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The Cemetery and the City: The Origins of the Glasgow Necropolis, 1825-1857

Ronald David Scott

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Glasgow,
Department of History (Scottish History), for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
September 2005.

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Abstract

Glasgow Necropolis, which opened in 1833, is celebrated as the first garden or ornamental cemetery in Scotland and as a ‘Victorian Valhalla’ that remembers and represents the makers of Glasgow as the so-called Second City of the British Empire. However, there have been few investigations of the origins of the Necropolis, and the contexts in which it was conceived and constructed. What few studies there have been have repeated the popular version of its genesis provided by the Merchants’ House of Glasgow, and have not looked beneath this tidy encapsulation of the origin of its new cemetery. This thesis uses the unpublished archives of the Merchants’ House, in particular the records of its Necropolis Committee, as well as numerous related sources, to examine and discuss the more complex interactions that lay behind the House’s investment.

The thesis begins with a discussion of the physical and intellectual contexts of the origins of the Necropolis: the first chapter examines the new cemetery in the context of civic improvements in Glasgow in the first third of the nineteenth century, and the second discusses it in the context of cemetery development in Great Britain and western Europe. Following on from this, chapters three and four offer a detailed account of the production of the Necropolis and its early years as an on-going business, as well as discussing the manner in which the Merchants’ House attached cultural meanings to the new burying ground and the built structures within it. The fifth chapter examines the public reception of the Necropolis, using a variety of contemporary sources, including the published accounts of visitors to the city. Finally, the sixth chapter discusses the early funerals and monuments of the Necropolis, and examines how these differed from the practices of previous generations.

Methodologically, this thesis adopts a cultural historical approach, with a theoretical basis in the work of Ashplant and Smyth, which focuses on three key concepts in the creation of any cultural product: production, signification and reception. This has proved a valuable and fruitful structure for this investigation and discussion, and has brought to the foreground the purposes and intentions of those who planned and built the Necropolis, and also the attitudes and beliefs of those who responded to it, either by writing down their reactions for publication or by participating in the

continuing construction of the cemetery through organising funerals or erecting monuments there.

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Preface

Abbreviations used in footnotes:

GCA – Glasgow City Archives.

GUA – Glasgow University Archives.

GUL – Glasgow University Library.

MLG – Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

RFPG – Library of the Royal Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow Library.

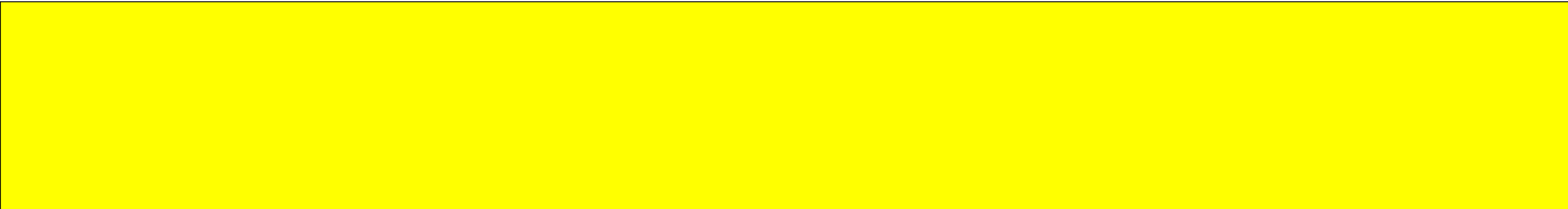
Note: The minutes of the Necropolis Committee of the Merchants' House of Glasgow are used extensively in the text of this thesis; their complete reference is GCA, T-MH 52/1/1, Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1828-48, followed by the date of the meeting (since the pages of the minute book are not numbered). For conciseness, they appear in the footnotes as Necropolis Committee Minutes, followed by the date.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Edward J. Cowan and Dr. Irene Maver, for their enthusiasm, insights and unfailing support, and also my examiners, Professor Charles McKean and Dr. Marguerite Dupree, for their incisive comments and pertinent corrections; I also owe thanks – for useful discussions, research leads, and support – to Dr. Julie Rugg, of the Cemetery Research Group at the University of York; Dr. Susan Buckham, the Carved Stones Adviser to the Council for Scottish Archaeology; the Rev. Dr. Peter Jupp, editor of *Mortality*; Dr. David Prendergast, of the Ashes Project at the University of Sheffield; Dr. Stuart McDonald, of the Laboratory of Human Anatomy, University of Glasgow; Ginny Clark; Dr. Iain Fraser Grigor; Dr. Karen Thompson, of the University of Strathclyde; Professors Elaine McFarland and J. John Lennon, of Glasgow Caledonian University; Ray McKenzie of the Glasgow School of Art; Robert L. D. Cooper, Curator of the Museum and Library, the Grand Lodge of Scotland; the librarians and archivists of the Universities of Glasgow and Strathclyde, the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, the Royal Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow, the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland, and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Family History Society; Nigel Willis, for sharing his research on his ancestor James Ewing of Strathleven; and my friends and family, who have endured four years of burying ground visits, and many conversations about death, disposal and commemoration.

Author’s declaration

This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any degree, qualification or course.



Ronald David Scott, September 2005.

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Introduction

The illustration showed an attractive wooded hillside, framed on one side by the High Church of Glasgow and on the other by one of the large monuments in its churchyard (see Figure 1).¹ Between them, monuments derived from Classical Roman and Greek architecture and large exotic mausolea studded the landscape, where mature trees and ornamental shrubs made the hillside look more like a garden than a cemetery. In the foreground was the ancient burying ground of the High Church, with Baroque monuments, flat grave slabs and sparse grass standing in stark contrast to its newer neighbour; a simple bridge linked the two burial grounds. The engraving, which covered half a page in a popular Glasgow weekly paper of the early nineteenth century, appeared, not in the 1830s or 40s, when the Glasgow Necropolis had matured into an established garden cemetery, but in 1825, three years before the first written suggestion to convert the Fir Park into the Glasgow Necropolis, and eight years before the official opening of the cemetery. The cartoon, which was published in *The Glasgow Looking Glass*, a satirical newspaper, and its caption, contained all of the significant references and features that were to characterise the Necropolis in the coming decades.² These were the monuments derived from neo-Classical styles, trees and shrubs planted between the burial plots, an ethos derived directly from the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, elite burials, the suggestion that the new cemetery was an extension of the High Church burying ground, and even the suggestion that the project would be both tasteful and profitable.

¹ *Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825, p. 3.

² The full caption read: 'The summit of the Merchants', or Fir Park as it is called now, is now finally fixed upon as the situation for the monument to John Knox. It has been suggested that this piece of ground might be made use of for a burying place, a monumental garden we may call it, similar to the celebrated Père Lachaise at Paris: the effect would be beautiful, and its vicinity to the Cathedral would add much to its interest. We have given a sketch of the park supposing it turned to this purpose; a neat bridge might be thrown across the [Molendinar] Burn from the High Church yard. We seriously recommend this hint to the Merchants' House both as a matter of taste and in a pecuniary point of view.' *Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825, p. 3.

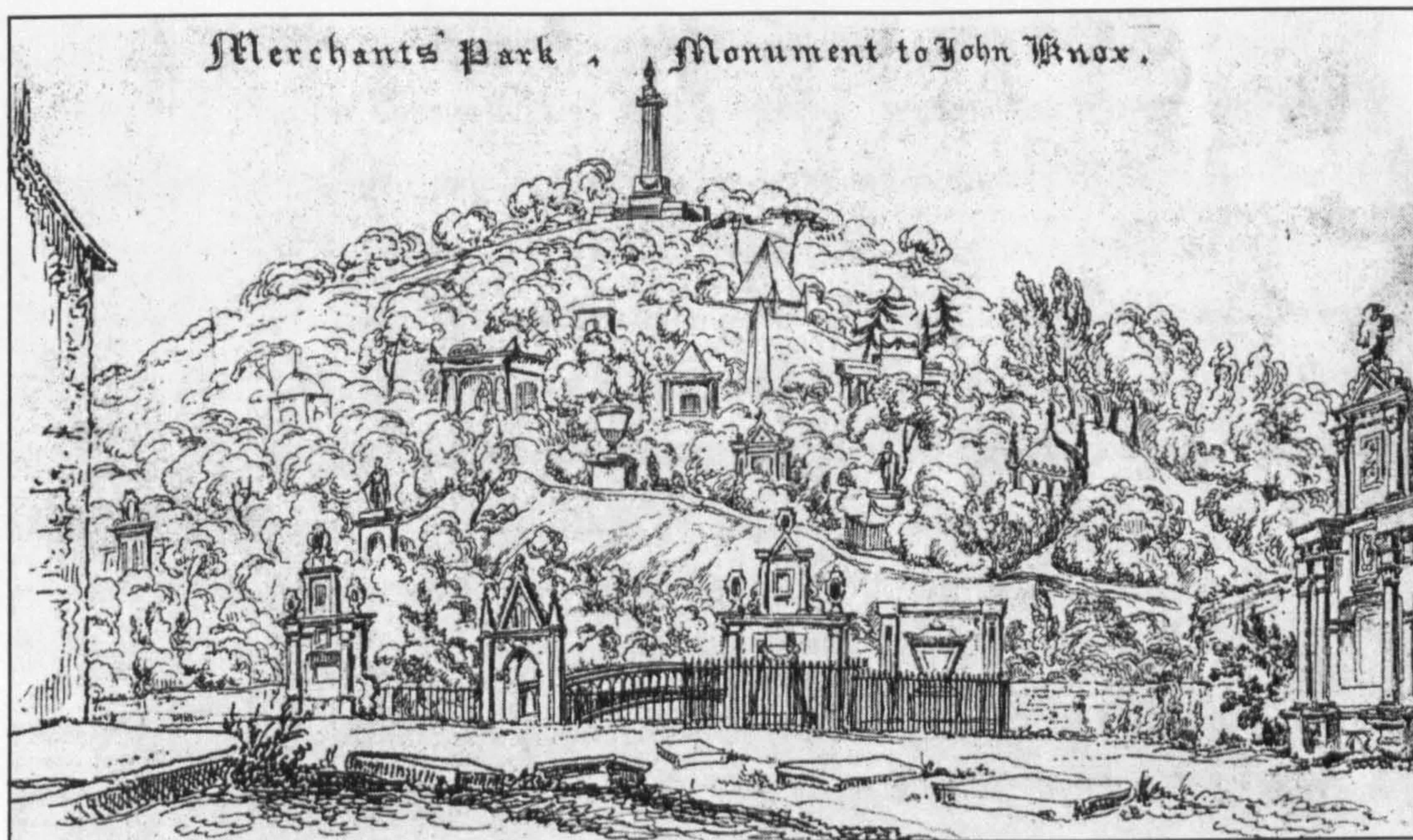


Figure 1 – The Merchants' Park transformed into a burying ground, as imagined by illustrator William Heath in 1825, three years before James Ewing made the same proposal to the Merchants' House. Note the bridge linking the High Church burying ground to the park. (*Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825.)

any farther than this, such a crowded receptacle of the dead, would be impossible, but we could tell the citizens, where something little inferior to that of *Pere La Chaise*, could be easily formed, and if so, why should it not be adopted? We allude to the Fir Park, a place which is in fact not unlike the situation of, and in many respects preferable to Mount Louis, and what is more, is already planted and laid out in walks and shrubbery. Why has our indefatigable Dr Cleland never thought of this as a substitute for that constant piling of bodies above one another in our several Burying-Grounds? For the merchant's house it would be a most advantageous mode of disposing of their ground, and for the citizens of Glasgow it would make the most splendid of Cemeteries. A head gardener and several assistants would take the charge of this *champ du repos*, instead of a church yard Baillie and his corps of grave diggers. An artist, or a man of acknowledged taste would be appointed to overlook the plans and the execution of the monuments, whereby all paltry and ridiculous erections would be prevented, and what is more, a check would be put upon those puerile and impertinent epitaphs, where common sense, language and taste are alike outraged. And which causes us, while laughing at the folly that is imprinted upon the tombstone, but too often to laugh at the object which it covers!

It has been somewhere remarked, that the respect

Figure 2 – An article in the *Scots Times*, most likely written by John Strang, which proposed that the Merchants' House should convert its Fir Park into a cemetery in the style of Père Lachaise. This was published three weeks before James Ewing made the same suggestion to the House. (*Scots Times*, 14 June 1828.)

The cartoon was the work of William Heath (1795-1840), an English engraver working in Glasgow, and the newspaper, which was almost entirely taken up by the work of Heath, was edited by Thomas Hopkirk (1785-1841).³ The publication would likely have a wide circulation base, since it ridiculed upper class fashions and fads, and made fun of a broad range of Glasgow activities and pastimes, from evening classes to the uniforms of soldiers and sailors. Hopkirk's and Heath's observational humour relied on people being familiar with the topic being lampooned, so it is likely that the conversion of the Fir Park, and the invocation of Père Lachaise, were to some degree in the public mind in 1825. Hopkirk was the brother-in-law of Laurence Hill (1791-1872), Collector of the Merchants' House and the first person in that institution to suggest that it convert the Fir Park into a landscaped cemetery; both were involved with the Botanic Gardens in Glasgow. Hill later wrote that he had travelled to Paris in 1825 'chiefly to see Père Lachaise', and he may have discussed this with his wife's brother.⁴

The first suggestion in print that the Merchants' House should establish a cemetery in the Fir Park came in 1828 in the pages of *The Scots Times*, most likely from the pen of John Strang (1795-1863), who went on to write profusely on the subject of funerals, cemeteries and mourning over the next decade (see Figure 2).⁵ Three weeks later, Laurence Hill formally wrote to James Ewing (1775-1853), a senior figure in the Merchants' House, and convener of its quarries and lands committee, which oversaw the Fir Park, making the same suggestion as Heath and Strang, arguing a strong case for the project in terms of the House's own interests. Ewing was enthusiastic, and championed the proposal within the House: his remarks to the quarries committee in support of the scheme have been endlessly repeated as the first and only proposal, and Ewing has become accepted as the originator of the idea.

Whatever its genesis, the Necropolis soon became an important part of Glasgow, attracting not only the business of people who wanted to be buried and remembered there, but also visitors who, inspired by the many guides that praised the landscape, flocked to look over the new amenity. As the Necropolis filled up

³ Scottish Book Trade Index, National Library of Scotland, www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/, viewed December 2004.

⁴ In bundle GCA, T-MH 52/8/1, Papers Relating to Proposal to turn Fir Park into Necropolis Cemetery 1829-34.

⁵ *Scots Times*, 14 June 1828.

with imposing monuments, sculptures and mausolea, it took on another meaning as Glasgow's largest outdoor art gallery, where the work of the architects, sculptors and masons who were creating a distinctive cityscape were on show. By becoming a Pantheon for the great and good of Glasgow, whose stories were told in crisp inscriptions, the Necropolis also became a place of rational recreation, where the benefits of mercantile capitalism were made obvious. The architectural structures also made apparent the inspiration for the new cemetery, as the neoclassical monuments that had made an appearance in Père Lachaise were recreated in the Necropolis. Thanks to Strang's book on the Necropolis project, which included a history of burial and commemoration in a number of cultures, people in Glasgow were able to read and understand these designs.⁶ Customers and visitors would also have been aware of the day-to-day business of running the cemetery, as the Superintendent and his staff dug graves, maintained the grounds and helped masons to erect monuments. All these aspects of the Necropolis are dealt with in this thesis, which is based on a detailed examination of the records of the Merchants' House, and other relevant archive sources. Specifically, it discusses the origins of the Glasgow Necropolis, and investigates the many sources and complex contexts in which the new cemetery was conceived and constructed.

Methodology

The methodology adopted for this thesis is derived from the work of Ashplant and Smyth.⁷ They have described this approach in some detail:

Writing a cultural history of an artefact involves examining the systems of production, signification and reception that gave rise to the artefact and from which it derives its meanings. This methodology offers a way of

⁶ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831).

⁷ T. G. Ashplant and Gerry Smyth, eds., *Explorations in Cultural History* (London: Pluto, 2001). This book first set out a methodology, then applied it to four case studies: an early feminist text, a polemical work by George Orwell, the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, and an album by The Beatles.

framing the research, analysis and interpretation undertaken as part of any particular cultural history investigation.⁸

They have defined the first part of this process as the examination of:

the production of an artefact, [which] includes its authorship (individual or collective), its mode of publication (that is, of bringing before the public), and its contemporary historical and cultural context.⁹

They have described the ambit of the second task:

The systems of signification include the formal conventions within which the artefact was produced (such as literary language, style of painting, film genre).¹⁰

And they have identified the topic of the third aspect:

The reception of the artefact involves study both of how it was received and 'read' by contemporaries, and of the various meanings attached to it later in changing historical circumstances.¹¹

Applying this methodology to the early history of the Glasgow Necropolis has resulted in six discrete chapters. The first two discuss the two most important contexts in which the Necropolis was conceived and constructed: contemporary Glasgow and the many civic and social improvements that were being made to the city; and the development of the ornamental or garden cemetery in Britain and western Europe. The following four chapters deal with the production and signification of the cemetery, and with its reception. Chapters three and four detail the construction and signification of the Necropolis, firstly as a designed landscape and secondly as a working business, and discuss the ways in which the Merchants' House and its supporters framed public discussion of the new cemetery, through publications, press advertisements, and a public exhibition of the plans for the Necropolis. Chapter five examines specific reactions to the Necropolis, from locals and visitors, and assesses whether the meanings given to

⁸ T. G. Ashplant and Gerry Smyth, 'In Search of Cultural History', in T. G. Ashplant and Gerry Smyth, eds., *Explorations in Cultural History* (London: Pluto, 2001), p. 6.

⁹ Ashplant and Smyth, 'In Search of Cultural History', p. 6.

¹⁰ Ashplant and Smyth, 'In Search of Cultural History', p. 6.

¹¹ Ashplant and Smyth, 'In Search of Cultural History', p. 6.

the cemetery by the House were reflected in the writings of these audiences. Finally, chapter six discusses early funerals and monuments in the Necropolis, and examines to what extent they reproduced the cultural meanings promoted by the House. This methodology has proved a useful structure for the investigation of the Necropolis, and has helped to make clear the relationships between those promoting particular cultural meanings and those expected to receive and interpret them.

Cultural history, as Peter Mandler has written, is more focused on ‘the history of representations’ rather than on structures or processes, examines the construction of meanings, draws on a wide variety of sources, and crosses the boundaries of academic disciplines.¹² Lynn Hunt has also emphasised the importance of theoretical diversity,¹³ and this thesis includes material derived from history, cultural geography, cultural and historical archaeology, sociology, anthropology, art and architectural history, and literary studies. In particular, the works of Sarah Tarlow and Julie Rugg, respectively a historical archaeologist and a historian of cemeteries, have provided many insights. This examination shows that the Glasgow Necropolis was a product of certain ways of thinking that were prominent in the city at the time. The promoters thought that Père Lachaise was the most appropriate model for its landscape and monuments, Strang provided the cultural context for how people should think and feel about the new cemetery, and the Merchants’ House wanted to create a property that was both a civic improvement and a profitable asset. The Necropolis sat within this network of beliefs, and was given meaning within the culture of the period. This was reflected in how people reacted to it, and how they chose to perform funerals and commission monuments in the style promoted by the Merchants’ House and its advisers. However novel the Necropolis seemed to the people of Glasgow at the time, it could be read and understood in terms of the dominant culture, that of the members of the Merchants’ House and the professional classes that supported them, such as architects, monumental masons, funeral directors, lawyers, ministers and popular writers.

The strict chronological scope of this thesis spanned the years 1828, when Strang, Hill and Ewing each proposed that the Merchants’ House should convert

¹² Peter Mandler, ‘The Problem with Cultural History’, *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), pp. 94-117.

¹³ Lynn Hunt, ‘Introduction: History, Culture and Text’, in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The new Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), p. 22.

the Fir Park into an ornamental cemetery derived from Père Lachaise in Paris, and 1857, when George Blair published his survey of the monuments in the Necropolis. However, it traced the roots of certain burial practices to the Scottish Reformation, and included responses to the developing Necropolis until the end of the nineteenth century.

The state of the art

Recent academic interest in the history of cemeteries in Europe and the United States of America began with the work of Philippe Ariès, a historian who had previously written a pioneering history of childhood.¹⁴ His principal publication, *The Hour of our Death*, which first appeared in English in 1981, surveyed 1,500 years of funerary practices in France, and suggested five successive attitudes to death.¹⁵ These were: (1) the Tame Death, where the social disruption caused by death is tamed by ritual, which reigned from antiquity to the late Middle Ages; (2) the Death of the Self, where the individual becomes more important than the community, which dominated until the beginning of the eighteenth century; (3) Remote and Imminent Death, where death has lost its tameness and is again savage, which held sway during the eighteenth century; (4) the Death of the Other, where increasing familial affection shifted the fear of death from the self to the loved one, which came to the fore in the nineteenth century; and (5) the Invisible Death, where privacy and medicine prevail, which characterised the twentieth century.¹⁶ The Necropolis falls into his category number four.

Ariès may not have been a member of any particular school of historians, but his works on western attitudes to childhood and then to death demonstrated that he was in a long French tradition of interest in cultural values or *mentalités*, the often unconscious beliefs, attitudes and assumptions that underlie social behaviour. He shared a number of concepts with the school of cultural historians, including the *longue durée*, as seen by the slow changes identified during the

¹⁴ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1962).

¹⁵ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, trans Helen Weaver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹⁶ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, pp. 602-614. He revisited these ideas in Philippe Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

1,500 year scope of his study of attitudes to death. Ariès' focus on attitudes ensured that he saw church edicts and government proclamations as reflections of the beliefs and intentions of particular sets of people in power, rather than laws that were promulgated and obeyed by the people. His methods and conclusions have been contested, for example, by Roy Porter of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, and Margaret Miles of Harvard Divinity School, and his importance has receded.¹⁷ Between them, they have made two fundamental criticisms of Ariès: that he rarely gave precise sources for his broad assertions, and, linked to this, that his writings were often unclear whether he was claiming that a particular finding applied to Paris, France or all of Western Europe. Nevertheless, Ariès was a pioneer of analysing changing attitudes to death.

The next attempt to create a grand narrative focused, not on attitudes to death, but on the architecture of burying grounds and monuments. In this analysis, the garden cemetery as we know it began with Père Lachaise in Paris and spread through Europe before going on to influence north America and then the rest of the developed world. The main proponents of this argument were James Stevens Curl, Howard Colvin and Chris Brooks, all architectural historians with a focus on the most interesting monuments in the most important cemeteries, who proposed that the beauty and taste represented in Père Lachaise were seized upon and copied by other cities.¹⁸ Critics of the art and architectural historical approach – such as Julie Rugg and Sarah Tarlow – have argued that this attempt to create an overarching history does not take into account the complexities of local conditions and attitudes. Curl, however, has produced new editions of his two books on cemeteries, and has kept pace with changing academic positions.¹⁹ He has also maintained a broad geographical focus: many commentators on the rise of the

¹⁷ Roy Porter, 'Classics Revisited: The Hour of Philippe Ariès', *Mortality*, 4.1 (1999), pp. 83-90; Margaret R. Miles, 'Images of Man and Death' [book review], *Theology Today*, 43.3 (1986), pp. 430-421.

¹⁸ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972); James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death* 1st edn (London: Constable, 1980); Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991); and Chris Brooks, *Mortal Remains* (Exeter: Wheaton, 1989).

¹⁹ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000); James Stevens Curl, *Death and Architecture* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2002). [This is the third edition of *A Celebration of Death*.]

modern cemetery in the British Isles confine their attentions to London, while Curl, who was born in the north of Ireland, is knowledgeable about structures and institutions in Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales; his publications include a short guide to the cemeteries and burial grounds of Glasgow.²⁰ There has also been a number of architectural historical studies of the origins of Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, which opened in 1804 as the first garden or ornamental cemetery; these include works by Richard A. Etlin and Michel Ragon.²¹

The third wave of academics who have investigated the history of the development of cemeteries have come from the disciplines of history and historical archaeology. Julie Rugg, a historian who founded the Centre for Cemetery Studies at the University of York in 1991, has examined the wide range of local conditions and contexts that led to the foundation of individual cemeteries.²² She has written on the history of cemeteries, the methodology of researching cemeteries, and has worked to redefine the scope and methods of cemetery research.²³ In addition, she has organised an annual Cemetery Colloquium at York University since 1998 and has been guest editor of the journal *Mortality*, which has strong connections with the bi-annual conference Death, Dying and Disposal; the conference covers a variety of disciplines, including history and anthropology.²⁴ Taking a similar cultural approach is Thomas W. Laqueur, a historian who has written on many areas of European

²⁰ James Stevens Curl, *The Cemeteries and Burial Grounds of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1974).

²¹ Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: the Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984); Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and its Legacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration and Urbanism* trans. Alan Sheridan (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1983).

²² For example, Julie Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853', Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of History, University of Stirling, 1992; Julie Rugg, 'Researching early Nineteenth Century Cemeteries: Sources and Methods', in *The Local Historian*, 28.3 (1998), 130-144; and Julie Rugg, 'Population Expansion, Epidemic and Extra-mural Burial', paper presented at the Cemeteries Colloquium, University of York, May 2002.

²³ For example, Julie Rugg, 'Ownership of the Place of Burial: A Study of early Nineteenth-century urban Conflict in Britain', in Robert J. Morris and Richard H. Trainor, eds., *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 211-225; Julie Rugg, 'Defining the Place of Burial: What makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?', *Mortality* 5.3 (2000), pp. 259-275.

²⁴ *Mortality*, 8.2 (2003).

cultural history, from working-class religion to masturbation, and who has investigated how cemeteries both reflect and create changes in attitudes to death and to the dead body.²⁵ He has argued that the cemetery – which he defined as a ‘secular, explicitly landscaped, memorial park’ – is ‘so precisely the invention’ of a particular time period – the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – that it can allow us to understand what is modern about death and burial.²⁶ He has also asserted that Père Lachaise cemetery, which was known even at the time of its opening in 1804 as ‘a radical innovation in the spatial geography of the dead in relation to the living’, became internationally a symbol of bourgeois triumph.²⁷ In support of this, he cited both the Emperor of Brazil and ‘the Merchant Adventurer’s Company’ of Glasgow each planning to build their own Père Lachaise.²⁸ He argues that this model of a modern resting place for the dead was the ‘culmination of a long Enlightenment battle’ against church control of the spaces of death, and the most important change that was brought about (in an echo of Ariès) was the separation of the dead from the living, through the removal of the places of burial from the city centres to the periphery.²⁹

Sarah Tarlow, a historical archaeologist, has proposed that increasing familial affection produced both the modern cemetery and modern attitudes to death and mourning.³⁰ Her study of changing memorial practices argued that ‘personal relationships, at least as much as power and status’ are represented in ‘the archaeology of death’.³¹ Michael Parker Pearson, an archaeologist who characterised nineteenth century burial ritual as a ‘forum for the display of wealth

²⁵ For example, Thomas W. Laqueur, ‘Cemeteries, Religion and the Culture of Capitalism’, in Jane Garnett and Colin Matthew, eds., *Revival and Religion since 1700* (London: Hambledon, 1993), pp. 183-200; Thomas W. Laqueur, ‘The Places of the Dead in Modernity’, in Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman, eds., *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France 1750-1829* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 17-32; and Thomas W. Laqueur, ‘Spaces of the Dead’, in *Ideas*, 8.2 (2001), 3-16. His most recent work is Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York, NY: Zone, 2003).

²⁶ Laqueur, ‘Spaces of the Dead’, p. 4.

²⁷ Laqueur, ‘Spaces of the Dead’, p. 5.

²⁸ Laqueur, ‘Spaces of the Dead’, p. 5. He presumably meant a reference to the Merchants’ House of Glasgow; the errant apostrophe in the quoted phrase is Laqueur’s.

²⁹ Laqueur, ‘Spaces of the Dead’, p. 12.

³⁰ For example, Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); Sarah Tarlow, ‘Landscapes of memory: The Nineteenth Century Garden Cemetery’, *European Journal of Archaeology*, 3.2 (2000), pp. 217-239.

³¹ Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, p. xi.

and status', has described how the landscape of cemeteries reflected the social status of those buried in them.³² He concluded that 'death as a platform for social advertisement' was most obvious in times of social change.³³

In the wake of these academics has come more multi-disciplinary work, such as Ken Worpole's *Last Landscapes*, which argued that few architects and landscape architects of the twentieth century have created cemeteries with the meaning and resonance of those of the previous century, and Robert Pogue Harrison's *The Dominion of the Dead*, which discussed how monuments and graves ensure the continuing presence of the dead and their beliefs among the living.³⁴ In addition, the new information and insights provided by Rugg, Laqueur and Tarlow have inspired other writers to investigate related issues. For example, garden historians have produced much interesting work on how particular symbolic gardens – such as those at Twickenham, Stowe and Ermenonville – influenced the early garden or ornamental cemeteries.³⁵ Academics researching tourism are also, as part of a broader interest in dark tourism – alternatively known as thanatourism – researching cemetery tourism, both in the present and in the past.³⁶ The recent rise in the interest in cemeteries has not been confined to academia, and there have been many 'Friends' organisations established to research, conserve and develop cemeteries in the United Kingdom and Europe.³⁷ A number of these organisations are affiliated to the Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe, or the National Federation of Cemetery Friends, of the United Kingdom.³⁸

³² Michael Parker Pearson, 'Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology: An Ethnoarchaeological Study', in I. Hodder, ed., *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 99.

³³ Michael Parker Pearson, 'Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology', p. 113.

³⁴ Ken Worpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion, 2003); Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

³⁵ See, for example, John Dixon Hunt, 'A Garden and a Grave', *Journal of Garden History*, 4.3 (1984), pp. 209-220; Michael Charlesworth, 'Sacred Landscape: Signs of Religion in the Eighteenth-century Garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 13.1-2 (1993), pp. 56-68.

³⁶ See for example the website The Dark Tourism Forum, edited by Philip Stone, a tourism lecturer at the University of Central Lancashire, which includes discussion of cemetery tourism. www.dark-tourism.org.uk, viewed September 2005.

³⁷ A Friends of Glasgow Necropolis group was set up in July 2005.

³⁸ The Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe (ASCE), viewed September 2005: www.significantcemeteries.net. National Federation of

While there is a growing body of literature on cemetery studies in France, America and in the United Kingdom as a whole, there are very few studies specifically relating to Scotland. Just as Ariès' conclusions about Paris cannot be extended to cover Western Europe, findings about England – even if they are presented as applying to Great Britain, the United Kingdom or even the British Isles – cannot be assumed to be valid in Scotland.³⁹ For example, Scots law relating to burial, churchyards and cemeteries varies from English law; one significant point of variance is that churchyards in Scotland are not consecrated ground, which has had an impact on the design of mid-nineteenth century cemeteries in Scotland and England, as well as earlier aspects of burial in graveyards and, before the Reformation, on the law of sanctuary.

There is yet no full-length study of the history of burial places in Scotland, or of the development of the modern cemetery north of the Border. Betty Willsher's 17-page introductory chapter to her *Understanding Scottish Graveyards* and Anne Gordon's chapter on cemeteries in her study of death, funeral and burial customs are the only works on this topic.⁴⁰ Willsher's book was one of the few surveys of Scottish memorials and their settings; it was based on her own wide-ranging visits to burial grounds, made for the purposes of recording grave markers. Her fieldwork, much of it done in conjunction with Doreen Hunter, has generated a large body of work that remains to be fully interrogated and interpreted.⁴¹ Gordon traced the origins of formal graveyards in Scotland to the division of Scotland into parishes by Alexander I and David I in the twelfth century, and followed their subsequent uses through Acts and edicts forbidding various activities that presumably were taking place there, such as wappenschaws, fairs, markets and places of punishment. She did not, as Ariès exhaustively did, tie the changing attitudes to graveyards to parallel changing attitudes to death. Her

Cemetery Friends, viewed September 2005:

www.cemeteryfriends.fsnet.co.uk/index.html. The ASCE has sponsored Mauro Felicori and Annalisa Zanotti, eds., *Cemeteries of Europe: A Historical Heritage to Appreciate and Restore* (Bologna: Scene, 2004).

³⁹ A notable exception is the clearly-labelled Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁴⁰ Betty Willsher, *Understanding Scottish Graveyards: An Interpretative Approach* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995); Anne Gordon, *Death is for the Living* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris Publishing, 1984).

⁴¹ This has been deposited with the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

two-page contribution to a recent compendium was written within the same limitations.⁴² Dane Love's *Scottish Kirkyards* is, like Willsher's work, strongly focused on grave stones.⁴³

Within Scotland, little has been written on cemeteries in Glasgow. Curl's short book provided an outline account of their histories, while the *Glasgow Graveyard Guide* concentrated on short biographies of those buried in a limited number of burying grounds.⁴⁴ More has been written on the Necropolis itself. In the nineteenth century, John Strang wrote *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831), a brief overview of burial practices through the ages and a manifesto for a new type of cemetery for Glasgow, two years before the official opening of the Necropolis in 1833; three years after the opening, Laurence Hill wrote a short guide for visitors to the Necropolis.⁴⁵ Hill's pamphlet was followed by a short survey for 'the traveller' by Peter Buchan in 1843 and a full-length book by George Blair in 1857.⁴⁶ Buchan's guide featured a walk through the Necropolis, 'this palace of the triumphant dead' that owed rather a large debt to Strang (a history of burial practices before the advent of the modern cemetery) and Hill (his description of the development of the Necropolis). He prefigured Blair by including a number of biographies of eminent people interred in the Necropolis. What was important about this short book, however, was that its author and publisher clearly saw a market for it, and while many of its intended purchasers would have been visitors to Glasgow, the inclusion of a two-page guide to the fees payable for burial in the Necropolis suggested that an audience closer to home was expected. It perhaps suggested a close tie with the Necropolis authorities, who may have sold the guide from the gatehouse.

Blair's volume, published 24 years after the official opening of the Necropolis, is perhaps the complementary bookend to Strang. The two books bracket the cemetery's genesis and maturity; the latter book looked back to the

⁴² Anne Gordon, 'Death and Burial', in Michael Lynch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 164-166.

⁴³ Dane Love, *Scottish Kirkyards* (London: Robert Hale, 1989).

⁴⁴ Curl, *The Cemeteries and Burial Grounds of Glasgow*; Jimmy Black, *The Glasgow Graveyard Guide* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1992).

⁴⁵ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*; Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1836).

⁴⁶ Peter Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis* (Glasgow: Andrew Rutherglen, 1843); George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857).

first: Blair recorded that the Necropolis had become ‘a favourite resort of our citizens, as well as a principal attraction to strangers’ and observed, responding to the aspirations expressed in Strang’s book, that ‘this is precisely in accordance with the object and design of the cemetery’.⁴⁷ The nineteenth-century histories of Glasgow, while yielding some details about the new cemeteries and the history of their developments, very much took their lead from the works specifically on the Necropolis by Strang, Hill and Blair.

The twentieth century generated three Glasgow School of Art dissertations: one was deposited in the Mitchell Library and is much cited; one was published as a small illustrated guide; and the third languishes on the shelves of the art school.⁴⁸ At the start of the twenty-first century, one more Glasgow School of Art dissertation, and a popular guide to the history and residents of the Necropolis were produced, which perhaps indicated a revival of interest in the cemetery.⁴⁹ There were also references to structures in the Necropolis in many of the standard architectural histories of Glasgow, and in some of the popular tourist guidebooks. Ray McKenzie has produced two scholarly books on the sculpture of Glasgow, and both feature informative sections on the Necropolis.⁵⁰ Overall, the emphasis has tended to be on the visual impressiveness of the Necropolis and not on its origins or importance at the time it was built.

Given the historiography of the Necropolis, there is now an opportunity to examine the peculiarly Scottish background to the formation of this burying ground, which was the first modern cemetery in Scotland and one of the first in the British Isles. Among the primary source material that has not until now been examined is the minute book of the cemetery committee of the Merchants’ House of Glasgow, and related records. This thesis also drew on published and

⁴⁷ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches*, p. vii.

⁴⁸ Alexander Welsh, ‘Glasgow Necropolis: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture’, Glasgow School of Art, 1979); James J. Berry, *The Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: James J. Berry, 1985); John Agnew, ‘A measured Study of Monuments at the Glasgow Necropolis: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture’, Glasgow School of Art, 1997.

⁴⁹ Hsien Wen Neil Wong, ‘Glasgow Necropolis: The Beginning to an End: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture’, Glasgow School of Art, 2005; Ronnie Scott, *Death by Design: The True Story of the Glasgow Necropolis* (Edinburgh: Black & White, 2005).

⁵⁰ Ray McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow: An Illustrated Handbook* (Foulis Archive Press, 1999); Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002).

unpublished archive material, including burial records, undertakers' records and the job book of one Glasgow sculptor and monumental mason. Reference was also made to newspaper articles, travellers' accounts, poems and illustrations.

A cultural history of the Necropolis

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels famously wrote that 'what the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, is its own grave diggers'.⁵¹ In producing the Glasgow Necropolis, however, the Merchants' House manifested not only grave-diggers but a panoply of workers, from architects and landscape gardeners to monumental masons and funeral directors. Far from destroying the political and social system that sustained the House and its members, the Necropolis not only reflected the economic structures and class distinctions that existed in the living city but also reproduced and reinforced these.

The Necropolis was an innovation: it was the first garden cemetery in both Scotland and Glasgow, and it was built by an institution other than the Church or the Town Council. The origins of its landscaping, design, structures, ownership, commercial ethos and management styles are complex, and the people involved with its creation span a variety of backgrounds, from international trader to gardener. This thesis, guided by the methodology described above, sets out to disentangle these issues, and to make plain the attitudes and beliefs that influenced the design and operation of the Necropolis.

Glasgow in the early years of the nineteenth century was a city in transition, rapidly changing from a small trading burgh to the Second City of the Empire, and both enjoying the fruits of the industrial revolution and struggling to deal with its side-effects. The Town Council and other bodies and individuals were introducing improvements, such as a ready supply of fresh, clean water, gas lighting, and organised policing. In the midst of this, a commercially-operated burial ground laid out like a public park was just another aspect of the improving city, fuelled by the energetic capitalists of the emerging middle classes. Chapter

⁵¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York, NY: Labor Publications, 1973), p. 44. The text was originally written and published in London in 1848, half-way in time between Hill's *Companion* and Blair's *Sketches*.

one of this thesis discusses these improvements in the fabric of the city, and examines how the Necropolis brought not just extended burial space but a new way of thinking about burial spaces, and how they might be put to use.

The city was not alone in this activity, of course, and other growing cities were facing the same challenges and employing many of the same solutions. When producing garden cemeteries, which all the cities of Europe decided to do, most looked to Père Lachaise. Glasgow, a provincial city in strict terms, looked directly to Paris, rather than to London, not only for its cemetery design but also for its teacher training methods and some of its architecture. Chapter two discusses Glasgow in the context of British and European cemetery development, and examines the various influences on the Necropolis from across the Border and across the North Sea. It also explores the possible influence of Freemasonic ideas on the development of the Necropolis, and examines the connections between a number of the key players in the construction of the Necropolis and the Glasgow Lodges.

The Necropolis project began in 1828, with a meeting of members of the Merchants' House of Glasgow; five years later, the cemetery opened for businesses. In between, the House and its advisers recruited staff, landscaped the grounds, drew up regulations, built important structures, and prepared the public for their new enterprise through an exhibition of the plans and through newspaper advertisements. None of the members had operated a burying ground before, but they were able to fund and oversee the creation of the first garden cemetery in Scotland, without any significant opposition. Chapter three investigates the first five years of the Necropolis project, from the initial suggestions for transforming the Fir Park into an ornamental cemetery to the official opening of the Necropolis for business in May 1833, and discusses how the Merchants' House gave meaning to its new asset.

Once the Necropolis was operating, the practices of having funerals, raising memorials, returning to the grave, and simply visiting the new landscape brought new meanings to the enterprise and its structures. The regulations were altered to accommodate changing conditions, and the etiquette of applying these regulations to customers, some of whom were grieving, was negotiated and then codified. Chapter four discusses these early years of the Necropolis as a working cemetery, and how it was governed and operated. It also examines the reports, accounts and statistics that were generated by the officers of the Necropolis, and

of the House, to ensure that the members were able to make appropriate decisions on the financing and operating of the enterprise.

The working cemetery attracted the attention of writers of all kinds, from local newspaper reporters to poets, and from those writing guides for visitors to tourists themselves. Most of those responding to the Necropolis agreed in what it meant to them, which closely matched the meanings given to the cemetery by its creators. This suggests that the acceptance of the Necropolis as a cultural institution in Glasgow was relatively unproblematic. There were a few exceptions, however, one of whom took his objection to the Court of Session. Chapter five discusses these popular reactions, and links them to the original aspirations for the Necropolis, as expressed by its founders and their advisers.

The Necropolis presented the emerging middle classes of Glasgow with a new cultural space, where elaborate funerals could be acted out, and impressive monuments could be built. Chapter six discusses how both funerals and monuments increased in complexity and cost over the first few decades of the nineteenth century, and how this extravagance mirrored a change in attitudes towards death, burial and commemoration. Overall, the thesis discusses the origins, development and meaning of the first ornamental cemetery in Scotland, which was first suggested in public with a satirical cartoon.

Chapter one

The Necropolis in the context of Glasgow improvements, 1800-1833

Introduction

The people of Glasgow benefited from a steady stream of modernising improvements during the first third of the nineteenth century, while the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation contributed to the population growth of the city.¹ These processes were to have horrifying consequences for social conditions and public health in the overcrowded city centre, but, in the main, the emerging middle classes avoided these by moving to better quality housing in the developing suburbs to the west of the industrial centre.² Their increasingly affluent lifestyles, as the city's industries and businesses controlled by them flourished, funded many of the city's improvements. The Necropolis, which offered a secure environment for interment and a sanitary location for both private grief and public commemoration, was one of many similarly-motivated improvements that had an impact on both the public and private spheres. The same changes in sensibilities led to all the improvements discussed here.

This chapter discusses a range of these improvements, including the development of Glasgow harbour, education, crime and punishment, church provision and increased burial space, and the people behind them; the locations of many of these be seen in the map of the city produced by James Cleland in 1831 (see Figure 3). An improving elite, drawn from both the burgesses and the emerging middle classes, was behind many of these improvements. As Irene Maver has noted, 'the much-vaunted entrepreneurial energy of Glasgow's close-knit business elites'³ propelled many of the

¹ The processes are covered in detail by the essays in T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, eds., *Glasgow, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

² The consequences of these changes, and many of their solutions, are covered in detail in W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, eds., *Glasgow, Volume 2: 1820-1912* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996).

³ Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 37.

