       |               |               |               |
| 1851         |             |              |       | -----         | -----         | 0.10          |
| 1871         |             |              |       | -0.45         | 0.59          | 0.02          |
| 1891         |             |              |       | -0.42         | 0.49          | 0.05          |
| Ave. rooms   |             |              |       |               |               |               |
| 1851         |             |              |       |               | -----         | -----         |
| 1871         |             |              |       |               | -0.75         | 0.42          |
| 1891         |             |              |       |               | -0.73         | 0.41          |
| Ave. persons |             |              |       |               |               |               |
| 1851         |             |              |       |               |               | -----         |
| 1871         |             |              |       |               |               | 0.00          |
| 1891         |             |              |       |               |               | 0.15          |

n = 1851 - 724; 1871 - 859; 1891 - 824.

No data: -----

Significant to 95 percent limit (Fisher Z test):

1851 measures of the Irish and lodger-keeping linkage were stronger in Hutesontown than in the other three districts. The S. Hutesontown indices show the negative association of Irish households with larger-house units to be the weakest of all districts in 1871. Whilst this association weakened in three districts, it intensified in S. Hutesontown and N. Laurieston. In both the Hutesontown series, the negative link between Irish and groups I, II measures intensified; in S. Hutesontown, from a relatively weak pre-1891 sequence.

The interpretation of artificial statistical measurements can be confusing and peculiarly open to subjective assessment, particularly when a time sequence is imposed. It was necessary to carefully extricate those trends which had significant insight to afford in the comparison of district-scale residential differentiation. Both the specific indicators of high status (groups I, II and servant-keeping) tended to decline in their positive association with larger average house-size in the two southern districts, as new structurally-mixed units diluted the existing stock. In N. Hutesontown, servant-keeping became rather less associated with large-house average measures, whereas groups I, II households tended to become more so. This suggested a reduction of groups I, II marginal residence in structurally-mixed units. The decline in strength of the servant-keeping association with larger house-size was particularly noticeable in N. Hutesontown. A divergence between servant-keeping and groups I, II tendencies was also evident in Gorbals Parish, though opposed in polarity, with groups I, II declining in coefficient strength, and servant-keeping dramatically intensifying.

It was reasoned that such indicators resulted from changes within the small high-status household populations in these districts. In particular, it appeared that servant-keeping had become somewhat separated, in terms of unit co-residency, from groups I, II. A manual check was undertaken to identify the association of servant-keeping and employee numbers of Gorbals Parish groups I, II households in 1871 and 1891. This revealed that 12 households were recorded as employers, yet kept no domestics, in 1871. In 1891, such households numbered 100. 94 of these were recorded as employing one person only, suggesting a significant increase in a petty entrepreneurial group, whose association with larger average house-size units tended to be less

TABLE 48.

N. Hutesontown, 1851 - 1891; correlation coefficients on  
selected variables.

|                     | Lodgers | Grps I,II | Irish | Ave. rooms | Ave. pers. | Large CRGs |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Servants</b>     |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                | -0.02   | 0.57      | -0.24 | -----      | -----      | 0.24       |
| 1871                | 0.14    | 0.54      | -0.34 | 0.51       | -0.40      | 0.19       |
| 1891                | -0.14   | 0.36      | -0.16 | 0.42       | -0.27      | 0.18       |
| <b>Lodgers</b>      |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         | -0.26     | 0.40  | -----      | -----      | 0.36       |
| 1871                |         | -0.13     | 0.12  | 0.23       | -0.01      | 0.42       |
| 1891                |         | -0.16     | 0.04  | 0.21       | 0.13       | 0.45       |
| <b>Grps I,II</b>    |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           | -0.27 | -----      | -----      | -0.07      |
| 1871                |         |           | -0.27 | 0.30       | -0.39      | -0.02      |
| 1891                |         |           | -0.40 | 0.57       | -0.45      | 0.10       |
| <b>Irish</b>        |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       | -----      | -----      | 0.13       |
| 1871                |         |           |       | -0.54      | 0.59       | -0.20      |
| 1891                |         |           |       | -0.45      | 0.49       | 0.08       |
| <b>Ave. rooms</b>   |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            | -----      | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            | -0.72      | 0.50       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            | -0.66      | 0.52       |
| <b>Ave. persons</b> |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            |            | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            |            | -0.04      |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.16       |

n = 1851 - 724; 1871 - 859; 1891 - 824.

No data: -----

Significant to 95 percent limit (Fisher Z test):

TABLE 49.

S. Hutchesontown, 1851 - 1891; correlation coefficients on  
selected variables.

|                     | Lodgers | Grps I,II | Irish | Ave. rooms | Ave. pers. | Large CRGs |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Servants</b>     |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                | -0.14   | 0.55      | -0.19 | -----      | -----      | 0.24       |
| 1871                | 0.00    | 0.73      | -0.16 | 0.73       | -0.39      | 0.38       |
| 1891                | -0.12   | 0.56      | -0.15 | 0.61       | -0.24      | 0.26       |
| <b>Lodgers</b>      |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         | 0.23      | 0.62  | -----      | -----      | 0.33       |
| 1871                |         | -0.04     | 0.06  | 0.10       | -0.05      | 0.13       |
| 1891                |         | -0.13     | 0.06  | 0.10       | 0.04       | 0.22       |
| <b>Grps I,II</b>    |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           | 0.15  | -----      | -----      | 0.25       |
| 1871                |         |           | -0.07 | 0.69       | -0.41      | 0.33       |
| 1891                |         |           | -0.30 | 0.65       | -0.46      | 0.15       |
| <b>Irish</b>        |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       | -----      | -----      | 0.38       |
| 1871                |         |           |       | -0.26      | 0.48       | 0.09       |
| 1891                |         |           |       | -0.37      | 0.45       | 0.03       |
| <b>Ave. rooms</b>   |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            | -----      | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            | 0.68       | 0.46       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            | 0.62       | 0.45       |
| <b>Ave. persons</b> |         |           |       |            |            |            |
| 1851                |         |           |       |            |            | -----      |
| 1871                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.13       |
| 1891                |         |           |       |            |            | 0.21       |

n = 1851 - 724; 1871 - 859; 1891 - 824.

No data: -----

Significant to 95 percent limit (Fisher Z test):



strong in Gorbals Parish. These households were classed in group II according to the specifications adopted in Ch.3. Amongst servant-keeping households, a small number of very large-house associations (over ten windowed rooms in two cases) served to boost the strength of that link. In both cases, the general improvement to the housing stock in the Parish by 1891 may be invoked to explain these tendencies. New, relatively small-house units were perceived as sufficiently desirable to attract small employers, in contrast to the poor-quality small-house units of the pre-redevelopment period.

In N. Hutchesontown, small-employer households (without domestics) rose in number from 5 to 35 between 1871 and 1891. Scrutiny of the data transcriptions revealed a clustering of this group in 1891, together with group I, II households retaining servants, in the newer, larger-house tenements of the south and east (Cleland Street and Crown Street) of the district. Visually, domestics appeared more associated with shopkeepers and tradesmen who did not employ non-servants and were spread more evenly throughout the housing structure. A small number of individual households with servants in one or two rooms emphasised a problem of definition. These households (without an entry for 'wife') were headed by a manual worker who evidently cohabited with the 'servant'. She was more probably a common-law wife, in the recording of which the enumerators were not instructed. Small house-sizes tended to confirm this observation.