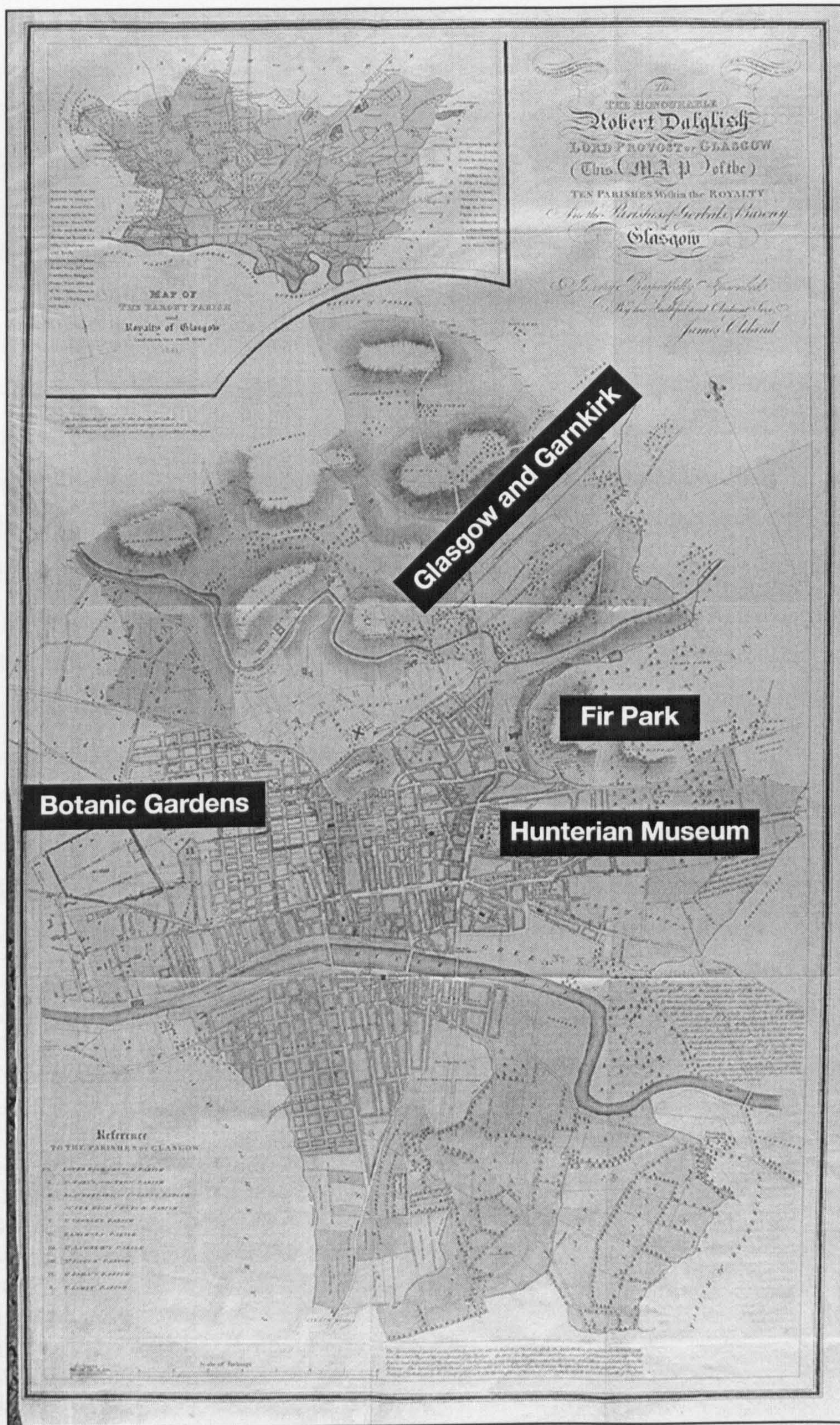


Figure 3 – Map prepared by James Cleland in 1831 to accompany his population census, showing the 10 parishes within the Royalty, and the parishes of Barony and Gorbals. Among the improvements shown on the map were the newly-opened Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway, and the gridded suburbs north and south of the Clyde. (James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark* [Glasgow: James Cleland, 1831].)

improvements in the city, including the Necropolis. This densely networked group included James Ewing (see Figure 4), a West India Merchant, Laurence Hill (see Figure 5), a solicitor to many of the leading institutions in the city, James Cleland, the driving force behind the Town Council's programme of structural improvements, and a number of others with overlapping business and cultural circles of influence. Their careers show remarkable integration, in such seemingly diverse spheres as banking, bridges and burying grounds, even where their politics and religions diverged. Pearson and Richardson have shown that these 'interconnected circuits' of commercial and social links were typical of developing cities in Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and often supported the creation of new service industries by spreading the risks of investment and strategic decision making among 'a local or regional elite'.⁴

Julie Rugg has recommended that the investigation of any cemetery should include an examination of the overlapping roles and networks of the founders, and this chapter shows that within the tightly-knit business and cultural elite of Glasgow the people determined to improve the business infrastructure of the city were the same ones working to provide improved prison accommodation, better workhouse provision and more humane and respectable burying grounds.⁵ For example, James Ewing (1775-1853), who was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Glasgow Necropolis, was elected Dean of Guild of the Merchants' House in 1816; he had been admitted a burgher by right of his father on 26 April 1808.⁶ During his year of office, he was also elected president of the Andersonian University and chairman of the Glasgow Marine Society, and appointed a director of the Magdalene Hospital, the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society, the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum and the Blind Asylum; he was also deputy governor of the Glasgow Provident Bank.⁷ Later honours included being

⁴ Robin Pearson and David Richardson, 'Business Networking in the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History Review* 54.4 (2001), pp. 674, 661.

⁵ Julie Rugg, 'Researching Early-Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries: Sources and Methods', *The Local Historian* 28.3 (1998), p. 141. See also Julie Rugg, "'A few Remarks on Modern Sepulture": Current Trends and New Direction in cemetery research', *Mortality* 3.2 (1998), pp. 111-128.

⁶ James R. Anderson, *The Provosts of Glasgow 1609-1832* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1942), p. 135. See also the biographical sketch in Appendix A.

⁷ Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1866) p. 35. The Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society, which advocated the distribution of the Bible without apocryphal or other additional material, was favoured by Seceders and Evangelicals; the Glasgow Bible Society took a less fundamental view. Report of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society, *Glasgow Herald*, 21 January 1831, p. 3. See also Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century*

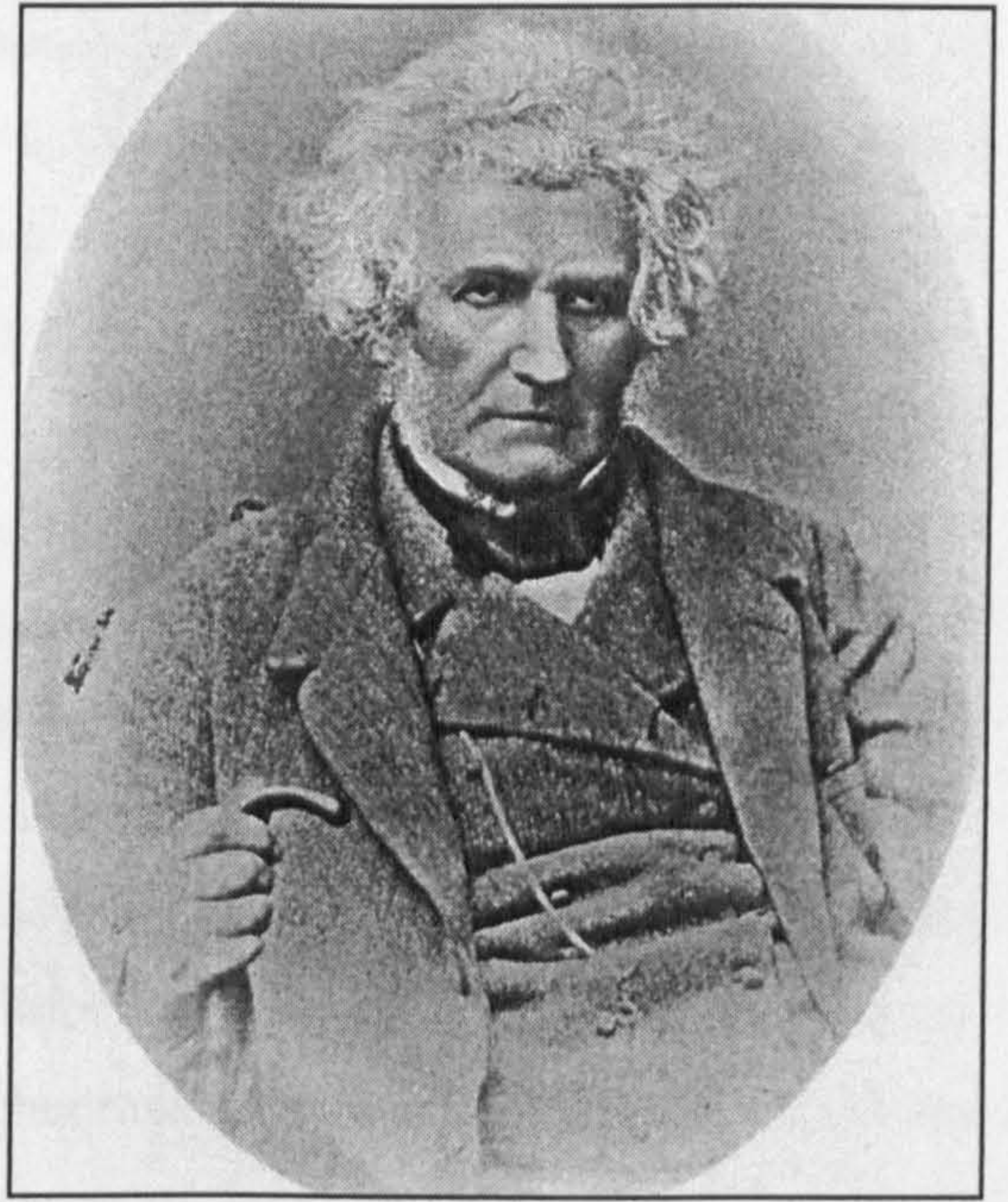


Figure 4 (top left) – Bust of James Ewing by James Fillans, depicting him in a Classical style. (Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing* [Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1866].)

Figure 5 (top right) – Photograph of Laurence Hill, Collector of the Merchants' House and the first person to buy a family burying ground in the Necropolis. (James MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1 [Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1886].)

Figure 6 (above left) – The Royal Exchange in Queen Street, designed by David Hamilton and opened in 1830, which replaced the old Exchange at Glasgow Cross, demonstrating the westward expansion of the city. Ewing was prominent in developing the new Exchange. (John Cullan and John Scott, *Glasgow Illustrated in a Series of Picturesque Views* [Glasgow: John Scott, 1834].)

Figure 7 (above right) – James Cleland, a Glasgow town councillor and later Superintendent of Public Works, was the driving force behind many of the improvements in the city in the first third of the nineteenth century. He is seen here in a portrait painted by William Ross. (The Glasgow Story, www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA03581, illustration from Mitchell Library, Glasgow Collection, viewed August 2005.)

elected Lord Provost, Dean of Guild for a second time and Member of Parliament for Glasgow. Ewing, a West India merchant, was also a Freemason; in particular he was a member of Lodge Glasgow Argyle Number 76, which was at the time ‘the most influential lodge in the Province’ with ‘a glittering membership of Lord Provosts and the commercial aristocracy of the day’.⁸

It is impossible to be certain how important the involvement of Ewing and many other prominent citizens in Freemasonry was, as records are rare and reminiscences generally silent on the topic. It can be said, though, that Masonic meetings, where discussion of religion and politics were forbidden, may have provided a forum where men of widely different views could discuss issues of common interest.⁹ In addition, the brotherhood, through its Grand Lodge in Edinburgh, connected the elites of Scotland. Members of the aristocracy featured in its higher ranks; for example the Prince of Wales (later George IV) was the Grand Master Mason of Scotland from 1806-20, and the holders of that office in the following 15 years included the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Elcho, Lord Kinnaird and Rossie, and Viscount Glenorchy.¹⁰ The patronage of people such as these may have increased the attraction of joining a lodge. James Stevens Curl, an architectural historian who has specialised in both cemeteries and Freemasonry, has written:

The inter-denominational Glasgow Necropolis was formed by the Merchants’ House in that city by prominent citizens, many of whom had Masonic affiliations. This severely Neoclassical cemetery is, in terms of architecture, the most Sublime of all British cemeteries.¹¹

Sublimity is a term used in both architecture, where it refers to structures that inspire awe and astonishment, and also in Freemasonry, where a number of degrees are described as sublime. Curl, an adept in both spheres, may have been using the word to indicate that Masonic ideals were expressed in the design of the Necropolis.

Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 91.

⁸ The Provincial Grand Lodge of Glasgow: Historical Sketch, www.mastermason.com/pglglasgow/pglghist.html, viewed October 2002.

⁹ David Reid, ed., *The Constitution and Laws of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 103. These strictures are laid out in ‘The Antient [sic] Charges of Free and Accepted Masons’ included in this volume.

¹⁰ J. Mark Garside, ed., *Year Book of the Grand Lodge of Antient [sic] Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1993), p. 15-16.

¹¹ James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London: Batsford, 1991), p. 207. The Necropolis would be better described as non-denominational.

Others involved in the genesis of the Necropolis were prominent in overlapping networks. Laurence Hill (1791-1872), Collector of the Merchants' House from 1819 to 1837, was also involved in a secretarial or administrative capacity with the University of Glasgow, the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, the Royal Botanic Institute, Miller's Educational Trust, Hutchesons' Hospital and various toll road trusts in the west of Scotland.¹² James Cleland (1770-1840), a trades burgess and later senior town council official, was involved in a number of capacities in many of the improvements described below.¹³ Both were also business people, investing their own resources in projects that would benefit the city; for example, Cleland was a partner in the Glasgow Building Company from 1796.¹⁴ A small number of architects, such as David and James Hamilton, designed the commercial and domestic premises of the elite, including summer homes further down the Clyde, and the commemorative structures that embodied their attitudes and values, such as the Nelson monument on Glasgow Green.¹⁵ When the time came, these architects were also at hand to design appropriate funerary structures.

The dominant themes in this period of Glasgow's history include expansion, professionalisation, technological improvement, the expansion of the middle class and their business and cultural activities, and a working through of the values of the Enlightenment.¹⁶ Expansion is seen, for example, in population, wealth and eventually the civic boundary. Professionalisation takes place, for example, of the Town Council and its employees, and of the policing of the burgh.¹⁷ Technological improvements include the introduction of gas street lighting, the increasing use of steam power in both industry and transport, and the coming of the first railways. The expansion of the middle classes and their business and cultural activities can be seen, for example, in the

¹² James MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1 (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1886), pp. 161-64. See also the biographical sketch in Appendix A.

¹³ Stana Nenadic, 'James Cleland', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 14-15. See also the biographical sketch in Appendix A.

¹⁴ John R. Kellett, 'Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow, 1780-1830', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 8 (1961), p. 219.

¹⁵ Charles McKean, David Walker and Frank Walker, *Central Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989). For David and James Hamilton, see the biographical sketch in Appendix A.

¹⁶ For detailed discussions of these themes, see the essays in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume 1*.

¹⁷ Irene Maver, 'The Guardianship of the Community: Civic Authority prior to 1833', in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow Volume 1*, pp. 244-45.

new Exchange in the west of the town, and a new theatre next to it.¹⁸ Finally, the working through of the outcomes of the Enlightenment can be seen in moderate and diverse religions, institutions for the free transfer of ideas, new associations and meeting places and an emphasis on education.

In contrast to these themes of expansion and improvement, the conditions of life in the former centre of the burgh, around Glasgow Cross – which was being abandoned by the emerging middle classes as they moved west, upwind of the polluting industries of the town centre and eastern suburbs – became intolerable, notwithstanding two Acts of Parliament in 1814 and 1827 regulating the discharge of smoke.¹⁹ The passing of a second Act indicated that the industrialised area of Glasgow was increasing, while suggesting that proprietors of steam engines within the one mile radius of the Cross were paying little attention to the legislation. The decision by the merchants to transform their pleasure garden on the Fir Hill into a burying ground could be seen as symbolic of this move to the west, which allowed the historic heart of the city to descend into a polluted slum. The area immediately around the High Church, however, appears to have escaped the worst of the atmospheric pollution, since there was continued development there for the use and benefit of the middle classes, including the remodelling of the High Church – which is discussed below – and the creation of both St. Mungo's burying ground and the Necropolis in the 1830s.

These two faces of life in Glasgow can clearly be seen in the contrasting perceptions of two visitors to the city in the 1830s. James Johnson, who visited the city from London in 1832, praised 'the colleges, museums, churches, exchanges and public edifices' as being 'as well deserving of the traveller's attention as those of most great cities', while Jelinger C. Symons, a London lawyer reporting to Parliamentary commissioners on the condition of the hand-loom weavers, condemned the living

¹⁸ Many of these improvements were illustrated in books such as John M. Leighton and Joseph Swan, *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* (Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1829).

¹⁹ 54 George III, Cap. 198, An Act to Explain and Amend So Much of an Act, Passed in the Thirty-Third Year of His Present Majesty, as Relates to Building a Bridge over the River Clyde, Opposite to the Saltmarket Street in the City of Glasgow; and for Regulating the Chimnies [sic] of Steam Engines, and Other Works, in the Said City and Suburbs Thereof (1814); and 7 & 8 George IV, Cap. 43, An Act for Forming a Carriage Road or Drive around the Park or Public Green of Glasgow; and for Better Regulation of the Fireplaces and Chimnies [sic] of Steam Engines and Other Works in the Said City and Suburbs (1827).

conditions in the old heart of Glasgow in 1839.²⁰ Symons, who would be later quoted by many writers, wrote:

I have seen human degradation in some of its worst phases, both in England and abroad, but I can advisedly say that I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery and disease existed on one spot in any civilised country [...] It is my firm belief that penury, dirt, misery, drunkenness, disease and crime culminate in Glasgow to a pitch unparalleled in Great Britain.²¹

Symons and other visitors to the town were not the only people to write about Glasgow in this period. Among the most important recorders was James Cleland, whose steady stream of books about the city from 1816 helped shape the way it was perceived both by residents and outsiders.²² Cleland, who served the city as Superintendent of Public Works from 1818 to 1835, was not only a powerhouse of civic development, with an involvement in many of the improvements discussed here, but also a proponent of civic boosterism whose writings promoted a positive view of the city. One contemporary writer commented that ‘no man ever had to do with getting up so many churches, monuments and public works of all kinds’.²³ While not directly involved in planning or building the Necropolis, Cleland was responsible for the design and execution of St. Mungo’s, its immediate predecessor, in which many of the changing opinions and beliefs that are made concrete in the Necropolis were first seen; this is discussed in more detail below.²⁴

²⁰ James Johnson, *The Recess, or Autumnal Relaxation in the Highlands and Lowlands* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1834); British Parliamentary Papers, Reports of the Assistant Handloom Weavers’ Commissioners, vol. 42 (1839), pp. 51-52.

²¹ British Parliamentary Papers, Reports of the Assistant Handloom Weavers’ Commissioners, pp. 51-52.

²² These included James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Brash, 1820), and James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840).

²³ ‘James Cleland, LL.D. (1770-1840): “The Distinguished Statist”,’ *Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal*, July 1971, p. 289.

²⁴ Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, vol 11 (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916), p. 523.

Civic growth and development

The number of people living in Glasgow expanded at a prodigious rate in the early years of the nineteenth century. The population of Glasgow and the suburban parishes of Barony and Gorbals almost tripled in size between the censuses of 1801 and 1831, from 77,385 to 202,426.²⁵ By 1821, Glasgow was the second city of the British Isles, its population having overtaken Edinburgh's in that year's census. By contrast, the size of the burgh had not increased between 1800 and 1830: legislation in 1800 extended the Royalty over the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat, and a subsequent Act of 1830 annexed the lands of Blythswood and the those parts of Easter and Wester Craigs that belonged to the Merchants' House.²⁶ This second extension, which included the site of the Necropolis, increased the city's area by 317 acres (128 hectares), from 1,864 acres (754 hectares) to 2,181 acres (882 hectares).²⁷ Trade also grew and prospered. Customs duties collected at Glasgow grew from around £3,000 in 1772 to more than £40,000 in 1825 and to around £270,000 in 1835, and while traded items ranged from rum and sugar imported from the West Indies to soft and hard woods from around the world, cotton was as characteristic of Glasgow in these decades as tobacco had been for much of the previous century.²⁸ The import, processing and manufacture of cotton dominated the economy of Glasgow and the surrounding towns until the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁹

Within the burgh, improvements in town planning had led to wider streets, stone buildings and a regular grid. After the disastrous fires of 1652 and 1677, the burgh oversaw the rebuilding of the town in stone, rather than wood, laid out in what was to become the characteristic Glasgow grid.³⁰ Markus, Robinson and Walker have noted the 'contrast in urban form' between the 'topographically derived pattern of the medieval settlement in the upper and lower towns' and the 'more geometrically rigorous spread

²⁵ James Cleland, *Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1837), p. 5.

²⁶ 39 & 40 George III, Cap. 88, An Act for Extending the Royalty of the City of Glasgow (1800); 2 George IV, Cap. 42, An Act for Extending the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of the Magistrates and the Town or Burgh and Dean of Guild Courts of Glasgow over the Lands of Blythswood and Adjacent Lands; and for Amending the Acts Relating to the Police of the Said City (1830).

²⁷ Joe Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p. 196.

²⁸ Andrew Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 82.

²⁹ Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City*, p. 83.

³⁰ Thomas A. Markus, Peter Robinson and Frank Arneil Walker, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow Volume 1*, p. 119.

of the eighteenth century'.³¹ The grid, which had previously been employed by the burgh to lay out Port Glasgow in the 1690s, was also applied by their proprietors to the suburbs of Blythswood in the west and Tradeston, Hutchesontown and Laurieston to the south. This pattern fitted the flat terrain of the area west of High Street, but was a less obvious way of laying out streets on the drumlins of Blythswood hill and Garnethill.³² As Markus *et al.* wrote, street layout patterns are 'charged with the cultural legacy' of their times, and the geometrical grid can be seen as characteristic of the Enlightenment and its predilection for the neoclassical.³³ The grid also allowed the construction of *point-de-vue* buildings: important and impressive structures that break the regular pattern by facing a street and often standing in a square of their own. These landmark buildings include Ramshorn Kirk, built 1720-24 and facing Candleriggs; St. George's Church, built in 1807 and becoming, as Markus *et al.* wrote, a dual *point-de-vue* for George Street in the first New Town and for West George Street in the second; and the Royal Exchange, completed in 1827 on the axis of Ingram Street (see Figure 6).³⁴ These town planning techniques – with the pointed exception of the grid – found expression in the design and layout of the Necropolis. To some degree they derive from the discipline of formal garden design, which supplied the principles behind the disposition of the carriageways and paths of the early cemeteries.³⁵

In this era, Glasgow Town Council became more professional in its approach to civic development.³⁶ Constrained by an antiquated constitution, it devolved responsibility for developing aspects of the city to, for example, the River Improvement Trustees and the commissions that built roads and bridges linking the city and its hinterland.³⁷ It also employed council officers, such as Cleland (see Figure 7), whose prodigious energy and imagination propelled many of the improvements in the city in

³¹ Markus *et al.*, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', p. 120.

³² Markus *et al.*, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', p. 120. See also Frank Arneil Walker, 'The Glasgow Grid', in Thomas A. Markus, ed., *Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1982), pp. 155-199.

³³ Markus *et al.*, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', p. 128. There may also be connections to the geometrical regularity beloved of Freemasons.

³⁴ Markus *et al.*, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', p. 128.

³⁵ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2000), p. 17.

³⁶ For the political context of this transformation, see Irene Maver, 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City: Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century', in T. M. Devine, ed., *Scottish Elites* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994), pp. 98-130.

³⁷ James Bell and James Paton, *Glasgow: Its Municipal Organization and Administration* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1896).

this period. Cleland was unanimously elected to the offices of Superintendent of Public Works and Superintendent of Statute Labour by the magistrates and council in September 1814; he resigned the second post in May 1818, and held the first for 20 years until 'he thought it expedient to resign' in 1834, after the 1833 Burgh Reform Act brought some 'alteration in the distribution of offices', as he put it.³⁸ His period in office was marked by an aggressive emphasis on capitalising on the assets of the town council. For example, he quickly instituted a charge for the caravans of performers taking part in the annual Glasgow Fair and parked on council land, as the Corporation of London did with performers in Bartholomew Fair, and between 1815 and 1834 this raised £2,509 for the town's coffers.³⁹

Cleland had risen to prominence through the ranks of both the Incorporation of Wrights, the Trades House of Glasgow and the Glasgow Town Council: in the first he was elected Collector of the Incorporation in 1794 and Deacon in 1796; in the second he was elected Deacon Convenor in 1809; in the third he was elected as a councillor in 1800, Chief Magistrate of Gorbals in 1804, a Bailie of Glasgow in 1806, Treasurer of the city in 1812 and Superintendent of Public Works in 1814.⁴⁰ As a member of the town council, he had been elected to superintend the building of a new toll house in September 1804, and his plans for a new grammar school were adopted in 1807.⁴¹ Before he became an official of the town council and was involved in developing many of the city's assets, Cleland carried on his own business as a property developer; for example, in 1814 he built a new head post office for Dugald Bannatyne, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and Head Postmaster.⁴² Four years later, he bought the Tolbooth building, including the court house and prison, but not the steeple, from the burgh for £8,000, after it had decamped to the new burgh buildings at the foot of the Saltmarket.⁴³ He replaced the former Tolbooth – which dated to 1626 and which had contained the council chamber, clerks' offices and other administrative chambers – with

³⁸ Entry for James Cleland in William Anderson, *The Popular Scottish Biography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Company, 1842), p. 209. In fact, Reform brought a new political climate where Cleland's Conservatism was no longer welcome: John F. McCaffrey, 'Political Issues and Developments', in Fraser and Maver, *Glasgow, Volume 2*, pp. 191-193.

³⁹ Entry for James Cleland in Anderson, *The Popular Scottish Biography* vol 1, p. 209.

⁴⁰ 'James Cleland', *Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal*, p. 289.

⁴¹ Nenadic, 'James Cleland', pp. 14-15.

⁴² 'James Cleland', *Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal*, p. 289.

⁴³ Nenadic, 'James Cleland', pp. 14-15.

a block containing shops and offices, designed by David Hamilton, which stood until 1925 until it too was replaced.⁴⁴

David Hamilton (1768-1843), pioneer of the architectural profession in Glasgow, started his life as a stone mason and builder, and became an architect only in his thirties.⁴⁵ He worked with Robert and James Adam, then made his own name with his design for Hutchesons' Hospital in Ingram Street.⁴⁶ After this success, he designed a number of country houses for the aristocracy, such as the redesigned Hamilton Palace for the Duke of Hamilton, as well as a number of country retreats for Glasgow merchants, including Castle House in Dunoon for James Ewing, and the nearby Castle Toward at Innellan for Kirkman Finlay.⁴⁷ He also designed many commercial buildings, such as the Union Bank in Ingram Street and the Royal Exchange in Queen Street; churches, such as Gorbals John Knox Church in Carlton Place and St. Enoch's Parish Church in St. Enoch's Square; and public monuments, including the obelisk erected in 1806 as a monument to Lord Nelson on Glasgow Green.⁴⁸ Hamilton was a Freemason, and the foundation stone of the Nelson Monument, which was built by public subscription, was laid on 1 August 1806 by Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, Provincial Grand Master of the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire in front of a large crowd, including members of 23 Masonic lodges.⁴⁹

Hamilton was also involved in the design of the Necropolis, and produced the Bridge of Sighs and the entrance gates, possibly in partnership with his son James; one of his other sons managed his father's marble business, in partnership with Cleland and William Mossman I.⁵⁰ When Cleland left his Town Council post, an appeal was raised and Hamilton designed the Cleland Testimonial building, which was presented to the

⁴⁴ 'James Cleland', *Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal*, p. 289.

⁴⁵ George Fairfull Smith, *David Hamilton (1768-1843): The Father of Architecture in the West of Scotland* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, 1999).

⁴⁶ Smith, *David Hamilton*.

⁴⁷ Charles McKean, 'David Hamilton', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 24 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 779-781

⁴⁸ McKean, 'David Hamilton', 779-781.

⁴⁹ Ephriam S. Lawrie and Ian M. Macdonald, *The Lodge of Glasgow St. John, Number 3 bis., with Notes on the Incorporation of Masons in Glasgow* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1961), pp. 78, 42. Despite this august endorsement, the monument was struck by lightning on 5 August 1810. Joe Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p. 225.

⁵⁰ Alexander Welsh, 'Glasgow Necropolis: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture', Glasgow School of Art, 1979, p. 49.

former council officer.⁵¹ Hamilton was well connected in civil society: he was a trustee of Anderson's University, and a member of the Glasgow Philosophical and Dilettanti societies.⁵² This membership of important institutions, the sequence of significant commissions, and the Hamiltons' network of clients, shows the growing importance of architects in this period of the city's development, producing long-lasting physical manifestations, dressed in the approved styles of the times, of their clients' taste, power and wealth. One of Hamilton's most notable buildings was the Royal Exchange, which opened in 1829, supplanting one of the engines of Glasgow's mercantile success, the Exchange in the Tontine building at Glasgow Cross, where merchants met to do business, read the latest intelligence from the home and foreign newspapers and drink coffee.⁵³ James Ewing was to the fore in the project to establish the new Royal Exchange, and indeed was 'the largest subscriber to the cost of the edifice' and its first chairman.⁵⁴ He laid its foundation stone, with full Masonic honours, in December 1827, and chaired the great dinner that was held to celebrate its opening in September 1829.⁵⁵ The location and increased accommodation of the new building convincingly demonstrated both that Glasgow's business centre had moved west and that the size and importance of the business community was increasing. McPhun's 1840 guidebook to the city judged that the new Exchange had been constructed 'on a scale and in a style not surpassed if equalled in the world' and averred that 'no visitor should leave the city without taking a turn through this splendid room'.⁵⁶ One visitor who did take a turn was William Cobbett, who in 1832 treated his readers to a three-page account of the new Exchange, to allow them 'to judge of the style and manners, as well as the magnitude and opulence of this city'.⁵⁷

Another institution supporting the commercial and industrial expansion of the city was the Merchants' House of Glasgow. Ewing was elected its 118th Dean of Guild in 1816-17, and immediately set about reviving the House, which had declined during the Napoleonic Wars: he increased the membership considerably, and wrote a history of the House from its origin in 1605 to 1816 that consolidated its reputation as both a

⁵¹ Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches, and Malcolm Higgs, *Glasgow* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 223.

⁵² Smith, *David Hamilton*.

⁵³ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 166.

⁵⁴ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 61.

⁵⁵ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 62.

⁵⁶ William Rae McPhun, *McPhun's Guide through Glasgow*, 2nd edn (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1834), p. 58.

⁵⁷ William Cobbett, *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland*, ed. by Daniel Green (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), pp. 93-95.

leading business organisation and a charity that supported a wide range of civic causes.⁵⁸ The work attracted a vote of thanks from the members of the House, who thought it ‘an accurate, luminous and valuable record’.⁵⁹ His second prominent act was to propose the sale of the Merchants’ Hall in Bridgegate, which was no longer a salubrious part of town; this met with approval, and in 1818 the House demolished the Merchants’ Hall and sold the site; the steeple, however, which was described as ‘an ornament to the city’, was retained.⁶⁰ After the demolition of the Merchants’ Hall, the House met in the Council’s hall until its new premises in Hutcheson Street was completed in 1842.⁶¹

Ewing was also active in the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce and Manufacture, which was established in 1783 to represent the interests of the city’s business people and factory owners, and which was the first such organisation in the United Kingdom.⁶² The Chamber – which worked principally to defend the city’s trade, increase standards in manufacturing and to campaign for lower taxes – was prominent in business affairs in the early nineteenth century.⁶³ Ewing, who had long been a director, was elected chairman in 1818; Kirkman Finlay, Ewing’s friend and colleague, was four times chairman and then president of the Chamber.⁶⁴ Ewing also served as Dean of Guild of the Merchants’ House, was Lord Provost in 1812 and 1819, and was MP for the Clyde Burghs from 1812 to 1818; he was also Governor of the Forth and Clyde Navigation Company from 1816, and Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.⁶⁵

Ewing and Finlay were to the forefront of the campaign to abolish the monopoly on trade granted by parliament to the East India Company, which was the only United Kingdom organisation allowed to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and which

⁵⁸ George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857), p.184.

⁵⁹ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 184.

⁶⁰ J. M. Reid, *A History of the Merchants’ House of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Merchants’ House of Glasgow, 1967), p. 40.

⁶¹ These premises in Hutcheson Street later became part of the County Buildings, which subsequently housed the Sheriff Court; they directly faced the Trades’ House along the length of Garthland Street, which is now known as Garth Street. The Merchants’ House moved to its present accommodation at the north-west corner of George Square in 1874. Reid, *A History of the Merchants’ House of Glasgow*.

⁶² Charles Oakley, *Our Illustrious Forebears* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1980), p. 41; Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 61.

⁶³ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 61.

⁶⁴ Oakley, *Our Illustrious Forebears*, p. 41; Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p.271

⁶⁵ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*.

landed all its cargoes in London.⁶⁶ This campaign, which began in 1812 and later developed into the Glasgow East India Association, was intended to allow Glasgow trading concerns – not least those owned by Ewing, Finlay and their colleagues in the Chamber and House – to share in the profits of trading with the east, and to bring that trade to the Clyde rather than the Thames.⁶⁷ Finlay, who had been foremost among the merchants who worked to subvert the Napoleonic embargo on British trade with the continent, was determined to break this other imposition on free trade; he continued this campaign at Westminster when he was elected MP for the Clyde Burghs in 1812.⁶⁸ The United Kingdom Government opened up trade to India, but not China, and the first Glasgow ship, Finlay and Company's 600-ton *Earl of Buckinghamshire*, arrived in Calcutta in 1816.⁶⁹ Free trade with China was opened up in 1833, after a further campaign in which Finlay was prominent.⁷⁰

Financial institutions also developed and grew in this era. The Glasgow Bank, the last private bank in the city, was founded in 1809 and the Union Bank, the first joint stock bank in Glasgow, in 1830.⁷¹ Ewing was one of the 'first supporters' of the latter, although described as 'not officially' connected with its management.⁷² He was also joint founder, with Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, of the Glasgow Provident Bank, the first savings bank in the city; this was established, on 19 June 1815, specifically to serve 'the welfare of the hard-labouring and industrious families'.⁷³ Smith was governor, Ewing deputy governor, and there were 28 directors, all of whom gave their time for no reward; Cleland, quoted in Mackay's biography of Ewing, noted that the bank was established and run 'for the benefit of the lower orders of the community'.⁷⁴ There may well be an Evangelical stamp on this venture, intended as it was to encourage thrift and self-sufficiency among working people.

The growth in financial institutions ran parallel with the flourishing of Glasgow's industries and utilities. Visitors to the city praised the enterprise they saw all around them; one Irish visitor in 1818 reported a 'buzz and stir in every street and lane'

⁶⁶ Oakley, *Our Illustrious Forebears*, p. 41.

⁶⁷ Gordon Jackson, 'New Horizons in Trade', in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume 1*, pp. 224-25.

⁶⁸ *James Finlay & Company Limited* (Glasgow: Jackson, 1951), p. 9.

⁶⁹ *James Finlay & Company Limited*, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁰ *James Finlay & Company Limited*, p. 11.

⁷¹ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, pp. 16-17.

⁷² Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 29.

⁷³ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 30.

⁷⁴ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 30.

as the working people of the town went about their business.⁷⁵ James Johnson, who travelled through Glasgow in 1832, wrote that ‘the manufactories of Glasgow deserve the attention of the traveller’, and indeed Karl Friedrich Schinkel visited Tennant’s ‘large chemical factory’ at St. Rollox in 1826, where he saw ‘many chimneys, one of which is 170 feet high’; he also saw round a factory, ‘where circular saws 15 feet in diameter split veneer panels’, and Charles Todd’s wool spinning and weaving mill, where ‘about 6,000 bales of material a week’ were processed by ‘young girls, some of them very pretty’.⁷⁶ Felix Mendelssohn and Carl Klingemann in 1829 visited a ‘stupendous cotton mill [...] full of maddening noise’ where ‘hundreds of little girls were hard at work’, and in 1832 William Cobbett saw Henry Monteith’s Turkey Red dyeing plant in Bridgeton and thought it ‘as large as no very inconsiderable country town’.⁷⁷ These visitors, who found the industry and technology of Glasgow quite as exciting and stimulating as Scotland’s better known visitor attractions, furnished valuable outsider confirmation of the apparent progress being made in Glasgow’s manufactories.

Much of the increase in industrial activity was driven by technological breakthroughs, such as the bleaching powder developed by Charles Macintosh and Charles Tennant, the ‘hot blast’ process of smelting iron discovered by James Beaumont Neilson, and the harnessing of coal gas for lighting.⁷⁸ Gas lighting, which was introduced into Glasgow in September 1818, in a grocer’s shop at 128 Trongate owned by Robert Hamilton, who was on the Board of Commissioners of Police and also one of the founders of the Glasgow Gas Company⁷⁹. Hamilton’s three roles show the importance of the new illuminant in three spheres: making commercial premises more

⁷⁵ George Neilson, ‘A Visitor to Glasgow in 1818,’ in *Old Glasgow Club Transactions* vol 2 (Glasgow, 1913), p. 45.

⁷⁶ James Johnson, *The Recess, or Autumnal Relaxation in the Highlands and Lowlands* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1834), p. 187; Karl Friedrich Schinkel, ‘*The English Journey*’: *Journal of a Visit to France and Britain in 1826*, ed. by David Bindman and Gottfried Riemann (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 158.

⁷⁷ David Jenkins and Mark Visocchi, *Mendelssohn in Scotland* (London: Chappell, 1978), p. 85; Cobbett, *Cobbett’s Tour in Scotland*, pp. 56-57.

⁷⁸ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 275; Elspeth Wills, *Scottish Firsts: Innovation and Achievement* (Scottish Development Agency, 1985), p. 36.

⁷⁹ Peter MacKenzie, *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* vol 1 (Glasgow: James P. Forrester, 1890, p. 144. Mackenzie noted that in September 1818, the directors of the company were: Henry Monteith of Carstairs; Robert Jarvie, merchant; Walter Ferguson, clothier; James Hamilton, grocer; Alexander Finlay, carver and gilder; Thomas Dunlop Douglas, merchant; William McGavin, manager, British Linen Company.

attractive; decreasing crime, and perhaps the fear of crime, on the streets; and the emergence of new utility companies to capture and commercialise technological innovation. Despite initial public scepticism, commercial demand soon grew, and in its early days the gas company received a letter signed by six people requesting gas lighting in their houses; the six included John Strang, father of John Strang, who was to play an important part in imagining the Necropolis.⁸⁰ James Ewing's house in Queen Street, James Cleland's house in Great Upper Nile Street, and Kirkman Finlay's house in Queen Street were among the first in the city to be fitted with gas lighting.⁸¹ The new illuminant was soon used for street lighting.

Similarly, Glasgow's transport links, with its neighbours and those further afield, were transformed in the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly the ability of the Clyde to accommodate larger vessels with deeper draughts.⁸² The River Improvement Trust, founded in 1809, employed a variety of experts, including John Rennie and Joseph Whidbey, to continue the canalisation the river – as well as build wharfs and docks – and so increase its economic importance to the burgh.⁸³ From 1812, when the *Comet* was launched, steamboats increased the capacity and reach of the river vessels.⁸⁴ As Andrew Gibb has shown, the number and capacity of ships arriving at Glasgow rose considerably in the early years of the nineteenth century: these increased from 1,678 vessels with total tonnage of 80,683 in 1806 to 3,937 vessels of 190,507 in 1823, while the number of vessels of more than 100 tons rose from seven to 252.⁸⁵ Similarly, Gibb recorded that the number of ships registered at Glasgow rose from 24, of average tonnage of 81.5, to 297, of average tonnage of 182.9, between 1810 and 1835.⁸⁶ These figures demonstrate both the growth of trade and the increase in Glasgow's ability to accommodate larger and larger ships in this period.

There were also grand plans for new canals to complement the Forth and Clyde Canal and the Monkland Canal, both of which had opened in 1790 – one was proposed from Bowling to the Broomielaw, another from Ardrossan to Glasgow.⁸⁷ The cost and

⁸⁰ MacKenzie, *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* vol 1, p. 148. The other signatories were: William Dick, D. McGregor of the King's Arms Inn, John Carss, Alexander Blair and John Renfrew.

⁸¹ MacKenzie, *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* vol 1, p. 149.

⁸² John F. Riddell, *Clyde Navigation: A History of the Development and Deepening of the River Clyde* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979).

⁸³ Riddell, *Clyde Navigation*, pp. 66-67, 89.

⁸⁴ Riddell, *Clyde Navigation*, pp. 73-77.

⁸⁵ Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City*, p. 85.

⁸⁶ Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City*, p. 85.

⁸⁷ Riddell, *Clyde Navigation*, pp. 109-11, 56-57.

scale of these ambitious schemes demonstrated the value to the town of increasing its capacity for water-borne trade, and showed the vision and financial powers of their promoters. The canal parallel to the Clyde did not proceed further than the drawing board, but the Glasgow Paisley and Ardrossan Canal was surveyed by Telford in 1805, authorised by an Act of Parliament in 1806 and begun in 1807.⁸⁸ It proved to be more expensive than planned, and less attractive to investors than thought, however, and the canal was constructed only between Glasgow and Johnstone.⁸⁹ The stretch between Port Eglinton, just south of the Jamaica Bridge, and Paisley, however, was popular with passengers, and the three Glasgow termini of the canals, at Port Eglinton, Port Dundas and St. Rollox, became centres of industry on the fringes of the burgh.⁹⁰ After only a few decades of operation, the canals were rivalled by the early railways, first between Monkland and Kirkintilloch in 1824 and, more importantly for Glasgow, between Garnkirk and St. Rollox in 1831.⁹¹ The latter, which shared a western terminal with the Monkland Canal, offered the promise of cheaper coal from the Lanarkshire fields.⁹² Various railway schemes were promoted in the 1830s, including lines from the collieries of Pollok and Govan to the Broomielaw, but the two most important early lines, to Greenock in the west and Edinburgh in the east, did not become operational until 1841 and 1842 respectively.⁹³

Laurence Hill, Collector of the Merchants' House and a leading figure in its Necropolis project, was involved – with Charles Tennant, founder of the St. Rollox Chemical Works, and Mark Sprot, proprietor of the lands of Garnkirk – in establishing the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway, the first railway in Scotland on which locomotives were used.⁹⁴ The first engine, named the St. Rollox, which was transported from Newcastle to its namesake in Glasgow by cart, made its inaugural journey in June 1831, four years after the first sod was cut.⁹⁵ The following year, Hill was one of the leading promoters of the first Bill for an Act to construct a railway between Glasgow and

⁸⁸ Riddell, *Clyde Navigation*, pp. 109-11, 56-57.

⁸⁹ Riddell, *Clyde Navigation*, pp. 56-57.

⁹⁰ Riddell, *Clyde Navigation*, pp. 57; Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 50.

⁹¹ C. J. A. Robertson, *The Origins of the Scottish Railway System, 1722-1844* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), pp. 83-87.

⁹² Joe Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p. 312.

⁹³ Robertson, *The Origins of the Scottish Railway System*, pp. 42-43, 120-21.

⁹⁴ MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1, p. 163.

⁹⁵ Don Martin, *The Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway* (Kirkintilloch: Strathkelvin District Libraries and Museums, 1981), p. 17; MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, p. 163.

Edinburgh.⁹⁶ Hill and other influential citizens of Glasgow engaged George Stephenson and Thomas Grainger as their engineers, but their proposal was defeated by the opposition of the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Canal and the Bathgate, Airdrie and other road trusts; they had also found difficulty in raising capital for their projected scheme.⁹⁷ Hill was also involved in a number of schemes to improve the roads leading to and from Glasgow. As secretary to a number of road trusts, he championed the remodelling of the roads between Glasgow and Carlisle, between Glasgow and Greenock, and other roads in the west of Scotland; this was carried out with the support of a number of influential people in Glasgow and the surrounding counties, and the civil engineering skills of his friend Thomas Telford.⁹⁸ For this, Hill was made an honorary burgess of Lanark in 1826.⁹⁹

Glasgow's transport infrastructure was again strengthened on 3 September 1833, when the foundation stone was laid for the widened Glasgow Bridge, which had been designed by Thomas Telford, and which linked the southern end of Jamaica Street with Port Eglinton and the suburbs of Tradeston and Kingston, as well as the rapidly expanding suburbs further south.¹⁰⁰ The ceremony was carried out, according to the *Glasgow Herald*, 'with great Masonic pomp' by Ewing, then both Lord Provost and one of the first two MPs for Glasgow, assisted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, a number of other lodges, and Cleland, as the Grand Director of the Masonic Ceremonial; the Town Council and other public bodies of Glasgow, and those of neighbouring districts, were in attendance.¹⁰¹ There were similar Masonic ceremonies at the laying of foundation stones for all new buildings in eighteenth and nineteenth century Glasgow, notably the new London Street at Glasgow Cross in 1824 – by Lord Provost William Smith, a member of Lodge Glasgow Argyll Number 76 – and for Hutcheson Bridge, at the southern end of Saltmarket, by Robert Dalgleish, Preceptor of Hutchesons' Hospital and also a member of Argyll 76.¹⁰²

Glasgow's connections with the outside world may well have increased trade and the flow of improving ideas, but they also helped the spread of disease. There were two typhus epidemics in the period under review, in 1818-19 and in 1831, and *cholera*

⁹⁶ MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1, p. 163.

⁹⁷ MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1, p. 163.

⁹⁸ MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1, p. 162-63.

⁹⁹ MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1, p. 163.

¹⁰⁰ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 27.

¹⁰¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 5 September 1871.

¹⁰² The Provincial Grand Lodge of Glasgow: Historical Sketch, www.mastermason.com/pglglasgow/pglghist.html, viewed October 2002.

morbus visited the city between February and November 1832, affecting 6,208 people and killing 3,005 of them; only around 1.5 per cent of the population died, but the effects on the town were disastrous.¹⁰³ Public health measures were put into effect during and after the epidemic, but since the cause of cholera was improperly understood the measures were ineffective.¹⁰⁴ Julie Rugg has explored the ‘close relationship’ between the cholera epidemics of the nineteenth century and the establishment of cemeteries: popular dread of the disease demanded that burials be made outside of populated areas, and governments reacted to both the disease and social reaction by passing legislation controlling the living and the dead, which included frameworks for new hygienic and secure burial spaces.¹⁰⁵ The two new cemeteries established in Glasgow in 1832-33, discussed more fully below, were also designed in line with the latest knowledge of public health matters, and can be seen as considerable improvements in these terms over existing provision in the city. The city also promoted other public health measures, the new Lunatic Asylum, designed by William Stark and opened in 1820, was set up and run on the latest principles.¹⁰⁶

Crime and punishment

Until 1800, and the city’s first Police Act, the keeping of public order was the responsibility of all burgesses.¹⁰⁷ This Act had widespread repercussions on the character of the burgh: it created a force with responsibility for public order, public health and sanitation; it gave qualifying citizens the right to vote for representatives on the police commission, the first taste of democracy for many people; and it levied a rate on these same citizens to pay for the new organisation.¹⁰⁸ An unforeseen consequence

¹⁰³ T. M. Devine, ‘The Urban Crisis’, in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume 1*, pp. 403-04; W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, ‘The Social Problems of the City’, in Fraser and Maver, *Glasgow, Volume 2*, 353-56.

¹⁰⁴ Norman Longmate, *King Cholera: The Biography of a Disease* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966), pp. 57-59.

¹⁰⁵ Julie Rugg, ‘Population Expansion, Epidemic and Extra-mural Burial’, paper presented at the Cemeteries Colloquium, University of York, May 2002.

¹⁰⁶ Markus *et al.*, ‘The Shape of the City in Space and Stone’, p. 128.

¹⁰⁷ Maver, ‘The Guardianship of the Community’, p. 249.

¹⁰⁸ 39 & 40 George III, Cap. 88, An Act for Extending the Royalty of the City of Glasgow; for Paving, Lighting and Cleaning the Streets; for Regulating the Police and Appointing Officers and Watchmen; for Dividing the City into Wards; and for Raising Funds and Giving Certain Powers to the Magistrates and Council, and Town and Dean

of the police act, according to John Carrick, was 'to drive all the desperadoes into the suburbs', which did not enjoy the benefits of a commission until a number of years later.¹⁰⁹ The forces of improvement were also at work increasing the capacity, and improving the quality, of accommodation for prisoners in the city. In 1807, Glasgow had 32 prison cells, all in the Old Tolbooth, and the town council determined to erect a new jail, with, as J. F. S Gordon noted, 'accommodation suitable to the needs of the greatly increased population' that was more suited to 'the more enlightened and philanthropic views of the age'.¹¹⁰ This description, it is worth noting, could equally be used of the Necropolis. The new cells were within the new burgh buildings at the foot of the Saltmarket, a neoclassical Greek structure designed by William Stark that was completed and brought into use in 1814 (see Figure 8).¹¹¹ It comprised a High Court room, a burgh court room, council chambers, clerks' department, Lord Provost's rooms, other council rooms, separate cells for male and female debtors, and a felons' prison with condemned cells.¹¹²

James Ewing also had a prolonged association with the criminal justice system. As a member of the Town Council, he was closely involved in reforming the Bridewell and the prison, and he chaired a committee of the Council set up to examine prison reform, which sat from 1819 to 1822; at the time the committee was set up, the town's jail population was swollen by people imprisoned on political grounds.¹¹³ Ewing wrote the committee's report, submitted to magistrates in February 1822, which recommended a new County and City Bridewell; the report noted that the existing Bridewell, which had been built in 1799 on the south side of the Drygate, was now overcrowded and instead of being a 'school of reform' it was 'a seminary of corruption'.¹¹⁴ Ewing's report called for a new building where 'by attention to industry, instructions and morals' people who have been drawn to crime 'might be reclaimed from the paths of ruin'.¹¹⁵ Ewing's views may have been influenced by his friendship with Thomas Chalmers,

of Guild Courts, for the above and Other Purposes (1800); Maver, 'The Guardianship of the Community', p. 251.

¹⁰⁹ John Carrick, Dean of Guild Court Reports', in James Pagan, ed., *Glasgow Past and Present* vol 1 (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1884), p. 219.

¹¹⁰ J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* vol 1 (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1871), p. 395.

¹¹¹ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 194.

¹¹² From 1814 until 1865, when Duke Street Prison was opened, people condemned to death in this court were hanged in front of it and buried beneath flagstones in the inner courtyard: Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, p. 395.

¹¹³ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, pp. 50-51.

¹¹⁴ Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, pp. 50-51.

¹¹⁵ Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, pp. 50-51.

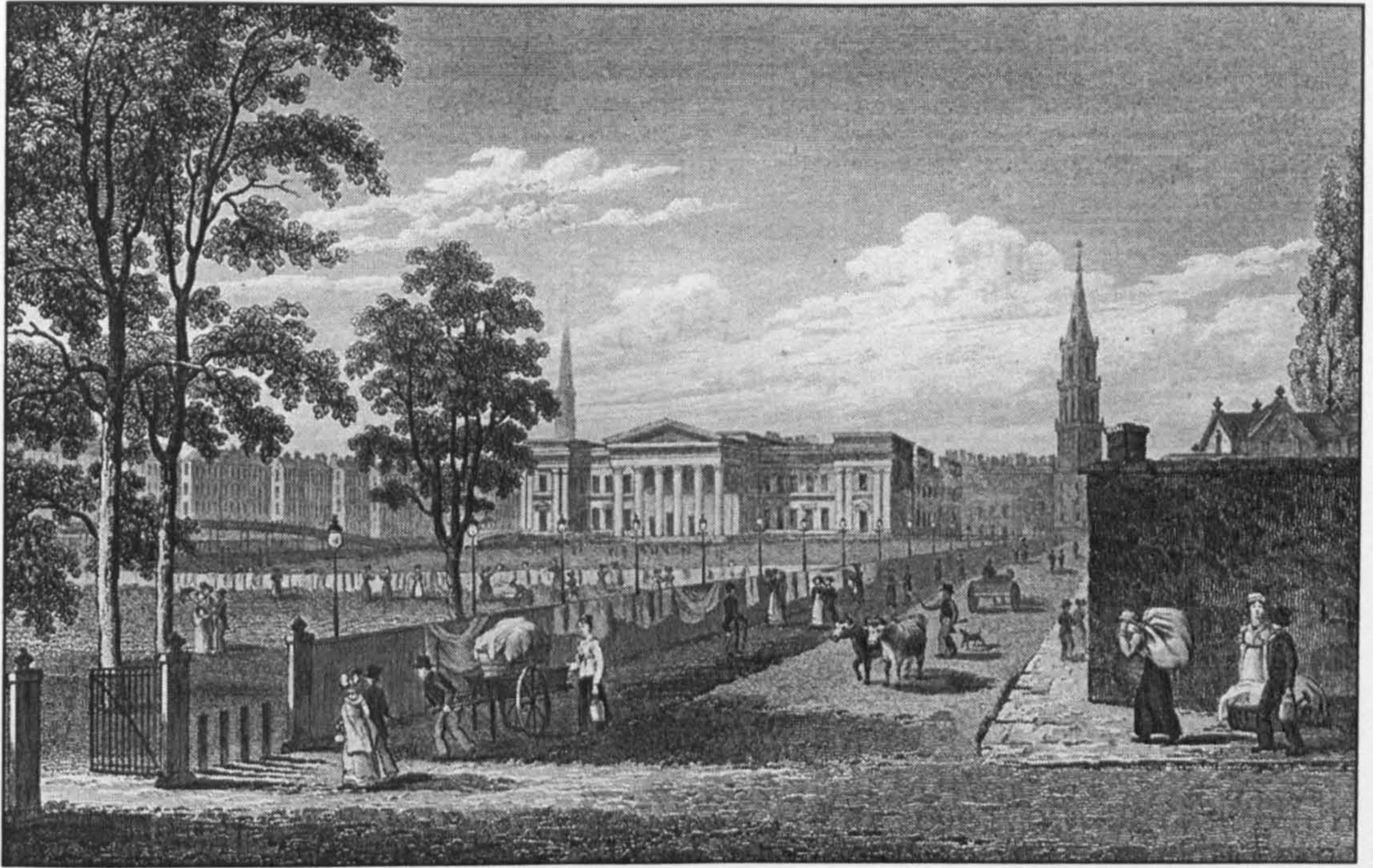


Figure 8 (above) – The Justiciary Buildings, opened in 1814 to house the court house, jail and council offices that had previously been in the Tolbooth and town hall at Glasgow Cross. It is framed by Glasgow Green (left) and the tower of the Merchants' Hall in Bridgegate. Note the washing hung out to dry on the Green railings. (John M. Leighton and Joseph Swan, *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* [Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1829].)

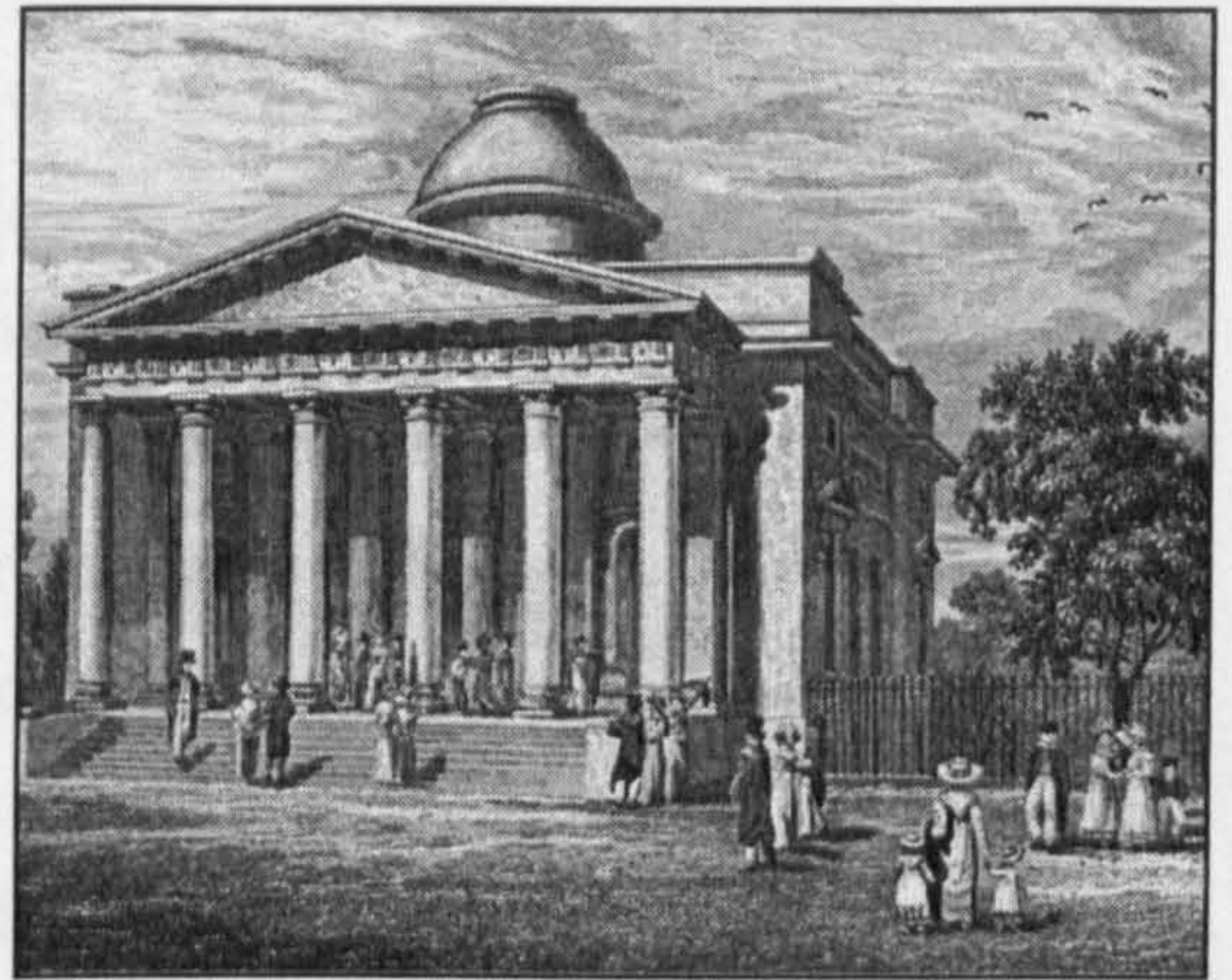
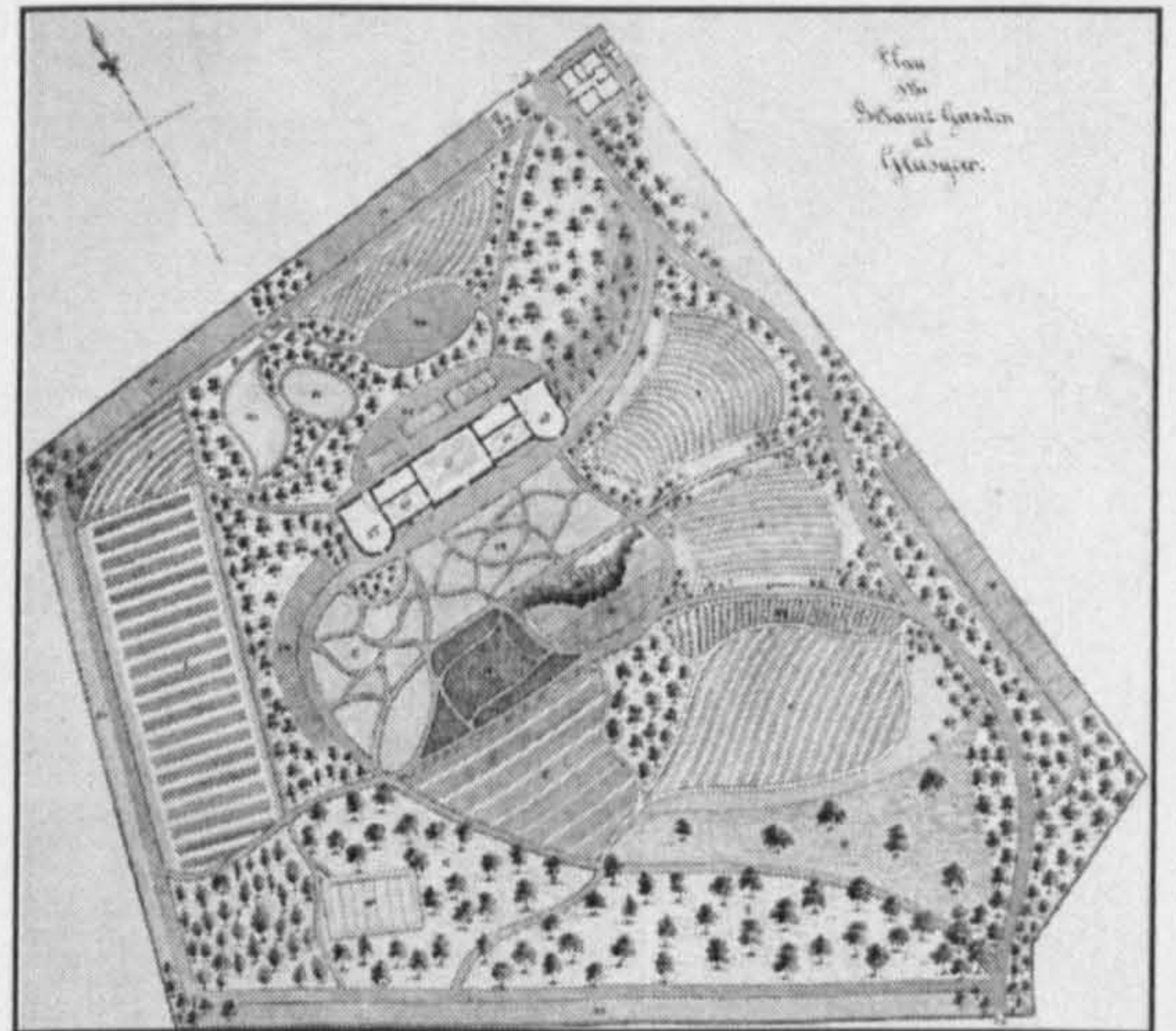


Figure 9 (right, above) – The Hunterian Museum, opened by the University of Glasgow in 1807 as the first public museum in Scotland, quickly became a visitor attraction. This engraving, by Joseph Swan, indicated a middle-class audience for its exhibits. (John M. Leighton and Joseph Swan, *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* [Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1829].)

Figure 10 (right) – The Botanic Gardens at Sandyford, opened in 1817, another symbol of the city's westward expansion, particularly after it relocated further west in 1842. This illustration shows the gardens in 1828; the winding pathways – laid out by Thomas Hopkirk – are similar to those in the Fir Park and, later, the Necropolis. (Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, MS Murray 636.)



who became minister of St. John's Parish in 1820, and who had decided views on poverty, community and the responsibility the middle and upper classes had for rehabilitating the poor.¹¹⁶ The report, which suggested joining forces with the County of Lanark to build a joint County and City Bridewell at a cost of £30,000, was unanimously accepted. The heritors of Lanarkshire were less enthusiastic, and their objections to the £20,500 of the cost laid at their door stalled the proposal's passage through parliament.¹¹⁷ Ewing won the day, however, after a number of journeys to Westminster to put the town's case.¹¹⁸ The new institution, on the site of the previous Bridewell, was first known as the Town and County Bridewell and later as Duke Street Prison.

Another improvement in the administrative life of the burgh could be seen as a means of social control and public safety. From 1801 there had been censuses of Glasgow, but these were professionalised by the work of James Cleland.¹¹⁹ He began his career as a statistician in 1819, when he organised a census of Glasgow; in 1821 he again carried out a census of the city, this time on behalf of the Westminster government.¹²⁰ His submission to London was praised highly in the official enumeration volume, and regarded as the model for other submissions.¹²¹ He carried out the same work in Glasgow, to the same high standard, for the 1831 census of the United Kingdom; he also drew up the bills of mortality for the city from 1820 to 1834, and again these received praise from his peers.¹²² Joshua Mylne, writing in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, stated that only the bills of mortality drawn up for Sweden, Finland, Carlisle and Glasgow were in the form 'necessary for determining the law of mortality'.¹²³ In 1836, a number of people in Glasgow formed a society for the advancement of statistical enquiry, and unanimously elected Cleland as their president.¹²⁴

¹¹⁶ Stewart J. Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 881; Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 123.

¹¹⁷ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 51.

¹¹⁸ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 51.

¹¹⁹ Nenadic, 'James Cleland', pp. 14-15.

¹²⁰ Nenadic, 'James Cleland', pp. 14-15.

¹²¹ Entry for James Cleland in Anderson, *The Popular Scottish Biography*, p. 209.

¹²² Nenadic, 'James Cleland', pp. 14-15.

¹²³ Entry for James Cleland in Anderson, *The Popular Scottish Biography*, p. 209.

¹²⁴ Entry for James Cleland in Anderson, *The Popular Scottish Biography*, p. 209.

National and local politics

The realm of politics was fundamentally altered during the period under review by legislation that began the slow process of extending the franchise and inaugurating a new era of improved democracy that was to undermine the power base of the landed gentry.¹²⁵ Both the parliamentary and local government Reform Acts of 1832 and 1833 respectively gave more of the people more of a say in how they were governed at Westminster and locally, even if this was limited to property-owning males.¹²⁶ The Catholic Relief Act of 1829 was also an important precursor to Reform, which was a continuing process of increasing the number and diversity of the electorate and diffusing power away from the established elite.¹²⁷ The anti-slavery law and the first effective Factory Act, both in 1833, can be seen as other examples of this trend.¹²⁸ The abolition of the Burgess Oath in 1819, after a campaign led by Ewing, also removed a barrier to power placed in the way of those not already members of the established order.¹²⁹ These legislative and administrative changes are mirrors of changes in belief and practice in broader society, and parliamentary Reform in particular came about at the end of a long, popular agitation for change.

The authorities feared that this popular demand, expressed in large public gatherings – such as the 40,000 people who rallied at Thrushgrove in 1816 – as well as in print and song, would escalate into insurrection.¹³⁰ This fear came to a head in 1820, when a system of spies and agents provocateurs encouraged a minor revolt that the authorities lost no time and effort in suppressing with the full might and panoply of the state.¹³¹ Ewing, who usually put himself forward to play a central role in many of the social, civic and business improvements in Glasgow at the time, was reluctantly thrust into the centre of this display of state power. On 20 July 1820, Ewing was empanelled

¹²⁵ Maver, 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City', p. 99.

¹²⁶ Maver, 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City', p. 99.

¹²⁷ 10 George III, Cap. 7, An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects (1829).

¹²⁸ 3 & 4 William IV, Cap. 73, An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies (1833); 3 & 4 William IV, Cap. 103, An Act to regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom (1833).

¹²⁹ Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 23-24; Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, pp. 41-43.

¹³⁰ Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 64-65.

¹³¹ MacKenzie, *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* vol 1, pp. 136-139. See also Peter MacKenzie, *An exposure of the spy system pursued in Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1833).

as one of the jury trying James Wilson, a hosier from Strathaven, who was misled into thinking that Glasgow was under the control of a force of Reformers and set off for the city carrying a broken sword, but who had given up after eight miles and turned homeward.¹³² He was arraigned in a special commission of Oyer and Terminer meeting as a Court of Assize, under commissioners sent from London because, according to one source, ‘no native court could be trusted’¹³³ to apply the unpopular and savage law of treason. In the course of the two-day trial, Wilson was charged with High Treason and found guilty on one count, of ‘contriving to levy war against the King, in order to compel him to change his measures’.¹³⁴ Ewing, who had been elected chancellor of the jury, delivered the verdict, recommending the prisoner to the mercy of the court; this appeal for leniency was ignored and Wilson was publicly executed on 30 August ‘with all the hideous formalities commanded by law in cases of treason’, that is he was hanged and quartered.¹³⁵

The outcome of the case shocked Glasgow, and Ewing, as the leading Conservative in the city, was accused of being a tool of the government and attracted considerable public hostility for some time.¹³⁶ His friendship with Kirkman Finlay, who in 1817 had been the conduit between government and Alexander Richmond, a Pollokshaws weaver turned agent provocateur, could not have helped.¹³⁷ Notwithstanding the trial, and the savage sentence, the people of Glasgow were soon back agitating for Reform, and their campaign culminated in huge public demonstrations.¹³⁸ In 1831, Henry Cockburn, on judicial business from Edinburgh, witnessed one enormous pro-Reform procession, which started from Glasgow Green. He judged that it was ‘a magnificent and gratifying yet fearful spectacle’ involving more than 100,000 people; yet while some may have found the proceedings ‘alarming’, there were no soldiers and only ‘a few’ police officers, and ‘no excesses occurred’.¹³⁹

¹³² Reid, *A History of the Merchants' House of Glasgow*, p. 38; MacKenzie, *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* vol 1, p. 139.

¹³³ Reid, *A History of the Merchants' House of Glasgow*, p. 38.

¹³⁴ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 45.

¹³⁵ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 45.

¹³⁶ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 189.

¹³⁷ Maver, ‘The Guardianship of the Community’, p. 266; Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 271.

¹³⁸ Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 61-64.

¹³⁹ Henry Cockburn, *Journal of Henry Cockburn, Being a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time, 1831-1854* (Edinburgh: Edmonson & Douglas, 1874), pp. 18-21.

Following the 1832 Reform Act, Ewing declared himself a candidate in the 1833 parliamentary elections. His address to the voters reminded them that he had, in his public life, worked for the welfare of Glasgow and ‘to promote its improvements’.¹⁴⁰ These included: being the first to propose publishing council accounts, which had been adopted by Parliament for all the Scottish burghs; campaigning to abolish the Burgess Oath, ‘in the cause of religious liberty’; and supporting parliamentary and burgh Reform.¹⁴¹ Ewing convincingly topped the poll, with 3,214 votes; his nearest rival, James Oswald, a Liberal who also became MP for Glasgow, attracted 2,838 votes.¹⁴² Oswald, a third generation Glasgow merchant, had been active alongside Ewing and Finlay in their 20 years of agitation against the East India Company monopoly.¹⁴³ Ewing’s stint in the House of Commons was not without criticism: John Strang, a Liberal, labelled him a ‘pseudo Reformer’ and Peter MacKenzie, the editor of the *Reformers’ Gazette* and a more radical character, castigated him in its pages, and devoted a 12-page pamphlet to pointing out the discrepancies between Ewing’s election pledges and his record in Parliament.¹⁴⁴

When the first reformed Glasgow Town Council was sworn in, on 11 November 1833, Ewing demitted the office of Lord Provost, and the elected council – 27 out of 30 were declared Liberals – voted for the first provost of the new era.¹⁴⁵ Ewing lost his parliamentary seat at the 1835 general election, and retired from public life.¹⁴⁶

Education, culture and religion

As well as advances in democracy, Glasgow saw an expansion of education in the first decades of the nineteenth century, which included moves to new and larger accommodation by the Grammar School in 1807 and 1821, the first infant school in 1828, the first teacher training college in 1834, and an increase in the number of chairs

¹⁴⁰ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 367.

¹⁴¹ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, pp. 368-70.

¹⁴² McCaffrey, ‘Political Issues and Developments’, p. 192.

¹⁴³ *James Finlay & Company Limited*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1864), p. 453; *Reformers’ Gazette*, 6 October 1832; Peter MacKenzie, *The Tory Unmasked; or, Some Passages in the Parliamentary Career of James Ewing LL.D.* (Glasgow: Muir, Gowans, 1835).

¹⁴⁵ Maver, ‘Politics and Power in the Scottish City’, p. 107.

¹⁴⁶ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 92.

in the University of Glasgow throughout the period.¹⁴⁷ The university also founded the Hunterian Museum, which contributed to both teaching and popular knowledge (see Figure 9).¹⁴⁸ Those members of the elite who were involved in the first cemeteries were also active in increasing educational provision. Ewing, for example, was the first president of the Glasgow Infant School Society, which was inspired by international interest in the establishment of infant schools, and where the joint secretaries were David Welsh, a Church of Scotland minister on the Evangelical wing of the church, and David Stow, a Glasgow textile merchant and fellow Evangelical who was also involved in the Sabbath School movement.¹⁴⁹ In 1828 the society opened its Model Infant School in the Drygate, and in 1831 moved to the Saltmarket; the school was adopted by the Glasgow Educational Society in 1834 and moved to Dundas Vale, Cowcaddens, in 1837 when the Glasgow Normal Seminary opened there.¹⁵⁰ The Glasgow Educational Society was established in 1834 by J. C. Colquhoun of Killermont M.P., with George Lewis and David Stow as joint secretaries; its purpose was to set up a Normal Seminary for the training of teachers, who were at that time trained in schools.¹⁵¹ David Hamilton was chosen to design the seminary, at 4-38 New City Road, which was to become the first in Britain.¹⁵² Stow and Ewing were both parishioners of Thomas Chalmers, and followed him out of the Church of Scotland at the Disruption in May 1843; all but one of the masters in the seminary followed suit.¹⁵³

The Grammar School also benefited from Ewing's energies. In 1816, he was appointed convenor of the Town Council committee that ran the school.¹⁵⁴ In this position, he revived a class for writing and arithmetic, and in 1822 he gave money to the Council, the interest from which was to be used to purchase a silver medal to be given annually for proficiency in Greek, and to found and stock a library.¹⁵⁵

The University of Glasgow was also improving at this time, and created six chairs between 1800 and 1832: Natural History in 1807, Midwifery and Surgery in

¹⁴⁷ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 107; Henry P. Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1987), pp. 37, 33; Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 390.

¹⁴⁸ Markus *et al.*, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', p. 127.

¹⁴⁹ *The First Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society*, 1829, viewed on-line at www.strath.ac.uk/Departments/JHLLibrary/archives/gis29_3.html in November 2002.

¹⁵⁰ Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary*, pp. 12-13, 29-33.

¹⁵¹ Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary*, p. 2-4.

¹⁵² A. A. Tait, *David Hamilton: Architectural Drawings* (Glasgow: Hunterian Art Gallery, 1995), p. 11,

¹⁵³ Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary*, p. 44;

¹⁵⁴ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁵ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 36.

1815, Botany and Chemistry in 1818 and Materia Medica in 1831.¹⁵⁶ In addition, the university opened the Hunterian Museum in 1807, designed by William Stark; this, the first public museum in Scotland, soon attracted ‘many thousands of visitors every year’, drawn by its collections of paintings, drawings, sculptures, coins and – accessible to accredited researchers only – anatomical specimens.¹⁵⁷ The university was also involved in the second and third Glasgow Observatories, opened respectively on Garnethill in 1807 and Dowanhill in 1838, each further from the polluting air of the town centre location of the first observatory, known as the Macfarlane Observatory and opened to the east of the university in 1757.¹⁵⁸ The university had a number of connections with the founders of the first cemeteries: James Ewing matriculated in 1786, was given an honorary LL.D. in 1826, founded the Ewing Gold Medal in 1828, and posthumously funded the James Ewing Entrance Bursaries; James Cleland was given an honorary LL.D. in 1826, and later founded the Cleland Gold Medal; Laurence Hill, who was factor to the University of Glasgow from 1819 to his death in 1872, graduated LL.B. in 1822 and was awarded an honorary LL.D. in 1863, at the age of 72; John Strang was awarded an honorary LL.D. in 1847 for public service and literary merit.¹⁵⁹

Medical provision also expanded, with the opening of the Glasgow Lock Hospital in 1805 – the second oldest hospital for the treatment of venereal diseases in the British Isles, after London – the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum in 1810 and the Glasgow Eye Infirmary in 1824.¹⁶⁰ The first two of these institutions can be seen, like the expansion of prison capacity, to be as much concerned with the social control and containment of people seen as undesirable and unproductive as with their treatment and rehabilitation. In 1817, the Town Council appointed a committee to devise plans for a proposed new Town’s Hospital or poor house. Ewing was appointed chairman, and in 1818 produced a 500 page report that examined the best ways of suppressing begging and – drawing a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor – providing

¹⁵⁶ A. L. Brown and Michael Moss, *The University of Glasgow: 1451-2001* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 22

¹⁵⁷ David Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow: Some Chapters in the History of the University* (Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie, 1927), p. 350; *The Picture of Glasgow and Strangers’ Guide* (Glasgow: R. Chapman, 1818), p. 145.

¹⁵⁸ Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow*, pp. 264-66.

¹⁵⁹ W. Innes Addison, ed., *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow 1727-1897* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1898), pp. 183, 111, 266, 590.

¹⁶⁰ Frank Worsdall, *The City that Disappeared: Glasgow’s Demolished Architecture* (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1981), p. 45.

assistance to people 'debilitated by age, disabled by disease, or reduced by misfortune'.¹⁶¹

Just as Glasgow's economic infrastructure was expanded and improved in the first decades of the nineteenth century, cultural and leisure opportunities grew for those who had the time and money to take advantage of them. In some cases, the disadvantaged were occupied in creating these new facilities. For example, Glasgow Green was comprehensively improved between 1814 and 1835, particularly in 1816, 1819 and 1826, when the city's unemployed, especially weavers, were put to work levelling, turfing, forming walks and culverting burns in return for bare wages raised by relief committees.¹⁶² In the autumn of 1816 and the spring of 1817, some 146 weavers were employed to level and turf King's Park, and to form walks on its boundaries; in August 1819, a total of 324 weavers began to slope-level the High Green and the Calton Green.¹⁶³ By 1830, one city guide noted that 'this beautiful lawn [...] forms a charming public promenade'¹⁶⁴ and in 1832 William Cobbett reported 'a very fine green sward [...] at all times open for the citizens to go for their recreation'.¹⁶⁵ Cleland, as Superintendent of Public Works, and particularly as Superintendent of Statute Labour in the period of general depression following the Napoleonic Wars, devised these large scale employment schemes.¹⁶⁶

Another dear green place was the Glasgow Royal Botanic Institution (see Figure 10), which opened its gardens at Sandyford, then outside the burgh boundary, in 1819.¹⁶⁷ The gardens, which covered eight acres and had 12,000 specimens, were used for teaching botany and medicine, since the university's own extensive gardens, to the east of the High Street, were suffering from the effects of industrial pollution in that part of the town.¹⁶⁸ The gardens were also a popular spot for evening promenades: Wade's 1821 guide promised visitors to the gardens 'a valuable assemblage of curious and useful trees and plants [...] from almost every part of the known world'.¹⁶⁹ The gardens

¹⁶¹ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 54.

¹⁶² Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* vol 1, p. 600.

¹⁶³ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* vol 1, p. 600.

¹⁶⁴ *The Scottish Tourist and Itinerary; or, a Guide to the Scenery and Antiquities of Scotland and the Western Isles* (Edinburgh: Stirling & Kenney, 1830), p. 141.

¹⁶⁵ Cobbett, *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁶⁶ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* vol 1, p. 600.

¹⁶⁷ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 257.

¹⁶⁸ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, pp. 257-58.

¹⁶⁹ W. M. Wade, *The History of Glasgow, Ancient and Modern, with an Historical Introduction and a Statistical Appendix* (Glasgow: Chalmers & Collins, 1821). p. 148.

owed their origins to Thomas Hopkirk, an amateur botanist, who attracted support from the university and some leading citizens, including Laurence Hill.¹⁷⁰

The Theatre Royal, Queen Street, opened in 1805, having been built by a joint stock company at a cost of £18,500 and designed by David Hamilton.¹⁷¹ It took the mantle of the previous Theatre Royal in Dunlop Street, which was considered too small and was no longer in a fashionable area.¹⁷² Between 1805 and 1829, when it met the fate of many Glasgow theatres and was destroyed by fire, it was a celebrated venue: Walter Baynham recorded that ‘so far as taste, ingenuity and money could effect it’ the theatre was ‘the finest in the three kingdoms’, and an 1818 tourist guide described it as ‘the largest provincial theatre in Europe [...] inferior only to the best theatres of the metropolis’.¹⁷³ In 1826, the theatre staged two spectacular events: *Aladdin*, with a flying palace, and *The Stag Hunt*, featuring one hundred players, forty horses, a pack of hounds ‘and, of course, a stag’.¹⁷⁴ The Assembly Rooms in Ingram Street, designed by Robert and James Adam and built at a cost of £4,800, opened in 1796 and was extended on both sides in 1807; this august venue was used for public exhibitions, concerts, dances and other assemblies.¹⁷⁵

Patrons of the visual arts were catered for by the Institute for the Promoting and Encouraging of the Fine Arts in the West of Scotland, founded in Glasgow in 1821, and its successor, the Glasgow Dilettanti Society, formed in 1825.¹⁷⁶ David Hamilton was a prominent member of the latter.¹⁷⁷ Strang, who had travelled widely on the continent and who was a leading contributor to *The Scots Times* and the literary critic of *The Scotsman*, was also interested in the fine arts, especially painting, and ‘handled the

¹⁷⁰ Malcolm Nicolson, ‘Thomas Hopkirk’, in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 28 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 80; Report of the Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Royal Botanic Institute, *Glasgow Herald*, 12 December 1828, p. 2. The report listed Hopkirk as vice-president, and Hill, James Smith of Jordanhill and James Ewing as directors, and Stewart Murray as curator; all these men were involved in creating the Glasgow Necropolis.

¹⁷¹ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 117.

¹⁷² Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 117.

¹⁷³ Walter Baynham, *The Glasgow Stage* (Glasgow: Robert Forrester, 1892), p. 50; *The Picture of Glasgow and Strangers’ Guide* (Glasgow: R. Chapman, 1818), p. 174.

¹⁷⁴ John M. Thomson, ‘Playhouses of Old Glasgow’, in Old Glasgow Club, *Transactions, Session 1937-38* (Glasgow: Old Glasgow Club, 1938), p. 51.

¹⁷⁵ Worsdall, *The City that Disappeared*, p. 44; Maurice Lindsay, *An Illustrated Guide to Glasgow 1837* (London: Robert Hale, 1989), pp. 71-72; *The Picture of Glasgow and Strangers’ Guide*, p. 254.

¹⁷⁶ Andrew Aird, *Glimpses of Old Glasgow* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1894), p. 179.

¹⁷⁷ University of Strathclyde Archives, T-DIL 1, Glasgow Dilettanti Society Minute Book 1825-43.

pencil himself [...] with taste and skill'.¹⁷⁸ In 1830, he combined his literary and artistic interests to write *A Glance at the Exhibitions of the Works of Living Artists: Under the Patronage of the Glasgow Dilettanti Society*, which made his name as the first art critic in the town.¹⁷⁹ For this book, Strang chose the playful pseudonym of Geoffrey Crayon, junior, presumably in homage to Washington Irving, who had written *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* a decade earlier.¹⁸⁰ Strang's volume showed a discriminating eye, for many of the artists whose works he discussed were not known at the time, but became eminent later.¹⁸¹ This exercise in taste prefigured Strang's 1831 volume, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, which became a manifesto for the Necropolis and later cemeteries.¹⁸² When the Merchants' House advertised for designs for the proposed Necropolis, the entries were put on display in the Dilettanti Society's rooms, where the public paid a small sum to see them.¹⁸³

Provision for the practice of another cultural activity also grew in number and diversity in the period under review, as Glasgow increased its stock of churches and faiths.¹⁸⁴ The most striking theme in these years is the rise of Evangelicalism within the established church; prominent within this was the vigorous or muscular strain demonstrated by Thomas Chalmers and his supporters – which included Ewing and David Stow – in his John Street Parish.¹⁸⁵ The number and variety of new churches – built for the expanding numbers of members of the Church of Scotland and other denominations, including the seceder churches and the Episcopalian, Baptist, Quaker

¹⁷⁸ Entry for 'John Strang' in Robert Chambers, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* vol 6 (London: Blackie, 1875), p. 413; Thomas Davidson, 'Memoir of John Strang', in John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1864), p. xi.

¹⁷⁹ John Strang [as 'Geoffrey Crayon, junior'], *A Glance at the Exhibitions of the Works of Living Artists: Under the Patronage of the Glasgow Dilettanti Society* (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1830)

¹⁸⁰ Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (London: J. Murray, 1821).

¹⁸¹ Entry for 'John Strang' in Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* vol 6, p. 413.

¹⁸² John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis, with Observations on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831).

¹⁸³ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1831.

¹⁸⁴ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 1st edn (Glasgow: James Brash, 1820), pp. 16-20; Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 64.

¹⁸⁵ Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers', in Matthew and Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 10, pp. 881-82; Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 95-99; R. A. Cage and E. O. A. Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty: The St. John's Parish Experiment in Glasgow 1819-37', in *The Philosophical Journal*, 13 (1976), 37-56.

and Roman Catholic faiths – were the physical manifestation of a profound change in the landscape of belief. Many of the prominent business people and churchmen active in championing and establishing the wide range of improvements in Glasgow in this period were Evangelicals, either within the established church or in one of the secession churches that mushroomed in the city from the late eighteenth century.¹⁸⁶

Ewing, for example, had an impressive secession pedigree: he was the great grandson of Henry Erskine of Chirnside and the grandson of James Fisher of Kinclaven, and ‘a sincere admirer of the Nonconformist sufferers and confessors’ of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁷ In public life, this showed itself in his work to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts – which imposed on all office holders in church and state the acceptance of the Scots Confession of 1560 and royal supremacy in both civil and church government – and specifically the Burgess Oath, which had been imposed in 1747 on members of a number of town councils in Scotland, including Glasgow, Edinburgh and Perth, and which compelled those intending to be councillors to endorse the established religion.¹⁸⁸ Ewing wrote a campaigning pamphlet on the subject of withdrawing the Burgess Oath, and was appointed convenor of a committee of the Town Council set up to review this issue.¹⁸⁹ He corresponded with other councils in Scotland and produced a report that ended with a call to apply ‘the hand of reform’ to ‘statutes and customs’ than can ‘vary their character and lose their utility with the change of times and manners’.¹⁹⁰ Ewing’s relativist and pragmatic views carried the day, and the report was adopted by Glasgow Town Council on 25 March 1819; the Burgess Oath was abolished the same year, and the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828.¹⁹¹ The General Associate Synod met at Edinburgh on 12 May 1819 and gave a unanimous vote of thanks to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow for their ‘kind, liberal and enlightened policy’, and to Ewing for his campaigning work.¹⁹²

In 1820, Cleland supervised the division of the burgh of Glasgow into 10 parishes, each with a parish church, in order to increase the number of seats for

¹⁸⁶ W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, ‘Tackling the Problems’, in Fraser and Maver, *Glasgow, Volume 2*, pp. 396-97. See also Maver, ‘Politics and Power in the Scottish City’, pp. 103-04.

¹⁸⁷ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁸ The Test Act was passed in 1673, the Corporation Act in 1661; they were both repealed in 1828. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, pp. 23-24; Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, pp. 41-43.

¹⁸⁹ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁰ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 43.

¹⁹¹ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 43.