In terms of the Irish-born associations with large-house units, there was a convergence of negative coefficients across the study area from 1871 to 1891, towards a narrower range. The decline in coefficient values in Gorbals and N. Hutchesontown was for different reasons; the creation of improved mixed-structure housing in the former, and the movement of more Irish households into existing larger-house stock in N. Hutchesontown as the Irish-born community expanded there.

Laurieston as a whole saw little change; a slight decline in the south consequent on the new mixed-structure additions to the stock, a slight increase in strength in the north perhaps due to continuing Irish colonization of smaller houses rather than movement into larger-house units. The increased strength of the negative Irish large-house link in S. Hutchesontown was noticeable; the result of the growth of the Irish

household proportion from a small, socially mixed group to a larger community, focussed more strongly upon the smaller-house units there. It was also noted that the strength of the Irish-groups I, II negative association increased dramatically in S. Hutchesontown, as it did in Gorbals Parish between 1851 and 1871, and in N. Hutchesontown 1871 - 1891. Whereas in Laurieston and the post-redevelopment Parish, the Irish-groups I, II association suggested declining or static levels of unit scale segregation, the evidence for the others pointed to intensification.

It falls to the following chapter to draw together the various types of evidence and interpretation, so far contained within separate sections, and to set out as explicitly as the constraints will allow, a set of general conclusions.

CHAPTER 12

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CONCLUSION.

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"We are already beginning to move towards general hypotheses or models concerning the evolution of nineteenth-century urban society and in relation to particular aspects of population growth and patterning within the nineteenth century city. But before general models can be produced, a great deal more work is needed .... these studies may range in scale from macro studies of general population trends in urban areas .... to micro studies of individual towns or even of districts within towns, in which much of the basic evidence lies in local records but with a core of tremendously valuable data in the unpublished records of the census enumerators books" (Lawton, 1978; 134).

In succinct fashion, Lawton laid out some aims and considerations of particular importance to this project. The emphasis on the EBs should come as no surprise, but their combination with local records of a less universal nature within relatively small communities are important qualifications.

Within Lawton's statement, and within the scope of this thesis, there lies a familiar geographical problem; the distinction of the general from the specific. This study set out with a varied set of objectives, partly to investigate what happened in terms of building and society in nineteenth century Gorbals, and partly to shed some light on wider questions of socio-spatial process within high-density multistorey residential contexts.

Allied to the problem of generalization from an in-depth local study, is the difficulty of disentangling social change in situ from spatial change, particularly as the chronological scale (the time elapsed between census cross-sections) was rather coarse.

It may be argued that as a small-scale study, the project did not go far enough, in that it has compromised between a largely self-defined minimum population-area (to allow relatively major-scale patterns to emerge) and an intimate narrative study of individual household or tenement histories (to sustain a clear distinction between social and migratory change).

No definitive solution to these philosophical and practical problems may be forthcoming from one contribution to the research series envisaged by Lawton. The following remarks attempt to specify a continuum of observation and explanation, from topics of purely local significance, to an assessment of the findings which have a more general potential.

From the outset of study, it was clear that the area under scrutiny was of special interest to the urban-historical geographer. Few people in Britain can have avoided the influence of the Gorbals image. Today, the district remains a powerful metaphor for violence, crime and degraded housing conditions in the minds of journalists, lawyers and politicians (Robb, 1979) though the characteristics of environment and population have changed radically during the last three decades (see Figs. 44 - 52).

Though twentieth-century slum conditions were exacerbated by depression and obsolescence, the early history of the Barony of Gorbals included important influences on subsequent developments.

The period of 194 years between the death of the last seignorial laird and the final amalgamation with the city was particularly significant in the perpetuation of local peculiarities in administration and land tenure. Indeed, the medieval siting of the leper hospital may have secured for Gorbals an unsavoury reputation in the fourteenth century. In many ways, 'pre-industrial', or craft-industrial Gorbals conformed to the idea of the faubourg in Sjoberg, Briggs and Everitt. The nineteenth-century envelopment of the Parish by different types of suburb resulted in distinctive local and small-scale contrasts of the type observed and classified in archaic manner by Watson (1959).

The detailed findings showed that a simple three-way distinction between 'decayed faubourg' (Gorbals Parish), 'planned gentility' (Laurieston),

and 'unplanned speculation' (Hutchesontown) was true only at the macro scale, and in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Gorbals Parish was in detail the most consistent and uniform of the five districts to 1871. Yet the directory evidence pointed to a small, shrinking professional-mercantile element in the first half of the nineteenth century. Subsequently the census data revealed a socially-mixed periphery to the largely one-class core at mid-century. As the physically older core became socially more extreme, so the newer periphery lost its heterogeneous character.

In Laurieston, socio-spatial relationships appeared heavily influenced by original conditions of land division and building. The sizeable working-class component in the Laurieston population appeared to have been segregated in specific milieux ab initio, and though mid-to late-nineteenth century developments changed the contrast of the picture, its structural demarcations between large and small-house tenements, main street and back lane, large and small steading, remained apparent. N. Hutchesontown was the second of the five districts to be built up, and though it was developed on a regular grid of streets, little interest in a grand design was evident beyond that. The city directory analysis pointed to a mixed occupational-social profile, with a concentration of professional-mercantile entries in Hospital and Adelphi Streets by the 1840's.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, trends in N. Hutchesontown followed those in Gorbals Parish, though lagging in terms of intensification in working-class residential dominance. Gorbals Parish fell within the Improvement Trustees' limits and underwent considerable structural and social modification; N. Hutchesontown continued to be characterised by increased working class proportions (though fewer exclusive compositions) at residential unit level.

By and large, the middle-class distributions picked out by the directory analysis predicted, with additions in the south, the main axes of post-1850 bourgeois settlement evident in the census data. Indeed, the residential unit pattern of social groups was closely anticipated by plotting an annuitant residential distribution for 1851, a pattern that contrasted strongly with a distribution of paupers.



Fig.44.  
Southern Eglinton Street in 1980. Tenement  
designed by Alexander 'Greek' Thomson (1860)  
facing demolition.

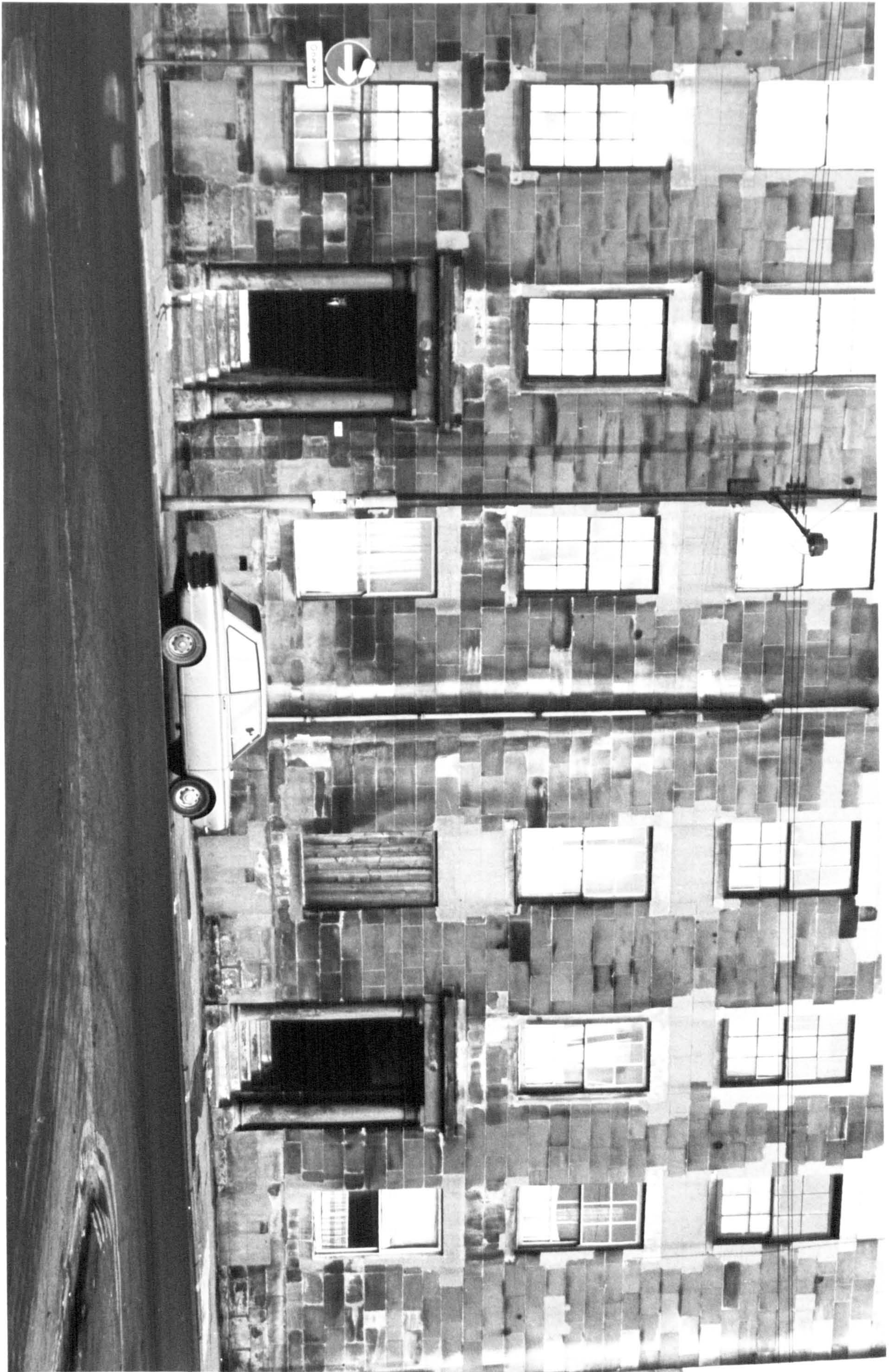


Fig.45.  
Oxford Street in 1976. Northern aspect.

One of the more distinctive and consistent features of middle class residence was the concentration around northern Abbotsford Place with shrinking outliers in S. Portland Street, Apsley Place, Cumberland Street, Eglinton Street, with Hospital Street and Crown Street in S. Hutchesontown. It was remarkable that throughout this middle class 'heartland', whilst residential domination and exclusivity were challenged and eroded at the periphery, little evidence was found of structural subdivision. The built environment of the study area was more rigid than hypothesised; intra-district structural change occurred in association with new building in the south, rather than with mass 'making down' in existing tenements. Within Laurieston, the varied social associations of different house-types most clearly emerged. Carlton Place, the most celebrated terrace in Glasgow in its heyday (Doak and McLaren Young, 1977), had taken on a socially and functionally mixed aspect by 1891. By nature of its riverside site, facing the CBD, and its large self-contained houses, it had attracted institutional functions. The anomalously small original unit population quickly registered the introduction of residential care-takers as a relatively high proportion. Carlton Place was the only range of residential buildings to be consciously preserved in the Gorbals area, and survives largely unaltered in its original form (see Fig. 26), though functionally transformed.

In the side streets and lanes of Laurieston, the small-population working-class cottage units were superseded by large population tenements. Because of their inconvenient locations, low original value and small size these steadings were virtually predestined to sustain wholly working class residence from the original feuing. Peripheral to these milieux, a number of major steadings were dominated by working-class residence from the beginning. In the south, major street-fronting units emerged in association with industry, opposite Port Eglinton, around Cavendish and Surrey Streets, from 1851. In the established north, units on Nicholson Street and parts of S. Portland Street were, or quickly became, largely working class in character. The evidence pointed to small-house tenements built ab initio, or subdivision prior to 1851. Nicholson Street was later to embody the quintessence of slum life. Known as 'Burma Road' by the 1960's, this street saw particularly rapid rates of household turnover, as both Asian and Scottish families with



low incomes sought shelter in the overcrowded and decrepit stock (Srivastava, 1975).

Though Laurieston and Hutchesontown incorporated working class residence from an early date, these areas of post-1800 development lacked large-scale Irish immigration until nearer the end of the century. The continued concentration of Irish immigrant households within the Parish boundary down to 1871 clearly contrasted with working-class residential change generally. This 'ghetto' effect was well reflected in contemporary accounts, and as low rents and lack of supervision coincided with aged, obsolete buildings and 'temporary structures' (Gemmill, 1845), the association between immigration and physical decay was easily and frequently made. The authorities saw themselves dealing with 'foreigners', rather than a complex urban economic problem. Their sympathies lay elsewhere.

Though post 1871 redevelopment effectively disrupted the 'ghetto' intensification process, immigration from Ireland (particularly Ulster) to the Gorbals area remained important in the first half of the twentieth century. St. John's R.C. Church in Portugal Street for long remained the centre of a strong Gaeltacht as Kay et al (1980) recalled.

The later and numerically less significant Jewish immigration phase was much less concentrated in spatial terms, though over one-third of the households were resident in the refurbished Parish district by 1891. In the early years of the twentieth century Jewish businesses and institutions proliferated (Figs. 47 and 52), as the community grew (Levy, 1949; Rodgers, 1979).

Both ethnic groups, though socially and culturally dissimilar, used Gorbals as an introduction to a new urban environment. The Jewish group, largely urban in origin and entrepreneurial in spirit and training, adapted to their new low-capital economic situation by developing work which had historical roots in a 'lower circuit' economy, associated with places like mid-nineteenth century Gorbals. Own-account operations, such as hawking easily-assembled picture frames, could have been home-based. The avoidance of the industrial wage sector was noticeable amongst the Jewish group.



Fig.46.  
Catholic Church, Portugal Street, in 1917  
(since rebuilt); western aspect.