¹⁹² Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 188.

worshippers and to improve the provision for the poor.¹⁹³ Eight of the ten parishes were centred on existing congregations: Inner High, Outer High, St. Andrew's, Tron, Blackfriars, Ramshorn, St. Enoch's and St. George's; the additional churches were St. John's and St. James'.¹⁹⁴ The former opened in 1819 on a site off Graeme Street near Glasgow Cross; the building, which cost the town council more than £9,000 and which had accommodation for 1,580 souls, was designed in the Gothic style by James Hamilton.¹⁹⁵ Its foundation stone was laid on 21 April 1817 by Henry Monteith, the acknowledged leader of the cotton trade in Glasgow who had been Lord Provost in 1814-15 and would be again in 1818-19, in the presence of James Black, the Lord Provost, and the rest of the town council, including James Ewing, Dean of Guild.¹⁹⁶ The council committee that oversaw its construction included Cleland; the first minister of St. John's was Thomas Chalmers, assisted by Edward Irving.¹⁹⁷

Chalmers had asked to be moved from the Tron Church to a more working-class area, where he could test his belief that the poor could best be looked after with contributions from parishioners administered by elders.¹⁹⁸ This may not have been a sustainable method, but in his time in St. John's, from 1820 until he left in 1823 for St. Andrews University, he considerably reduced the amount spent on the poor by the General Session.¹⁹⁹ Chalmers' muscular approach attracted a following, both at home and abroad: Bernard Aspinwall has written that many Americans became interested in his efforts to help the urban poor.²⁰⁰ He cited Nathaniel Carter, an American visitor who was carried along in a 'vortex' to hear Chalmers preach in a crowded St. John's, and Lydia Huntley Sigourney, an American poet and religious revivalist, who recalled the 'characteristic forcefulness and power' of the Scottish minister.²⁰¹ The tenth and last city parish church was St. James', which had been built in 1817 in Great Hamilton Street as a Methodist chapel, but sold by that group when it became clear it was too

¹⁹³ James Cleland, *Description of the 10 Parishes into which the City of Glasgow was Divided, in the year 1820, Exhibiting the Population in each Parish; and a Description of the 24 Police Wards* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1820).

¹⁹⁴ Cleland, *Description of the 10 Parishes*.

¹⁹⁵ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 66. Graeme Street was later known as Bell Street.

¹⁹⁶ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* vol 2, p. 867.

¹⁹⁷ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* vol 2, p. 867.

¹⁹⁸ Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers', pp. 881-82.

¹⁹⁹ Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, pp. 97-105;

Cage and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', pp. 37-56.

²⁰⁰ Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), pp. 18-19.

²⁰¹ Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, pp. 18-19, 253.

large for their needs.²⁰² William Chalmers and William Collins, the publisher, later established a campaign to set up 20 new Church of Scotland churches, each to seat 1,000 members; these were either chapels of ease or *quaod sacra* churches.²⁰³ The last of the 20 was completed in Springburn in 1842.²⁰⁴

St. Andrew's in Great Clyde Street (see Figure 11), designed by James Gillespie Graham in Gothic revival style for the growing Roman Catholic community, held its first service in 1817.²⁰⁵ In 1821, Wade noted that the church 'had not been consecrated, but was in 1817 "blessed" by Bishop Cameron of Edinburgh', perhaps in deference to the established church, which had outlawed consecration of churches and burying grounds after the Reformation.²⁰⁶ The Ramshorn Kirk, which was built in 1720-24, was replaced in 1825, to the Gothic revival design of Thomas Rickman, with alterations by James Cleland.²⁰⁷ Cleland's principal improvement, as he saw it, was the addition of a crypt beneath the church, which raised its main floor level and necessitated a much steeper entrance staircase than planned by Rickman.²⁰⁸

One religious structure that, quite literally, stood head and shoulders above the flurry of church building in Glasgow was the monument to John Knox (see Figure 12). Ewing was prominent in the campaign to erect a monument to the reformer, the first of its kind in Scotland. The impetus for the monument was the discovery by Thomas McCrie, whose influential biography of John Knox was first published in 1811, that the reformer had been educated at the University of Glasgow rather than at St. Andrews, as previously accepted.²⁰⁹ The plan, first proposed by Stevenson MacGill, Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow and a prominent Evangelist, came to fruition on the morning of 22 September 1825, when he laid the foundation stone of the monument at the highest point of the Fir Park.²¹⁰ Before that ceremony, more than 300 of those

²⁰² Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 66.

²⁰³ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 67.

²⁰⁴ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 67.

²⁰⁵ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 193.

²⁰⁶ W. M. Wade, *The History of Glasgow, Ancient and Modern, with an Historical Introduction and a Statistical Appendix* (Glasgow: Chalmers & Collins, 1821), p. 198.

²⁰⁷ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 157;

²⁰⁸ David Inglis, *The Church under the Cross: A Chronicle of the Parish Church of St. David's Knightswood, Glasgow, 1929-1999* (Glasgow: St. David's Knightswood, 2000). The history of this congregation, which was the successor to the Ramshorn Church, is not paginated. The details above are taken from chapter eight.

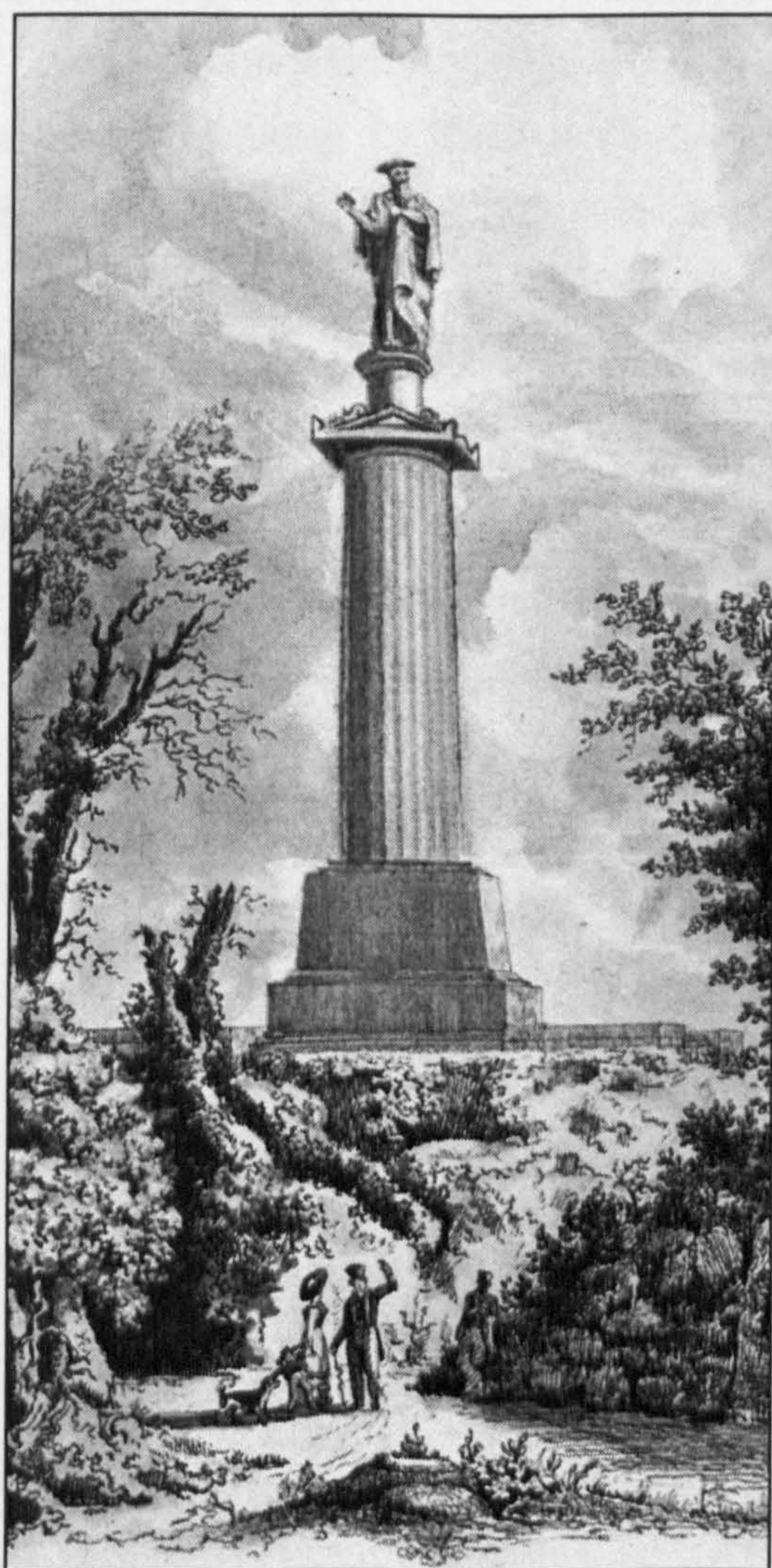
²⁰⁹ Entry for Stevenson MacGill in Thomas Thomson, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, Supplement* (London: Blackie, 1855), p. 414.

²¹⁰ James Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial etc. at Laying the Foundation Stone of Knox's Monument in the Merchants' Park* (Glasgow: Khull, Blackie, 1825), pp. 7-8, 12.



Figure 11 (above) – St. Andrew's Roman Catholic Chapel, Clyde Street, built in 1814-17 to the designs of James Gillespie Graham, to meet the needs of the growing Roman Catholic population of the city. It was constructed in the Gothic style, which was seen at the time as strongly connected to Catholicism. (John Scott, *Glasgow Delineated* [Glasgow: Wardlaw and Cunninghame, 1821].)

Figure 12 (right) – The monument to John Knox on the summit of the Fir Park, seen here in a drawing made by James Hopkirk in 1827, was built in 1825, eight years before the Necropolis was officially opened for burials. (Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, MS Murray 636.)



who had subscribed to the cost of the monument met in the Trades' Hall in Glassford Street and walked in procession, led by MacGill and followed 'by a great number of town and country clergymen' of all denominations, to St. George's Church in Buchanan Street.²¹¹ There, Thomas Chalmers preached a 'brilliant, nervous and powerful' sermon, according to William McGavin, the secretary of the monument committee.²¹² He added that the streets were so crowded with spectators that the procession could only pass with difficulty; by the time the procession reached the summit of the Fir Park, 'probably 10,000 persons' had crowded into the High Church yard.²¹³

In the Fir Park, MacGill and Ewing addressed the committee of subscribers. The latter eulogised Knox for a Reformation that ushered in a new era for Scotland, telling the crowd: 'In place of convents, we now behold manufactories; in place of dissolute and ignorant monks, we behold a virtuous and enlightened clergy; in place of idle mendicants, dependent on monasteries, we behold industrious artisans who would scorn subsistence but from their own labour.'²¹⁴ Ewing also praised a number of people connected with the project to erect the monument, including Dr Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Hamilton of Edinburgh, who designed the column on which the statue would stand, William Warren, who designed the statue, Robert Forrest, who sculpted the statue, William McGavin, the treasurer of the committee, and James Cleland.²¹⁵ Later that day, a dinner was held for the subscribers, and Ewing was again prominent, as croupier, and as the proposer of a toast to the memory of Martin Luther; his oration, which was almost a sermon in character, clearly conveyed Ewing's evangelical zeal.²¹⁶ Whatever the effect of this moral project, by 1831, Cleland recorded, there were 73,425 sittings in the various places of worship in Glasgow, 20,291 fewer than stipulated by law for the size of population; 30,928 sittings were in the Established Churches and 42,497 in places of worship used by 'Seceders, Dissenters, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics'.²¹⁷

²¹¹ Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial*, p. 8.

²¹² Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 67.

²¹³ Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing*, p. 67.

²¹⁴ Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial*, p. 18.

²¹⁵ Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial*, p. 19.

²¹⁶ Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial*, p. 43-45.

²¹⁷ Cleland, *Statistical Facts*, p. 9.

Disposal of the dead

Alongside the increase in the number of churches, and the improvements in public health and public safety, there was a change in the number and style of burying grounds in the city.²¹⁸ The increased churchyard spaces, and the two new burial grounds, that were provided in Glasgow between 1800 and 1833 reflected both the significant increase in population and an important change in attitude to burial among a large proportion of the population: the emerging middle classes wanted to be buried in graves that were both permanent and permanently marked. The majority of their ancestors were buried in the churchyards of Glasgow, in graves that were re-used after a varying number of years and in some cases commemorated only by small stones that were not intended either to mark the precise position of burial or to be permanent reminders of their passing. The Ramshorn churchyard was a clear example of this system. However, the emerging middle classes aspired to the permanent, undisturbed family plots or mausolea of the aristocracy or gentry. These permanent plots caused the existing graveyard provision to be fully occupied by around 1830, and since these churchyards had been extended as far as the limited space in the burgh would allow, there was a need for both new spaces and – because of shifting beliefs and practices – new types of space.²¹⁹ The poor, as ever, were buried in unmarked, common plots that were re-used after a number of years.

Thus, the opening of the Necropolis in 1833 was the culmination of more than 30 years of expansion and improvement in Glasgow's burial provision, and a significant change in cultural belief and behaviour. Before this change made itself explicit, however, the Town Council increased the burial space available in and around the High Church and the Ramshorn Church, and built walls to offer more space for plaques, the fore-runners of free-standing monuments.²²⁰ The Blackfriars Church, which served the university, had a small burying ground surrounding it, which was reserved for academics and their families.²²¹ These were the three public burying grounds in the burgh until the opening of the Necropolis.

²¹⁸ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, pp. 44-45.

²¹⁹ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 44.

²²⁰ Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, 1823-33* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916), various.

²²¹ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

In this era, the Town Council had a standing committee, elected each year, on churches and churchyards; it also appointed various ad hoc committees to investigate issues as they arose, such as the committee appointed to acquire land from the Blind Asylum to create a new civic burying ground in 1832.²²² The Council also appointed bailies, or wardens, of the churchyards. As the nineteenth century progressed, the Council assumed more direct control of the activities of the wardens, which included selling burying places, supervising funerals and employing gravediggers, as well as recording details of people who were interred in the city burying grounds.²²³ The management of the burying grounds became more professional over time, notably with the appointment of Cleland as Superintendent of Public Works in 1814. His responsibilities, agreed by the council in August 1814, included keeping the churchyards of the city ‘in a decent state’, overseeing the bailies of the churchyards and disposing of lairs.²²⁴

The Town Council, as well as demonstrating an increasing level of control over and regularisation of the activities of the wardens, increased the provision of burial space in the burgh. At the High Church, the Council – through a high-powered committee of the Lord Provost, the Bailies of the town, and the Master of Work – created the High Church burying ground, to the north of the church, which opened for interment in 1801; this was a rectangular piece of ground, made level with earth brought from elsewhere, with walkways through it and the whole enclosed by a stone wall.²²⁵ The burying grounds in and around the High Church were again added to in 1805, when the lower choir was converted into a place of burial by the members of the Barony Parish congregation, and in 1807, when the Council gave over the so-called ‘drooping’ aisle and land around it to burying space.²²⁶ In 1813, the Minister’s Aisle was renovated, and space was made available there for lay burials.²²⁷ From that year, parallel, free-standing walls were added to the burying grounds to the north of the High

²²² Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, 1823-33* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916).

²²³ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1823-33*.

²²⁴ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1823-33*, pp. 258-60.

²²⁵ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 486, 553.

²²⁶ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 44; Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, 1796-1808* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916), p. 566.

²²⁷ Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, 1809-22* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1915), p. 174. The Minister’s Aisle is now known as the Blackadder Aisle.

Church, to allow lairs to be formed and sold there.²²⁸ The walls were an important selling point: before the fashion for free-standing graveyards, pioneered in the Glasgow Necropolis, lairs at the burial ground walls were sold at a premium, since they allowed eye-level plaques to be constructed and inscribed with the family or personal details of the owners or occupants.

The North West burying ground was first opened in 1719, one year before work began on the associated Ramshorn Church, and was considerably added to in 1767.²²⁹ In 1790, the Council proposed to build walls, forming a rectangle, in the centre of the burying ground extension, to provide 'good lairs' and to augment the funds of the city.²³⁰ When the Ramshorn church was rebuilt in 1825, a crypt was added to the plans by Cleland, primarily to accommodate the contents of lairs displaced by the enlarged church and by the newly-widened Ingram Street.²³¹ By the late 1820s, the Ramshorn was the only city ground accepting public burials, because the others were full.²³² Cleland described the public part of this burying ground at that time as 'a most offensive nuisance'; when a grave was dug, coffins containing dead bodies' were set to the side, with no earth to cover them, where they remained 'till the fetid atmosphere became hurtful to the neighbourhood'.²³³ The area of Blackfriars burying ground, which was a narrow strip around the church, was not added to between 1800 and 1833.²³⁴

In August 1832, the Town Council, 'in respect of the extreme urgency of the case' unanimously agreed with a recommendation of its committee on churches and churchyards that it should open a new burying ground that was urgently required 'for the interment of the bodies of persons dying under the cholera'.²³⁵ The committee had

²²⁸ Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records, 1809-22*, pp. 174, 255.

²²⁹ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 44; James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow; Comprising an Account of its Ancient and Modern History, its Trade, Manufacturers, Commerce, Health and Other Concerns* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840), p. 28.

²³⁰ Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, 1781-95* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1913), p. 374.

²³¹ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 157. See also James Cleland, *Specifications of the Manner of Rebuilding and Finishing the Ramshorn Church, in Ingram Street, from designs by Messrs. Rickman and Hutchinson, Architects, Birmingham* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1824).

²³² James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840), p. 83.

²³³ James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1843), p. 31.

²³⁴ Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn, p. 83.

²³⁵ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 485-6.

reported that there was a shortage of burying ground in the city, and that they had negotiated with the managers of the Asylum for the Blind for 'a very suitable piece of land' just north of the Royal Infirmary, known as Spring Gardens, which they agreed to acquire from 11 November.²³⁶ The council heard that Cleland had made a plan for a burying ground, to be called St. Mungo's, which would cost £1,648 12s to lay out, including making roads, building parallel walls inside the enclosing walls, and erecting gates; the 389 burying places that would result would 'at the present rate' raise £5,148 12s.²³⁷ The committee recommended that the ground should be purchased and the burying ground laid out 'without loss of time', and part of it allocated 'for the burial of persons who have died of *cholera morbus*'.²³⁸

In February 1833, the Council heard that the new burial ground was already responsible for half of the town's income from burials due to cholera, and from people 'with no burying ground of their own'.²³⁹ The committee on churches and churchyards also told the Council that they had approved a plan from Cleland that the town should erect 40 tombs along the north wall of the new ground, which would not only be 'more uniform than if left to the taste of individual purchasers' but would produce 'a considerable profit'.²⁴⁰ In August 1833, the Town Council unanimously voted their thanks to Cleland for 'his zealous exertions and [...] good taste' in arranging and completing the St. Mungo's burying ground.²⁴¹ Archibald McLellan, in his detailed criticism of the state of the Cathedral and its churchyard published in 1833, was careful to exclude the new St. Mungo's ground, which he thought was 'likely to prove highly creditable to the city'.²⁴²

St. Mungo's, as well as being the first burying place in the burgh not attached to an institution, other than the Town Council itself, was the first burying place to be in any sense designed. According to James Cleland, who was responsible for its design and execution, until his plans for St. Mungo's, 'little attention had been paid to locality or the arrangement of the burying places' in Glasgow.²⁴³ He described the new civic amenity as being surrounded with high walls and with an 'appropriate Gothic' entrance,

²³⁶ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 485-6.

²³⁷ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 485-6.

²³⁸ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 485-6.

²³⁹ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 523-4.

²⁴⁰ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, pp. 523-4.

²⁴¹ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, p. 560.

²⁴² Archibald McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Brash, 1833), pp. 66-69, 160-162.

²⁴³ James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1843), pp. 31-32.

to match the nearby High Church; the ground was sloped, presumably to encourage good drainage of surface water, and the 'very deep' soil was 'sewer-drained' throughout.²⁴⁴ For the benefit of customers and visitors, shrubbery and flowers planted had been planted on the borders, there was a carriageway round and through the grounds, which was lit by gas.²⁴⁵ Each customer was provided with 'an engraved plan of the cemetery', which showed his property, and each burial place was enclosed with iron railings, overseen by a keeper whose house was on the premises.²⁴⁶

There were many innovations listed, which not only distinguished St. Mungo's from its predecessors but showed a number of similarities with the Necropolis, which was almost contemporaneous. There was an emphasis on amenity, hygiene, greenery, high-quality materials and designs, property rights and creating a space that would be pleasant for visitors. The description could almost have been of the grounds of a desirable house or institution. The regulations for Glasgow burying grounds, adopted just after the opening of St. Mungo's, further enforced the image of respectfulness and respectability, serenity and public health.²⁴⁷ Cleland noted that until the Necropolis opened, tombs in St. Mungo's 'sold very readily', but since then sales had been 'almost nominal'.²⁴⁸ The grand Necropolis on the hill opposite the High Church had quickly eclipsed the new burying ground in the shadow of the Royal Infirmary. By 1840, there were 100 tombs and 150 secondary burying places unsold, and enough space for 500 'small ones for the working classes' that would be sold for thirty shillings.²⁴⁹ Cleland proclaimed that 'the poorest tradesman, if industrious, might accumulate such a sum [thirty shillings] in a savings bank' which would equip his family with a burial space that would save them from 'burying their dead in a hole along with several others'.²⁵⁰

The principal burial grounds of the city, before 1832, were owned by the Town Council and connected with particular city churches. However, there were other places of worship and other burial grounds, used by people of different faiths and affiliations, in and around the city. For example, many of the various Scottish secession churches in the Glasgow area had burying grounds around or in them. Anderston Old in Heddle

²⁴⁴ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 3rd edn, pp. 31-32.

²⁴⁵ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 3rd edn, pp. 31-32.

²⁴⁶ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 3rd edn, pp. 31-32.

²⁴⁷ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records, 1822-33*, p. 530. The regulations were adopted on 26 March 1833.

²⁴⁸ James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow; Comprising an Account of its Ancient and Modern History, its Trade, Manufacturers, Commerce, Health and Other Concerns* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840), p. 32.

²⁴⁹ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn, p. 32.

²⁵⁰ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn, p. 32.

Place was established in 1770 with an attached burying ground, and used its crypt for the same purpose from 1839; and St. Mark's in Cheapside Street was established in 1792 with an attached burying ground.²⁵¹ The Jewish community, which was first formally established in 1823, purchased a burial plot in the Necropolis for 100 guineas in 1830, and two years later Joseph Levi, a 62-year-old quill maker, became the first person to be interred both in the Jewish enclosure, as it was called, and in the Necropolis itself.²⁵²

Members of the Religious Society of Friends, popularly known as Quakers, first held meetings in Glasgow in the late seventeenth century and from 1716 to 1811 had a meeting house and burying ground in Stirling Square, Albion Street, and from 1811 to 1857 they used a burial ground in Keith Street, Partick.²⁵³ The first Roman Catholic burial ground in Glasgow after the Reformation was St. Mary's in Abercrombie Street, Calton, opened in 1839.²⁵⁴ Episcopalians met in St. Andrew-by-the-Green, in Greendyke Street, which was established in 1750 with its own burying ground around it.²⁵⁵ The Town's Hospital, which was established in Clyde Street in 1733, had its own burying ground in Dunlop Street, as did the city jail within the court and council buildings at the foot of the Saltmarket, for those hanged in Jail Square.²⁵⁶ Before the opening of St. Mungo's in 1832 and the Necropolis in 1833, the only burying grounds not attached to a church or an institution in the Glasgow area were opened in Rutherglen Road in Gorbals in 1715, and in Abercrombie Street by the Calton Incorporation of Weavers in 1786.²⁵⁷

Conclusions

The Necropolis can be seen as an integral part of this era of expansion and improvement in Glasgow. An increased population demanded increased burial space, particularly with the change in attitude that called for a burial space to be associated in perpetuity

²⁵¹ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

²⁵² Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews in Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Committee, 1990), pp. 20-21.

²⁵³ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

²⁵⁴ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

²⁵⁵ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

²⁵⁶ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45; Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies* vol 1, p. 395.

²⁵⁷ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

with a specific deceased person and often their family. In terms of design and layout, its topography and planning sets it aside from the geometrical grid of both the nineteenth century city and its burial grounds, and declares its status as a garden, albeit a very particular kind of garden, and its use of the devices of grand garden design, such as the winding path, the vista and the placing of landmark buildings, also echo the use of city squares and *point-de-vue* buildings that break and enliven the urban grid of the town. In this, it can be seen as related to improvements in both town planning, such as the extension of the neo-classically derived grid to the suburbs to the west and south of the city, and to garden design as seen on the remodelled Glasgow Green and at the Sandyford premises of the Glasgow Royal Botanic Institution. The location of the Necropolis can be seen as part of the developments in the area around the High Church, despite the abandonment of the historical heart of Glasgow by the middle classes.

The internal arrangements of the Necropolis mirrored the social or class distinctions of the city: only the truly elite were allowed to be buried on the summit of the hill, near to the monument to John Knox; the commercial elite and the middle classes were distinguished by the size and prominence of their memorials; the poor continued to be buried in unmarked graves; and the members of the Jewish community had their own demarcated spot. The Necropolis was designed, laid out and run by professionals, operating within the rules of the Merchants' House, reflecting the new professionalism shown by the town council in running its burying grounds. The monuments, too, were increasingly to the designs of architects rather than stonemasons, reflecting the rise of the profession of architect in the city.

In the same way that the people of Glasgow were moving away from the religion by law established, and the outdated system of electing its local and national representatives, the Necropolis was a break away from churchyard burial and the parish system. Similarly, it was conceived and built by an organisation other than the town council, paralleling the rise in charitable, statutory, joint-stock and other organisations providing utility services to the people of the town; others included the gas company, the Glasgow Water Company and the Cranstonhill Water Company, the Police Commissioners, and the Glasgow Infant School Society.

The Necropolis was also part of a trend to renew and remake facilities and structures, often with three categories of improvement: better technology and techniques allowed them to be built to a greater scale, changing tastes demanded that they were more sophisticated and refined, and the steady working through of Enlightenment attitudes ensured that they were more humane, secular and educational.

In the case of the Necropolis, this meant architect-designed tombs, with better quality stone brought from increasing distances, a neo-classical name and style, and an emphasis on contemplation. Other improved structures included the new civic buildings at the foot of the Saltmarket, again in the neo-classical style, which had greatly superior accommodation for prisoners; the County and City Bridewell, which was designed to educate and reform rather than punish; the Royal Exchange, which was several times the size and opulence of its predecessor; and the gardens of the Glasgow Royal Botanical Institution, which were intended to instruct as well as entertain.

Overall, then, the Necropolis was one of a network of improvements to the fabric of the city, and tied in to that grid both in terms of the people who were involved and the attitudes and changing beliefs that helped to shape its design and use. The fact that so many of the people involved in this improving elite chose the Necropolis as their last resting place suggests that it came to symbolise the beliefs, attitudes and cultural behaviours that drove them to instigate the many and varied developments in the city for which they were responsible.

Chapter two:

The Necropolis in the contexts of Scottish, United Kingdom and European cemetery development

Introduction

The Glasgow Necropolis was the product of several hands, including a lawyer, a West Indies merchant, a wine merchant and literary journalist, and sundry architects and gardeners. All of them brought their own beliefs and assumptions to the project, but there was one fact on which they all agreed: the new cemetery they were creating would be ‘a Scottish Père Lachaise’.¹ The phrase was coined by John Strang in his 1831 book, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, but the idea had appeared in every proposal for a garden cemetery on the Fir Park hill, without an explanation, since it was first employed in William Heath’s satirical cartoon in 1825.² The lack of explanation, or even of mentioning the location of the French cemetery, indicated that the concept was in common currency. Scotland was here looking to a French example for innovative ideas and practices. Strang (see Figure 13), whose book helped shape the public’s opinion of the Glasgow Necropolis, even as it was being designed and constructed, was one of the most important people in the process by which an idealised vision of Père Lachaise was transformed into a practical blueprint for building, working in, visiting and thinking about the new cemetery.³ Strang had visited Paris around 1825, and he included both a description and a drawing of the Parisian cemetery (see Figure 14), as well as a drawing of how the Fir Park would look studded with monuments (see Figure 15); this would have helped people in Glasgow to understand the attitudes and beliefs that were being wrapped up in the phrase ‘a Scottish Père Lachaise’, and to help them welcome the Glaswegian version that was unfolding on the slopes of the Fir Park.⁴ The first part of

¹ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831), p. vii.

² *Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825, p. 3

³ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*.

⁴ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*.



Figure 13 (right) – John Strang, who toured Europe before running his family’s wine business, was an influential arts and culture journalist before becoming City Chamberlain in 1834. His *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831) prepared the city for its pioneering burying ground. (James MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 2 [Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1886].)

Figure 14 (below) – Engraving of Père Lachaise, by Hugh Wilson from a sketch by John Strang, included in Strang’s *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831), which promoted the French cemetery as a exemplar for Glasgow. (John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* [Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831].)



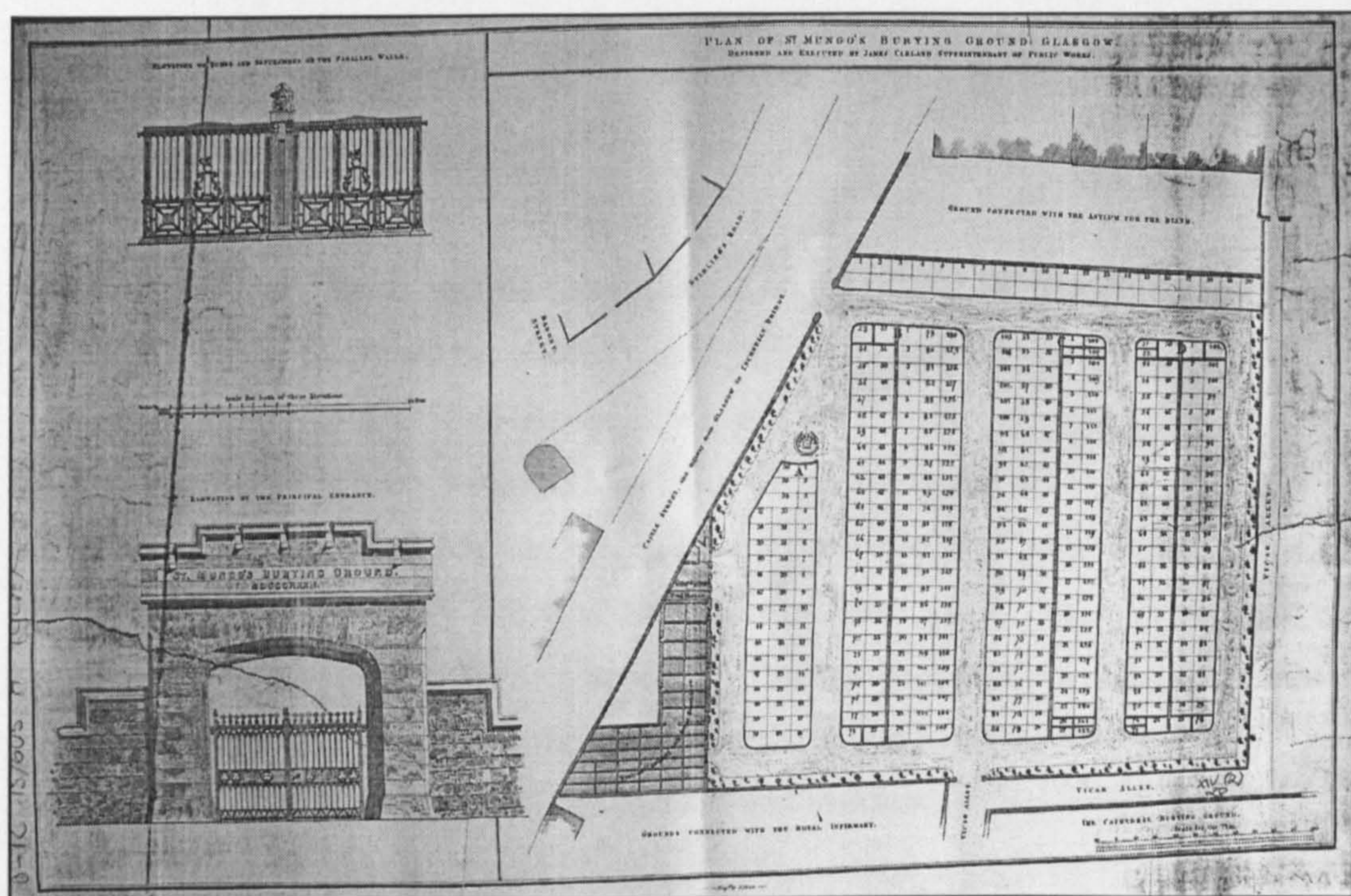
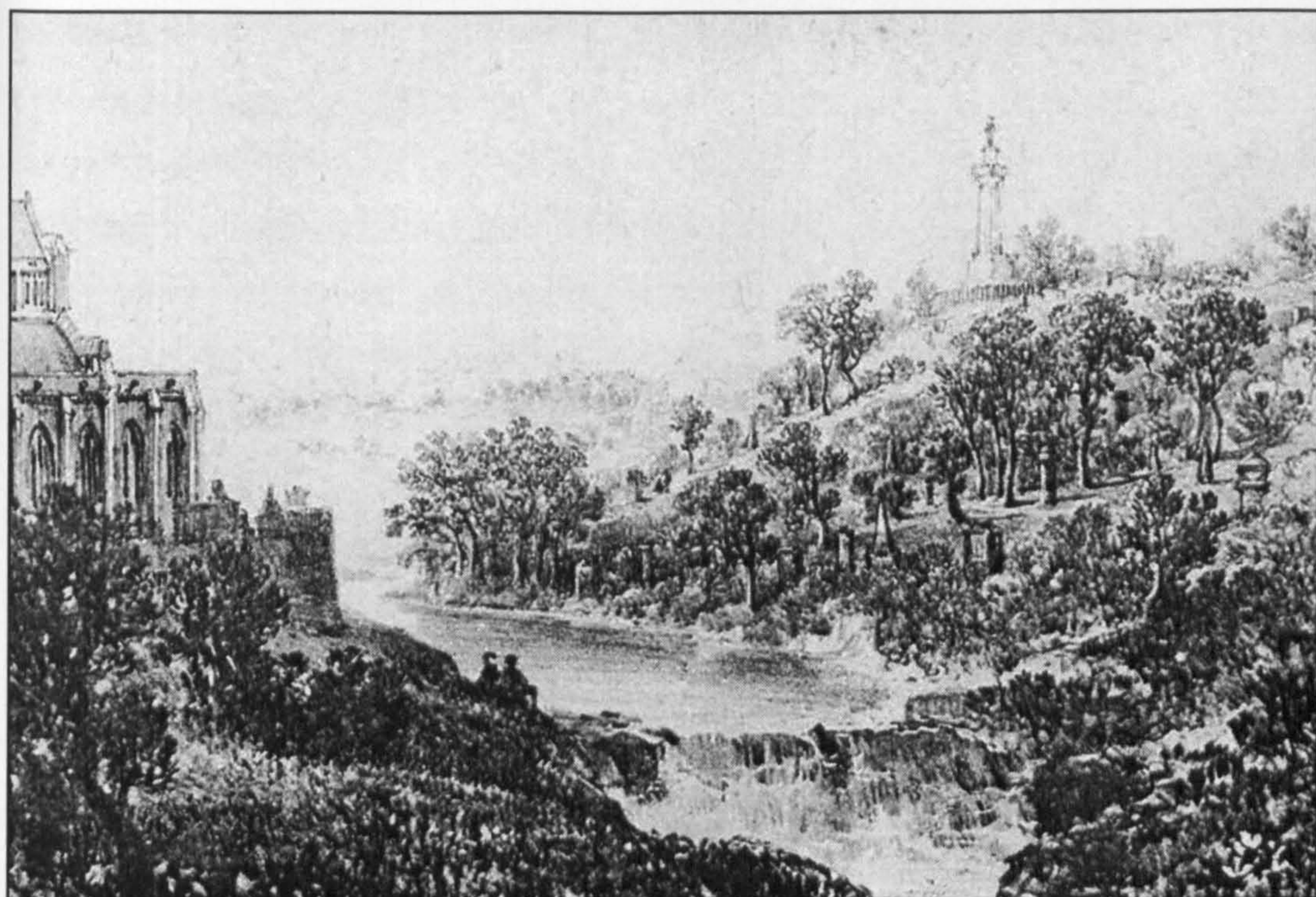


Figure 15 (top) – John Strang included this artistic impression of his proposed garden cemetery on the Fir Park site in his 1831 book. The Molendinar appeared as a sylvan stream, rather than an industrial burn, and the modest monuments were almost hidden by the trees. (John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* [Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831].)

Figure 16 (above) – Plan and elevation of St. Mungo's burying ground, designed in 1832 by James Cleland for Glasgow Town Council. The town bought the land in response to a cholera epidemic, and later marketed it as a superior burying ground, with gas lighting and gravel carriageways. At the top left is an elevation of the iron cages that could be built around lairs to deter body-snatchers. (GCA, D-TC 13/605A, Plan of St Mungo's Burying Ground, Glasgow [undated].)

his book, which surveyed burial customs in classical Greece and Rome, as well in other cultures and countries, including contemporary Europe, gave context and meaning to the workings in the Fir Park. This helped to transform – in peoples' minds – an enclosed landscape with paths and architectural structures, not to mention a monument to John Knox, into a new type of burying ground, with associations of sanctity, continuity with the past, hygiene, mourning and rational recreation. Strang made the Necropolis a great European project for Glasgow, linked to classical civilisation, Enlightenment values and the modern way of burial, as developed in Paris. Other writers and commentators re-enforced the French connection, and gave the Glasgow Necropolis almost twin-town status with Père Lachaise.

This chapter briefly looks at the contexts in which the Necropolis developed, and how ideas from other countries influenced its origins and development, and how in turn the Necropolis informed and inspired garden cemeteries in England, Ireland and beyond.

The Scottish context

Père Lachaise had a direct and indirect influence on the people designing the Necropolis and its structures, but there were local burying grounds, buildings and landscapes that contributed to the project. The Necropolis was not the first burying ground in Glasgow separate from a church: the Town's Hospital in Clyde Street and the jail at the southern end of the Saltmarket had burying places for inmates who died in their care, and the Royal Infirmary, the County and City Bridewell in Duke Street, and other residential institutions may have had their own spaces.⁵ Also, the people of Gorbals and Calton, two city suburbs, had established their own burying grounds, separate from any church or other institution, in Rutherglen Road in 1715 and in Abercrombie Street in 1786.⁶

St Mungo's burying ground (see Figure 16), opened in 1832 by the town council of Glasgow to deal with the overwhelming number of deaths from the cholera epidemic that ravaged the city that year, may have been built too late to influence the design of the Necropolis.⁷ However, it was built to plans for an ornamental burying ground

⁵ Joe Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), pp. 43, 306.

⁶ Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

⁷ James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840), pp. 31-32.

prepared earlier by James Cleland, which were far more elaborate and tasteful than the emergency procedures put in place by other British settlements in reaction to the cholera menace.⁸ While other councils opened burying grounds that were mere pits for the disposal of corpses, and which were not in any sense designed or landscaped, Glasgow produced a burying ground that was effective in terms of both architecture and public health.

In terms of finding sources for the new forms of monumentation that might be used in the Necropolis, customers could have looked to the grand memorials in the High Church yard, such as those to Peter Lowe (1610), founder of the Royal College of Physicians, and to George Hutcheson and his brother Thomas (1641), founders of Hutchesons' Hospital.⁹ There were also imposing monuments inside the High Church, dating in the main from before the Reformation.¹⁰ There were mausolea belonging to wealthy landowners in a number of church yards in the west of Scotland, such as the Stirlings of Law Mausoleum in Old Kilpatrick Bowling churchyard (1658), the Lennox Mausoleum in Campsie Parish churchyard (1715) and the Edmonstone Mausoleum in Strathblane Parish churchyard (1802).¹¹ In Edinburgh, particularly, there were many mausolea in both Greyfriars churchyard and Calton burying ground, such as ones for George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (c. 1690) and for William Adam (1748) in the former and for David Hume (1778) and for the Spottiswoode family (1800) in the latter.¹² These Scottish structures, together with illustrations of Classical examples reproduced in guidebooks for architects and travellers, helped to inform the monumentation of the Necropolis.

The Necropolis thus incorporated, and magnified, previous Scottish ideas of what an elaborate and impressive burying ground could be, and what monuments might stand in it. It also integrated, in its design and construction, responses to popular considerations around security of the corpse and the health of the public. In this way, the Necropolis encapsulated contemporary ideas of both aesthetics and practicality. This

⁸ Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn, pp. 31-32.

⁹ Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches, and Malcolm Higgs, *Glasgow* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 135.

¹⁰ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, pp. 133-34.

¹¹ John Gifford and Frank Arneil Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 35.

¹² James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2000), p. 34. See also Anne Boyle, Colin Dickson, Alasdair McEwan and Colin Maclean, *Ruins and Remains: Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1985).

is perhaps why it quickly became both a fashionable place of burial – for those who could afford it – and a popular attraction for both locals and visitors.

Stewart Murray, Curator of the Botanic Gardens, was doubly involved in the design of the Necropolis. Firstly, he provided John Strang with a list of plants that he thought appropriate for a cemetery; and secondly he was one of the advisers to the Necropolis Committee.¹³ He later used his experiences there to design three other Scottish cemeteries, at Sighthill in north Glasgow (1840), Paisley Cemetery (1845) and Greenock Cemetery (1846). In this way, the Necropolis had direct influence over three important cemeteries in the west of Scotland.¹⁴ So in a number of ways, the aesthetic and utilitarian aspects of the Necropolis were transmitted to other parts of Scotland. By 1864, as Thomas Davidson wrote in that year:

in the principal towns of Scotland the happy example [of the Necropolis] has been followed, and the national reproach has been taken from us of burying our dead in places devoid of natural beauty and interest, and which were left to the uncared-for and neglected luxuriance of a rank vegetation.¹⁵

So the influence of the Necropolis was felt across Scotland, lifting a ‘national reproach’ which confirmed that the project had moral undertones.

While the Necropolis had several distinctive features, such as being promoted by a charitable body, it was not the only garden cemetery in Scotland. Other significant examples were the New Howff in Dundee and Warriston Cemetery in Edinburgh, which opened in 1836 and 1842, respectively. The former, also known as the New Burial Ground or Constitution Road cemetery, was oblong in shape and flat, covering around two acres; Charles Edward’s 1846 plan of Dundee showed curving paths flanked by trees, and a photograph taken in the 1890s indicated that there were few architectural monuments.¹⁶ The latter, laid out in a picturesque style by David Cousin, later the city architect, incorporated tree-shaded serpentine walks and neo-Tudor catacombs, and

¹³ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. 44; for example, he was one of the judges of the competition for plans of the cemetery: Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 May 1831.

¹⁴ Christopher Dingwall and Linda White, ‘Garden Cemeteries in Scotland’, *Garden History Society Report for Scotland*, Summer 2002.

¹⁵ Thomas Davidson, ‘Memoir of John Strang’, in John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1864), p. xii.