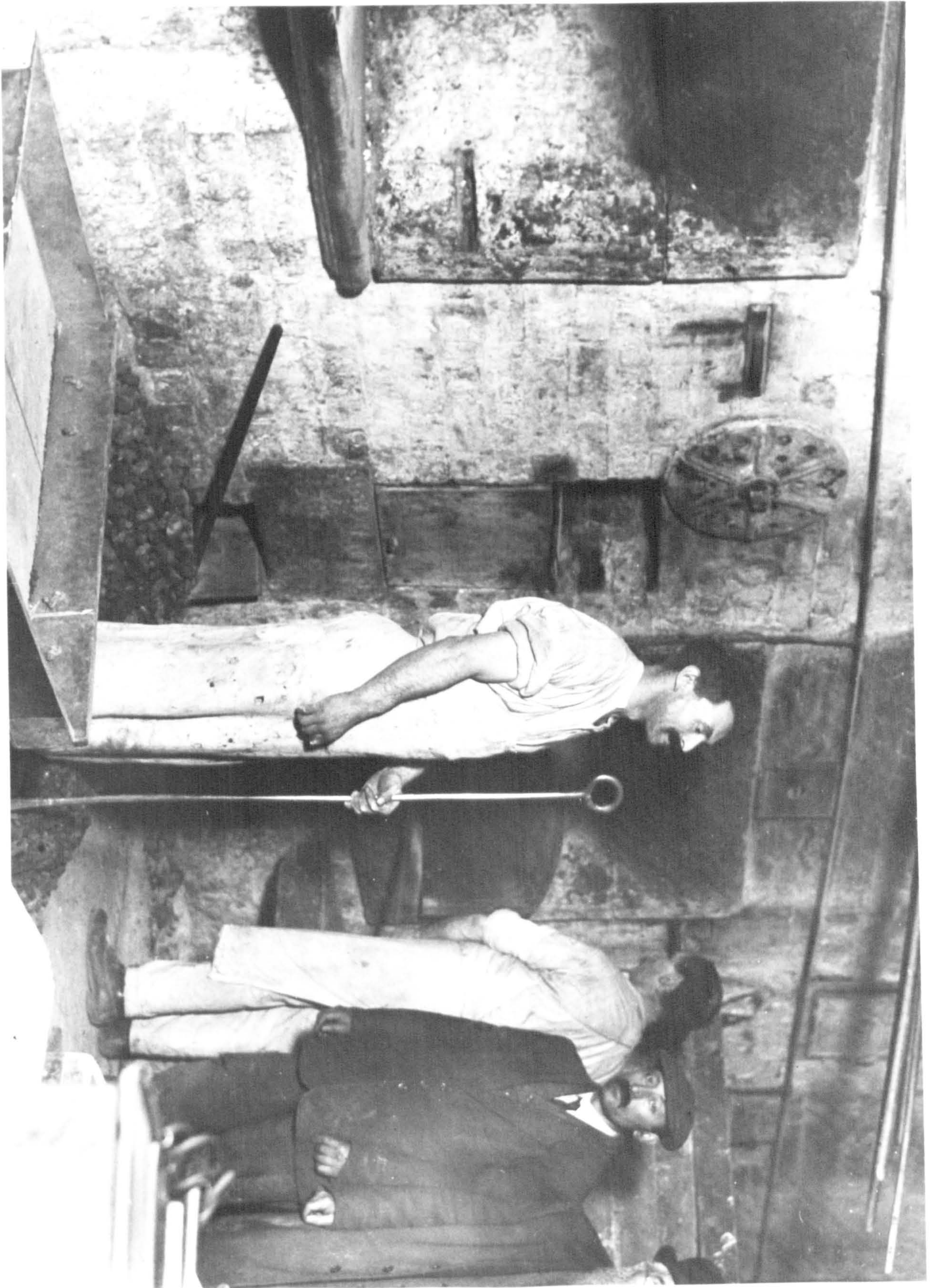


Fig.47.  
The interior of Malow and Lein's Jewish  
Bakery, Main Street, 1917.

Rapid suburban migration with economic advancement was a common feature throughout British urban Jewry (Connell, 1970; Buckman, 1968; Lipman, 1964; Krausz, 1964) and from Gorbals, the traditional suburban migration for Jewish households has progressed south-westward by way of Govanhill to Langside, and ultimately beyond the modern city boundary altogether, to Newton Mearns. This sectoral trend has been noted in Leeds (Connell, 1970) and London (Lipman, 1964).

The Irish immigration was earlier, more pronounced and lingering in its impact. Whilst the synagogue (Fig. 52) is long defunct, the Catholic Church and surrounding isolated pubs of Hibernian character continue to attract congregation and custom from further afield, a factor of local allegiance first noted by Johnston (1957), who remarked upon the continued link between Gorbals and the outlying local authority housing estates on the south side.

It is clear from the combined analyses of directories and census EBs that the local history of nineteenth-century degradation in Gorbals, as commonly articulated, is oversimplified. Neither was there an evacuation of the middle class residents who had arrived in the early decades of the nineteenth century, nor the expected structural changes in unit residential capacity. Continuity of character with peripheral change was the overriding theme.

The most remarkable disruptive feature of the history of the study area was the relatively early British example of comprehensive large-scale urban redevelopment (Allan, 1965). This episode had attracted recent census-based enquiry. Lamont (1976) attempted to test Tarn's (1969) thesis that insufficiently radical slum clearance in nineteenth-century cities provoked an 'overspill' of disadvantaged and overcrowded working-class households into the next-worst inner suburban areas. Lamont (1976) generated a dynamic factorial ecology of socio-environmental indicators, and isolated evidence of this peripheral deterioration in Laurieston and Hutchesontown between 1871 and 1891. Within a framework of 200m grid squares, the effects of overspill could not be accurately attributed to specific localities. Therefore, the contrasts in social decline and continuity seen in contiguous streets in this study were generalized into a district-scale average.



Fig.48.  
Back Lane, S. Coburg Street, in 1912.