¹⁶ Louise Miskell, Christopher A. Whatley and Bob Harris, eds., *Victorian Dundee: Image and Realities* (Phantassie, East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), p. 112; photograph WC6073, ‘Constitution Road cemetery’, Dundee Central Library, Photographic Collection.

attracted many architect-designed monuments.¹⁷ It was developed by the Edinburgh Cemetery Company, which had purchased 14 acres of land on the north bank of the Water of Leith, and designed in the style of Kensal Green cemetery in London.¹⁸ In both cities, these pioneering cemeteries were followed by similar enterprises: the Western cemetery (1845) and the Eastern Necropolis (1863) in Dundee, and Dean cemetery (1845), Newington Necropolis (1846), Dalry Necropolis (1846), the Edinburgh and Leith cemetery (1846; later known as Rosebank) and Grange cemetery (1847); all of the cemeteries opened in the 1840s were promoted by joint stock companies.¹⁹

The United Kingdom context

Cultural beliefs and practices surrounding death and burial were very different in Scotland and England in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was especially true in the linked spheres of religion and the law. South of the Border, the majority of the burying spaces were owned by the Church of England, and consecrated by them.²⁰ Dissenters, who chose not to support the Anglican church by giving them burial fees or by accepting the status of their sacred spaces, were behind many of the new cemeteries that were built in England in that period.²¹ In addition, the new joint stock cemetery companies drew trade away from the Church of England: for example, the opening of Kensal Green cemetery in London in 1833, which had separate chapels for Anglicans and Dissenters, cost the vicar of Paddington £200 a year.²² In English Common Law, the vicar of any church was due an ‘oblation’ for each burial in his church or

¹⁷ John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1984), p. 576-77.

¹⁸ Anne Boyle, Colin Dickson, Alasdair McEwan and Colin Maclean, *Ruins and Remains: Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage, A Commentary on Edinburgh's Graveyards and Cemeteries* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 96-99.

¹⁹ Charles McKean and David Walker, *Dundee: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh: Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, 1984), pp. 91, 136; Anne Boyle, Colin Dickson, Alasdair McEwan and Colin Maclean, *Ruins and Remains*, p. 98.

²⁰ James Stevens Curl, ed., *Kensal Green Cemetery: The Origins and Development of the General Cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green, London, 1824-2001* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), p. 14.

²¹ Curl, *Kensal Green Cemetery*, p. 14.

²² Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Part One* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971), pp. 327.

churchyard.²³ Some of these companies were owned by businessmen who were members of dissenting churches, and new places of worship often had burying grounds around them: in the early 1840s, one undertaker remarked of a Wesleyan Methodist chapel in east London: 'They gain more money by the dead than by the living.'²⁴ Later, the public cemeteries that were opened in England after the Burial Acts of 1852 and 1853, which often featured sections consecrated by different denominations, had the same effect: the 1852 Act cost Bishop Blomfield £300 a year, and he had to raise subscriptions to cover the loss.²⁵ In the course of 20 years, from the first joint-stock cemeteries to the public cemeteries authorised by the Burial Acts, the Church of England lost its 'near monopoly over the dead', wrote Thomas W. Laqueur, and death had made the acquaintance of capitalism and the market.²⁶

In Glasgow, however, the churchyards were owned by the Town Council, as the heritors of the parish, and the clergy were forbidden from accepting fees for any funeral prayers or services.²⁷ There were no formal objections from the church to the Necropolis: the minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and of the General Session of the town, for the period covering the construction and early operation of the cemetery have no references to it.²⁸

The first English joint-stock companies had to seek Parliamentary approval for their activities; for example the General Cemetery Company, which planned to open Kensal Green cemetery in west London, was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1832.²⁹ The Cemetery Clauses Act of 1847 provided a model constitution for such companies, which no longer needed individual Acts of Incorporation.³⁰ There were other laws that applied to cemeteries, including the Public Health Act of 1848, which established Boards of Health with the power to close burying grounds that posed a

²³ Thomas W. Laqueur, 'Cemeteries, Religion and the Culture of Capitalism', in Jane Garnett and Colin Matthew, eds., *Revival and Religion since 1700* (London: Hambledon, 1993), p. 196.

²⁴ Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pp. 327.

²⁵ Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pp. 327.

²⁶ Laqueur, 'Cemeteries, Religion and the Culture of Capitalism', p. 184.

²⁷ William Bell, *A Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1838), p. 121.

²⁸ GCA, CH2 171/18, Presbytery of Glasgow Minutes, 1827-33; GCA, CH2 171/19, Presbytery of Glasgow Minutes, 1833-38; GCA, TD 209/2, The General Session Minute Book of Glasgow, 1819-32; GCA, TD 209/3, The General Session Minute Book of Glasgow, 1832-54.

²⁹ 2 & 3 William IV, Cap. 110, An Act for Establishing a General Cemetery for the Interment of the Dead in the Neighbourhood of the Metropolis (1832).

³⁰ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 136.

health hazard, and to open new grounds where there was a need for them.³¹ Then came the Metropolitan Burial Act of 1850, which was extended to cover England and Wales in 1853, and a series of Burial Acts between 1852 and 1857 that further regulated burying grounds.³²

In Scotland, there was no specific legislation covering joint-stock cemetery companies. The English public health legislation was gathered up in the Burial Grounds (Scotland) Act, 1855, which placed the power to close or open burying grounds in the hands of the Parochial Boards for the Maintenance of the Poor, rather than setting up a new organisational structure.³³ In terms of local planning control, there were no complaints raised in the Dean of Guild Court against the activities of the Merchants' House in the Fir Park between 1824 and 1830.³⁴ In Glasgow, therefore, there were no real constraints in religious or legal terms on the Merchants' House when it considered converting its property into a cemetery. Overall, it was much easier and less complex to open a cemetery in Scotland than it was in England.

Almost as soon as the Necropolis was opened for burials in the spring of 1833, it began to catch the imagination of people in Glasgow and elsewhere in the United Kingdom; the burying ground soon became a popular visitor attraction, and became the subject of writers and illustrators whose work was read and seen locally, nationally and internationally.³⁵ John Strang's book was influential, and the Necropolis also featured in the guidebooks to the city, and in a dedicated *Companion* produced in 1836 by Laurence Hill, one of the champions of the project.³⁶ Through these books, as well as through travellers' accounts and verses produced by people from as near as Ayrshire and as far as America, the fame of the Necropolis spread widely. The cemetery was also written about in specialist magazines for gardeners, architects and engineers, and became part of the working knowledge of people in these fields who were called upon to create new cemeteries in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. As Curl wrote about Ireland, 'the promotions in Glasgow, Liverpool and London were known, and influenced the first cemeteries in Dublin'; these were Glasnevin (see Figure 17), which opened in 1832, and Mount Jerome, which opened in 1836. He also detected the ideas

³¹ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 136.

³² Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 141.

³³ 18 & 19 Victoria, Cap. 68, An Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in Scotland (1855).

³⁴ GCA, D-OPW B4/1/25, Dean of Guild Court Minutes, 1824-1830.

³⁵ These are discussed more fully in Chapter five.

³⁶ Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1836).

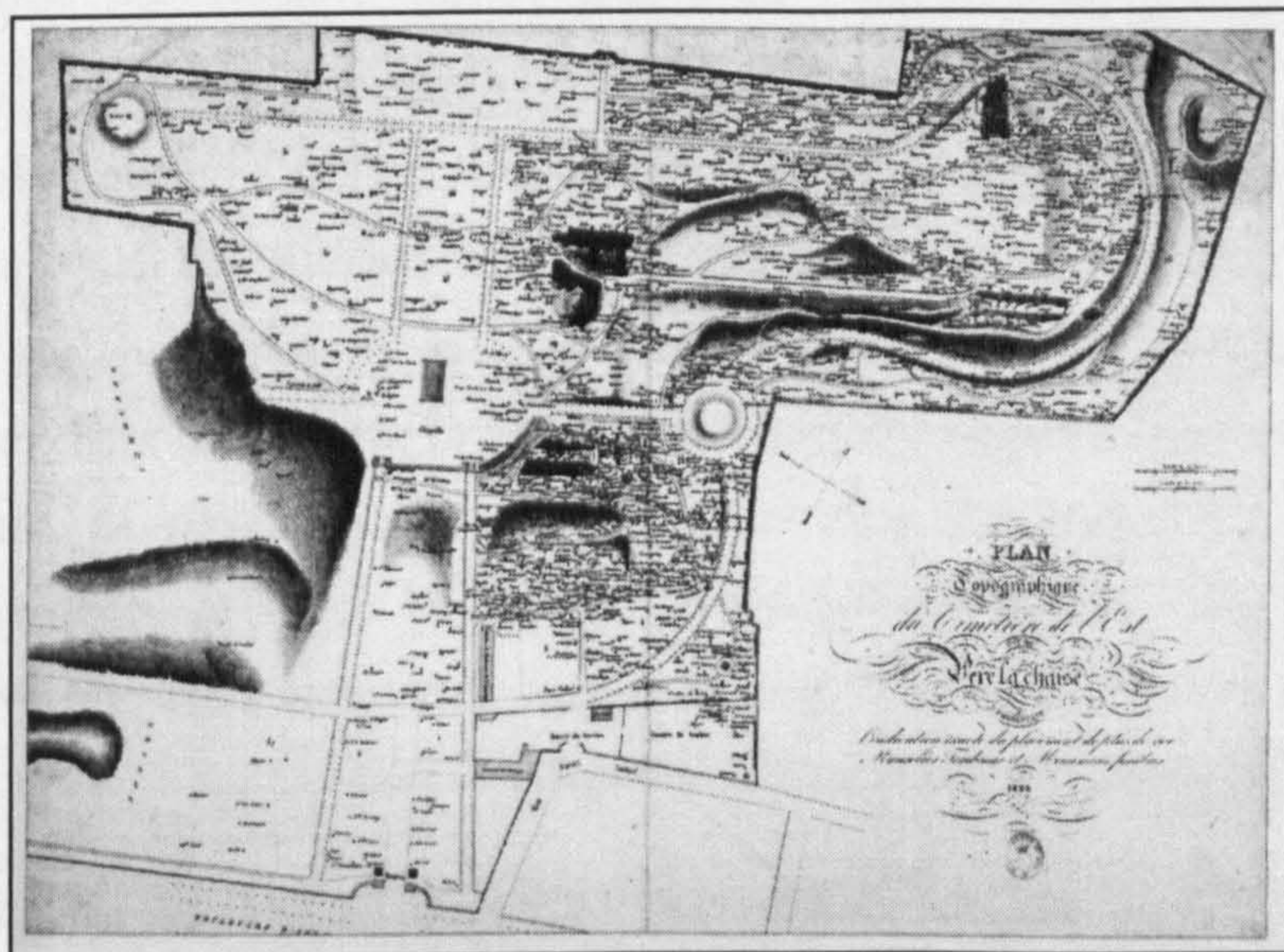
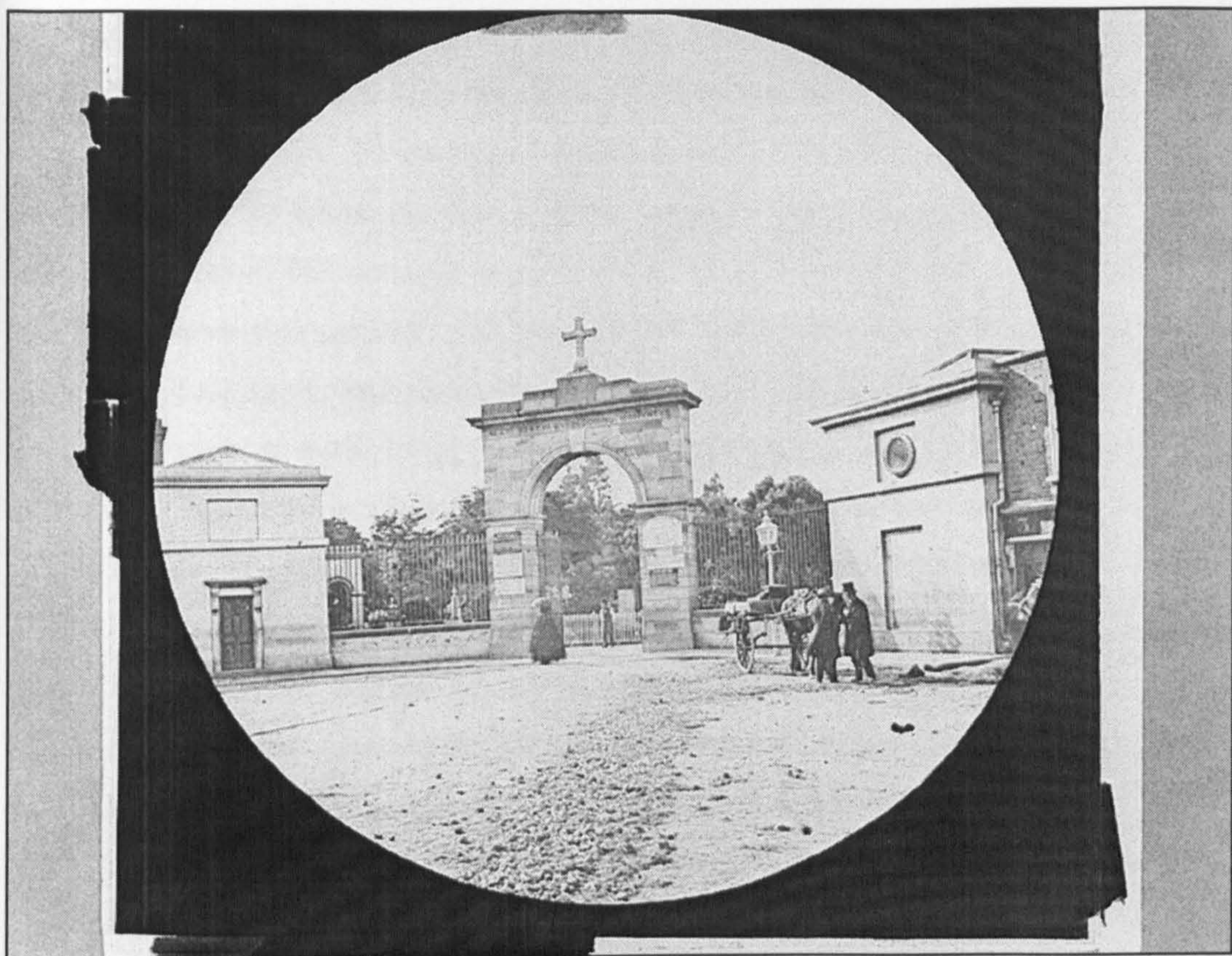


Figure 17 (top) – The entrance to Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin, shown in a lantern slide produced in 1890 by T. H. McAllister. Glasnevin was founded by Daniel O'Donnell in 1832 to allow Roman Catholics to conduct funerals away from the interference of the Protestant authorities. (Still Photographic Archive, George Eastman House, Rochester N.Y., catalogue reference 87:0534:0037, viewed online at <http://www.eastmanhouse.org>, September 2005.)

Figure 18 (above) – Père Lachaise cemetery was founded in Paris in 1804, to the designs of Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart, as the first garden cemetery. This engraving shows the layout in 1828, with *concessions perpétuelles* (graves sold in perpetuity) across the landscape, and a hilly area to the west given over to *fosses communes* (communal graves). (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, GeD14532, Plan topographique du Cimetière de l'Est, 1828.)

of Strang and John Claudius Loudon (see below) in the writings of Hubert Eaton, who founded Forest Lawn Memorial Park, near Los Angeles, in 1919.³⁷

The Merchants' House may not have looked to England for inspiration for the Necropolis, but the ethos and design of the cemetery did have a great influence in the opposite direction. The message was carried by John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), an influential landscape gardener and horticultural writer who was born in Cambuslang, just south of Glasgow, and who made his name in London.³⁸ After writing a number of books on various agricultural and horticultural topics, he began publishing the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1826, which 'became a forum for the exchange of ideas' on a national scale.³⁹ Loudon's magazine mixed descriptions, commentary and advice; much of it was republished in book form on specific topics such as kitchen gardens. As an expert in the subject, Loudon was often commissioned to design and superintend the laying out of gardens, such as the Birmingham Botanic Garden in 1831, the arboretum presented to Derby by Joseph Strutt in 1839, and Lord Stair's grounds at Castle Kennedy, near Stranraer in 1841.⁴⁰ Other clients included the Duchess of Brunswick, Lord Mansfield and Lord Rothschild. He also designed three cemeteries: the Cambridge Cemetery at Histon Road, the Abbey Cemetery near Prior Park in Bath, and the Southampton Cemetery.⁴¹

The magazine often featured Loudon's accounts of tours through the United Kingdom and Europe, in which he described and commented on gardens; these articles were a potent way of spreading ideas of taste and practical improvements among Loudon's readers. One of these tours, made in 1841, took him to the north of England and the south of Scotland; he visited Glasgow in July of that year, and recorded his impressions of the Necropolis, to which he devoted five pages of his magazine.⁴² Loudon, who had been writing about cemeteries since 1830, also wrote and published a series of articles on the topic in the *Gardener's Magazine* during 1843; they appeared

³⁷ James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* 1st edn (London: Constable, 1980), p. 266.

³⁸ Brent Elliot, 'John Claudius Loudon', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 34 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 475.

³⁹ Elliot, 'John Claudius Loudon', p. 476.

⁴⁰ Elliot, 'John Claudius Loudon', p. 475.

⁴¹ Elliot, 'John Claudius Loudon', p. 476.

⁴² John Claudius Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour in the North of England and Part of Scotland, Made from June 22 to September 30, 1841', in the *Gardener's*

until the title ‘The Principles of Landscape Gardening and of Landscape Architecture applied to the Laying out of Public Cemeteries and the Improvement of Churchyards; including Observations of the Working and General Management of Cemeteries and Burial Grounds’.⁴³ These texts were consolidated into a book published that year, titled *On the Laying out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards*.⁴⁴ Curl wrote that Loudon’s ‘Scottish-Rationalist ideas’ were clearly expressed in the book, which had ‘enormous and lasting influence’, both on the layouts of cemeteries and on the style of planting in most British and American cemeteries.⁴⁵

One obvious influence on the book was Strang’s *Necropolis Glasguensis*, published in 1831.⁴⁶ Loudon was so enthused by Strang’s ideas and his way of expressing them that he reproduced lengthy passages from *Necropolis Glasguensis* in his own book. While Loudon’s book was very much a practical guide, its first chapter drew heavily on the aesthetics of burial and mourning expounded by Strang. Curl has written that Strang’s book ‘obviously provided Loudon with much of his material, even his inspiration’, and referred to Loudon’s extensive quotations from Strang as being ‘shamelessly plagiarised’ from the earlier book.⁴⁷ Loudon’s book, which was widely-read, spread Strang’s values and attitudes to burying grounds much more widely than the Glasgow journalist could have hoped, and gave a substantial audience – particularly among the people who were being called upon to design cemeteries for joint stock companies, local authorities and religious groups. Almost all the public cemeteries formed after 1850, Curl has written, incorporated ‘many of the ideas for layout and planting’ set out by Loudon in his ‘remarkable book’, which in this way gave greater currency to the attitudes and beliefs that underpinned the Glasgow Necropolis.⁴⁸ Strang’s views on the moral, improving and educational aspects of cemeteries, and many of the other values that were embraced by the Necropolis Committee, were thus broadcast widely, under the imprimatur of an arbiter of horticultural taste.

Magazine, February 1842, pp. 49-55. His comments on the Necropolis are discussed in Chapter five of this thesis.

⁴³ John Claudius Loudon, ‘Victorian London – Death and Dying – Overcrowding’, the *Morning Advertiser* [London], 14 May 1830; *Gardener’s Magazine*, various, 1843.

⁴⁴ John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1843).

⁴⁵ James Stevens Curl, ‘Introduction’, in John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries*, (facsimile repr. Redhill, Surrey: Ivelet Books, 1981), p. 20.

⁴⁶ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*.

⁴⁷ Curl, *A Celebration of Death* 1st edn, p. 249.

⁴⁸ Curl, ‘Introduction’, p. 22.

Other professional journals were eager to pass on details of the Necropolis. For example, the *Engineer and Architect's Journal* presented its readers with a large architectural drawing of the 'entrance', designed by John Bryce.⁴⁹ The magazine praised the drawing, which it thought showed 'much care in the design' and was 'marked with a strong expression of character'; this illustrated that the Necropolis and its constituent structures were not only of interest to engineers and architects but were being held up as examples of good taste and practice.⁵⁰

James Cleland, former Superintendent of Public Works in Glasgow, spread knowledge of the Necropolis in another way. His address to the statistical section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which met at Bristol in August 1836 included the assertion that 'the Necropolis, formed [...] in imitation of the cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris, stands unrivalled in the kingdom for picturesque effect'.⁵¹ A later guidebook, George Blair's *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, was reviewed by John Doran in *The Athenaeum* in 1857, which indicated that there was still a metropolitan interest in the Necropolis and the lives of the people interred there.⁵²

While the Glasgow Necropolis was known to the designers of later garden cemeteries in the United Kingdom, the first cemeteries in London, especially Highgate, had more clearly discernible influences on them. This burying ground, which was opened in 1839 by the London Cemetery Company, was 'the most atmospheric' and had 'by far the most remarkable buildings' of the earliest cemeteries in the city.⁵³ It was, like all the following cemeteries in London and elsewhere, at some distance from the most densely populated areas, and was operated as a commercial concern. What distinguished the Glasgow Necropolis from Highgate, and the later Scottish examples of garden cemeteries, was its dramatic setting next to – and its symbolic links to – a significant medieval church with its own burial ground that dated to the very earliest days of the settlement. No other garden cemetery, no matter how much it played on its pedigree, could match this location and connection.

⁴⁹ *The Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 14 (1851), p. 524.

⁵⁰ *The Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 14 (1851), p. 524.

⁵¹ James Cleland, *Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1837), p. 6.

⁵² George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857); *The Athenaeum*, 6 June 1857, p.725.

⁵³ Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London* vol. 4 (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 353.

The European context

The design and planning of the Glasgow Necropolis took place in the context of modern cemetery development in Europe, which began with the enactment of legislation passed in Paris on 23 Prarial, Year XII (12 June 1804) which was followed by an announcement by Napoleon, then First Consul, that the estate of Baron Desfontaines, on the outskirts of Paris, would be the site of a new cemetery for the city.⁵⁴ Although officially named the Cemetery of the East, it was popularly known as the Cemetery of Père Lachaise.⁵⁵ Its unofficial name came from François d'Aix de la Chaise, a Jesuit father who had been confessor to Louis XIV, and who had lived from 1675 to 1709 in the house on the estate, which had been gifted to the order in 1626.⁵⁶ The law of 23 Prarial adopted many of the recommendations that had been made by French burial reformers, including the stipulations that cemeteries were to be built at least 40 metres from the nearest housing, that people could be allowed to buy plots in perpetuity and that they could raise monuments on them.⁵⁷

Some architectural historians, such as Curl and Howard Colvin, have proposed that Père Lachaise (see Figure 18) inspired a European cemetery movement that was based on a desire to emulate the artistic and fashionable French model.⁵⁸ Julie Rugg, however, has argued that there was no design-led European movement but rather a series of local initiatives, driven by a complex of locally important social and cultural experiences and conditions. This was first proposed in her 1992 PhD thesis, which has had wide influence within cemetery studies, and then developed in a series of book chapters and journal articles.⁵⁹ Rugg's doctoral thesis examined the formation of

⁵⁴ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 25.

⁵⁵ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and its Legacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 168.

⁵⁶ Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: the Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), p. 305.

⁵⁷ Phillipe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: Allen Lane, 1981), p. 516.

⁵⁸ See, for example, James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* 1st edn (London: Constable, 1980), and Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991).

⁵⁹ Julie Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853', Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of History, University of Stirling, 1992. See also, for example, Julie Rugg, 'From Reason to Regulation: 1760 to 1850', in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 202-229.

cemetery companies in England, Wales and Scotland in the period 1820 to 1853, and concluded that they could be divided into four categories, based on the feelings and thoughts of the people and groups that formed the companies.⁶⁰ The four causes of cemetery formation identified by Rugg were public health, entrepreneurship, civic pride, and religious dissent, each of which she saw as locally derived and expressed.⁶¹ While Père Lachaise is mentioned approvingly in the prospectuses of a significant number of the companies, Rugg argued that 'the initial general reception of Père Lachaise was fairly ambiguous' and that 'the style of the cemetery met with a great deal of criticism' in England, and that it should not be seen as central to the development of cemeteries in the United Kingdom.⁶² She also stressed the utilitarian benefits of planned, drained and planted spaces, in opposition to the art and architectural historians, who have emphasised the aesthetic aspects of garden or ornamental cemeteries.⁶³

Rugg's 1992 analysis of cemetery companies, while including Scottish joint stock companies such as the creators of Sighthill cemetery in Glasgow, did not take full cognisance of the separate Scottish experience. For example, one of her causes was religious dissent. In England, non-conformists developed their own burial grounds to avoid the consecrated ground, the clergy and the charges of the Anglican church, while in Scotland the churchyards were not consecrated and, in the towns at least, did not belong to the church, so there was far less to object to. There were other legal, religious, administrative and cultural difference between Scotland and England. Among these was the Auld Alliance, which may have softened the feelings of Scots to France after the Battle of Waterloo.

Whatever their feelings about relations with France, the planners and builders of the Necropolis drew heavily on the Parisian example, or at least the idea of that burying ground as it had been filtered through the perceptions of artists, architects and other travellers (see Figure 19). The first recorded suggestion of a garden cemetery in Glasgow includes a reference to it, and since this suggestion was a cartoon in a popular satirical magazine, it was likely that the French model was well enough known to be included in its caption.⁶⁴ The illustration showed the Fir Park as it might have looked studded with large monuments, and the caption included: 'It has been suggested that this piece of ground might be made use of for a burying place, a monumental garden we

⁶⁰ Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853'.

⁶¹ Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853'.

⁶² Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853', p. 115.

⁶³ Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853', p. 116.

⁶⁴ *Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825, p.3.

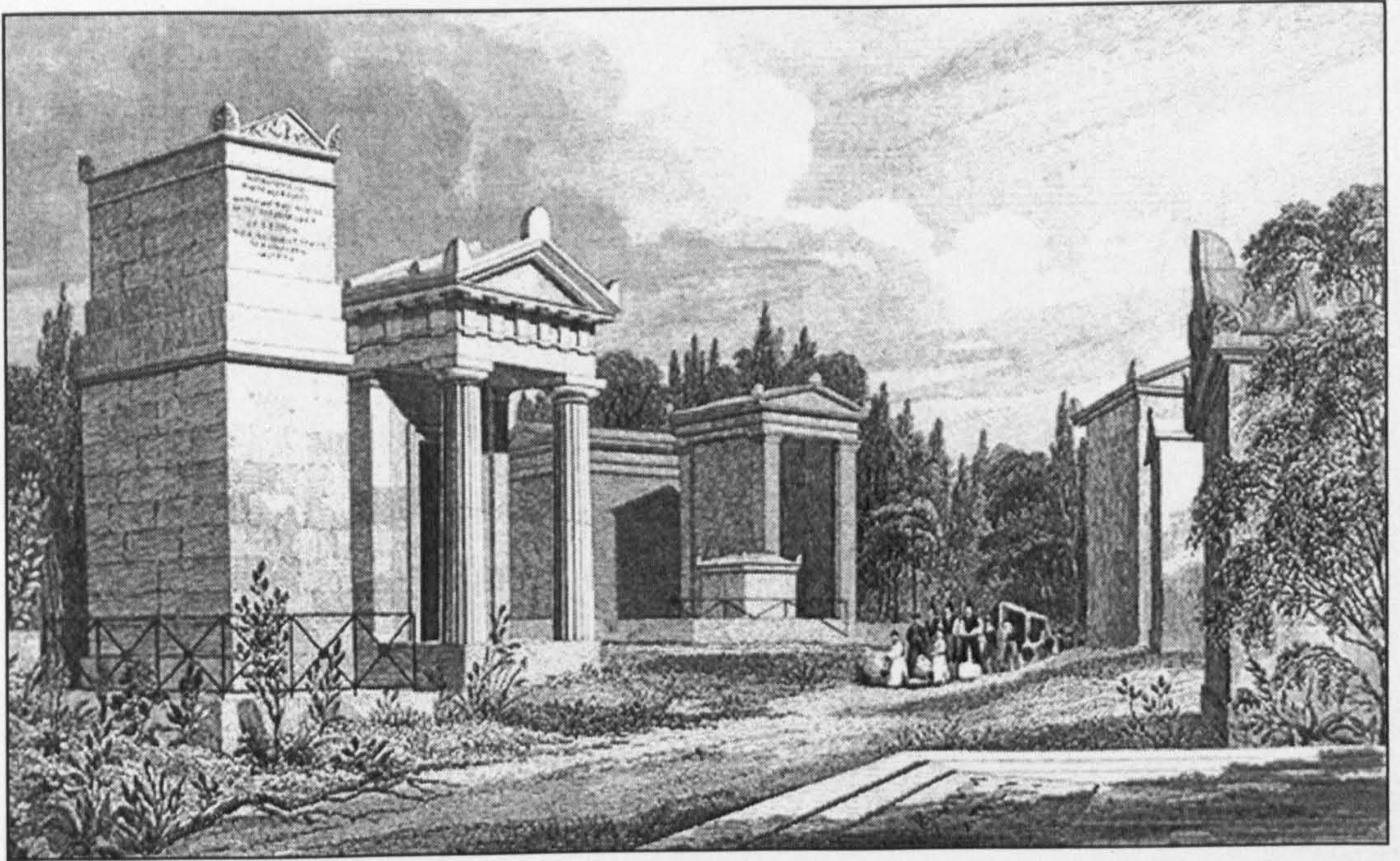


Figure 19 (top) – A series of views of Paris by Pugin and Heath, published from 1828 to 1830, influenced many architects and patrons. This view of Père Lachaise, drawn by Charles Heath, would have been known to the architects and patrons of Glasgow. Note the neoclassical tombs and the funeral party. (Augustus Charles Pugin and Charles Heath, *Paris and its Environs, Displayed in a Series of Picturesque Views* [London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1828-30].)

Figure 20 (above) – The chapel in Sighthill Cemetery, designed by John Steven in a bold Greek style with heavy Egyptian influences, was available for funeral services. The cemetery, which opened in Glasgow in 1840, promoted itself as a less expensive rival to the Necropolis. (Photographed September 2005.)

may call it, similar to the celebrated Père Lachaise at Paris'.⁶⁵ The Parisian model features in almost all subsequent mentions of a proposed garden cemetery for the city; indeed, it is such a strong and recurring idea in Glasgow that it was even incorporated in the name of the first joint-stock garden cemetery company in Glasgow, the City Burial Grounds and Père Lachaise of Sighthill (see Figure 20).⁶⁶ It was not only Glasgow that was enthusiastic about the French cemetery; Richard Etlin has noted that, almost from the time of its opening, it was being 'visited and admired by tourists from other European countries and from America, and Rugg has written that 'such was the enthusiasm for the cemetery that its reproduction was inevitable'.⁶⁷

One of the most significant people in the transmission of the ideals embedded in Père Lachaise to the rocky slopes of the Fir Park was John Strang (1795-1863), a wine merchant and writer who later became City Chamberlain. He exerted a profound influence on the Necropolis, particularly in promoting the Parisian burying ground as an appropriate model and in positioning the Necropolis as a natural successor to the French pioneer. He wrote on the subject of burying ground reform in *The Scots Times*, a Liberal journal of which he was literary and cultural editor, and in other newspapers, and this campaign culminated in his *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831), a plea and plan for a garden cemetery in Glasgow.⁶⁸ One of his contemporaries described Strang's campaign, in the years before the publication of his book:

He had never any scheme more at heart than the formation of a proper cemetery for Glasgow, and during several years he had been taking every opportunity of attaining his wishes, by writing letters to the newspapers, by personal influence with leading citizens, and by the publication of his *Necropolis Glasguensis*.⁶⁹

Curl considered Strang's book to have been the 'catalyst' in turning public opinion in favour of a new type of burial ground, modelled on the Parisian favourite.⁷⁰ By the time of its publication, proposals for the Necropolis were at an advanced stage within the Merchants' House, but the book was nevertheless a public manifesto for the grand, ornamental and commemorative cemetery that the cemetery became. Strang may not

⁶⁵ *Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825, p.3.

⁶⁶ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Etlin, *The Architecture of Death*, p. 340; Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853', p. 112.

⁶⁸ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*.

⁶⁹ James MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, Who Have Died During the Last Thirty Years, and in Their Lives Did Much to Make the City What It Is Now* vol 1 (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1886), p. 307.

have influenced the design or layout of the Necropolis, but his book had a profound cultural influence over how the cemetery was viewed and understood by the people of Glasgow.

Whether the Auld Alliance with France lingered longer in Glasgow than in other parts of Scotland or not, Glasgow had a long tradition of looking to Paris for inspiration and advice on improved ways of operating, whether in matters of taste or practicality. For example, John Baird's design for the Argyll Arcade, a covered shopping street that ran between Argyle Street and Buchanan Street, had much in 'common with the early Parisian arcades', and when a writer for the *Glasgow Herald* visited it in 1828 he was reminded of the 'many passages of a similar description' in Paris.⁷¹ When the Glasgow Educational Association was planning a Normal Seminary in 1834, there were many references to the French educational system, for example in a pamphlet written by George Lewis, one of its secretaries.⁷² Strang devoted a chapter of his book, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, to the influence of French thinking on the associations and people of Glasgow; he wrote that just a few years after Waterloo, 'thousands' of Glaswegians had visited Paris and could talk as knowledgeably about the Palais Royal and the Louvre as if they had all been 'born and bred within the sound of the great bell of Notre Dame'.⁷³ He added that Glasgow fashions in clothing, dinner parties, and alcoholic drinks were influenced by visits to France.⁷⁴ Later, Lord Provost John Blackie, junior, and a civic delegation visited Paris in 1866 and was profoundly influenced by the developments there, which had swept away the slum quarters of the inner city and created broad avenues, parks and open squares; his vision of a Paris-*sur*-Clyde was partially realised by John Carrick, the City Architect, in the Glasgow Improvement Scheme, which laid out broad and straight streets in the style of the French capital.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 46.

⁷¹ Charles McKean, David Walker and Frank Walker, *Central Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989), p. 68; *Glasgow Herald*, 11 July 1828.

⁷² Henry P. Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1987), pp. 29-30.

⁷³ John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1864), pp. 371-72.

⁷⁴ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp. 372-74.

⁷⁵ Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 173-74; Brian Edwards, 'Glasgow Improvements, 1866-1901', in Peter Reed, ed., *Glasgow: The Forming of the City* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 88-89.

Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the direct and indirect influences on the landscape, monumentation and perception of the Glasgow Necropolis, as well as its subsequent influence on the design of later garden or ornamental cemeteries. The discussion in this chapter built on the previous chapter's contention that the Necropolis, while incorporating influences from other cemeteries, above all Père Lachaise in Paris, was firmly a product of a network of Glasgow improvers and was clearly conceived and constructed within the cultural context of these people and the city as it was developing in the first third of the nineteenth century. It also anticipated the next chapter's examination of the chronology of the development of the Necropolis.

Glasgow didn't look to London or any of the large provincial English cities for inspiration when it decided to create the first garden cemetery in Scotland, but rather chose to embrace a Parisian example, a decade after the end of hostilities with France. Perhaps the Auld Alliance made it easier to look to the Continent for a model, or perhaps the architects and landscape gardeners of Glasgow were swept off their feet by the beauty of Père Lachaise. Whatever the reason, they were able to employ the phrase 'a Scottish Père Lachaise' without criticism, and wrap the Necropolis project with the positive associations people had with the French model. They did this so successfully that the Glasgow cemetery in its turn became influential.

Chapter three

Building the silent city, 1828-1835

Introduction

All cities grow and evolve over time, and the silent city on the Fir Park hill was no exception. The project to convert the Fir Park into an ornamental cemetery began inside the Merchants' House in summer 1828 and ended when the Glasgow Necropolis was opened for business in spring 1833. Thereafter, the on-going running of the cemetery occupied the House, particularly the members of its cemetery committee. This chapter and the following one discuss the interlinked issues of how the House, through that committee and its professional advisers, constructed and gave meaning to its new asset. This chapter focuses on the construction of the cemetery, from the first suggestion in 1828 to the first annual report in 1835. It deals with the acquisition of land to augment the Fir Park, the landscaping and planting of the enlarged park, the construction of appropriate entrances and approaches and the production of significant structures by the House. The following chapter deals with the on-going management of the Necropolis as a burying ground, from the first burial in 1832 to the third annual report in 1838. The methodology of these two chapters is based on the work of Ashplant and Smyth, who proposed that any cultural production can be explored through three concepts: production, signification and reception.¹ Together, these chapters survey the production and signification of the Necropolis by the Merchant's House, while chapter five examines the various receptions that people gave the Necropolis.

In outline, the present chapter shows that the production and signification of the Necropolis by the Merchants' House was relatively unproblematic, with virtually no cultural resistance to the practical project of converting a park to an ornamental cemetery, and with a widespread acceptance of the meanings given to the Necropolis, its landscape and structures by the House. From the outset, the project was presented as a Père Lachaise for Glasgow, and it was in these terms that it was discussed, produced

¹ T.G. Ashplant and Gerry Smyth, eds., *Explorations in Cultural History* (London: Pluto Press, 2001).

and accepted. While the promoters did not ever explicitly explain what they meant by the term ‘a Père Lachaise’, the elements that make up their reference to the first ornamental cemetery can be gathered from statements made in the same context. These include landscaped grounds, ornamental structures and plantings, hygienic and secure tombs and vaults, pleasant walkways that encourage people to visit and to spend time there, and a solemn and respectful setting for the burial and remembrance of the dead and for contemplation and reflection by the living. The making of the Necropolis was an exercise in taste. This was a quality demanded of architects, gardeners and other advisers to the cemetery committee of the House, and it was the touchstone by which each of the aspects of the project was judged. The House was assured by its committee that ‘gentlemen of approved taste and professional skill’² were guiding the enterprise; in addition, the newspaper advertisements that announced a competition for plans and, later, invited people to view an exhibition of these plans, made reference to, respectively, ‘economy, security and picturesque effect’, and the ‘ingenuity, elegance and beauty [...] taste and exertion’ of the architects.³ In this context, taste was the capacity to ‘read’ the beliefs and attitudes underlying the culture of middle-class Glasgow, and skill was the ability to ‘write’ these into new artistic works.

The high status of the two principal advisers to the committee was an assurance that the project would be completed to the highest standards of both workmanship and taste, as well as making a statement to the outside world that the projected burying ground was a significant civic improvement, as well as benefiting public health and providing much-needed burial space, especially to the burgeoning bourgeoisie. David Hamilton, architect of the Royal Exchange and other significant and prominent buildings, and Stewart Murray, Curator of the Botanic Garden, were well respected professionals in the two disciplines that overlapped in the design of an ornamental cemetery. Their support of the Necropolis project gave it the stature and presence it needed to become an important addition to Glasgow’s continuing programme of civic improvements, and to be seen as part of that process. To attract the patronage of the elite, the Necropolis had to have – and be both seen and agreed to have – impeccable credentials. Aesthetics, combined with sound civil engineering and gardening skills, all from the offices of people of taste and skill such as Hamilton and Murray, provided

² Variations on this phrase appear regularly in the reports and minutes of the Necropolis Committee; this example was used in a report to the Merchants’ House presented on 15 October 1831.

³ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 January 1831, p. 3 and 27 May 1831, p. 3.

these. John Strang, too, a respected poet, translator, reviewer, art critic and administrator, gave his imprimatur to the Necropolis project, both through his book *Necropolis Glasguensis*,⁴ published in 1831, and through his long-standing interest in burial reform, as expressed in a series of articles in newspapers from 1827 to 1835. Strang also became a member of the committee, and – while not an architect or garden expert – was an opinion former and respected commentator on the arts; a man of proven taste and discrimination, indeed.

James Stevens Curl has argued that the dominant members of a society determine its political climate, which in turn influences the design of towns and cities: ‘the aspirations of the ruling classes, and indeed their qualities, are reflected in the “inscape” of a town’, he wrote.⁵ In some cases, he continued, they influence ‘the actual shape of the town plan’.⁶ This could be particularised to suggest that the values of the members of the Merchants’ House were reproduced in the Necropolis, through the taste and skill of their professional advisers, who were able both to appreciate these values and to represent them in the landscape and structures of the cemetery. The House’s values were also embedded in the structures of the Necropolis, the public and private memorials that were produced in defined architectural styles and that incorporated symbols and emblems that had specific meanings in the culture of the time. The significance of the Necropolis was also acted out in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone ceremony for the bridge, which showed that meanings can also be given through public performances.

During the period of the establishment of the Necropolis, the Merchants’ House was seen by the public as being ‘out of tune’ with new economic ideas, and working to preserve the privileges of its members in an era of free trade.⁷ In March 1830, it had opposed the Bill for extending Glasgow’s boundaries, fearing that the value of its property would be damaged, but in December of the same year it petitioned parliament for reform of the House of Commons, and the following year welcomed the resulting Reform Bill.⁸ In 1832 it again supported parliamentary reform, but in 1833 it strenuously opposed the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill, which would have given control

⁴ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull; 1831).

⁵ James Stevens Curl, *European Cities and Society: A Study of the Influence of Political Climate on Town Design* (London: Leonard Hill, 1970), p. 1.

⁶ Curl, *European Cities and Society*, p. 1.

⁷ Susan Milligan, *The Merchants’ House of Glasgow, 1605-2005* (Glasgow: Merchants’ House, 2004), p. 73.

⁸ Milligan, *The Merchants’ House of Glasgow*, p. 97-98.

of the House and its assets to the town council.⁹ To an outside observer, the House could be seen as progressive, but only when its own interests were not threatened. The Necropolis, therefore, could have been seen by the House as an innovative and forward-looking project, bridging the old order and the new, and perhaps helping to persuade people that the House was not exclusively tied to the past and traditional ways of operating.