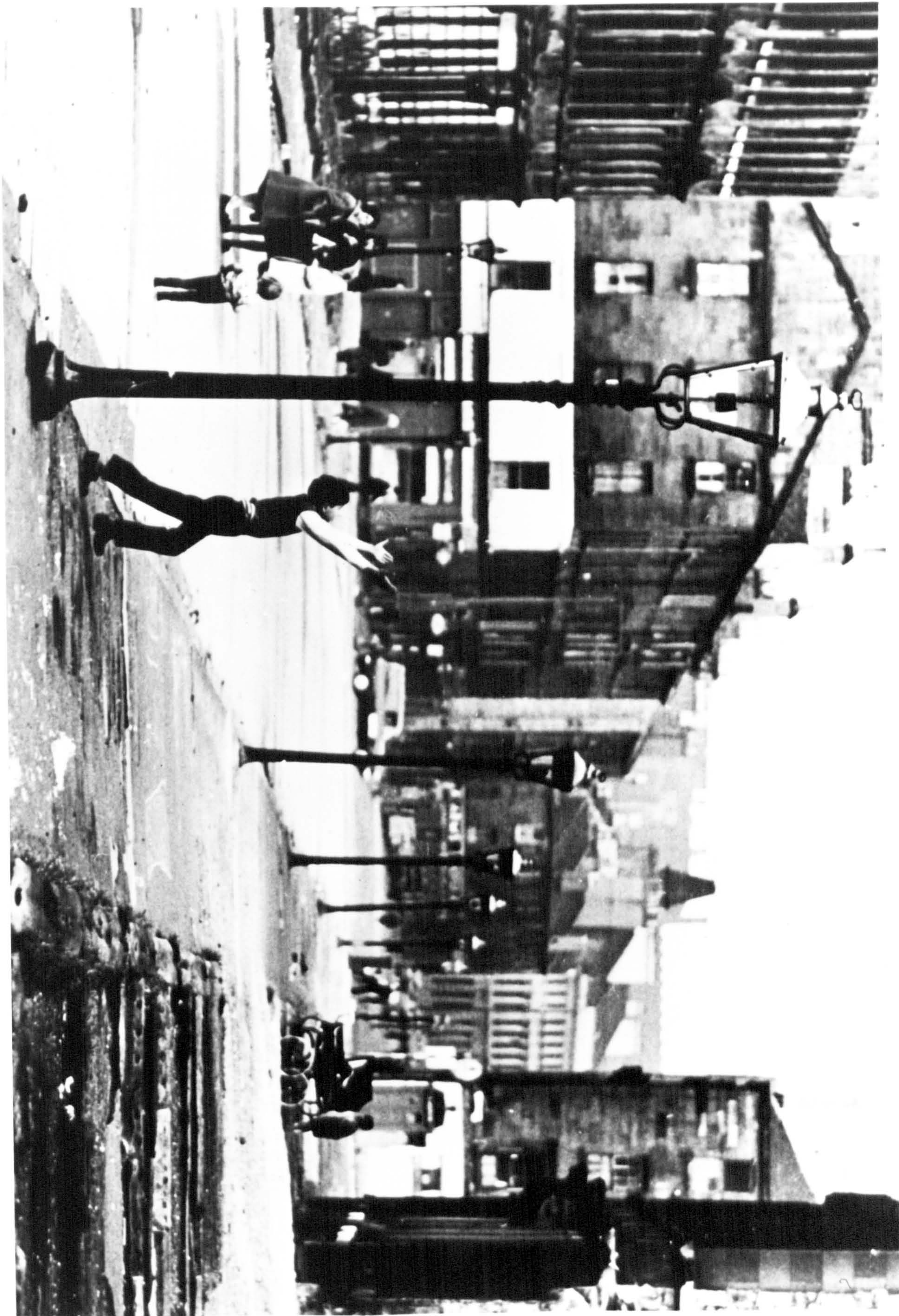


Fig.49.  
Apsley Place-Warwick Street in 1964, prior  
to widespread demolition in Laurieston.  
Northern aspect.



Fig.50.  
Muslim Mission, Oxford Street, in 1968.  
Mosque on right.

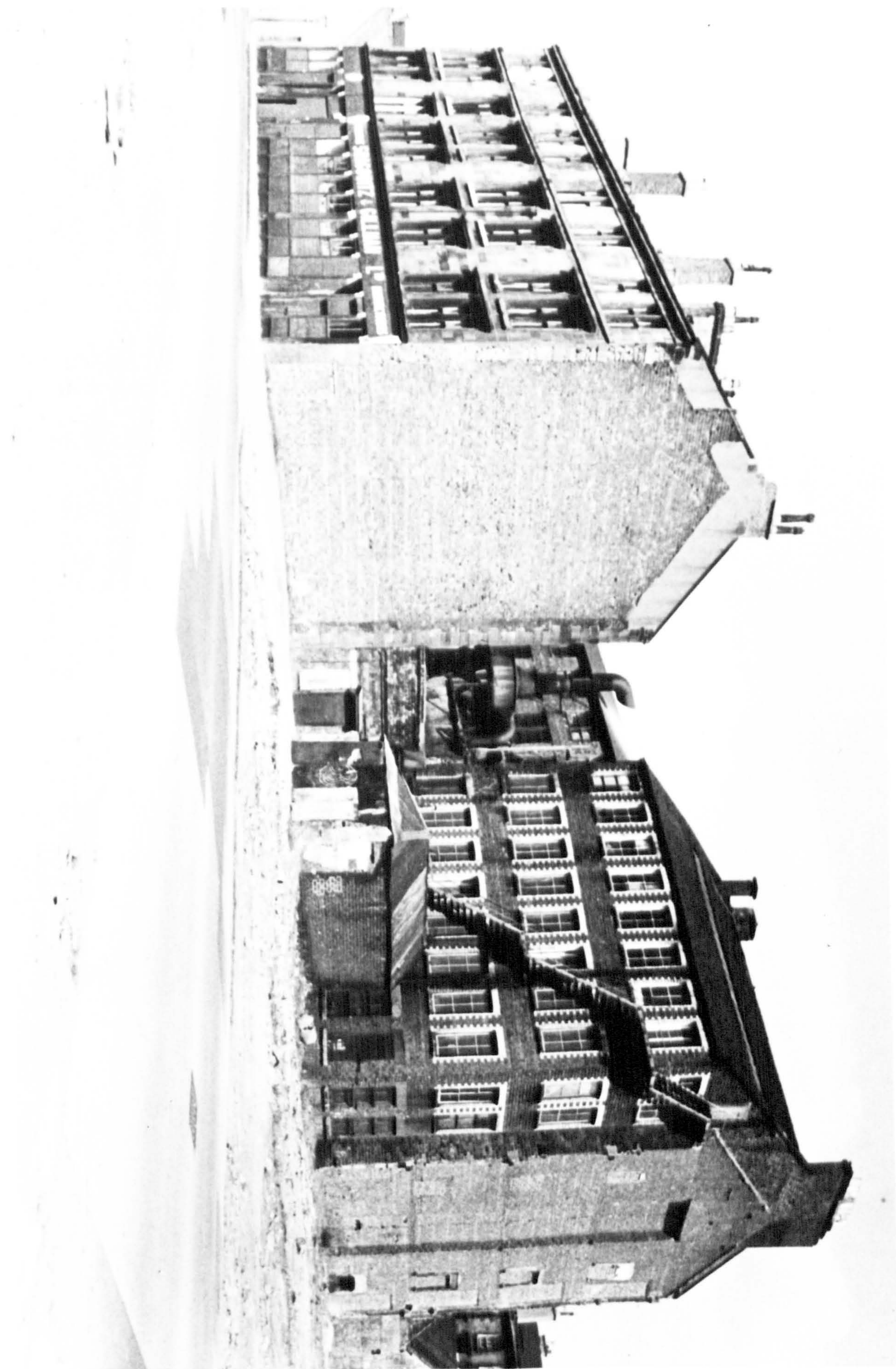


Fig.51.  
Back-court industry, Surrey Street, revealed  
by tenement demolition in 1968.



Lamont concentrated upon the intercensal period covering the re-development episode exclusively. Criticism may be directed at a conclusion supporting Tarn's thesis emphasising the widespread influence of central replanning on residential change where no evidence for a pre-re-development period was considered. This study has demonstrated the continued growth of working-class proportions in particular units and areas from 1851, without massive central displacement. In addition, the re-development of Central Glasgow and Gorbals Parish occupied virtually the whole of the interval between 1871 and 1891, in piecemeal fashion and exacerbated by recession (Morrison, 1877; Allan, 1965). During this time the Corporation built central lodging houses (one in Portugal Street) and working-class house building continued (albeit fitfully) to the west, in Hutchesontown and further afield.

The evidence bears the interpretation that the existing working-class units of N.Hutchesontown and Laurieston were already crowded to near-capacity by 1871, and that marginal colonisation of once-exclusive middle-class tenements and the continued building of mixed-structure tenements in the south offered local housing provision for the displaced poor of Gorbals Parish. Certainly, they were not all forced on the housing market at once.

In terms of residential unit composition change, one of the more striking patterns to emerge from Ch.10. was the contrast between social exclusivity in the established north and degrees of social duality in the later southern development. Affecting both residential types was a variable rise in working-class proportions throughout the study period, emerging as the erosion of middle-class exclusivity in Laurieston, and the rise of working-class dominance elsewhere.