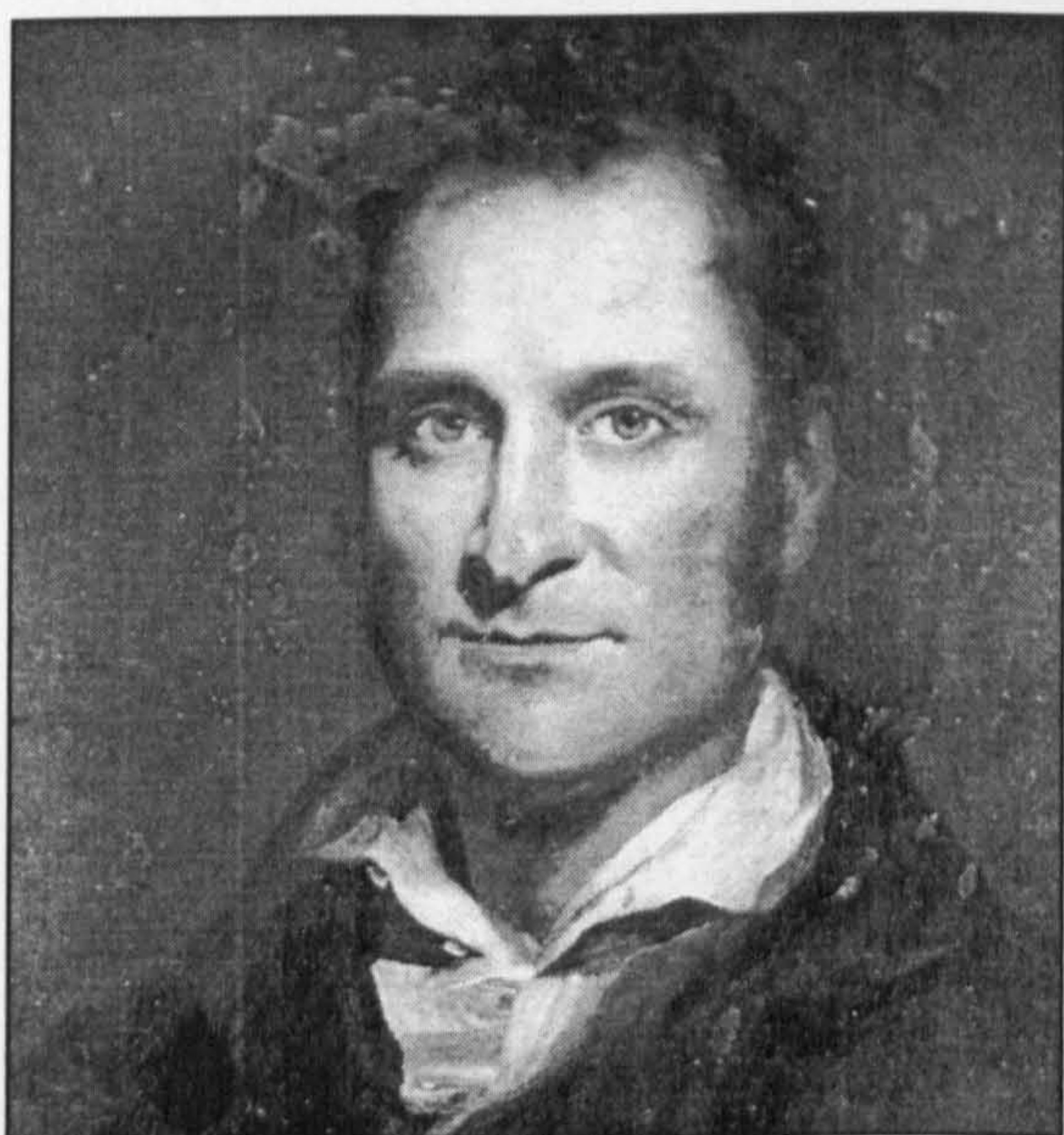
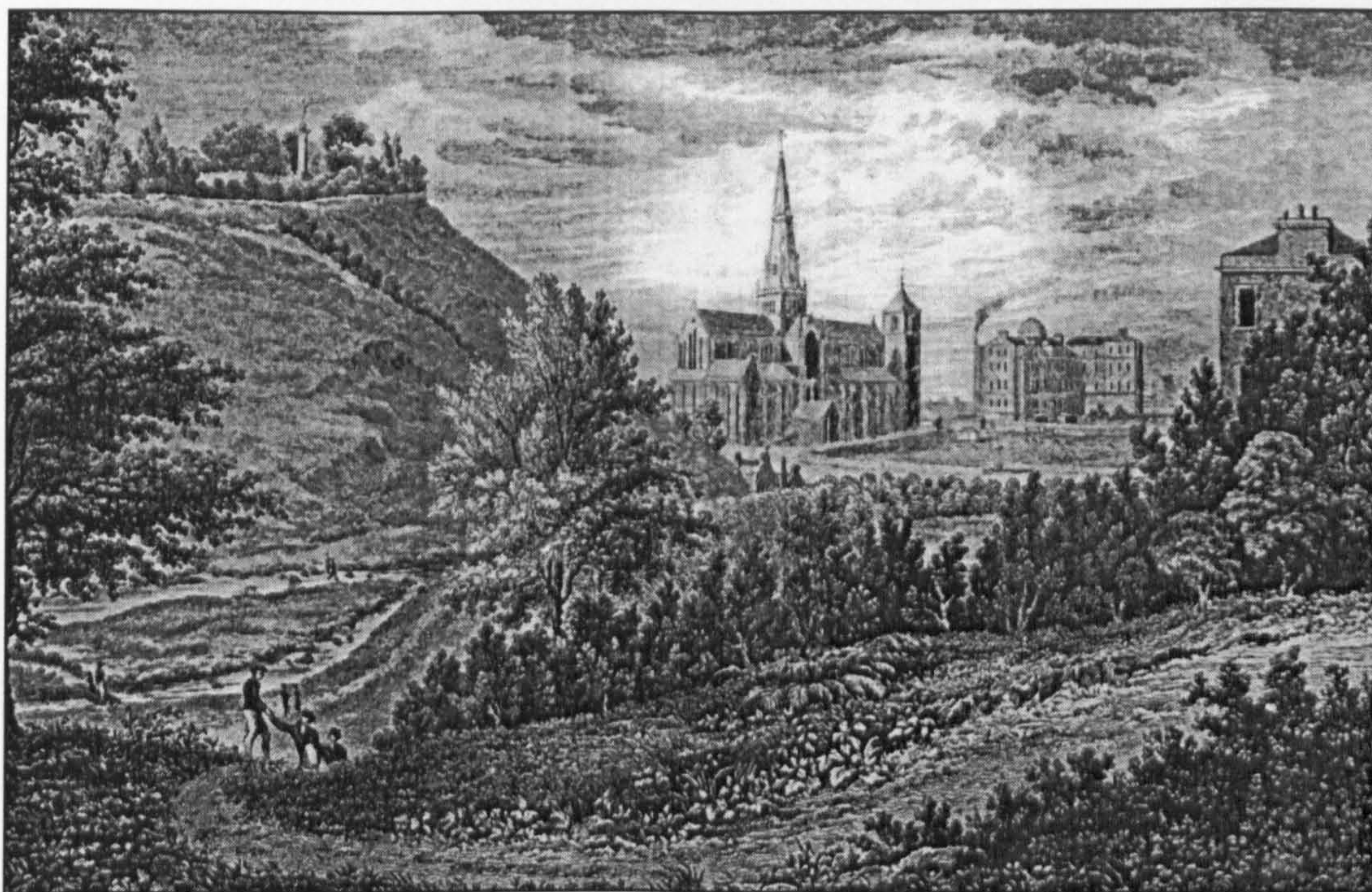
In discussing these and other issues, the research question that underlies that chapter is whether it is possible to untangle and identify all of the influences that were brought to bear on the creation of a cultural production such as a garden cemetery, whether local, national or international.

Outline chronology

Before discussing the creation of the Necropolis, it will be useful to take an overview of the chronology of this process. Within the Merchants' House, it began in July 1828, when an exchange of letters between Laurence Hill, its Collector, and James Ewing, a former Lord Dean of Guild and the chairman of the Committee on the Fir Park and Quarries, led to the formal proposal that the Fir Park should be converted into an ornamental cemetery.¹⁰ The rustic aspect of the park, and its apparent rural setting, was captured in an engraving by Joseph Swan (see Figure 21). Even before this innovative suggestion had been raised, the House had been adding to its property at Wester Craigs, for example by purchasing ground next to the Fir Park from the trustees of John Buchanan in January 1828. The House continued to purchase adjacent property until the Necropolis formally opened in the spring of 1833. The Directors of the House welcomed the proposal from its committee in outline, and asked for a full report. The completed report was delivered in October 1829, after which the committee held a competition for plans, which attracted 16 entries. These were put on public display, and five winning entries were awarded premiums. Rather than appointing David Bryce to

⁹ Milligan, *The Merchants' House of Glasgow*, p. 98-99.

¹⁰ The name of this standing committee is recorded in a variety of ways in the minutes of the Merchants' House, for example the Committee on the Park, Quarries and Property of the House (October 1829), the Committee on Property, Fir Park, Quarries and Cemetery (October 1831) and the Committee on Landed Property, Quarries and Cemetery (October 1832). Its members were appointed at the annual general meeting of the Merchants' House each October.



THE MODELS OF PARIS AND PERE
LA CHAISE
WILL

CLOSE

NEXT WEEK.

THE MODEL of PARIS is made with that extreme neatness and precision, that a person may see and point out the house he has inhabited. PERE LA CHAISE, (the most magnificent Burial Ground in the world), is represented with the same fidelity, and is adorned with its 26,000 Monuments, &c. The Proprietor has just received from Paris a very splendid Collection of Engravings and Lithographic Prints, which are hung round the Exhibition Room. The Collection consist of subjects taken from the paintings in the Palace of the Louvre and Luxembourg, at Paris; sets of 200 portraits of all the Marshals and Generals of Bonaparte; Battles, Landscapes, Historical Subjects, Birds, Butterflies; Marine Views, Caricatures, &c. &c. Now Exhibiting, at the large Saloon, Argyll Arcade. Open From Ten till Dusk. Admission 1s, Catalogues, 6d; Season Ticket, 3s.

Figure 21 (top) – The Fir Park, viewed from the north, with the High Church, centre, the Royal Infirmary, and the Blind Asylum, as engraved by Joseph Swan in 1828. The monument to John Knox, which was erected in 1825, stood in rural isolation on the edge of the city. The boundary of the park can be seen on the side of the hill. (John M. Leighton and Joseph Swan, *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* [Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1829].)

Figure 22 (above, left) – Portrait of David Hamilton by James Saxon. Hamilton, the founder of the architectural profession in Glasgow, designed the entrance gates and bridge in the Necropolis, as well as the Egyptian Vaults and a number of family monuments. (MLG, Glasgow Collection, viewed at www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA03593, September 2005.)

Figure 23 (above, right) – Newspaper advertisement for an exhibition of models of Paris and Père Lachaise, made with such ‘extreme neatness and precision’ that each individual house or gravestone could be identified. This 1830 exhibition showed that the people of Glasgow were aware of French fashions and civic improvements. (*Scots Times*, 22 June 1830.)

implement his successful scheme, however, the committee handed the five winning plans to Hamilton (see Figure 22) and John Baird, two of Glasgow's leading architects, and Murray, Curator of the Botanic Gardens, and asked them to develop a design that incorporated the best features of all the plans, as well as any improvements they felt were needed. Shortly after this, in May 1832, the committee appointed George Milne, a landscape gardener, as the Superintendent or Warden of the cemetery.¹¹ Milne, under the direction of the committee and its advisers, oversaw the construction of the landscape, entrances and structures that together formed the Glasgow Necropolis.

Members of the committee chose Hamilton to design the principal entrance to the Necropolis, a Roman-arched bridge that connected the Fir Park – both physically and metaphorically – with the High Church and the town centre.¹² Together with the Façade, designed by John Bryce, the bridge was intended to create an elaborate, impressive entrance to a grand City of the Dead worthy of the most important citizens of Glasgow. The committee also dealt with relations between the Fir Park and its neighbours, including the Town Council, the heritors of the Barony Parish and Hugh Tennent, the proprietor of the brewery immediately to the south, who waged a long and bitter fight over his supposed rights to uncontaminated water from the slopes of Wester Craigs.¹³ Members also, with the approval of the Directors of the House, supervised the official opening of the cemetery in spring 1833 and governed the City of the Dead as it grew from a park to a fully-functioning burying ground. Early administrative milestones included the first annual report, produced by the committee in 1835,¹⁴ and an operational overview written by Milne in 1836.¹⁵

During the early part of this period, the Merchants' House was preoccupied with the twin issues of parliamentary and local government reform, both of which it

¹¹ His surname is recorded as both Mylne and Milne in the minutes of the Committee on the Fir Park and Quarries; on one occasion, presumably in error, it is rendered as Miln. Susan Milligan, a historian of the Merchants' House, has a copy of George Blair's *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857) with a hand-written note indicating that it had been owned by a grand-child of the gardener, who used the spelling Milne (personal communication, Susan Milligan). Similarly, his job title is given in a number of ways, including Keeper and Manager of the Park and Superintendent of the Quarries (October 1832).

¹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 February 1833. The minute book is unpaginated, but all entries are in chronological order.

¹³ Tennent pursued this row to the Court of Session. This is discussed in Chapter five.

¹⁴ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1835.

¹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

supported, provided that the independence of the House was maintained.¹⁶ It opposed the Bill to expand the boundary of the Royalty of the city to include the lands of Blythswood, worried that the value of its property might suffer.¹⁷ Ewing was also kept occupied, as Lord Provost of the city from October 1832 until November 1833, when he retired as the leader of the last unreformed council; he was also one of the first two Members of Parliament for the city in the first reformed parliament, winning the seat in 1832 but losing it at the election in 1835.¹⁸ Another related change followed the introduction of the Anatomy Act in 1832, which ensured a ready supply of corpses to surgeons, anatomists and medical students, and which led to the end of body-snatching.¹⁹ The public fear of disturbance continued for many years, however, which influenced physical security of both the grave and the graveyard. In Glasgow, three other burying grounds were conceived and constructed in the 1830s: St. Mungo's, which was designed by James Cleland on land purchased by the Town Council in response to the 1832 cholera epidemic;²⁰ Sighthill, which was promoted by a joint stock company whose directors included Hill;²¹ and the Southern Necropolis, south of the Clyde in Gorbals.²²

An exchange of letters

The first meeting within the Merchants' House to discuss the proposal for a cemetery on Fir Park was held in the house of James Ewing, at the north end of Queen Street, on 15 July 1828.²³ The meeting, of the Committee of the Merchants' House on the Fir Park and Quarries – which, as plans progressed, became the Committee of the Directors of

¹⁶ Milligan, *The Merchants' House of Glasgow*, pp. 97-99.

¹⁷ The proposal became law in 1830: 2 George IV, Cap. 42, An Act for Extending the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of the Magistrates and the Town or Burgh and Dean of Guild Courts of Glasgow over the Lands of Blythswood and Adjacent Lands; and for Amending the Acts Relating to the Police of the Said City (1830).

¹⁸ Michael Stenton, *The Who's Who of British Members of Parliament* vol 1 (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester, 1976), p. 132.

¹⁹ 2 & 3 William IV, Cap. 75, An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy (1832).

²⁰ Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, vol 11 (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916), pp. 485, 523.

²¹ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840.

²² Charlotte Hutt, ed., *City of the Dead: The Story of Glasgow's Southern Necropolis* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries and Archives, 1996).

²³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

the Merchants' House on the Cemetery and Quarry – had one item on the agenda: a letter from Hill, as Collector of the Merchants' House, to Ewing, as a former Dean of Guild and a member of the Committee.²⁴ Those present were Ewing, in the chair, James Dennistoun of Golfhill, James Mackenzie of Craigpark, Hill, and John Douglas, Clerk of the House.²⁵ Hill's letter, which was dated 7 July 1828, began by crediting Ewing with being the first person to suggest to the committee the wisdom of forming an ornamental cemetery on the House's property, and outlining a method how this might be achieved.²⁶ The opening sentence, crediting Ewing, sits oddly with the rest of the letter, which builds an argument for the proposal as if Ewing was not already convinced of the benefit of the scheme. A manuscript note, in Hill's legal correspondence file, suggests that the opening paragraph of the letter may have been changed between it being sent and it being presented to the committee.²⁷

Hill's letter (see Appendix B [i]), opened with the suggestion, attributed to Ewing, for converting the Fir Park 'into an ornamental burying ground similar to the Père Lachaise at Paris'.²⁸ The French cemetery apparently needed no introduction or explanation, and Hill seemed to assume that Ewing and subsequent readers of the letter were familiar with that ground-breaking ornamental cemetery. Hill then listed the advantages of the proposed conversion: it would add to the funds of the House, it would 'form an improvement worthy of the city' and it would cultivate 'the moral and religious sentiments' of the citizens.²⁹ Hill calculated that the four acres could hold 'at least 300 parterres or places of interment', which would soon yield at least £5,000;³⁰ he reminded Ewing that the property was not at that point bringing in any income to the House.³¹ The letter emphasised that the proposed cemetery could easily be made secure, by a sturdy perimeter wall or fence, and by making each tomb lock-fast; it also noted that relatives of those buried 'in an ordinary burial ground' feared disturbance of the

²⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

²⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

²⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

²⁷ GCA, T-MH 52/8/1, Papers relating to proposal to turn Fir Park into Necropolis cemetery 1829-34.

²⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

²⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

³⁰ This was the actual figure quoted by Hill. Other sums of money in this chapter have been rounded up or down to whole pounds for ease of reading. For comparison, the value of £1 in 1833 in today's term is around £650. Lawrence H. Officer, 'What is its Relative Value in UK Pounds?', Economic History Services, viewed online at www.eh.net/hmit/ukcompare/ in October 2004.

³¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

body, but did not specifically mention grave robbers.³² The Collector also pointed out that there was plenty of loose earth from the quarry that could be used to form the landscape of the cemetery and as ‘material for decomposition’ in lairs; he concluded by proposing that the committee should ‘take the opinion of professional gentlemen of taste and skill’ who could draw up plans and accounts for the conversion.³³ All of the issues identified in Hill’s letter became central to the subsequent development of the cemetery, notably a repeated comparison with Père Lachaise, reliance on skilled advisers, an emphasis on profit and a concern about security. Hill also used the word Necropolis, which had been applied in that context to only one modern cemetery, Liverpool Necropolis, also known as Low Hill General Cemetery, which opened in 1825.³⁴

Once the committee had read Hill’s letter, Ewing stated that the Fir Park could easily be transformed into ‘a Père Lachaise’ that would ‘harmonise beautifully’ with its surroundings and that would,

while it afforded a much wanted accommodation to the higher classes of the public, would at the same time convert a property at present unfrequented and unproductive into a general resort and a lucrative source of revenue to the Merchants’ House.³⁵

These recorded sentiments appear to have been slightly adapted from a letter written by Ewing to Hill one week before the committee meeting.³⁶ There are a number of notable elements in Ewing’s short statement. Ewing, similarly to Hill, did not need to explain his reference to Père Lachaise; the visual aspects of the proposed cemetery would complement the surroundings, which included the High Church; and the proposed cemetery would benefit the wealthy and produce a valuable asset for its owners. Ewing’s first appeal was to aesthetics and his second was to utility; this was to be a recurring theme in the development of the Necropolis. All of Ewing’s elements can be seen as bound in elite culture: the reference to an existing institution patronised by the bourgeoisie; the received notions of beauty and harmony of landscape and architecture;

³² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

³³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

³⁴ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2000), p. 42.

³⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

³⁶ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from James Ewing to Laurence Hill, 8 July 1828, in response to Hill’s suggestion to convert the Fir Park to a cemetery. The collection is not catalogued.

the need for individual and permanent burying places that differentiate the rich from the poor, even in death; and the importance of maximising the return on the investments of the Merchants' House, the embodiment and the representative of the wealthy and influential in Glasgow. In addition, it is worth noting that both the lawyer and the merchant saw the finished development as becoming a location for popular leisure; Hill predicted it would be a 'resort' and Ewing 'a general resort'.³⁷ This is quite a leap of imagination, since the overcrowded burying grounds of Glasgow in 1828 were no places for a Sunday afternoon stroll. The idea that more people would visit the Fir Park if corpses were buried there could not have been a common one at that time.

According to the minutes, which were prepared by Hill as secretary to the committee, those present 'entirely agreed' with Ewing's proposal and 'unanimously resolved' to bring it to the next quarterly meeting of the House; this was not in fact to happen until October 1829.³⁸ It is interesting to note that the minutes are silent on the committee's reaction to Hill's letter. The members of the committee, however, responded to Ewing's reported speech by requesting that David Hamilton and Stewart Murray should be invited to give expert opinions on the 'practicability, probable expense and general effect' of the proposal, which would help the House decide whether to support it or not; they also requested 'the assistance and advice' of James Cleland.³⁹ The names of Hamilton and Murray had already been suggested by Ewing in his letter to Hill, and Cleland may have been added by another member of the committee. Later, Strang, who as head of his family's wine dealing business was a member of the Merchants' House, was appointed to the committee by the House in October 1831.⁴⁰ The group that constructed and oversaw the cemetery, which included the Dean of Guild of the day, senior members of the House, Laurence Hill as its secretary, and a small number of external advisers, was drawn from the commercial and cultural elite of the city.

³⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

³⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

³⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

⁴⁰ Strang was described as a foreign trader in October 1832 (Merchants' House Minutes, 1823-38, p. 222); the Post Office Glasgow Directory had an entry for 'John Strang & Co., wine and spirit merchants, 60 Stockwell'. Together, these indicated that he had returned to his father's wine importing business, which he had rejected as a teenager in favour of travelling through Europe. *Post Office Annual Directory, 1832-3* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1832), p. 203; Thomas Davidson, 'Memoir of John Strang', in John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1864), p. 17.

The story of the origin of the Necropolis, however, is not so straightforward as it is usually presented, and omits two letters and a note that shed a different light on the chain of events. The committee was not shown the letter from Ewing that supposedly prompted Hill's letter dated 7 July; that was because Hill initiated the correspondence and not Ewing. Nor were they shown Ewing's actual reply to Hill; this response, dated 8 July (see Appendix B [ii]), suggests strongly that, within the Merchants' House, the proposal for a garden cemetery on the House's property was Hill's rather than Ewing's.⁴¹ The letter, written a week before the committee meeting, contained the comments that were attributed to him by the committee minutes. The passage re-appeared in the first report of the committee to the Merchant's House, and also in Hill's *Companion to the Necropolis*, with the closing sentence judiciously extended to read 'a lucrative source of profit to a charitable institution'.⁴² The paragraph has been repeated, with minor variations, by the various historians of the Necropolis, who invariably present it as the original proposal for the cemetery, made in a speech by Ewing to the meeting in his house on 15 July 1828.⁴³

Ewing's unpublished letter seemed content to allow Hill the full credit for the idea, and went on to make a number of suggestions as to how Hill might raise the issue formally with either the Directors of the Merchants' House or with the Dean of Guild.⁴⁴ Hill took up the latter suggestion, and received a very supportive reply from Alexander Garden, Dean of Guild, dated 11 July 1828 (see Appendix B [iii]).⁴⁵ Garden not only thought that the outcome 'would be one of the finest things in the kingdom' but also asked for the committee meeting to be postponed so that he could give the proposal his full backing.⁴⁶ Again, this unpublished letter, which was not presented to the committee, supported the case for Hill being the first person to suggest the scheme. He may also

⁴¹ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from James Ewing to Laurence Hill, 8 July 1828.

⁴² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 October 1829. Laurence Hill, *Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1836), p. 9.

⁴³ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from James Ewing to Laurence Hill, 8 July 1828. Accounts that present Ewing's written comments in this way include J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow*, vol 2 (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), p. 737; J. M. Reid, *A History of the Merchants' House of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Merchants' House, 1967), pp. 43-4; and Susan Milligan, *The Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1605-2005* (Glasgow: Merchants' House, 2005), p. 93.

⁴⁴ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from James Ewing to Laurence Hill, 8 July 1828.

⁴⁵ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from Alexander Garden to Laurence Hill, 11 July 1828.

⁴⁶ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from Garden to Hill, 11 July 1828.

have taken Ewing's suggestion to turn his letter into a more formal report, since Garden refers to 'your paper'.⁴⁷

The canonical version of events also excluded a note signed L. H. and in Hill's handwriting, which provided more evidence for the Collector being the originator of the proposal for an ornamental cemetery.⁴⁸ The note (see Appendix B [iv]) was written on the reverse of a report from Hamilton and Milne to the Cemetery Committee, dated 12 December 1833. The scribbled note recorded that Hill travelled at his own expense to Paris in 1825 to see Père Lachaise, and claimed that Strang was funded by the House to write his *Necropolis Glasguensis* in support of the Necropolis project.⁴⁹ Hill admitted that in his letter to Ewing in 1828 he gave 'as much credit as I could' for the proposal, and that it was 'literally true' that Ewing had first introduced the idea to the House, but 'at my suggestion'.⁵⁰ In short, Hill saw himself as the progenitor of the plan to create an ornamental cemetery in the image of Père Lachaise; he allowed Ewing, as a senior director of the Merchants' House and a powerful and successful civic politician, to take the credit; and Strang's timely intervention in the process of creating the Necropolis was not entirely independent. Hill also seemed to be claiming that his visit to Paris was the true origin of the Necropolis' link with the French cemetery. Given that Hill's brother-in-law was the editor of the *Glasgow Looking Glass*, which in 1825 published a cartoon showing the Fir Park transformed into a garden cemetery, the Collector may have also been responsible for the first public suggestion of what became the Necropolis project. The note offered no explanation of why he chose to write his letter to Ewing in 1828, two years after visiting Paris, and a longer period after forming the desire to see the first ornamental cemetery. The timing of Hill's letter to Ewing may have been prompted by a front-page article in the *Scots Times* of 14 June 1828, which suggested that 'something little inferior to that of Père Lachaise could be easily formed' in the Fir Park.⁵¹

The surviving records of the Merchants' House do not support Hill's claim that Strang was paid to write his book in support of the Necropolis project. However, the book's dedication read: 'To James Ewing, LL.D., Dean of Guild, and the Members of the Merchants' House of Glasgow, the following pages are most respectfully

⁴⁷ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from Garden to Hill, 11 July 1828.

⁴⁸ GCA, T-MH 52/8/1, Papers relating to proposal to turn Fir Park into Necropolis cemetery 1829-34. Handwritten note by Laurence Hill, undated.

⁴⁹ GCA, T-MH 52/8/1, Handwritten note by Laurence Hill, undated.

⁵⁰ GCA, T-MH 52/8/1, Handwritten note by Laurence Hill, undated.

⁵¹ *Scots Times*, 14 June 1828. John Strang is likely to have been the author. He was one of the editors of this publication, which often carried news about cemetery and funeral issues.

dedicated'.⁵² If Strang's book was instigated by Hill, then the Collector – through *Necropolis Glasguensis* – played a leading role in how the public was prepared to view the meanings given to the cemetery by the Merchants' House. While there appeared to be no supporting evidence for Hill's claim, there is no reason to suppose that his note – left among his paperwork and not until now uncovered – would contain lies or errors.

While Hill and Ewing did not feel a need to explain what they meant by 'a Père Lachaise', the people of Glasgow had an outstanding opportunity to familiarise themselves with the French cemetery in the summer of 1830, when detailed models of Paris and its grand burying ground were on display in the Large Saloon, Argyll Arcade (see Figure 23). The model of Paris, according to a newspaper advertisement, was made with such precision 'that a person may see and point out the house he has inhabited', and the representation of 'the most magnificent burial ground in the world' was 'adorned with its 26,000 monuments'.⁵³ The exhibition, to which admission was one shilling, also included engravings and lithographs of paintings in the Louvre of a variety of Parisian and French subjects. An editorial description of the exhibition, in the same issue of the newspaper, attributed both models to 'the artist Mr. Choffin', and noted that the model of the cemetery 'exhibits all the monuments and tombs' therein.⁵⁴ Readers of Scottish poetry were also able to learn about the French cemetery from the pen of John Malcolm, whose poem 'Père Lachaise' was published in 1828. The burying ground was presented, in typically Romantic manner, as a 'pleasure ground of graves', where flowers, trees and birdsong erased thoughts of death.⁵⁵

Reporting to the House

The Necropolis project first came to the official notice of the Merchants' House in October 1829, a full 15 months after the meeting in Ewing's house. Stewart Smith, the Dean of Guild and a member of the Cemetery Committee, presented a report on the subject to the Directors of the House (see Appendix C).⁵⁶ In outline, he reported that the

⁵² Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. iii.

⁵³ *Scots Times*, 22 June 1830, p. 400.

⁵⁴ *Scots Times*, 22 June 1830, p. 283.

⁵⁵ John Malcolm, 'Père Lachaise', in *Scenes of War and Other Poems* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1828), pp. 114-7. The poetry of the Necropolis is discussed in Chapter five.

⁵⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 October 1829; Merchants' House Minutes, p. 66.

committee – at the suggestion of James Ewing, whose statement to the committee was recommended to the House – had consulted with ‘gentlemen of approved taste and professional skill’ and prepared a plan that the members wished the House to approve.⁵⁷ The proposal was phrased principally in terms of economics, specifically the law of supply and demand: the shortage of suitable burying ground, especially for ‘our wealthier citizens’ who have made their homes on the Blythswood estate, the fact that ‘accommodation of this nature [...] invariably sells dearer and as readily as any other description of property’, and the proximity of the Fir Park to the High Church and ‘the most crowded burial ground in Glasgow’.⁵⁸ All these factors, the report argued, would ensure the financial success of the project, which could produce 800 tombs in the five acres owned by the House at £25 each, yielding a total of £20,000 to the House.⁵⁹

Additionally, ‘one of the Corporations of Edinburgh’ had sold ground on Calton Hill from £9,000 to £11,000 per acre, and a similar exercise in Liverpool was expected to be equally successful.⁶⁰ The first reference could be to either Old Calton burying ground, the land for which was purchased by the Society of the Incorporated Trades of Calton from Lord Balmerino in 1718, or the neighbouring New Calton burying ground, the land for which was granted to the Incorporation in 1815 by the Town Council of Edinburgh as compensation for removing part of Calton Hill for building an eastern extension to Princes Street.⁶¹ The second reference could be to either Liverpool Necropolis, also known as the Low Hill General Cemetery, which was opened in 1825 by a joint stock company whose directors were Dissenters; or to the Cemetery of St James, which was opened in 1829 by a joint stock company whose directors were Anglicans.⁶² In the cases of both Edinburgh and Liverpool, the second-named burying grounds were larger and architecturally far more spectacular.

⁵⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 October 1829; Merchants’ House Minutes, p. 67.

⁵⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 October 1829; Merchants’ House Minutes, p. 69.

⁵⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 October 1829; Merchants’ House Minutes, p. 69.

⁶⁰ The intelligence about developments in Edinburgh and Liverpool was contained in a letter to Hill from a Mr. Stevenson, a civil engineer in Edinburgh, dated 8 October 1829. He had been asked by Hill to suggest a route for ‘the Wester Quarry Road’. In bundle GCA T-MH 52/8/1, Glasgow City Archive.

⁶¹ Anne Boyle, Colin Dickson, Alasdair McEwan and Colin Maclean, *Ruins and Remains: Edinburgh’s Neglected Heritage, A Commentary on Edinburgh’s Graveyards and Cemeteries* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 61-6.

⁶² Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (2000), p. 42. Joseph Sharples, *The Oratory, St James’s Cemetery, Liverpool* (Liverpool: National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1991), p. 1.

The Directors of the Merchants' House accepted the proposal in principle.⁶³ They appeared remarkably calm about a plan that would have committed the House to a business in which neither its officers nor any of its members had any experience, and which would have put them in direct competition with the Town Council. The House certainly had an obligation to make the most of one of its largest property assets, for the benefit of its campaigns, its pensioners and its other beneficiaries, but to become involved in an enterprise, however potentially lucrative, that would change the physical and cultural landscape of Glasgow, with so little surprise or excitement, seems remarkable. Subsequent meetings of the House dealt with the issue in a perfunctory, business-like manner. The same meeting of the Directors discussed a letter from Hill suggesting that the Fir Park and the adjoining lands of the House should be included in the town council's proposal to increase the area of the Royalty of the city, which was intended to incorporate the Blythswood estate; the meeting agreed in principle, even though the House opposed the Bill when it was passing through Parliament.⁶⁴

In December 1829, the Directors asked the Cemetery Committee to 'make out a more special report on the details of the whole subject, and [to] prepare relative plans' for the House to discuss further.⁶⁵ In September 1831, almost two years later, the committee presented its detailed report, which outlined its actions to that date, and promised that regulations would shortly be drafted 'to provide for the security, order and good taste of the cemetery'; the House noted the report, and asked for an estimate of the cost of the project.⁶⁶ In January 1832, the House unanimously approved a short, business-like report from Hamilton, Baird and Murray, which made several practical recommendations for developing the cemetery, and estimated the total cost of the project would be from £500 to £600, plus the cost of a boundary wall.⁶⁷ In October of that year, the House discussed a report from Strang, Hill and Douglas, noting that the committee had opened a new road from Duke Street to the quarry, and that there was a need for a further road to connect the Fir Park with 'the body of the city'. The report

⁶³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 October 1829; Merchants' House Minutes, p. 71.

⁶⁴ Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 71-2. In 1830, both Blythswood and the lands owned by the Merchants' House in Easter and Wester Craigs were incorporated into the Royalty of the City of Glasgow: 2 George IV, Cap. 42, An Act for Extending the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of the Magistrates and the Town or Burgh and Dean of Guild Courts of Glasgow over the Lands of Blythswood and Adjacent Lands; and for Amending the Acts Relating to the Police of the Said City (1830).

⁶⁵ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 82.

⁶⁶ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 144-5.

⁶⁷ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 171.

concluded with praise for the ‘skill and judgment’ of Hamilton, Baird and Murray, which had been invaluable in ‘designing and conducting’ the improvements described in the report.⁶⁸ The House continued to receive, and approve, regular reports from its committee. Given that the committee included the Dean of Guild and other senior members of the House, it enjoyed remarkable freedom to pursue its own agenda, spending the House’s money on what was a speculative venture, and reporting back infrequently.

A competition for plans

The merchants who sat on the Necropolis Committee knew, from their own businesses, the value of consulting a professional surveyor or architect when planning any large construction. However, when it came to acquiring plans for converting the Fir Park into an ornamental cemetery, they chose one of their own, albeit one with experience of designing houses and parks. In May 1829, the committee commissioned a report from James Smith of Jordanhill ‘whose advice and opinion this committee agree respectfully to solicit’.⁶⁹ Five months later, the committee – on this occasion, made up of Stewart Smith, Dean of Guild, Ewing and Hill – met to discuss the report and accompanying sketch that had been received from Smith. They agreed to put the matter to a meeting of the Directors of the Merchants’ House, and authorised Hill ‘to take any professional assistance from an engineer or engineers’ that would be needed.⁷⁰ Smith’s report may well have influenced the committee, or in due course the judges of the competition for plans, but it made no further appearances in the minutes of the committee or the House.

Whatever the value of Smith’s report and sketch, in January 1831 the committee – rather than commissioning a single architect or inviting draft proposals from a number of architects – published an advertisement in a number of newspapers, announcing a competition for plans (see Figure 24 and Appendix D [i]).⁷¹ The wording of the advertisement showed that while the House looked to architects for suitable ideas for landscape architecture and for different styles of tombs and types of grave markers, it was clear about the overall effect of its intended cemetery: it would be both secure and

⁶⁸ Merchants’ House Minutes, pp. 214-6, 219.

⁶⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 May 1829.

⁷⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 October 1829.

⁷¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 January 1831, p. 3.

COMPETITION OF PLANS
FOR
CONVERTING THE MERCHANTS' PARK OF
GLASGOW,
INTO
A PUBLIC ORNAMENTAL CEMETERY.

THE MERCHANTS' HOUSE OF GLASGOW hereby offer **PREMIUMS** of £50, £20, £10, and £5, in the order of merit, to be adjudged by the Committee of the House for Plans, sections, and relative specifications, and estimates, for converting the Fir Park, adjoining the Cathedral, into an ornamental public Cemetery—in the manner which shall best combine economy—security—and picturesque effect; and afford to the public diversified objects of choice, by exhibiting for suitable situations, various designs, descriptions, and estimates of different modes of Sepulture—in vaults—or graves in the usual way, with specimens of appropriate decorative Monumental Architecture. The plans and relative papers which receive premiums shall become the property of the House.

Each competitor shall, on or before the 13th April next, lodge his plan and relative papers sealed up, with a signed letter also sealed, referring to a distinguishing mark or motto on his plan, and addressed to the Dean of Guild, with the Clerk to the House, who will furnish lithographic ground plans and sections of the Park.

JOHN DOUGLAS, Clerk.

73, Hutcheson Street.
Glasgow, 14th January, 1831. }

PUBLIC EXHIBITION.
IN THE DILETTANTI ROOMS,
ARGYLL STREET.

THE MERCHANTS' HOUSE having offered Premiums for the best Plans of converting the FIR PARK into an ORNAMENTAL CEMETERY, on the principle of the *Pere la Chaise* at Paris, the Committee think it fair to the various Competitors that the Designs should be submitted to the inspection and judgment of the public. Many of the Drawings are distinguished by ingenuity, elegance, and beauty, and confer the highest credit on the taste and exertion of our native Artists.

This interesting Exhibition will Commence on SATURDAY First, and continue for Two Weeks, every lawful day, from 10 o'clock forenoon till dusk.

Admittance, to defray expenses, ONE SHILLING, which will entitle the same person to re-admission as often as desired.

By Order of the Dean of Guild,
JOHN DOUGLAS.

DEWARD

Figure 24 (top) – In January 1831, the Merchants' House advertised a competition for plans for a 'public ornamental cemetery' that would combine 'economy, security and picturesque effect'. The wording of the advertisement, and its appearance in a widely-circulating newspaper, ensured that the attitudes underlying the House's proposal reached a large audience. This was the first public notice of the Necropolis. (*Glasgow Herald*, 17 January 1831.)

Figure 25 (above) – In May 1831, The Merchants' House promoted a public exhibition of the plans submitted in response to its competition. The exhibition, and the newspaper advertising that promoted it, helped to connect the Necropolis in the public mind with ideas such as ingenuity, elegance, beauty and taste. (*Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1831.)

picturesque, with a choice of burial settings and architectural monuments, and could be constructed economically. These considerations, balancing utility, aesthetics and cost, were to be hallmarks of the Necropolis project. The advertisement was the first public acknowledgement that the Merchants' House intended to convert the Fir Park; it was also the first opportunity for the House to signify what meanings it was attaching to the project and, in time, the finished product. Therefore, the wording used in the advertisement is worth considering. Firstly, there was the stated aim that the burying ground will be a 'public' cemetery, not restricted to members of the House or another other exclusive group, and that the proposals should give the public choice in their manner of burying and commemoration.⁷² Secondly, there was the familiar insistence on balancing utilitarian and aesthetic considerations: the plans must 'combine economy, security and picturesque effect'.⁷³ Economy was a watchword of the committee; security was essential if members of the public, scarred by the depredations of grave-robbers, were to patronise the new burying ground; and picturesque effect was part of the tasteful approach deemed necessary to attract discriminating customers. Another example of the committee's economical approach was the insistence that the five most appropriate entries would become the property of the House. Competitions of this kind were common in the nineteenth century, seen as a way of procuring high-quality work for small sums of money. Rebecca M. Bailey has observed: 'From the early nineteenth century, a fairly high proportion of church and public commissions were determined by local competition.'⁷⁴ Roger Emmerson has also written of a 'proliferation of projects [...] determined in architectural competitions' in the same period, and gave a number of notable Scottish examples: the Edinburgh New Town street plan (1766), Dundee Royal Exchange (1853), Glasgow City Chambers (1883), Glasgow School of Art (1897) and the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901.⁷⁵

On 12 April, the deadline was extended to 4 May, presumably because there had been a small response to the original advertisements, and the amended notice was inserted in the press.⁷⁶ On 20 May, the committee opened the 16 entries that had been

⁷² *Glasgow Herald*, 17 January 1831, p. 3.

⁷³ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 January 1831, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Rebecca M Bailey, *Scottish Architects' Papers: A Source Book* (Edinburgh: The Rutland Press, 1996), p. 38.

⁷⁵ Roger Emmerson, *Winners and Losers: Scotland and the Architectural Competition* (Edinburgh: Royal Incorporation of Architects of Scotland, 1991), pp. 5, 6, 12, 16, 20, 22.

⁷⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 April 1831, p. 3.

received and resolved that they should be ‘exhibited for public inspection’.⁷⁷ The 16 plans were assessed by the committee, which included James Ewing, as Dean of Guild, in the chair, and John Strang. The committee was advised by James Smith of Jordanhill, Thomas Hopkirk the Younger of Dalbeth, David Hamilton, architect, John Baird, architect, and Stewart Murray, Curator of the Botanic Garden.⁷⁸ The group did not at this stage choose the winning entries.

The exhibition was duly organised and advertised (see Figure 25 and Appendix D [ii]).⁷⁹ The location was the Dilettanti Society’s Exhibition Rooms in Argyll Arcade at the Argyle Street entrance. The Necropolis Committee may have chosen this venue to associate its project with the society, which was founded in 1825 ‘for the purpose of establishing a society for the improvement of the fine arts’, and which held its first annual art exhibition in its these rooms in 1828.⁸⁰ The exhibition of the plans was open for 10 days, Sundays excepted, from Saturday 28 May to Wednesday 8 June 1831, and £9 11s. was taken in admission money, which suggests 191 paying customers at one shilling each, and 2s. 6d. was taken for ‘one copy of *Necropolis* sold at exhibition’, which is presumably a reference to Strang’s book.⁸¹ Those viewing the exhibition, which may have included members of the House and the Dilettanti Society admitted at no charge, those passing by the exhibition, and even those reading the advertisement, would have been exposed to the House’s proposals for an important site in the city, and also, perhaps more importantly, the meanings that the House was attaching to those proposals.

The next stage of the process was to consider the 16 sets of architects’ plans, sections and elevations and choose the set that most closely matched the House’s vision.

⁷⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 May 1831.

⁷⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 May 1831.

⁷⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1831, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Strathclyde University Archives, T-DIL 1, Glasgow Dilettanti Society Minute Book 1825-43, p. 1.

⁸¹ GCS, T-MH 5/5, Merchants’ House Journal 1829-40, p. 88. The same journal (page 92) recorded that the House paid Atkinson & Company £30 for 200 copies of ‘Strang’s *Necropolis Glasguensis*’ in August 1831. GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, The Necropolis Journal June 1831- (unpaginated) showed that the committee in December that year paid £7 2s. 6d. to T. Ogilvie ‘for Views of ‘Père Lachaise’. This have been a reference to Augustus Charles Pugin and Charles Heath, *Paris and its Environs, Displayed in a Series of Picturesque Views* (London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1828-30), which contained three engravings of the Parisian graveyard. GCA, T-MH 6/5, The Merchants’ House Ledger 1829-32, p. 103, confirmed that the House had spent a total of £37 2s. 6d. on 18 July 1833 buying copies of two publications, given only as ‘Necropolis’ and ‘Père Lachaise Views’.

So in June 1831 the committee, chaired by James Ewing as Dean of Guild and with the help of the ‘gentlemen’ Smith of Jordanhill (who had earlier supplied a report and sketch), Hamilton, Baird, Hopkirk and Murray, judged the competition for plans.⁸² The group committee unanimously awarded premiums to the five most suitable entries, and this decision was ratified by a meeting of the Directors of the Merchants’ House four months later.⁸³ The first prize of £50 was awarded to David Bryce, architect in Edinburgh, who had submitted Plan G, which was identified by the motto *Qui espere*; the second prize of £40 went to John Bryce, architect in Glasgow, and brother of the winner, for Plan A, motto *Cupio placere*; the third prize of £30 was won by William Reid, architect in Glasgow, for Plan D, no motto but ‘a figure of Time on a cloud’; the fourth prize of £20 was awarded to Scott & Wilson, architects in Glasgow for Plan F, no motto but ‘a triangle formed at the corner of the designs’; and the fifth prize of £10 Thomas Darling, architect in Glasgow for Plan K, motto *Moneo*.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, none of the plans, or descriptions of their proposals, appear to have survived.⁸⁵ What can be said about them, however, is that the mottos or devices on the five winning entries show distinct neoclassical tendencies, from the Latin mottos to the allegorical figure of time and the neat geometrical mark. A few days after judging the entries, the committee decided, rather than to appoint David Bryce to implement his plan, to give all five winning plans to Hamilton, Baird and Murray – two architects and a gardener – to prepare one scheme that would ‘not only combine their merits and avoid their defects but include such improvements as shall appear proper to themselves.’⁸⁶ The decision suggests that the committee and its advisers approved of elements in each of the proposals, but no single set of plans matched their vision for an ornamental cemetery. Given that the committee of three included a garden specialist, it may be that the submitted plans had a heavy emphasis on urban planning forms, such as the grid that

⁸² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 14 June 1831.

⁸³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 14 June 1831; Merchants’ House Minutes, p. 143.