Against this broad backcloth, certain distinctive variations emerged. The resistance of the northern Abbotsford Place 'core' to change was noted. During the period 1871 - 1891, high-status residence appeared to expand slightly. Certain units peripheral to the Laurieston 'core' experienced increases in group I, II minorities. The post-re-development reversal of the socio-spatial processes at work in Gorbals parish down to 1871 was expected, and the mixed social profile of the replacement housing stock bolstered a general study area tendency towards intra-unit social diversity. Though the proportion of exclusively middle-class

units in the study area had declined relatively and absolutely by 1891, the increase in number of wholly working-class unit compositions did not obviate the continued increase in the socially-mixed categories. Much of this was due to the radical changes in Gorbals Parish during the latter interval.

It was interesting, and not without conceptual value, to speculate on the possible socio-spatial pattern in 1891 had there been no City Improvement Trust or railway company influence. It seems likely that the spread of exclusive working class units would have continued, but unlikely that they would have resulted from many radical shifts in unit dominance. Most would have emerged within the Parish district, others on the margins of established working class milieux elsewhere (particularly in S. Laurieston).

In the event, the increase in the study area percentage of units in the 60 to 79 per cent groups IV, V category was a result of the elimination of much of the more concentrated working-class units in Gorbals Parish and the creation of new working class housing in the south as much as any 'tipping' effect from balanced social profiles in the established units.

Taken within the limitations of any social classification, the study suggested that within Gorbals, a trend opposed to that expected in Ch.2. seemed to prevail. Rather than a decline into one-class slumdom, the tendency appeared to reflect the development of a wider intra-unit social diversity. This micro-scale duality appeared to be associated with new development both within Gorbals Parish after 1871 and in the southern accretions from about the mid-century, when exclusive middle-class building in the study area appeared to have been abandoned. The scenario of middle-class departure, large house sub-division and wholly working-class tenement construction from the first half of the nineteenth century appeared to have been misjudged.

It was not denied that the overall trend was a gradual lowering of social status, but it appeared that the incorporation of new working class immigrants to the area followed definite pathways to specific areas of settlement, rather as a braided stream washes around islets and shoals of relative continuity.

The middle-class presence in Laurieston was not wholly extinguished until the 1930's or 40's - Abbotsford Place was known as the 'Harley Street of Glasgow' until then, a functional continuity traceable to the directory volumes compiled one hundred years before.

The height of segregation within the study area seemed to have been reached about mid-century. The 'ghetto' intensification in the Parish area was advanced; the relocation of the original bourgeois inhabitants had been going on for fifty years previously. Laurieston, judging from the later directory evidence and the census of 1851, was fairly strictly demarcated between the great exclusively middle-class tenement and terrace ranges, and back-street working class cottage and tenement milieux. Intra-unit social mixture was confined to the older units in N. Laurieston and N. Hutchesontown. From that position, marginal loss of exclusivity and the new southern building proceeded to enlarge the socially heterogeneous sector. The latter building type incorporated structural heterogeneity ab initio. The re-development of Gorbals Parish further influenced the process. New southern building tended to quickly take on the emerging mixed social complexion. Structural mixes of small and large houses ensured social heterogeneity in the later decades.

In thus judging the housing market possibilities, speculators in the south remained sufficiently optimistic to indulge in architectural finesse (Fig. 44 for example) and refrain from building a standard model of low-value working class housing throughout the vacant land left. Instead, new development carried south certain social and physical characteristics already evident further north, giving rise to continued contrasts between milieux such as Thistle Street and Eglinton Street. By 1901, this close marrying of the new to the established standards within specific locales had resulted in an extended, variegated pattern which was adapted by the general influence of compositional changes in favour of working-class majorities.

The evidence suggested that there was a long-term change in general bourgeois perceptions of social segregation in nineteenth-century Gorbals. There was support for an argument suggesting that the original street or unit level of exclusive segregation (in the 1840's) was compromised. This was seen in established units where working class minorities did

not lead to rapid middle-class out-migration over forty years, and in new buildings where socially-mixed tenement populations were structurally catered for from the beginning. Smith (1964) has shown the rapidity of contemporary North American neighbourhood change within a similar residential context; the Gorbals material indicated an altogether different rate and type of change.

The continued middle-class presence in a district transformed from suburban to inner city during the nineteenth century may be explained with reference to the favourable location of Laurieston. As incorporated in Laurie's original plan, Laurieston was slightly eccentric from the emergent business centre of the city. By 1850, this eccentricity had altered, as the westward expansion of business activity and the Suspension Bridge enabled relatively short pedestrian journeys to work, compared with contemporary tram, omnibus or rail journeys from the West End, Pollokshields and further south. Kellett (1969) related the late development of commuter rail traffic in Glasgow compared to London, Liverpool and other towns, which resulted in the characteristic compactness of the 'Second City' in the early twentieth century. Central residence may have retained its appeal for certain middle class groups longer in Glasgow.

In addition, the centrality of large-house tenements in the Gorbals area would have been of importance to domestic-based professionals such as medical practitioners, accountants, writers and private teachers. Certainly, Victorian perceptions of tenement life seemed at variance with English, or some post World War I Scottish attitudes.

Obviously, generalizations made from the Gorbals context in the latter half of the nineteenth century must be specific to inner city locations and milieux. Significantly, coach ownership was impracticable for the Scottish tenement bourgeoisie, as distinct from the haut bourgeois or aristocratic inhabitants of villas or Edinburgh town-houses. The overall impression was of middle class inertia or adaption in the face of working class ascendancy at various levels in the residential and spatial structure, in terms of the relict 'core', and the continued middle class occupation of units shared with the working class.

Perhaps a Scottish cultural theme was important in this. Gauldie (1974a) was of the opinion that although inter-class differences in housing quality were historically apparent, the gulf between traditional English housing types was not as pronounced in Scotland. The eighteenth century 'Edinburgh model', where a close residential association between diverse social elements prevailed, may have survived in later, industrialised contexts. A nostalgia for the old residential order was keenly felt amongst later nineteenth-century romantic circles. The evidence confirmed the likelihood of certain inner city districts retaining, even extending, social mixture at the residential unit and neighbourhood scales.

There was no reason to expect that the increase in proportion of the socially mixed tenements in the study area was permanent or irreversible. After 1900 it was thought likely that transport improvements, the increasingly fashionable alternatives to middle-class tenement residence, wartime upsurges in working class militancy and demand for better housing conditions followed by postwar slump and depression, tipped the balance in favour of the West End and outer South Side. One local element which contributed to the final collapse of middle-class residence in the Gorbals area was probably the building of the City of Glasgow Union Railway link between Cumberland Street or Gorbals Station on the St. Enoch line, and the old Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock and Ayr line at Port Eglinton. Built during the period 1890 - 96 (though not evident in terms of unit evacuation in the 1891 census), the link contributed to the 'walled city' effect, crossing Laurieston as a viaduct at second storey height and bridging Eglinton Street. Where William Dixon's ephemeral mineral waggonway had little apparent influence upon later nineteenth century confidence in middle-class building the near-encirclement and eventual dissection of the district by embanked railway tracks, busy with the main services from the south and south-west into Glasgow, was a more decisive factor. The last decade of the nineteenth century also saw a larger scale development of the local transport situation. The first exclusively commuter railway on the South Side was established - the Cathcart Circle. Near the frequent stations of the route, which ran parallel with Eglinton Street on its final approach to the city, extensive tracts of red-sandstone tenements and villas grew up, coalescing with the old village nuclei of Cathcart, Langside,

Pollokshaws and Strathbungo. The old ties of tradition and location which had held the dwindling middle-class residents in Laurieston were finally outweighed by the new opportunities.

The chosen periodicity of the census cross-sections was unsuitable for sensitive mobility analysis or conventional measures of decadal persistence rates. Accordingly, conclusions could not incorporate judgements on the relative population turnover in terms of immigration to district, emigration from district, migration within district and demographic gains and losses. The question of whether occupancy proportions changed through stationary households 'changing class' rather than through mobility, could not be empirically settled. Pooley (1979) and Lawton (1979) suggested that mobility was the more important determinant in Victorian cities generally, and there was nothing in subjective comparison of key EBs to suggest large-scale population stagnation in Gorbals at any time. Such a study would fall outside the terms of reference of this project; the sheer work involved in record-linkage for a fraction of the Gorbals population poses an entirely separate research opportunity.

The relevance of the findings of this study to districts and cities further afield was a major initial concern. The limits to knowledge of other areas of Glasgow or other cities at a similar scale and in the same period were clear. Essentially, the Gorbals pictures of unit-scale composition existed in isolation, illuminated only meagerly by studies at a much coarser scale. It is perhaps significant that Gorbals took virtually a century to be fully built-up, whereas larger, later districts were developed much more rapidly, and took on a more or less homogeneous social profile from the start (e.g. Maryhill, Govanhill, Govan and Partick). Many later nineteenth century worker's districts were closely related to heavy industry; large-scale factory and shipyard employers. Gorbals, as 'decayed faubourg', speculative venture and 'stricken elegance' (Johnston, 1957; 6), was never so focussed in employment terms, a factor of importance to residential structure (Vance, 1967). The typicality of Gorbals as an inner-city segment must await similar work, possibly on European cities sharing the same multi-storey residential history. Vance (1977) claimed to find a distinction between the princely city of continental autocracy and the merchant's borough in Britain, epitomised in the example of late eighteenth-century Bristol. Whilst

David Laurie's architectural and planning ambitions were cast emphatically in the modest, severe, bourgeois, style of the latter; the survival of relict inner-city middle class residence in an industrial late nineteenth-century context may be seen as an unexpected representation of the former. Whilst it was no surprise that small middle-class communities, à la Beacon Hill, retained central locations for long in many western cities, the extent of inter-class residential intimacy revealed by this study was at variance with the general theory of scale increase with time in social segregation.

It was hoped that studies to come in this vein will be seen as important complements to work in the large-scale factorial ecology mould. The brief comparison with Lamont's (1976) examination of the same data source demonstrated that a different perspective was possible, indeed necessary.

Like all research conducted individually, a clear end was neither hoped for nor thought possible. The ramifications of change in small-scale socio-spatial patterning in an area such as Gorbals were numerous. The occupational structure demands further study, in tracing the relationships between district and neighbourhood social type and changes in occupational sophistication, modernity, technical relations and income differentials. The demographic features of the population have been almost ignored in this study; clearly, record linkage or larger-scale building and personal age correlation would be a favourable direction for reconstructing associations between the physical structure and society. The Parish itself may yet provide scope for work on poverty or public health.

There is particularly in the Gorbals example a case for extending urban historical research into the first half of the twentieth century. The transition between deep social variation within the area and more general low-status homogeneity had begun before the turn of the century, but the most rapid change occurred around the First World War and thereafter. Worsdall (1979) and Gibson (1979) accused Glasgow Corporation of 'council vandalism' in the demolition of many noble buildings amongst the genuinely obsolete and uninhabitable slums. What was perhaps more surprising than the destruction of mid-nineteenth century tenements was the similar treatment meted out to the renewed fabric of the Gorbals

Parish re-development episode. Worsdall (1979) claimed that 'tenement' had become synonymous with 'slum', no matter the condition. It may be more true to say that the experience of Gorbals in the Depression, the creation of the image still commonly invoked today, made the postwar local authority react in the sweeping manner that it did.





Fig.52.  
Laurieston in 1976. Synagogue on left,  
Catholic Church on right. Northern aspect  
from Cumberland Street.

APPENDIX 1.Address list of backland-frontland combinations identified by  
enumerators.1851Gorbals Parish

20 Main Street  
 25 Main Street  
 36 Main Street  
 46 Main Street  
 160 Main Street  
 13 Clyde Terrace  
 6 - 10 Bedford Lane  
 24 Bedford Lane  
 17 Portugal Street  
 30 Portugal Street  
 37 Portugal Street  
 39 Portugal Street  
 42 Portugal Street  
 43 Portugal Street  
 25 Warwick Street  
 35 Warwick Street

N. Laurieston

4 Nicholson Street  
 10 Nicholson Street  
 16 Nicholson Street  
 17 Nicholson Street  
 23 Nicholson Street  
 35 S. Coburg Street

S. Laurieston

16 Salisbury Street  
 5 Bedford Lane  
 13 Cavendish Street

N. Hutchesontown

1 - 3 Hospital Street  
 9 Hospital Street  
 41 Hospital Street  
 5 Thistle Street  
 31 Thistle Street  
 16 Crown Street  
 68 Crown Street  
 97 Govan Street

1871Gorbals Parish

41 Adelphi Street  
 45 Adelphi Street  
 73 Main Street  
 88 Main Street  
 102 Main Street  
 129 Main Street  
 162 Main Street  
 30 Muirhead Street  
 66 Hospital Street  
 76 Hospital Street  
 28 Kirk Street  
 10 Portugal Street  
 17 Portugal Street  
 21 Portugal Street

37 Portugal Street  
39 Portugal Street  
22 Portugal Lane  
9 Warwick Street  
8 Bedford Street

N. Laurieston

16 Nicholson Street  
17 Nicholson Street  
2 N. Coburg Street  
29 Eglinton Street  
45 Eglinton Street  
32 S. Coburg Street  
48 S. Coburg Street

S. Laurieston

1 Stirling Street  
47 Bedford Street  
117 Eglinton Street  
223 Eglinton Street  
8 Eglinton Lane  
10 Eglinton Lane  
6 Stanley Place  
13 Cavendish Street  
40 Cavendish Street  
44 Cavendish Street  
55 - 53 Cavendish Street  
9 Cavendish Place  
84 Abbotsford Place  
102 Pollokshaws Road  
112 Pollokshaws Road  
212 Pollokshaws Road  
234 Pollokshaws Road  
176 Main Street

194 Main Street  
 5 Bedford Lane  
 37 Salisbury Street

N. Hutchesontown

34 Crown Street  
 68 Crown Street  
 17 Thistle Street  
 21 - 27 Thistle Street  
  
 49 Thistle Street  
 3 Hospital Street  
 24 Hospital Street  
 41 Hospital Street

S. Hutchesontown

14 Greenside Lane

1891

Gorbals Parish

124 Main Street  
 40 Dunmore Street

N. Laurieston

48 S. Coburg Street

S. Laurieston

84 Abbotsford Place  
 40 Cavendish Street

42 Cavendish Street  
7 Surrey Street  
21 Surrey Street  
50 Surrey Street  
10 Eglinton Lane  
5 Bedford Lane  
194 Main Street

N. Hutchesontown

42 Thistle Street  
49 Thistle Street  
24 Adelphi Street  
36 Adelphi Street  
3 Hospital Street  
9 Hospital Street  
18 Hospital Street  
24 Hospital Street  
34 Hospital Street  
41 Hospital Street  
47 Hospital Street  
16 St Ninian Street  
22 St Ninian Street

APPENDIX 2.Glossary

Meanings were peculiar to Scots or local usage during and after the nineteenth century, unless otherwise specified.