⁸⁴ David Bryce (1803-76) practised in Edinburgh and was a pupil and assistant of William Burn; John Bryce (1805-51), the brother of David, was born in Edinburgh but practised in Glasgow, where he designed Duke Street Reformatory or House of Refuge in 1825. William Reid (fl. 1795-1831) practiced in Glasgow, where he designed bonded warehouses in Howard Street, and also St George’s Church, Paisley, in 1820, and Broomfield Villa in Largs, 1811. Robert Scott (d. 1840) designed the Post Office in Albion Street, 1825. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1978).

⁸⁵ They do not appear, for instance, in GCA, NAS or Rebecca M Bailey, *Scottish Architects’ Papers: A Source Book* (Edinburgh: The Rutland Press, 1996).

⁸⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 September 1831.

was being used to lay out the Blythswood lands and that had proved such a critical success in the New Town of Edinburgh, rather than garden or parkland forms.

After some delay, the report and combined plan commissioned from Hamilton, Murray and Cleland (see Appendix E) – were discussed and unanimously approved by the committee and by the Directors of the House in January 1832.⁸⁷ This gave the committee a fresh remit to enclose the entire ground owned by the House and to bring the plan to fruition. The report was short to the point of being perfunctory, especially as the committee had waited almost three and a half years for it, and merely recommended that an ‘experienced landscape gardener’ should be employed to lay out the cemetery.⁸⁸ In their brief report, Hamilton, Baird and Murray made four broad suggestions for converting the park: the House should use all of its property at the Fir Park for the cemetery; the House should open a gateway near the Ladywell, from which a road should be made ‘sweeping easily and gracefully around the hillside’; the grounds acquired by the House from the trustees of John Buchanan, from Mr. Wilson and from others should be cleared ‘of the rubbish of old buildings’ and added to the cemetery; and that ‘a variety of specimens of sepulture in garden and catacombs’ should be constructed at various points.⁸⁹ The three authors estimated that the cost of operations, not including securing the boundary, would be ‘from £500 to £600’; this was to prove something of an underestimate.⁹⁰ Following the report, Stewart Murray filled the role of landscape gardener, under the title of Interim Superintendent, from March 1832 until George Milne was appointed to the post of Superintendent and Head Gardener in May of that year.⁹¹ A later report from the committee to the House stated that Milne had been appointed on the advice of Murray, and that his annual salary was £60, plus the use of the ‘enlarged and improved’ lodge near the Ladywell entrance to the cemetery.⁹²

The Necropolis Committee relied heavily on the knowledge, skills, expertise and taste of its three principal advisers, Hamilton, Baird and Murray. As well as working on the winning plans from the architectural competition, the three had previously – along with Smith of Jordanhill and Hopkirk – been the judges of this competition. The five were, in a phrase repeated often in the minutes of the House and the Committee,

⁸⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 January 1832; Merchants’ House Minutes, 30 January 1832

⁸⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 January 1832.

⁸⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 January 1832.

⁹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 January 1832.

⁹¹ GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, Necropolis Journal,. Milne’s title is given variously in the minutes of the Necropolis Committee and the House.

⁹² Merchants’ House Minutes, pp. 219-21.

‘professional gentlemen of taste and skill’.⁹³ Hamilton and Baird were architects, Murray and Hopkirk were gardeners and Smith, principally a merchant, had made a name for himself for his gardens at Jordanhill. Smith, an amateur architect who had supplied plans for houses for some of his friends, enlarged his own house in 1824, and then replanted and laid out the surrounding park on the advice of Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, author of *The Planter’s Guide* (1828).⁹⁴ A shared interest in gardens and botany linked a number of the leaders of the Necropolis project: the directors of the Royal Botanic Institution of Glasgow in December 1828 included Hopkirk, vice-president; Smith of Jordanhill; Ewing; Hill, secretary; and Murray, curator.⁹⁵ In addition, Hamilton, Baird and Smith were members of the Glasgow Dilettanti Society, which had proposed itself as a ‘*committee of taste* upon all works and improvements going on, or that might be undertaken, about the city’.⁹⁶

Putting plans into action

Now that the committee had a plan, or at least a planner, it was time to begin work on the House’s property at the Fir Park; the boundary of the park, and the surrounding streets and properties, were shown on the map of the city drawn by David Smith in 1821 (see Figure 26). The House had bought the lands of Easter and Wester Craigs, which included the site of the park, from Sir Ludovick Stewart of Minto in 1650 for 23,250 merks Scots (around £1,300 sterling),⁹⁷ and in 1828 had extended its holdings by buying small parcels of land from the trustees of John Buchanan, Mr. Wilson and others to improve access to the park and the adjoining quarry.⁹⁸ The House rented out the land to the east of the Fir Park, and in 1829 the lands of Wester Craigs brought in £305 to the

⁹³ The first usage of this phrase, or variations on it, occurred in Laurence Hill’s letter to James Ewing, dated 7 July 1828: Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

⁹⁴ A. A. Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), p. 212.

⁹⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 December 1828, p. 2. The other directors were Lord Douglas of Douglas, president; Archibald Smith; John Smith the younger; Robert Buchanan; D. H. Wilsone; and James Christie, treasurer and accountant.

⁹⁶ Glasgow Dilettanti Society Minute Book 1825-43, p. 9. Emphasis in original. James Ewing was elected to membership of the society but did not appear, from the minutes, to have become involved in its activities.

⁹⁷ J. M. Reid, *A History of the Merchants’ House of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Merchants’ House of Glasgow, 1967), p. 21.

⁹⁸ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 25.

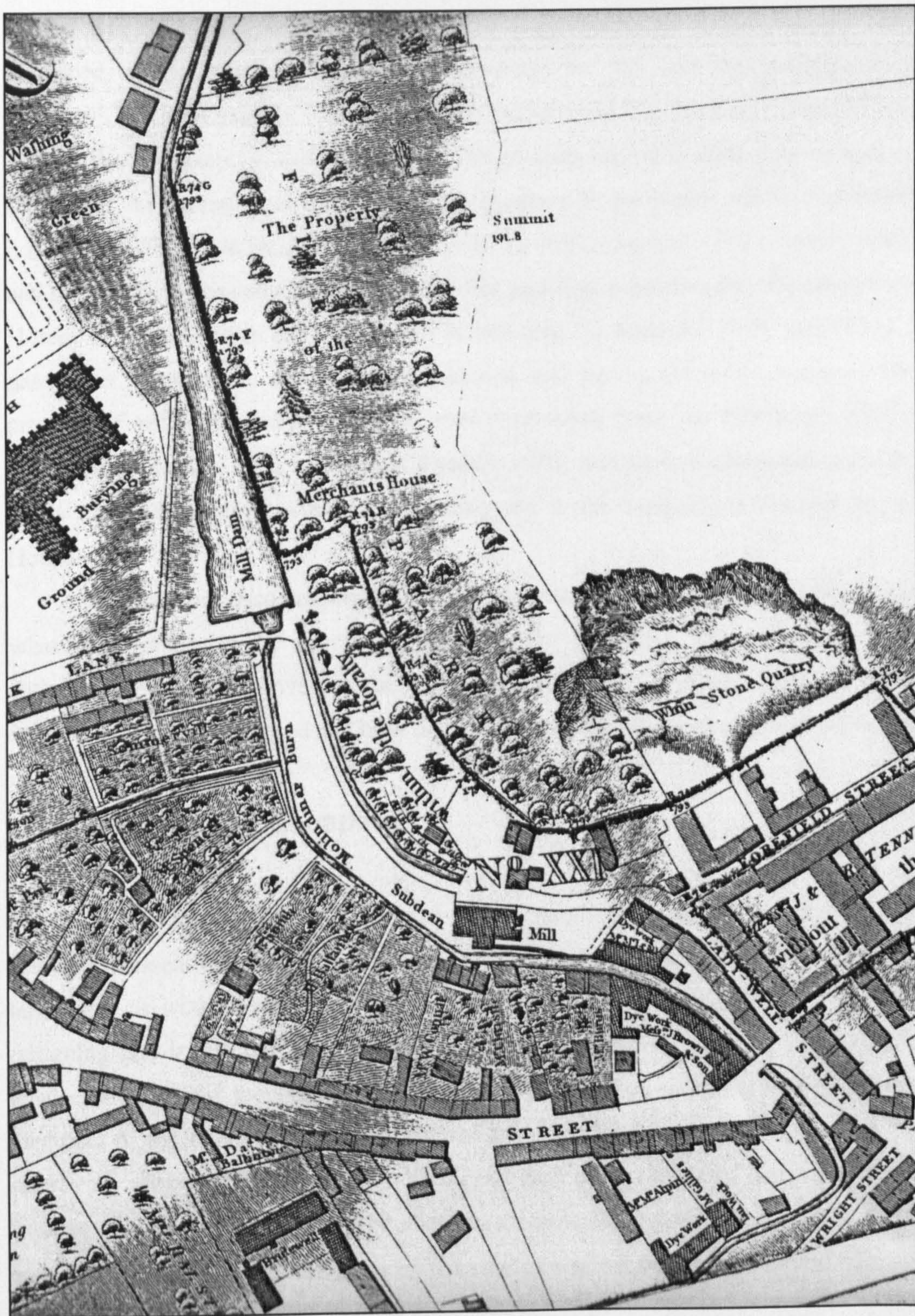


Figure 26 – Map of the area around the High Church, drawn by David Smith in 1821, showing the extent of the Fir Park, and the locations of Kirk Lane (to the south of the High Church), the Subdean Mill, Forefield Street and Ladywell Street. (GUL, Case Maps C18:45 GLA16, David Smith map of Glasgow, 1821.)

House, and were rated in the Cess Books at £150 Scots; the public burdens were described as ‘comparatively small for property in the near neighbourhood of Glasgow’.⁹⁹ The Merchants’ House calculated that the value of the whole property was £7,328, the equivalent of 25 years’ rent.¹⁰⁰ The property was an important investment to the House; the annual income from other lands owned by the House was less than £60, not even a fifth of that from Wester Craigs; the Fir Park, however, did not have a feu, and so provided no income to the House.¹⁰¹ The park was a drain on the resources of the House; there were costs associated with maintaining the boundary wall, employing a gatekeeper for the very few visitors it received, and paying the public burdens. The prospect of selling ground by the square yard at premium prices, as well as providing a civic improvement – both in terms of a public utility and an aesthetic addition to the city’s stock of public art – was an appealing one to the members of the Merchants’ House.

This section discusses the process of converting the loss-making Fir Park into what was promised to be a lucrative cemetery. The following three subsections deal with how the committee oversaw the landscaping of the site, provided approaches and entrances, and commissioned and built necessary architectural structures on the site.

Land and landscaping

The process of creating a garden cemetery from a public park was conducted in stages, principally assembling the packages of land that were seen as necessary for the larger landscape, as well as adopting a design for the landscape; building boundary walls; designing and laying out carriageways and paths; and planting appropriate trees and bushes. At the first meeting to discuss the proposed Necropolis, in July 1828, the members of the Lands and Quarries Committee resolved that the land purchased for improving access to Wester Craigs quarry, and part of the property bought from the trustees of John Buchanan should be added to the park and enclosed, but that the exact boundary, and the precise location of the new access to the quarry, would best be

⁹⁹ Merchants’ House Journal, 1829-40, pp. 1-4. Aside from the quarry, the six tenants of Wester Craigs were the City of Glasgow, James Dennistoun of Golfhill, Robert Grahame of Whitehill, Charles McIntosh of the Cudbear Works, Messrs J. and R. Tennent, and William Taylor.

¹⁰⁰ Merchants’ House Journal, 1829-40, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰¹ Merchants’ House Journal, 1829-40, pp. 1-4.

decided after a visit to the Fir Park.¹⁰² That visit took place nine days later, on 24 July, when three advisers – Hamilton, Murray and Cleland – joined Ewing, Hill and Douglas of the Merchants' House.¹⁰³ Alexander Garden, Dean of Guild, James Mackenzie of Craigpark and James Dennistoun of Golfhill were unable to attend, although supportive of the proposals. The meeting agreed that the boundaries of the Fir Park should be enlarged, that a new entrance to the quarry should be constructed in Ladywell Street near the well, and that a new entrance to the enlarged park, from which the main walk would begin, should be constructed at the head of Ladywell Street.¹⁰⁴ Hill was asked to arrange for these improvements to be made as soon as possible.¹⁰⁵ During the next four years, interspersed with long delays, the committee pursued the project, which included the competition for plans and the report from the four experts, as discussed earlier, as well as the purchase of some more land on the west side of the Molendinar Burn.

In August 1832, towards the end of a cholera epidemic that was to claim almost 3,000 people, the Necropolis committee discussed whether they should offer any of their recent purchases of land to the Glasgow Magistrates, who were sorely in need of additional burying ground.¹⁰⁶ The same month, Ewing, as Dean of Guild, told the Town Council that the House would 'probably' offer some of its ground at the Fir Park to them, but this could not be done, for an unspecified reason, until November.¹⁰⁷ The council, because of its pressing need, instead purchased ground from the managers of the Asylum for the Blind;¹⁰⁸ this land, to the north of the Royal Infirmary, was later laid out by James Cleland as St. Mungo's burying ground. In October, the council again asked the committee for land, following 'loud complaints for want of public burying ground',¹⁰⁹ but the committee – putting the needs of the House above those of the burgh – refused, because

the respectable class to whom the House must look for occupying both their newly acquired ground at the Fir Park would consider it an insuperable obstacle that such cholera patients were admitted into the contemplated cemetery.¹¹⁰

¹⁰² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

¹⁰³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 24 July 1828.

¹⁰⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 24 July 1828.

¹⁰⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 24 July 1828.

¹⁰⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 6 August 1832.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, vol 11 (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916), pp. 485-86.

¹⁰⁸ Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, vol 11, p. 486.

¹⁰⁹ Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 216-7.

¹¹⁰ Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 217-8.

Perhaps alerted by the cholera epidemic, the committee noted that there would be great demand for its new cemetery, because of the rapidly increasing population and because of growing objections to 'the accumulation of the dead in large masses within the city', and decided that the House should retain all of the ground it had purchased and sell it as burying places.¹¹¹

Work in the proposed cemetery was continuing apace. The committee had acquired plans and estimates for putting the Molendinar Burn into a tunnel and forming a road from the Fir Park, through its newly acquired property, to the public square in front of the Royal Infirmary.¹¹² The new property, to the west of the Molendinar and to the south of the High Church yard, was acquired in four parcels at a cost of £3,200.¹¹³ The land was purchased for six shillings a square yard; within a few months, the committee would be offering burial plots in the Necropolis at prices starting at a guinea a square yard. The committee had also constructed a carriageway from the Ladywell entrance across the western slope of the Fir Park to the northern wall, returning by the Knox Monument to the southern wall; the carriageway would, they noted, allow potential purchasers to see how well suited the new landscape was to becoming a 'public cemetery' (see Figure 27).¹¹⁴

All of the work was being done to the high standards demanded by the members of the House and its committee. As the date of opening approached, George Milne was praised by the committee meeting for the 'taste, diligence and economy' he had exhibited in laying out the roads, transplanting trees and landscaping the surface of the House's property 'into a natural and graceful form at the least practicable cost'.¹¹⁵ A few months before the opening, the committee asked Milne, along with Murray, to develop a ground plan of the property, showing where lines of lairs should be positioned, and as well as descriptions of types of burying places most suited to the different types of terrain in the cemetery.¹¹⁶ However, in March 1833, two months

¹¹¹ Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 218-9.

¹¹² Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 218-9. The road was completed, but the tunnel was not (see below).

¹¹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832. GCA, T-MH 6/5, The Merchants' House Ledger 1829-32, p. 37, listed three of these purchases: £70 to Seaton for property in Drygate, £80 to R. Patterson for property in Ladywell, and £1,415 17s. 8d. to the heirs of Somerville and Mathieson for subjects in Ladywell.

¹¹⁴ Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 218-9.

¹¹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832.

¹¹⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 and 27 February 1833 and 12 March 1833.

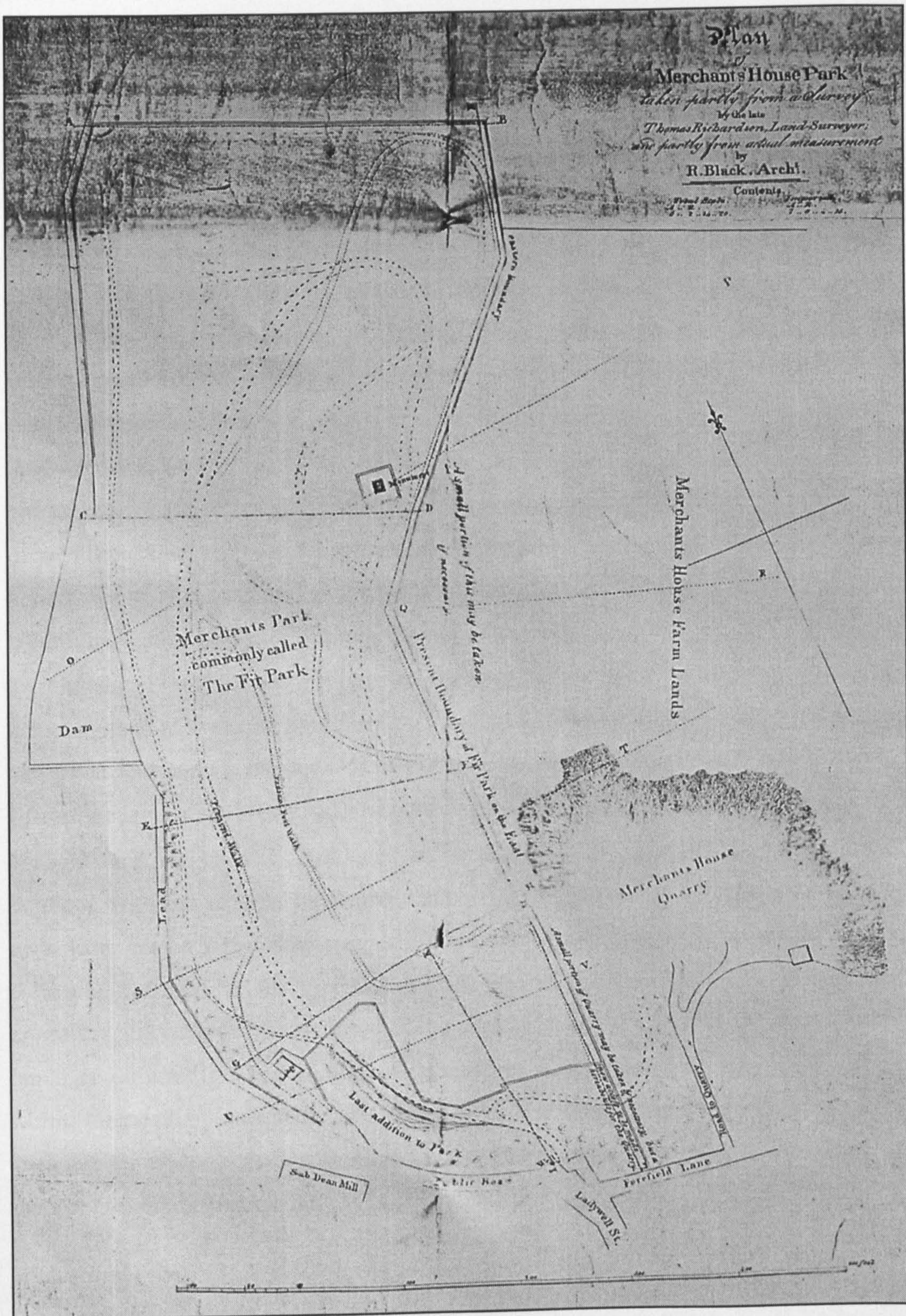


Figure 27 – An undated plan, based on surveys by Thomas Richardson and Robert Black, showing the boundary and the paths of the Fir Park around 1831, with the proposed additional cemetery paths added in pen. The proposed new entrance to the cemetery was to be at the head of Ladywell Street, at the bottom centre of the plan. (Glasgow City Archives, T-MH 52/8/2/2, Plan of Merchants' House Park.)

before the opening, finances seemed to become more important than high standards. When the committee met on the 12th of that month, they discussed a report from Milne on the 'expense of the operations' on the eastern boundary of the cemetery, which was presumably more than they were expecting, as they instructed him to incur 'no further expense in that quarter' except completing the boundary wall, and postponed any further work on executing 'the plan of the cemetery'.¹¹⁷

Once the cemetery was opened for business in May 1833, and the foundation stone of the new bridge linking the burying ground with the open area in front of the infirmary and High Church was laid, the committee returned to landscaping issues. In order to complete the first phase of operations, the committee in February 1834 appointed a sub-committee, with a firm remit to complete the plans of the ground, to commission a model of the cemetery if necessary, and to stipulate what pieces of ground should be 'reserved for ornament or planted' rather than sold for burials.¹¹⁸ In a continuing attempt to complete the physical works at the Necropolis, in May 1834 the committee instructed Milne to procure plans and estimates for two projects that 'should be immediately undertaken'.¹¹⁹ The first was to repair the western boundary wall of the cemetery, and at the same time form burying places along the wall. The second project was to enclose and lay out between two or three acres of the former quarry at the south-east of the House's property, which could be used for later expansion.¹²⁰ The process of consolidating the property continued in September 1834, when Milne was asked to continue with the external wall and making the 'outskirts' of the cemetery visually appealing, but only in a way that was 'consistent with the greatest economy'.¹²¹ The following January, to ensure that the landscape of the cemetery was pleasant and appealing, the sub-committee inspected the nursery ground that had been laid out on the lands of Limmerfield and stocked with seedling evergreens; they also voted £35 to Milne to travel by steamboat to Belfast, which offered 'the best collections at the cheapest price', to increase this stock.¹²² The first annual report of the cemetery noted that the committee had spent £134 on plants and seeds in the previous 18 months.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 March 1833.

¹¹⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 February 1834.

¹¹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May 1834.

¹²⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May 1834.

¹²¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 September 1834.

¹²² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 7 January 1835.

¹²³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 9 June 1835.

There are little formal records of the progress and eventual fate of the trees in the Necropolis, other than the evidence of illustrations and photographs; from these sources it is apparent that trees planted by the Merchants' House and by proprietors of individual plots were allowed to proliferate and eventually dominate the landscape. This can be seen in the change from the early, managed plantings depicted by George Blair (see Figure 57) to the dense foliage obscuring the western slopes in a photograph taken in 1904 by T. & R. Annan.¹²⁴ In between these extremes, the industrial pollution from various works and factories took its toll: the almost-bare hillside can be seen in a photograph from the 1870s, reproduced by Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches, and Malcolm Higgs.¹²⁵ Other wooded areas of the city centre also suffered from the effects of smoke pollution; Hugh MacDonald noted in 1854 that the trees 'along the glen of the Molendinar [...] have fallen into an untimely sear, the very herbage on the slopes being sadly discoloured', while a mile to the north-east they were 'shrivelled and sapless' and that the elms and beeches of Glasgow Green had 'a doleful, black and melancholy look' and were 'yearly perishing in scores under the baleful influences of smoke'.¹²⁶

The Necropolis, even though it was at the boundary of the burgh, could not escape the worsening problems of smoke and other forms of aerial pollution from the factories, which had rapidly spread to the surrounding areas, especially on the banks of the Monkland, the Forth & Clyde, and the Glasgow, Paisley, Johnstone & Ardrossan canals.¹²⁷ Around a mile to the north was the St. Rollox works of Charles Tennant and partners, which covered 30 acres and whose smoke and other wastes were discharged through a chimney tall enough to become a landmark; immediately to the south was the Wellpark Brewery, and to the east were the steam engines of the cotton mills, potteries and engineering works of Calton and Bridgeton.¹²⁸

The committee completed its purchases of land in May 1839, when it paid £56 to Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests for a piece of ground belonging to the Crown, at the north-west corner of the bridge.¹²⁹ This triangle completed the House's ownership of the land at all four corners of the bridge. The boundaries were now secure and fixed.

¹²⁴ Photograph OG331, Glasgow Cathedral 1904, T. & R. Annan & Sons Ltd., Glasgow.

¹²⁵ Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches, and Malcolm Higgs, *Glasgow* (London: Penguin, 1990), illustration 29, after p. 330.

¹²⁶ Hugh MacDonald, *Rambles Round Glasgow, Descriptive, Historical and Traditional* (Glasgow: Dunn & Wright, 1854), pp. 10, 11, 371.

¹²⁷ Joe Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), pp. 49-52.

¹²⁸ Fisher, *Glasgow Encyclopedia*, pp 281, 181, 191-92, 95.

¹²⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 September 1838, 22 May 1839.

Approaches and entrances

The Necropolis, like every other amenity, had to be accessible from the city and suburbs. As the process of doing this progressed, it became clearer to the Merchants' House that a route that closely linked the Necropolis with the High Church was the most direct and efficient connection with the city and its citizens. Additionally, it would create a symbolic link between the history and heritage associated with the High Church and its ancient burying ground and the new enterprise being developed by the House. The first suggestion for an entrance to the proposed Necropolis appeared in Hill's letter to Ewing. This location, 'close by the Ladywell Spring', was accepted by the committee, and was also endorsed in the report from Hamilton, Baird and Murray.¹³⁰ However, in June 1831, the committee discussed building a street from Duke Street, through Hugh Tennent's property, to the quarry, which could also be used as an access to the cemetery,¹³¹ and the following January the Directors of the House endorsed an agreement reached by the committee with Tennent regarding a road through his property.¹³² By October 1832, the House had opened a 'direct and level road' from Duke Street to the quarry, which was seen as a great improvement on the previous 'steep, narrow and crooked' road through Forefield Lane and Ladywell Street.¹³³ The agreement with the brewer described 'a road or street of 45 feet in width' leading from Duke Street, along the east side of Wellpark Brewery, to the lands belonging to the House.¹³⁴ The House paid Tennent £150 for a servitude, and James Stobo, who was the House's tenant in the quarry, built the road for a further £350.¹³⁵

Nevertheless, there were continued calls for a direct communication between the emergent cemetery and the town. In 1832 Hamilton, Baird and Murray suggested buying ground to the south of the High Church yard to connect the Fir Park with 'the Cathedral and its ancient cemetery'; this, they reported, would result in the 'fine large square displaying in one view the Infirmary, the Cathedral and our own noble and

¹³⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 7 and 24 July 1828, 21 January 1832.

¹³¹ Merchants' House Minutes, pp. 144-5.

¹³² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 January 1832.

¹³³ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 214.

¹³⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 January 1832, Merchants' House Journal, 1829-40, p. 103.

¹³⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 February 1832. Merchants' House Ledger, 1829-32, p. 2.

picturesque wooded terrace'.¹³⁶ It is interesting to note that this scheme was presented in terms of heritage, civic space and the picturesque. By October 1832 the committee had commissioned plans and estimates for 'tunnelling' the Molendinar Burn and filling up a hollow, to link the Fir Park with its newly acquired property, and then driving a road from the amalgamated property to 'the Infirmary square' near the south-west corner of the Barony Church.¹³⁷ Additionally, the mill lade for the Subdean Mill would be 'conducted underground' in association with the Town Council, increasing 'the beauty and security' of the House's property.¹³⁸ The cost of this civil engineering work was presented in a report from Robert Scott, a surveyor and architect, working with Hamilton and Murray.¹³⁹ Not all of these plans came to fruition; while the mill lade was covered over and the road from the front of the hospital to the Fir Park was built, the Molendinar was not covered over but rather crossed by a bridge. Now that the House had fixed its sights on creating an entrance to the Necropolis linked to the area in front of the High Church, the Directors met in December 1832 to consider a recommendation from the committee that a bridge should be built between Kirk Lane and the Fir Park, to the design of Robert Scott. They deferred a decision until they could see a pencil sketch 'of the agreed bridge' from David Hamilton.¹⁴⁰ In January 1833, the committee considered plans for the bridge from both Scott and Hamilton, and rather than choosing one, decided to ask Hamilton, Baird, Murray and Milne for a detailed report on the site and the design of the bridge. The following month, it approved this report, and chose the bridge design by Hamilton.¹⁴¹

When the Directors of the Merchants' House met in March 1833 to consider the decisions of its committee and discuss the report by the four experts, they endorsed the decisions of the committee, and enthusiastically added that because the site chosen for the bridge was the shortest crossing, the design would involve less materials and expense. Hamilton, Baird, Murray and Milne were less prosaic, and had strongly recommended that the bridge should be sited 'as near in contact with the Cathedral as possible' so that the entrance to the cemetery 'would be in harmony with the finely

¹³⁶ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 216.

¹³⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832.

¹³⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832.

¹³⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832.

¹⁴⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 December 1832.

¹⁴¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 January and 4 February 1833. Hamilton's plans for the bridge are in GCA, T-HH 1/41/95/3, Plans for Bridge of Sighs, nine sheets, 1833.

broken walls of the adjoining burying ground' and the two adjacent institutions would form 'a beautiful picturesque object' from Kirk Lane.¹⁴²

With the plan chosen, the committee advertised for tenders for the bridge, and in April 1833, the members accepted an offer from John Lochore, builder, to construct the bridge for £1,390. Always looking for a bargain, three days later the committee agreed changes to the bridge that reduced the cost to £1,240.¹⁴³ Later that year, the House held the first public ceremony in the new cemetery, to physically and symbolically join the new facility with the High Church. On 18 October 1833, 'in the presence of a great concourse of the citizens', the Merchants' House and the town council assembled to lay the foundation stone of the new bridge.¹⁴⁴ James Hutcheson, the Dean of Guild, and 'a great number' of the Directors and members of the Merchants' House were matched by Ewing, the Lord Provost, and four Bailies from Glasgow, and joined by the Principal Bailie and resident Bailies of Gorbals.¹⁴⁵

Foundation stone ceremonies were the 'one remaining link' between operative and speculative masonry, that is between stonemasons and freemasons, according to a standard Masonic reference work.¹⁴⁶ In Glasgow, there were such ceremonies for Nelson's Monument in 1806, the first building in London Road in 1824, the John Knox monument in 1825 and the Broomielaw Bridge in 1833; interestingly, Ewing, a member of Lodge Argyle Number 76, was involved in the latter two ceremonies, and James Cleland was central to all four.¹⁴⁷ By custom and practice in Scotland, the invitation to lay the foundation stone of a new building or structure was given to the Grand Master

¹⁴² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 March 1833.

¹⁴³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 March, 19 April and 22 April 1833. The minutes show David Hamilton as the architect of the bridge. Some recent authors, however, have attributed it to either the firm of D. & J. Hamilton (i.e. David Hamilton and his son James) or to James Hamilton on his own.

¹⁴⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833.

¹⁴⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833.

¹⁴⁶ Bernard E. Jones, *Freemasons' Guide and Compendium* (London: George Harrap, 1950), p. 323. In Glasgow, the first incorporation of stonemasons was established in 1600, the first Masonic lodge for stonemasons was set up "a few years later" and the first lodge of speculative masons was founded in 1729. David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 74, 78.

¹⁴⁷ 'The Provincial Grand Lodge of Glasgow: Historical Sketch', www.mastermason.com/pglglasgow/pglghist.html, viewed October 2002; *Account of the Grand Masonic Procession which took place at Laying the Foundation Stone of the First Building in London Street* (Glasgow: 1824); James Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial etc. at Laying the Foundation Stone of Knox's Monument in the Merchants' Park* (Glasgow: Khull, Blackie, 1825), p. 12; *An Account of the Grand Masonic Procession at Laying the Foundation Stone of the Broomielaw Bridge* (Glasgow: 1833).

Mason, who either took part in the ceremony or delegated it to either the Provincial Grand Master Mason of the region in which the ceremony was being held, or the Master of the most local or appropriate lodge.¹⁴⁸ These ceremonies, which have their basis in antiquity and symbolise both the approval of the stonework by a senior mason and a ritual sacrifice to ensure the success of the undertaking, were a very important part of how Freemasons presented themselves as part of their community, and were an extension into the public sphere of a Masonic ceremony.¹⁴⁹ Freemasonry was popular in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century – Cleland noted that there were 18 lodges in the city in 1820 – and the histories of individual lodges provide useful lists of members; for example, the history of Glasgow St John lodge indicated that James Ewing, William Henry Hill, the son of Laurence, and David Hamilton were members of the fraternity.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, the history of Glasgow Kilwinning lodge listed eleven lords provost of the city among its members in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as members of the Tennent brewing family, and Robert Bunten or Bunton, who may be the Robert Buntine who took over as Collector of the Merchants' House in 1837.¹⁵¹ Roger Burt has written that the Freemason lodges of Cornwall played a significant part in business networking in the early and middle nineteenth century, and this may also have been true in Glasgow.¹⁵²

It is difficult to estimate the influence that lodge membership had on the actions of individuals, or the bearing that the teachings of the craft had on the Necropolis, but James Stevens Curl has stated that death is central to Freemasonry and that 'with the history of the development of cemeteries and of funerary architecture, Freemasonry and its adherents are intimately connected'; more specifically, he has written that the Glasgow Necropolis was formed by 'prominent citizens, many of whom had Masonic

¹⁴⁸ R. E. Wallace-James, *Digest of Rulings of Grand Lodge*, 4th edn (Edinburgh: George Reid, 1920), p. 42; David Reid, ed., *The Constitution and Laws of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 18-19.

¹⁴⁹ Robert L. D. Cooper, Curator of the Museum and Library, Grand Lodge of Scotland, interview, 20 February 2006.

¹⁵⁰ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 1st edn (Glasgow: James Brash, 1820), p. 190; Ian M. Macdonald, *The Lodge of Glasgow St. John, No. 3 bis* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1961), pp. 43, 59, 78;

¹⁵¹ Roy Scott, *Glasgow Kilwinning Lodge No. 4: A History 1735-1985* (Glasgow: John Watson, 1985), pp. 50, xi, viii.

¹⁵² Roger Burt, 'Freemasonry and Business Networking during the Victorian Period', *Economic History Review*, 54.4 (2003), pp. 657-688.

affiliations'.¹⁵³ If we accept that the influence of Freemasonry was significant in Glasgow, and that many of the prime movers in the Necropolis project were members of the craft, then the foundation stone ceremony assumes greater importance in the establishment and opening of the cemetery than otherwise.

The event in the Fir Park, typically for a foundation stone ceremony of the time, began with a suitable psalm and a prayer from Duncan Macfarlan, minister of the High Church. The Dean of Guild deposited a bottle in the foundation stone of the bridge; this included the texts of two inscriptions which were placed at the east end of the bridge.¹⁵⁴ The first text, which was written by James Hutcheson, was revealing (see Appendix F [i]).¹⁵⁵ It began with the background to the bridge, rooted in both aesthetics and utility – it was a ‘proper entrance’ that combined ‘convenient access’ with ‘suitable decoration’ – then evoked a continuity with Glasgow’s past, from the burial grounds around the High Church to the new cemetery, before ending in a vague Christianity that recalls the Deist language of Strang’s *Necropolis Glasguensis*.¹⁵⁶ The poetic phrases have their origins in the Bible, but they do not name Jesus Christ as the redeemer.¹⁵⁷ This may reflect the Masonic nature of the foundation stone ceremony. The second text, written by Duncan Macfarlan, also lurched from the practical language of civic improvement to the indistinct pietism of a funeral oration (see Appendix F [ii]).¹⁵⁸ The closing quote was from Gray’s *Elegy*, rather than from Macfarlan’s Bible.¹⁵⁹

After the foundation stone was laid, the Dean of Guild made an address, to which the Lord Provost replied, then the Reverend William Black of Barony offered ‘a suitable prayer’, and Macfarlan ‘pronounced the customary benediction’.¹⁶⁰ The episode ended with ‘three cordial cheers’ from all present.¹⁶¹ The Merchants’ House Journal

¹⁵³ James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London: Batsford, 1991), pp. 9, 172, 207.

¹⁵⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833.

¹⁵⁵ The attribution to Hutcheson was made in Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies* vol 2, p.740.

¹⁵⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833; Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Corinthians 15 and Jeremiah 17.

¹⁵⁸ The attribution to Macfarlan was made in Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies* vol 2, p. 739.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Gray, *An Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (London: R. Dodsley, 1751).

¹⁶⁰ As the *Glasgow Courier* pointed out, the two ministers who offered prayers were from the parishes on either side of the bridge: Macfarlan from the Inner High Church parish and Black from the Barony parish. *Glasgow Courier*, 17 October 1833, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833. The three cheers may have been indicative of Masonic practice. One account of a Masonic foundation stone ceremony noted that the stone was lowered into place ‘by three movements’ and that the person

recorded two costs associated with the day's ceremonial: John Orme, a teacher of music and the precentor of the Inner High Church, was paid £5 'for attendance of band', and the coins deposited in the foundation stone were entered in the books at a cost of £1 19s. 1d. and three-farthings.¹⁶² The Glasgow Courier concluded its account of the laying of the foundation stone with the prediction that 'when completed, it is anticipated that the cemetery, like the celebrated Père Lachaise at Paris [... will] become an object of admiration to every stranger'.¹⁶³

The language of the ceremony and the wording of the two inscriptions (see Appendix F) were reminiscent of Deism, an intellectual religious movement based on reason and not revelation and often associated with the Enlightenment, neo-classicism and Freemasonry, all of which found echoes in the Necropolis. The appeal in the Masonic foundation stone ceremony to the 'Great Architect of the Universe', the reference to 'the resurrection of the just' (rather than those embracing Jesus Christ) in the first inscription and to 'the voice of nature' in the second, all suggest an undogmatic view of religion rather than the Evangelicalism already noted elsewhere in the city.¹⁶⁴ Deism, which can be seen as a sub-set of the beliefs of Judaism and Christianity, may have provided common ground for the various religious views represented within the Merchants' House and among its advisors on the Necropolis project. It can also be seen in the language – specifically the reference to 'Nature's god' – of Laurence Hill's 1836 guide to the cemetery.¹⁶⁵

The ceremony gave the bridge, and the cemetery, the seal of approval of the various bodies represented, both civic and religious. No-one present would have had any doubt that the church and the Town Council – which could be seen as being in competition with the new cemetery – as well as the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Merchants' House endorsed the Necropolis, which was evidently seen as being in the same category of civic improvement or ornament as the road to London and the monument to Nelson.

conducting the ceremony 'strikes the stone three times' with a maul. Jones, *Freemasons' Guide and Compendium*, p. 329.

¹⁶² Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, p. 165. The coins were one sovereign, one half sovereign, one crown piece, one half crown piece, one shilling, one sixpence, one penny, one half-penny and one farthing.

¹⁶³ *Glasgow Courier*, 19 October 1833, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Jones, *Freemasons' Guide and Compendium*, p. 329; Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833.

¹⁶⁵ Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1836), p. 7.

Not everything went to plan, however, for when the Necropolis Committee met in early May 1834, the bridge was 40 days behind schedule, and the members decided to penalise the builder. They also decided to ask Hamilton for a design for a cast iron gate at the cemetery bridge. One year later, on 12 May 1835, the Necropolis sub-committee discussed a ‘handsome design’ for these iron gates, which incorporated the crest of the Merchants’ House.¹⁶⁶ Once the bridge was open to traffic, the committee instructed Milne to close the entrance at the Lady Well, diverting all traffic into the Necropolis along the route that connected it to the ancient High Church and all its associations (see Figure 28).¹⁶⁷

The western part of that link was Kirk Lane, which ran east from the square in front of the High Church. In August 1834, the members of the Necropolis Committee met the warden and Committee of Council of the High Church burying ground, to discuss possible improvements to the lane. Everyone agreed that people passing along the lane should have a clear view of the High Church, and the respective committees instructed Alexander Watt, warden, and Hill and Milne, to ask the proprietors of lairs along the southern wall of the High Church burying ground if they would – with ‘part of the expense paid to them’ – take down the wall and enclose their lairs with iron railings.¹⁶⁸ This can be seen as another way of placing the Necropolis in the context of tradition and continuity, providing a visual link to both the High Church and its burying ground for people travelling to or from the new cemetery.

Architectural structures

The first architectural structure in the Fir Park predated its conversion to a burying place. The monument to John Knox, which was the result of a public subscription proposed by Stevenson MacGill, Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow, was completed in 1825. It was designed in the Greek Doric style by Thomas Hamilton, a significant Edinburgh architect whose other commissions included the Royal High School, the Burns Monument and the Monument to Political Martyrs in Edinburgh, and

¹⁶⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May 1834 and 12 May 1835. The minutes showed David Hamilton as the architect of the entrance gates and pillars.

¹⁶⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 6 October 1835.

¹⁶⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 September 1834. The minutes of the August meeting were not recorded until the following month.

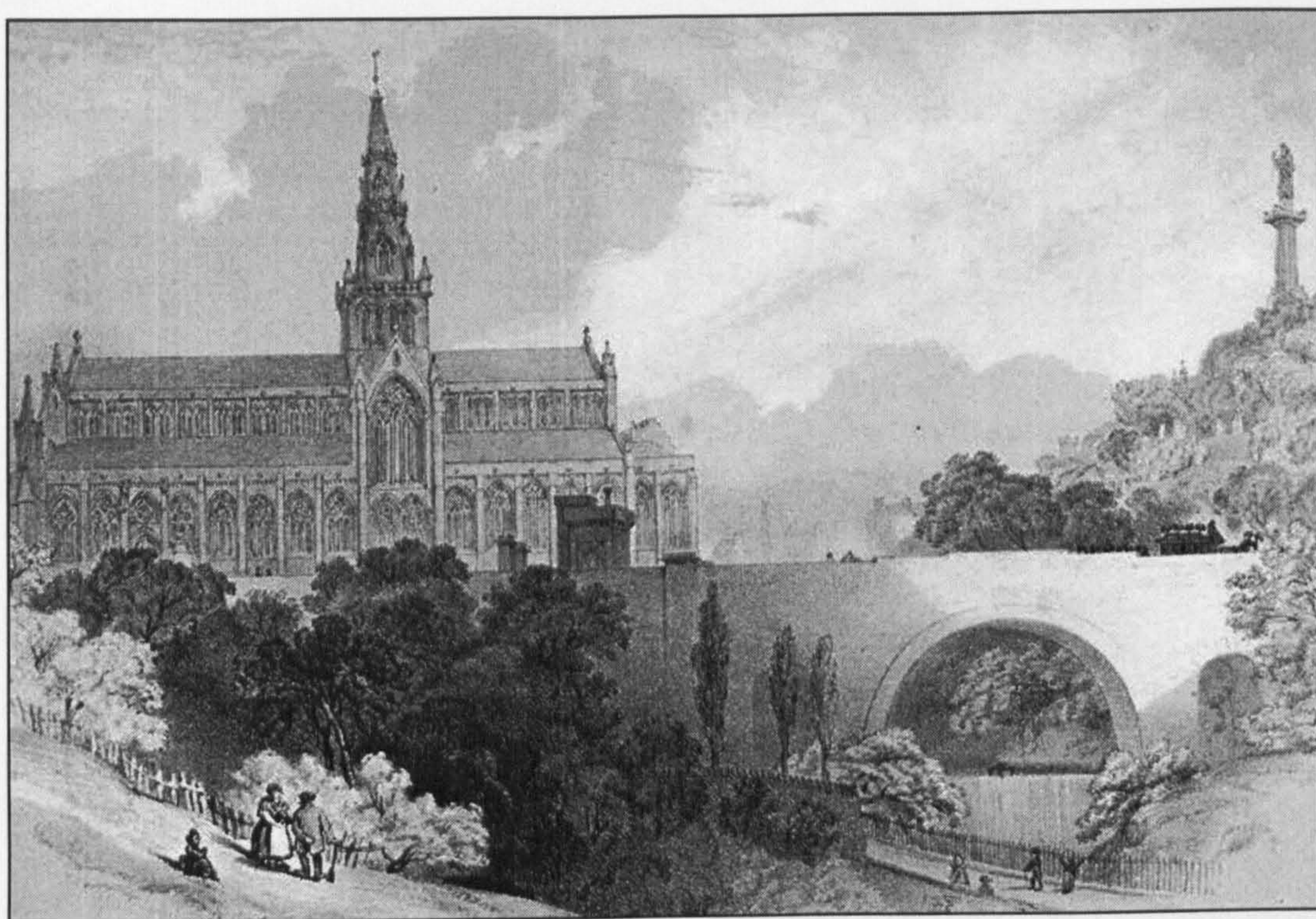


Figure 28 (top)– A funeral crossing the Bridge of Sighs, in a print from around 1850 by James Gordon, junior. Note the gatekeeper's lodge in the centre of the image, and the west front of the High Church, from which the towers have been removed. (Mitchell Library, History and Glasgow Room, Prints Collection, EGV890, View of Glasgow Cathedral, c. 1850.)