Ashlar: Rectangular sandstone masonry blocks set in regular rows; the universal tenement facade.

Backland, backjam: A tenement built on the back-green of a street-fronting original building.

Back-green: The area of a steading given over to common washing facilities, ashpit, dungstead etc.

Bailie: City magistrate.

Birlayman: Baronial officer.

'Brizing yont': Relocation of eighteenth-century Glasgow merchants to mansions beyond the city gates, particularly to the west.

Close, closs: Common entry, giving access to upstairs houses and back-green, together with any backland on it.

Dean of Guild Court: An urban court, originally concerned with trade disputes, later vested with rudimentary planning powers (eg. the ordering of demolition on unsafe buildings and the granting of 'linings').

Factor: An agent, representing the interests of absentee tenement proprietors, charged with rent-collection and supervision.

Feuing: The act of sasine, or conveyance of land, under Scots law.

'Granting a lining': The official demarcation of a developers' responsibilities regarding adjoining gables, party walls and obstructions to daylight. Did not apply to alterations made in existing structures.

Heritor: Land-holder, sasine-holder.

Land: Another, generally earlier, word meaning 'tenement'.

Loan, lone: A lane, often connecting burghs with the surrounding agricultural crofts in the eighteenth century and providing the main road links between burghs.

'Making down': The subdivision of town-houses or large-house tenements with partitions to increase gross rental obtained from a low-status tenantry.

M.O.H.: Medical Officer of Health.

Preses: The chairman (president) of a non-burghal community.

Piazzas: The seventeenth and eighteenth-century arcaded ground floors of tenements in High Street and Trongate in Glasgow; some examples survived until the late nineteenth century, as photographed by Annan (1977 edn.).

'Room-and-kitchen': A Two-apartment tenement house. Traditionally, the kitchen was the centre of the household, the 'room' only used on special occasions.

Steading: Building plot.

Sasine: The act of infeftment, or the legal document of disposition, required to be lodged at H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

'Single-end': One-apartment tenement house, typically including a curtained bed alcove, and 'hurley' (wheeled) bed(s) for the older children of the house.

Superior: Feudal landlord, entitled to annual feu duty and certain powers of planning ab initio. Subject superiors were vassals, themselves superiors on land subfeued in their own right.

Tenement: Domestic building of several storeys, all or some of the houses of which are reached by a close and common stair(s).

Ticketing, ticketed house: The Police Act of 1866 gave local authorities the right to specify and enforce a legal maximum number of inhabitants in overcrowded tenements. This number was displayed on a metal 'ticket' near the close entry.

Vennel: Narrow alley or passage, commonly representing the minimum land-use allocation to access connecting major streets.

Writer: A lawyer

Wynds: The alleys of central Edinburgh and Glasgow, characterised by the highest building and population densities, the greatest poverty and the worst sanitary conditions in those cities by the mid-nineteenth century.



APPENDIX 3

Chronological list of maps and plans consulted which include all or part of the Barony of Gorbals; dates given indicate years of survey or of intended representation.

Annotation: Date; author; scale; details of representation; other relevant information.

- - - - -

- 17th - 18th centuries; McDonald; no scale; diagram of feus in north-eastern Gorbals Parish; published in Renwick (1912).
- 1778; McArthur, J.; 23" to 1 mile; Plan of the city of Glasgow; Gorbals village, fields, loans, waggonway.
- 1782; Barry, J.; 10" to 1 mile; Plan of the city of Glasgow, Gorbells, ... etc; Village, Muirhouses; fields.
- 1789; Kyle, T.; 1" to 8 chains; sketch of a plan of property divisions and village of Gorbals; redrawn 1840.
- 1797; Denholm, J.; no scale; A plan of the city of Glasgow from a Survey of 1797; Village, part of Hutchesontown, villa in grounds to south; published in Denholm (1798).
- 1807; Fleming, R.; 1" to 200'; Map of the city of Glasgow and suburbs; suggestion of a planned/built-up distinction; not a real-world survey.
- 1812; Chapman; 1" to 1000'; Plan of Glasgow; Gorbals village, parts of Laurieston & Hutchesontown; published in Chapman (1812).
- 1821; Smith, D.; 24" to 1 mile; Map of the city of Glasgow; steading boundaries, industries, functions.
- 1822; Cleland, J.; 6" to 1 mile; To the Honourable ... Lord Provost of Glasgow ... this map; parochial boundaries, some functions.
- 1826; Wardlaw & Cunninghame; no scale; Glasgow delineated; key functions, truncated southern limit, published in Wardlaw & Cunninghame (1826).
- 1828: Smith, D. ; 6" to 1 mile; shows additions to 1821 plan, same format.

- 1830; Lumsden, J.; 5" to 1 mile; built-up area, industries, tolls.
- 1831-2; Report on Parliamentary boundaries (Scotland); Vol 15;  
6" to 1 mile; detailed built-up area.
- 1842; Martin, G.; 12" to 1 mile; Map of Glasgow; additions to Smith  
(1821, 1828) on similar format, plus railways.
- 1843; Black, A.&C.; 1" to 500 yards; Black's Picturesque Tourist;  
distinguishes planned from actual built-up area,  
railways.
- 1844; Nichol, J.&D.; no scale; Plan of Glasgow; some functions,  
bridges, docks etc.
- ?1846; Martin, G.; (copy of 1842); no scale; as of Martin (1842),  
with additions.
- 1847; Allan & Ferguson; 3" to 1 mile; not detailed.
- 1847; Gilmour & Dean; 1" to 200'; Plan of the Barony of Gorbals;  
not detailed; churches, ownership of some feus  
in Hutchesontown and superiorities of City,  
Hutchesons' Hospital and Trades House.
- 1853; anon.; 1" to 1000'; Plan of part of the Barony of Gorbals ...  
intersected by the Caledonian and Southern  
Terminal Railways; relates to liability for  
damage to feuars narrowly affected by railway  
works; coal seams shown.
- ? 1856; anon.; 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 1 mile; Map of the city of Glasgow; built-up  
areas shown in ms. at 1778, 1807, 1821, 1856.
- 1858; Ordnance Survey; Lanarks. sheets VI, 10,11,14,15; 1:2500;  
detailed, steadings, functions etc.
- 1860; Miller; no scale; Miller's map of Glasgow; poorly drawn.
- 1860; Oliver & Boyd; no scale; The Scottish Tourist; built-up area,  
functions, industries.
- 1865; City Improvement Trust; 1" to 40'; Gorbals improvement area;  
great detail on existing buildings, steadings etc.
- 1896; Ordnance Survey; Lanarks. sheets VI, 10,11,14,15; 1: 2500; as  
for 1858, with innovations in style and format.
- 1909; anon.; no scale; Map of the city of Glasgow; shows areas added to  
municipality, with dates.
- 1912; McDonald, A. 5" to 1 mile; County of the city of Glasgow, as  
divided into Wards; detailed, industry and  
functions, tramlines.

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Parish re-development episode. Worsdall (1979) claimed that 'tenement' had become synonymous with 'slum', no matter the condition. It may be more true to say that the experience of Gorbals in the Depression, the creation of the image still commonly invoked today, made the postwar local authority react in the sweeping manner that it did.