Figure 29 (above) – The Jewish cemetery, at the north-west corner of the Necropolis, which was bought by the small Jewish community in Glasgow for 100 guineas. From that sum, the Merchants' House commissioned John Bryce to design plans for a pillar, gateway and boundary wall. Joseph Levi, who died of cholera in 1832, was the first person to be buried there. (Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* [Glasgow: John Smith, 1836].)

the Burns Monument in Alloway;¹⁶⁹ the statue of Knox was designed by William Warren and sculpted by Robert Forrest.¹⁷⁰ The Merchants' House donated the site to the organising committee, which included Ewing; Cleland; William Rodger, a timber merchant; Hopkirk of Dalbeth; and William McGavin, banker and publisher of *The Protestant*, a radical anti-Catholic journal, as secretary.¹⁷¹ The subscribers included Thomas Chalmers, then Professor of Moral Theology at St. Andrews' University; William Collins, bookseller; David Stow, merchant; Hill, solicitor and Collector of the Merchants' House; John Dick, minister of Greyfriars Church and Professor of Divinity in the Associate Synod; and the Trades House of Glasgow.¹⁷² A number of these people were associated with the Necropolis (for example Ewing, Hopkirk and Hill), and with the Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland (for example Ewing, Chalmers, Collins and Stow, who all joined the Free Church in 1843). The ceremony of laying the foundation stone attracted huge public attention: 'probably 10,000 persons' gathered outside the High Church on 22 September 1825 to watch MacGill laying the foundation stone 'with all the honours usual on such occasions' and 'a Masonic Benediction'.¹⁷³ MacGill then addressed the gathering, and James Ewing made the response.¹⁷⁴ The inspiration for producing a monument to Knox at that time was the suggestion, made in 1824 by Thomas McCrie, author of *The Life of John Knox*, that the reformer had been educated at Glasgow University, rather than the usually agreed St. Andrews University.¹⁷⁵ As a result, MacGill 'conceived that Glasgow was the proper place in which a monument should be erected to his memory'.¹⁷⁶

Later, the Merchants' House presided over six architectural structures in the Necropolis, other than the Bridge of Sighs and the entrance gates, which have already been discussed; these were the gatekeeper's lodge, the column and gateway at the Jewish cemetery (see Figure 29), the Façade and the Egyptian Vaults. These structures and their associated symbolism were an important part of how the cemetery was presented and given meaning; each was designed in a recognised architectural style, and

¹⁶⁹ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, p. 383-4.

¹⁷⁰ Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Ritches and Malcolm Higgs, *Glasgow* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 140.

¹⁷¹ Cleland, *Account of the Ceremonial*, pp. 12.

¹⁷² Cleland, *Account of the Ceremonial*, pp. 12.

¹⁷³ Cleland, *Account of the Ceremonial*, pp. 83-4.

¹⁷⁴ Cleland, *Account of the Ceremonial*, p. 24. RFPG, Hill Collection, Programme of the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of the Merchants' House Cemetery Bridge.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Thomson, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, Supplement* (London: Blackie and Son, 1855), p. 414.

¹⁷⁶ Cleland, *Account of the Ceremonial*, p. 14.

included the associations of these styles in their own meanings. For example, the neoclassical style of the Bridge of Sighs would have been understood to refer to classical Rome, a society whose architecture represented order and civic power. Similarly, the column at the Jewish cemetery was designed – by John Bryce, with the agreement of the Jewish community – in a vaguely oriental style, far removed from the neoclassical regularity of the bridge, which would have had associations of the exotic and the unfamiliar. However, the inscriptions on the stonework at the Jewish cemetery may have been intended to make the incomers seem less foreign: the texts were taken from books common to both the Old Testament of the Bible and the Jewish Torah, and from the poetry of Byron, with the latter including stanzas from his *Hebrew Melodies*, beginning with the line ‘Oh! Weep for those that wept by Babel’s stream’.¹⁷⁷ The proximity of the Molendinar Burn made this particularly appropriate. Responses to the Jewish cemetery varied, perhaps because of these mixed signals. One account, written by the most senior churchman in Glasgow, described the section as being ‘separated from the Christians’ burying ground’ by ‘an ornamental screen’, which may have been suggesting two types of separation, one of physical containment and another of religious division.¹⁷⁸ However, Kenneth E. Collins, a historian of the Jewish community in Glasgow, has called the site ‘a small but picturesque corner’ of the Necropolis.¹⁷⁹

The Jewish cemetery was first put to use in September 1832, eight months before the official opening of the cemetery in May 1833, when the remains of Joseph Levi, a quill merchant, were interred there.¹⁸⁰ It did not make its first appearance in the Necropolis Committee minutes, however, until March 1834, when the members agreed that the Jewish community could take possession of the cemetery ‘on paying £40’ and ‘laying out or spending on buildings’ at least £65, to a plan approved by the Merchants’ House.¹⁸¹ By this date there had been a second burial.¹⁸² Shortly thereafter, in May 1834, the committee asked George Milne to procure plans and estimates for

¹⁷⁷ Lord Byron, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies* (London: Nathan, 1815).

¹⁷⁸ Duncan Macfarlan and James Cleland, addendum to ‘Glasgow’, vol 6 *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1845), p. 239.

¹⁷⁹ Kenneth E. Collins, *Scotland’s Jews* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1999), p. 13.

¹⁸⁰ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis 1833-54, p.

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¹⁸¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 March 1834.

¹⁸² Abraham Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry 1812-95* (Glasgow, A. J. MacFarlane, 1949), p. 28.

constructing ‘an enclosure and room for washing’,¹⁸³ and in August of that year, the committee approved the plan for building the ‘Jews’ Cemetery’ and accepted the only tender for construction.¹⁸⁴ Hill and Milne were instructed to negotiate with ‘the gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion’ over prices; if that was successful, it would leave £44 10s. ‘of profit to the House for the ground’.¹⁸⁵ Representatives of the community had approached the House with a fixed sum of money for the cemetery, presumably 100 guineas.¹⁸⁶

In August 1834, Hill told the committee that an additional £4 to £5 should be budgeted for the cost of an iron gate, so that the House’s income for this project would be no more than £40 for ‘about 90 square yards’ of ground; the then average price was around £1 10s. a square yard.¹⁸⁷ The committee, noting that ‘the Jews approved of the plan’, instructed the work to go ahead, at a total price to the community of £105; this was paid over a period of months.¹⁸⁸ The certificate of sale, which was negotiated by the committee of management of the Glasgow synagogue, declared the ground ‘to be for a possession of a burying place for the burial of the dead of the said synagogue in Glasgow forever’.¹⁸⁹

The first Annual Report of the Necropolis, referring to the Jewish cemetery, noted that the community would not be charged for each burial, because this ‘was considered inconsistent with their religious ideas’, and also because the committee wanted to encourage burial in perpetuity; not on economic grounds but because they wanted to ‘preserve the spot where any remains have ever been deposited from being again used’.¹⁹⁰ The committee here showed acceptance of and respect for the different burial customs of the Jewish community, and were willing to forgo any future income from funerals. By deciding to have a boundary wall, with ornamental column and gateway, all designed by an architect, the committee reduced the House’s profit on the sale of land. The committee also approved of the Jewish custom of single burials in graves that were never re-used, which matched their preference for selling burial places in perpetuity, which was not common practice in Scotland at that time. This could be

¹⁸³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May 1834.

¹⁸⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 August 1834.

¹⁸⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 August 1834.

¹⁸⁶ First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

¹⁸⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

¹⁸⁹ Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry*, p. 24-5.

¹⁹⁰ First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, pp. 6-7.

seen as giving up potential income from the Jewish cemetery in order to set precedents for the main cemetery.

The position of the Jewish cemetery in the Necropolis could be seen as emblematic of the position of the Jewish community in Glasgow: small, respected but separate. Kenneth E. Collins has traced the early development of the Jews in Glasgow, from the first visitors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to the first settled community in the 1810s.¹⁹¹ The community was not formally established until 1823, when a small synagogue was opened, and even by 1831 there were only 47 Jews recorded in the 1831 census.¹⁹² Most of these were apparently traders and merchants, including hatters, furriers and auctioneers, drawn by the opportunities offered by the developing city; from 1812 they began to be admitted as burgesses of the city, indicating an acceptance by the business community.¹⁹³ Collins wrote:

The fact that a Jewish cemetery formed an integral part of the plans indicated the rapid success achieved by the Jewish newcomers as well as their acceptance as an element in the population of Glasgow.¹⁹⁴

In comparison, the Jewish community in Manchester was established earlier and grew faster; it leased 'a small parcel of land' at the corner of the burial ground of St. Thomas' Chapel – a Methodist church in the suburb of Pendleton – from 1794 and set up a small synagogue in the town centre soon afterwards.¹⁹⁵ The city seemed to take longer than Glasgow to accept this new community, partly because of a fear that Jews would steal the secrets of manufacturing, with Williams noting that Freemasonry was 'one of the few social institutions which welcomed them on equal terms'.¹⁹⁶ By 1825, though, 'immigration, education and enterprise' had transformed the community into a 'large and respected body' of well-off shopkeepers, export merchants and professionals that had become 'an integral part' of the Manchester bourgeoisie.¹⁹⁷ By 1834, the community had increased in size to 350-400 people, almost all of them associated 'with

¹⁹¹ Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews in Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Committee, 1990).

¹⁹² Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 15, 18.

¹⁹³ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 20.

¹⁹⁵ Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), p. 12.

¹⁹⁶ Williams, *Making of Manchester Jewry*, pp. 27-28, 25.

¹⁹⁷ Williams, *Making of Manchester Jewry*, p. 31.

the values of the dominant class', and by 1840 there was a pressing need for a new burying ground, which opened at Prestwich the following year.¹⁹⁸

To the south of the Jewish cemetery, the Façade, as the structure facing the east end of the Bridge of Sighs was known almost from its first mention in the committee minutes, was planned with great hopes of it becoming both an attractive and significant entrance marker for the cemetery as well as a lucrative source of income (see Figure 30). The intention was for it to contain six burial vaults and also to be the entrance to a system of catacombs that would be excavated through the Fir Park hill to the quarry on the other side. This scheme would have increased the capacity of the Necropolis many times over. Circumstances, however, were to thwart this grand plan. However important a structure it was intended to be, the Façade made a modest entry into the Necropolis Committee minutes. When the committee members met on 2 May 1834, they discussed various mundane construction matters, such as the delay in finishing the bridge and the need to repair part of the boundary wall. Almost incidentally, Milne was asked to provide plans and estimates for a 'a piece of masonry [...] with an ornamental design' for the turning circle at the east end of the bridge; this would have 'burying places' behind it.¹⁹⁹ In August 1834, the members returned to the subject and approved plans for 'the ornamental mason work' and for widening the road at the east end of the bridge.²⁰⁰ The structure, which the members were told would cost £300 to build, would incorporate six burial vaults, which Milne estimated would sell for £100 each, leaving the House with a healthy profit.²⁰¹ The following month, the committee instructed work to begin on the Façade, which would produce 'a completed opening' to the Necropolis and 'a means of executing as many catacombs or means of accommodation of that description as shall be required'.²⁰² Nine days later, the committee asked John Bryce for specifications and four masons for estimates for its construction.²⁰³

The following spring, in March 1835, Bryce reported that he had four estimates for building 'the gateway and catacombs', ranging from £475 to £580.²⁰⁴ Bryce explained that these were all more than the original estimate of £300, because he now proposed to sink the vaults nine feet deep and to 'mould and pannel' the inside of each

¹⁹⁸ Williams, *Making of Manchester Jewry*, pp. 71, 77, 88.

¹⁹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May 1834.

²⁰⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

²⁰¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

²⁰² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 September 1834.

²⁰³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 September 1834.

²⁰⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 23 March 1835.

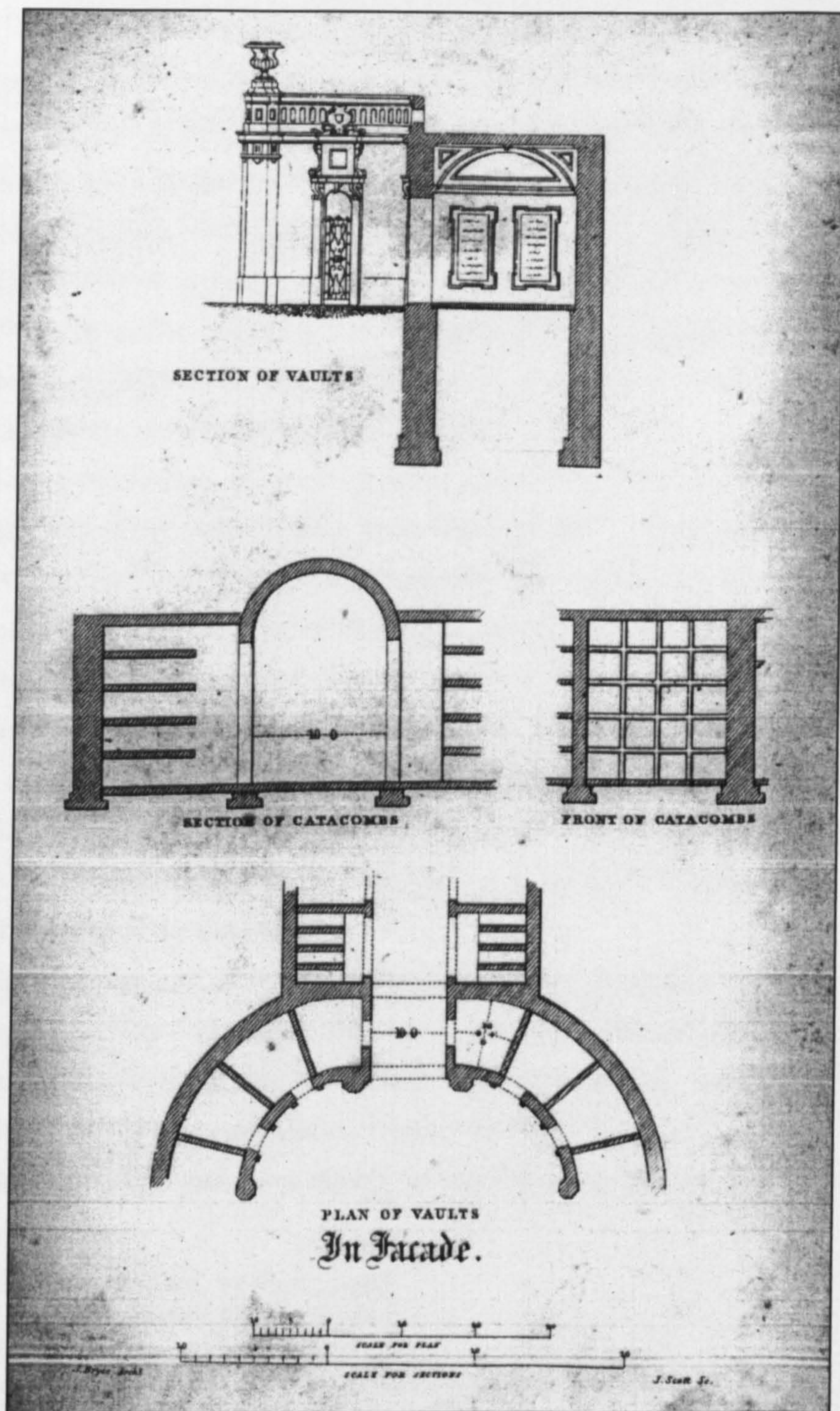


Figure 30 – Sections and plan of the Façade revealed its intended purpose as an aesthetic wrapper around six burial vaults and the entrance to a tunnel lined with catacombs. For various unforeseen reasons, the plan was not progressed, leaving the Façade as an attractive but pointless folly. The Façade was designed by John Bryce, and this engraving was by John Scott. (Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* [Glasgow: John Smith, 1836].)

burial place.²⁰⁵ Regardless of the increased expense, the committee was insistent that work should begin, to provide a suitable entrance to the cemetery.²⁰⁶ The following month, the committee asked Bryce for a new plan of the Façade 'of simple Doric architecture', because a less ornamental structure would cost less to build.²⁰⁷ However, when the committee had both plans in hand, the members chose the original one, and accepted John Park's offer to build this for £421.²⁰⁸ The design of the Façade, which has been likened to 'an Italian Mannerist garden feature',²⁰⁹ with a concave front to provide a turning circle for hearses, may be an echo of the similarly shaped grand entrance to Père Lachaise, on Boulevard de Ménilmontant.

The plan for a double-deck cemetery was made possible by restricting the rights of burial of proprietors of the 'upper tombs' to between ten and 13 feet beneath the surface of the Necropolis,²¹⁰ and it was made easier by the discovery of a layer of moulders' sand exactly where the committee proposed to construct its catacombs, which would have made excavation exceptionally easy.²¹¹ The sand, of course, could also be sold. Construction of the Façade was delayed, firstly by the failure of Bryce to supply working plans, noted in July 1835, and secondly by Park being unable to begin operations, stymied by a lack of funds, noted the following May.²¹² The committee agreed to pay his workmen fortnightly to allow the work to go ahead, but by June 1836, Park had stopped working on the Façade.²¹³

The committee responded, at the suggestion of Milne, by employing workmen to complete the structure.²¹⁴ By September 1836, the Façade was sufficiently advanced to allow an inscription to be made over the entrance arch of the Façade, which read: 'Erected A.D. MDCCCXXXVI, James Martin, Dean of Guild.'²¹⁵ At some later point, the first of the two inscriptions mentioned during the opening ceremony for the bridge

²⁰⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 23 March 1835.

²⁰⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 23 March 1835.

²⁰⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 April 1835.

²⁰⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 and 18 May, 1835. GCA, T-MH 52/8/4, Contract between Merchants' House and John Park, mason, for building Gateway.

²⁰⁹ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 139.

²¹⁰ First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²¹¹ First Annual Report from the Committee on the Cemetery.

²¹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July and 15 October 1835, 27 May 1836.

²¹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 24 June 1836.

²¹⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

²¹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 September 1836. This was also recorded by William Mossman, who wrote in his job book that he had cut 41 letters 'upon the arch of the gateway opposite the Bridge' on 18 October 1836. GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

was removed, and the text transferred to the semicircular area beneath the arch, with one small amendment: it began ‘The adjoining bridge’ rather than the previous ‘This bridge’.²¹⁶ The committee reported in November 1836 that work at the Façade was ‘going on strongly’,²¹⁷ but a year later the members were insisting that the vaults in the Façade should be completed ‘in order to obtain some remuneration for the great expense already incurred’.²¹⁸ Finally, in August 1838 – three years after agreeing to build the Façade, the members accepted a tender for £5 from James Govan to complete the mason work there.²¹⁹ Unfortunately, and perhaps because of the long gaps in the project, the stonework was not up to standard and in June 1839, the committee members employed Donaldson & Son to ‘oil or paint the Façade, to prevent the further decay of the stonework’.²²⁰

The construction of the catacombs was also troublesome. In March 1838, Hill reported that ‘a considerable portion’ of whinstone had fallen into the excavation,²²¹ and the committee reluctantly ordered the extraction of sand to be stopped, which put an end to any thoughts of catacombs.²²² In December of 1840, however, the committee discussed a plan that might have put the excavation behind the Façade to some use, but the suggestion for adapting ‘the entrance to the proposed tunnel’ for the use of those ‘who wish to bury according to the rites of the Church of England’ was not pursued.²²³ Eight years after it was first mooted, the Façade continued to be a problem. In May 1842 the committee recommended that ‘doors should be put on the open spaces to the right and left of the Façade opposite the bridge’ and that ‘the water should be drained from these vaults’.²²⁴ This indicated that the ornamental gates, which could be seen on early illustrations of the Façade, were never fitted. The Façade did not recover from all its setbacks, and was not used for burial, or as an entrance to an underworld of the dead.²²⁵

²¹⁶ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*, p. 139.

²¹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 November 1836.

²¹⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 November 1837.

²¹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 August 1838.

²²⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 June 1839.

²²¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 March 1838.

²²² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 March 1838.

²²³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 December 1840. Devoting this ‘chamber’ to Anglican burial would have involved having it consecrated.

²²⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 May 1842.

²²⁵ The Façade is now [September 2005] in a sorry state, the entrances to the vaults concreted up and the area between the black-painted doors and the hillside used for storing oversized lawnmowers.

The Egyptian Vaults (see Figure 31) were designed by Hamilton in 1837, to provide temporary accommodation for coffins while graves were excavated or mausolea built. The stone structure was of a design James Stevens Curl has called ‘a Graeco-Egyptianising Père Lachaise house tomb’, which typically exhibited such Egyptian features as battered porticos (that is, the uprights on either side of the door were wider at the bottom than at the top), cavetto cornices (where the top of the structure curved outwards to form a shelf-like roof) and a winged disc (a disc representing the sun, with wide wings on either side, and sometimes serpents bracketing the disc).²²⁶ The Egyptian Vaults had the first two features, but the winged disc had been replaced by a winged hour-glass, representing the flight of time. The frontage incorporated cast-iron gates with two classical symbols of death – inverted Roman torches and inverted Greek laurel wreaths.²²⁷ Architects in Glasgow had easy access to illustrations of Egyptian tombs and other structures. The two principal sources of these were *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte* (published in 1802) and *Description de l’Egypte* (1809-28), both of which were held in Stirling’s Library.²²⁸ Strang was certainly aware of the first of these, to which he referred in his *Necropolis Glasguensis*.²²⁹

The gatekeeper’s lodge, the last of the four structures in the Necropolis built by the Merchant’s House, was constructed in a neo-Norman style in 1840, to the design of David and James Hamilton, at a cost of £366.²³⁰ It stood at the north-west corner of the bridge, immediately inside the gates, and housed both the gatekeeper and the books and records of the cemetery, including the visitors’ book, which everyone entering the Necropolis, except as part of a funeral, was required to sign. When the Barony Church was demolished in 1890, the lodge and the Necropolis gates were moved west to their present position on the Cathedral Precinct.²³¹ The gates, which featured the Merchants’

²²⁶ James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania – The Egyptian Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 176.

²²⁷ The gates were manufactured by Thomas Edington and Sons: MLG, Alexander Aitken: ‘The David Hamilton Collection’, four-volume research file, deposited 1995.

²²⁸ D. Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte* (Cairo: Institute Francais D’Archeologie Oriental du Caire, 1802); Commission des Monuments d’Egypte, *Description de Egypte* (Cairo: Institut d’Orient, 1809-18); Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Glasgow Room Special Collections, G 017.1, Catalogues of Stirling’s Library, 1805, 1833-48.

²²⁹ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831).

²³⁰ The attribution to David Hamilton and his son James is in MLG, Alexander Aitken, ‘The David Hamilton Collection’.

²³¹ Williamson *et al.*, *Glasgow*.



Figure 31 (above) – The Egyptian Vaults, in a sketch from 1947 by Stuart Johnston, which were built by the Merchants' House to hold coffins while graves were being dug or mausolea constructed. The design combines an Egyptian doorway with motifs derived from classical Greece and Rome. (James Cowan, *From Glasgow's Treasure Chest* [Glasgow: Craig and Wilson, 1951].)

Figure 32 (right) – The Merchants' House announced in February 1833 that it was 'ready to treat' for the sale of burial places at 'reasonable' prices. Prospective purchasers, presumably in advance of need, were asked to contact George Milne to be shown around or Laurence Hill if they were ready to talk business. (*Glasgow Herald*, 8 February 1833.)

GLASGOW NECROPOLIS.

THE MERCHANTS' HOUSE of GLASGOW having now completed the principal roads through their Lands adjoining the Cathedral, to be occupied as **AN ORNAMENTAL CEMETERY, or BURYING GROUND**, on the plan of the celebrated Pere-la-Chaise Cemetery at Paris, to which these Lands possess many advantageous resemblances, and having also purchased the Houses and Gardens on the South side of Kirk Lane, and East and South of the Barony Church, in order to afford a Carriage access in that direction, in addition to that by Ladywell, **NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN**, that the House is ready to treat for the disposal of Lots, or Burial Places of such dimensions, and in such situations, as may be agreed on. The prices will be reasonable, varying according to the extent, the eligibility of the situation, the intended ornament, and the measure of security desired, which, owing to the principles proposed to be adopted, can be afforded equal if not superior to any possible degree of security elsewhere. Purchasers will have the selection of Sites according to the order or dates of their intimating to the Collector of the House their readiness or intention to treat; and, as it is proposed, so soon as a reasonable number of intending purchasers come forward, to submit to them a Draft of the Regulations before the same shall be finally fixed, in order that they be rendered as acceptable and popular as possible, the advantage and propriety of early applications will be apparent.

The Grounds will be shewn by the resident Superintendent, Mr. George Milne, at the Ladywell Lodge; and further particulars will be learned on applying to Mr. Laurence Hill, Collector of the House, at his Chambers, No. 1, South Frederick Street, Glasgow, to whom those desirous of treating with the Committee for Lots will be so good as communicate their intentions, in order that the other necessary arrangements may be made.

By Order of the Dean of Guild,
JOHN DOUGLAS, Clerk.

Glasgow, 4th Feb., 1833.

DRAUGHT STALLION WANTED:

House crest, had been designed in 1838 by Hamilton, and cast by Thomas Edington & Son.²³²

In these ways, the associations of each structure contributed to the overall meaning that was being given to the new cemetery by the Necropolis Committee. Using established forms of architecture gave a historicity to the site that contrasted with and perhaps helped to reduce its novelty. The predominant emblems of classicism reminded those with a classical education of the funerary habits of the Greeks and Romans, who respectively cremated their dead and formed cemeteries outside city boundaries, both practices far more conducive to public health than those prevailing in contemporary Glasgow. In addition, the neoclassical stood in opposition to the Gothic, which had associations of Catholicism. Those without a classical education could read Strang's *Necropolis Glasguensis*, which comprehensively surveyed the funerary practices of the ancients.²³³ Because of the power of these associations, the taste and skill of architects were central to the Necropolis project. They had, through their training and through a steady stream of reference books, access to the designs of ancient Greece, Rome and Egypt, as well as medieval and Renaissance Europe and more contemporary buildings. They were adepts in the art of giving meaning to structures, through references to earlier designs and through the incorporation of sculpture – including symbolic figures, iconography and lettering – in their designs. They adapted classical and Renaissance designs for modern use, for example modelling the Trades Hall (Robert Adam, 1794) on the Villa Emo in Venice (Andrea Palladio, 1564), the Justiciary Buildings (William Stark, 1814) on the Thesion in Athens (449 B.C.), and the rear façade of the former Royal Bank of Scotland in Royal Exchange Square (Archibald Elliot II, 1827) on the Erectheion in Athens (Mnesicles, 421 B.C.).²³⁴

End of the first phase of development

The end of the first stage of converting the Fir Park into an ornamental cemetery, when a speculative venture became a continuing commercial enterprise, was marked by three documents: the first set of accounts, which was produced in September 1834; the first

²³² MLG, Alexander Aitken, 'The David Hamilton Collection'.

²³³ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*.

²³⁴ Neil Baxter and James Macauley, *Concentric Cities: A World Tour in the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Neil Baxter Associates, 1999), pp. 4, 6.

annual report, submitted to the House in June 1835, and the first edition of the cemetery regulations, published in 1834.²³⁵ These three texts mark the transition from the preparatory and experimental phase, when the committee and its advisers were producing the first ornamental cemetery in Scotland, with no other model than Père Lachaise in Paris, which two of them had visited and about which the others had read. The following phase, of governing the city of the dead they had now created, is dealt with in the next chapter.

The members of the Necropolis Committee, all leading Glasgow merchants, would perhaps have felt most comfortable with the first of these documents, which they discussed in September 1834. The 'Abstract of the Expenditure of the Merchants' House of Glasgow in the Formation of the Fir Park Cemetery, September 1834' set out the costs incurred between June 1831 and September 1834.²³⁶ The totals included: £1,865 for operatives' wages, £192 for salaries to superintendents, £107 for plants and seeds, £5 for drains, £356 for walls and lodges, and £1,428 for the bridge; the grand total was £4,960.²³⁷ Aside from constructing the bridge, the largest expense was for operatives' wages. Given that these were day labourers being paid paltry sums, this showed the extent of the manual work involved in landscaping, installing drains and forming roads and paths that was involved in creating the ornamental surroundings of the Necropolis graves. The abstract showed that £688 had been received as income, indicating an operating loss of £4,272, which did not include the cost of the land to the Merchants' House.²³⁸ This income was made up sales of burying ground, reimbursed expenditure on preparing tombs, sales of ground for individual interments, and a small amount for sand and wood sold.²³⁹ Adding the potential income from accounts that had not been sent out and unpaid invoices to the earlier sum of £688 brings the total for the period to September 1834 to £1,918, around two fifths of the House's expenditure to that date.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ The first set of accounts were engrossed in the Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834; the first annual report was printed for distribution among the Directors of the house (GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis) and also recorded in the minutes dated 9 June 1835; and the first edition of the regulations was published in 1834 (GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-b.3, Glasgow Necropolis, or Cemetery Belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow: Regulations, 1834).

²³⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

²³⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

²³⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

²³⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

²⁴⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

The first Annual Report from the committee to the House, produced in June 1835 (see Appendix G), indicated that the establishment of the Necropolis was almost complete, and that the cemetery would soon 'require no material expenditure beyond its mere maintenance' and in fact make regular returns on the House's investment.²⁴¹ This investment, including the estimated costs of the Façade but excluding the value of the land, stood at £7,474.²⁴² Among the committee's outlay was £65 on drains and £135 on plants and seeds; it also paid £1,073 for work on tombs, including £440 on 'mortsafes and iron work', which was passed on to purchasers.²⁴³ The committee's income was principally from the sale of lairs: in the period from the opening of the cemetery in 'summer 1833' to Candlemas (2 February) 1835, it had sold 76 separate burial places, which brought in £1,043.²⁴⁴ Fees for burials in these tombs raised almost three pounds; in addition, there were four re-interments from other burial grounds into private lairs, at no cost.²⁴⁵ Fees from people 'buried with single rights of sepulture, without any property in the ground' – common graves, in other words – brought in £59.²⁴⁶

The report noted that the Necropolis project had accumulated a loss of £4,732.²⁴⁷ However, the House was assured, the Necropolis had great potential: there were more than 27,000 square yards of available land for 300 tombs of nine square yards; at the average selling price of a square yard (£1 11s.), this would yield £42,328, plus subsequent burial fees.²⁴⁸ In addition, the adjoining land owned by the House – some of which was 'under the plough' and the remainder 'being quarried' – could be added to the Necropolis to 'supply the utmost demand arising from the present population of Glasgow perhaps 20 times over'.²⁴⁹ In the light of this rather optimistic prediction, the

²⁴¹ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴² GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴³ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴⁴ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴⁵ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴⁶ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴⁷ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴⁸ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

²⁴⁹ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

committee reported that at the end of its accounting year – at Candlemas 1836, two and a half years from the opening – they would begin to pay back both capital and interest to the House.²⁵⁰

Conclusions

The conception and construction of the Glasgow Necropolis, although bureaucratic and punctuated by long delays, was relatively unproblematic in cultural terms. The majority of people and institutions in Glasgow accepted the meanings that the Merchants' House – mainly through the landscaping, structures and plantings suggested by their paid advisers – projected onto the wooded hillside opposite the High Church. By bridge and by ceremony, the House firmly connected its new cemetery to the ancient burying grounds inside and around the High Church. Customers followed the lead of the classicising name and architecture of the Necropolis, producing monuments in the grand Roman and Greek styles that were also in favour in the rapidly expanding town centre, often under the direction of the same architects and sculptors.

Returning to the research question posed at the start of this chapter, the detailed description of the activities of the Necropolis Committee, and the influences that it was exposed to – generally through their advisers, such as Strang, who had travelled through Europe, and Hamilton, who had access to a wide library of architectural pattern books – has demonstrated that it is possible to untangle and identify many of these many and varied influences. The key ideas espoused by the committee can be grouped into two classes, one concentrating on the practical, utilitarian and economic concerns of the House, the other stressing the aesthetic, picturesque and sublime landscape that the House thought fitting for its new enterprise.

Overall, then, the vision of a Père Lachaise for Glasgow, as conceived by the Necropolis Committee and its advisers, and supported by the Directors of the Merchants' House, was transformed into the reality of a working cemetery in fewer than five years. It was a new venture in a number of ways: the first large burying ground in Glasgow built by an institution other than the church or the council, the first ornamental cemetery in Scotland, the first declared non-denominational burying ground in

²⁵⁰ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis.

Glasgow, the first cemetery in the city with made roads, paths and drains, the first in Glasgow with designed plantings of appropriate species. All of these innovations were accepted by the people of Glasgow, who were already reeling from enormous changes in the industrial and commercial structure of the city brought by the steady stream of civic and manufacturing improvements in the town.

The Merchants' House, with the skill and taste of its expert advisers, not only produced a new way of thinking about the disposal and memorialisation of the dead, but also quickly transferred these ideas into the population at large. The following chapter explores how the day to day operations of the cemetery, in the first few years after the first official burial in spring 1833, turned these attitudes into a practical business, and kept the vision intact.

Chapter four

Governing the City of the Dead, 1832-1842

Introduction

The business of running a working cemetery, previously unfamiliar to members of the Merchants' House, became a reality when the Necropolis was opened for burial in the spring of 1833. The preparations for this, which were discussed in the previous chapter, began in earnest when George Milne was appointed as superintendent one year earlier. This chapter focuses on the ten years between Milne's appointment in May 1832 to February 1842, when he was dismissed from his post. Within this period, the Necropolis became established as a cemetery for both the commercial, cultural and ecclesiastical elite of the city and the working people of Glasgow, who were buried in common graves, also referred to as *fosses communes*. The creation of the landscape and main physical structures of the Necropolis was complete by the mid 1830s, but the process of giving it meaning continued all through the period under discussion. The cemetery regulations helped to frame people's expectations of what was allowed and not allowed, and the construction of graves speculatively gave potential customers clear guidelines about what was expected of them in terms of construction, security, monumentation and maintenance of lairs. The practice of giving land to committees that had raised subscriptions to construct monuments to public figures, again as a way of demonstrating the high standards of construction and ornament that was required, also worked to frame the Necropolis as a grand ornamental garden of memory.

Thomas Laqueur, a cultural historian, has described this process of giving meaning to the cemetery as 'the active imaging by an ascendant class of a new community of the dead', and has suggested that in the fragmented urban societies that followed from the Industrial Revolution, 'a gemeinschaft of the dead substituted for a less than perfect gemeinschaft of the living'.¹ For Laqueur, then, the cemetery of the early nineteenth century was not so much a reproduction of the urban milieu as a representation of a more coherent and cohesive society, which may have given comfort

¹ Thomas W. Laqueur, 'Spaces of the Dead', in *Ideas*, 8.1 (2001) p.13.

to those living through the social and economic revolutions of the times. James Stevens Curl, an architectural historian, also saw the first private enterprise cemeteries in London as protective of the middle classes, screening them from ‘the frightening urban milieu, the awesome Sublimity of the burgeoning Victorian city’.² In these enclaves, wrote Curl, ‘families could be reunited in death, inhabiting their real estate in a fashionable necropolis’ where ‘sentiment could flourish’.³

Public events, such as a charity concert for building a school near Bluevale, in the east end of the city, also helped to encourage people to enter and experience the cemetery, and to connect it with the improvement of the city. Public ceremonies, which were held around monuments raised by subscription, also helped to frame the Necropolis as a location for learning from the successes of others, and for rational recreation, where perusing the epitaphs of the fallen famous might inspire visitors to greater achievements in their own lives. Allowing the choir of the Inner High Church to practice in the Necropolis not only solidified the bond with the High Church that the Merchants’ House had been particularly keen to stress, but also showed that the new ornamental cemetery was a far more pleasant and appealing place to spend time than the overcrowded churchyard of that ancient building. As well as signification, the two hallmarks of aesthetic excellence and high standards of utility, explored in the previous chapter, were prominent in the running of the Necropolis.

This chapter continues the discussion of the process of creating and giving meaning to the Glasgow Necropolis, and focuses on the cemetery as a working business. It begins with an outline history of the cemetery as an enterprise, then discusses the supervision of that enterprise by the Merchants’ House, specifically through its Necropolis Committee, to which members were appointed each year. The chapter continues with an examination of the role of the superintendent and other staff employed in the business, before turning to the central issue of its finances and regulation, as set out in the annual reports written by the committee and presented to the Directors of the House, as well as other written reports and financial documents. There is then a discussion of how the Merchants’ House reacted to competition, as the less expensive and more utilitarian Sighthill cemetery and Southern Necropolis were set up in its wake. There follows an examination of the practice of constructing graves speculatively, partly as a way of demonstrating to potential customers how they might

² James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), p. 111-12.

³ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn (2000), p. 111-12.

use the new space that had been created for the city. Finally, the chapter explores the issues of public and private space in the Necropolis, and discusses some of the early public events there.

Outline history of the Necropolis, 1832-1842

In the first ten years of its existence, the Necropolis changed from a public park to a fully-fledged cemetery, which attracted the custom of wealthy and prominent families, and became a fashionable place to visit. Before the sale of lairs to the public began in the spring of 1833, there had been four burials. The first was in the cemetery being constructed for the Jewish community: Joseph Levi, a 62-year-old quill merchant of 9 Stirling Street (now Blackfriars Street), in central Glasgow, died of cholera and was interred there on 12 September 1832.⁴ The second, on 9 February 1833, was of Elizabeth Miles, wife of George Milne, senior, father of the superintendent of the Necropolis.⁵ The third, on 4 April 1833, was of Isabella Milne, daughter of George Milne, senior, and wife of James Kennedy, who lived in Drygate, to the south-west of the Necropolis.⁶ The fourth, on 9 May 1833, was of Barbara Hopkirk, wife of Laurence Hill.⁷ It is worth noting that the seventh burial, on 14 May 1833, was of David Milne, the four-year-old son of the superintendent, who had lost his mother, sister and young child in four months.⁸

Some details of the burial of Joseph Levi were supplied by J. S. Rubenstein, who lived for a few years in Glasgow in the early 1830s, and who wrote from London to the *Evening Citizen* in 1894 to record some of his memories of the Jewish community in the city. His letter recalled the arrangements following the death of Levi in 1832, when Rubenstein was around 13 years old. He explained that the arrangements for the funeral were made by two older men and himself, and added that:

No-one else attended because there were so few Jews in Glasgow and some had to attend to their business while the rest were afraid to catch the cholera. Mr

⁴ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis 1833-54, p. 1.

⁵ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis, p. 1.

⁶ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis, p. 1.

⁷ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis, p. 1.

⁸ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis, p. 1.

Crown, with myself, had to watch the grave one night out of seven to prevent thieves getting up the bodies and selling them to the doctor.⁹

Glasgow's burying grounds had been blighted by many instances of body-snatching before the Anatomy Act, which passed into law in August 1832, ended the practice by providing a steady supply of corpses from the Town's Hospital and other publicly supported refuges.¹⁰ Five months after the burial of Levi, the Merchants' House advertised – under the heading 'Glasgow Necropolis' – that it was 'ready to treat for the disposal of lots, or burial places'. The advertisement noted that the House had 'completed the principal roads' through its lands 'adjoining the Cathedral', which would shortly 'be occupied as an ornamental cemetery' designed 'on the plan of the celebrated Père Lachaise cemetery at Paris, to which these lands possess many advantageous resemblances'. Owing to 'the principles proposed to be adopted', the cemetery would offer a level of security 'equal if not superior to any possible degree of security elsewhere'.¹¹ There were a number of important elements in this notice (see Figure 32 and Appendix H). It appeared under the rubric 'Glasgow Necropolis', indicating that the House had adopted this neoclassical formation as the formal name for its cemetery; it again linked the cemetery with the High Church; and it again connected its enterprise with the Parisian pioneer, even to the extent of topographical similarity. All of these points helped signify the Necropolis as deeply rooted in already accepted cultural productions, and helped to dress it in antiquity, continuity with the past and taste. The final point on security addressed people's concerns about body-snatching; even after the Anatomy Act had banished this practice, fears remained for many years. People in Glasgow may well have remembered the activities of Granville Sharp Pattison (1791-1851), a surgeon and anatomist who stood trial for body-snatching in 1814 and gave evidence about that practice in 1828 to the House of Commons select committee set up to investigate the teaching of anatomy in Britain.¹² Pattison, who was born in Glasgow and educated at Glasgow University, described to the committee the various means by which lecturers and students obtained bodies for dissection from the burying grounds of the city. Even after the passage of the Anatomy Act, as Julie Rugg has

⁹ *Evening Citizen*, 1 March 1894.

¹⁰ S. W. McDonald, 'Glasgow Resurrectionists', *Scottish Medical Journal*, 42 (1997), pp. 84-87; 2 & 3 William IV, Cap. 75, An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy (1832); Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1987).

¹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 February 1833.

¹² F. L. M. Pattison, *Granville Sharp Pattison: Anatomist and Antagonist 1791-1851* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1987).

written, 'the image of desecration created by body-snatching lived on', partly revived by the publication in 1839 of *Gatherings from Graveyards* by George Walker, which described in gruesome detail the dreadful conditions in some burying grounds in London and the surrounding counties.¹³ In the face of these widespread fears, the insistence on security in the Necropolis may have contributed to its success.

There was no ceremony or fanfare for the opening of the cemetery, and no precise date appears in the minutes and records. In March 1833, the committee discussed various preparations that needed to be made, such as constructing from nine to 12 tombs speculatively, preparing plans of each compartment, and finalising the wording of the newspaper advertisement offering burial places for sale.¹⁴ The only entry in the committee minute book for May 1833 was a discussion of the Bridge of Sighs.¹⁵ Hill, as Collector of the Merchants' House, was the best placed person to provide a definitive date, but his guide to the Necropolis offered only this: 'It was early in May 1833 that the cemetery was first opened for interments and the sale of burial places.'¹⁶ The first four burials were not external customers, given the contractual connection to the Jewish community and the family relationships of Milne and Hill. The two children buried on 10 May 1833, can be considered the first customers.¹⁷ While the arrangements for their interment would have been conducted in the days leading up to this date, it seems reasonable to choose 10 May 1833 as the opening date of the Necropolis.

Once open, the day to day management was carried on by Milne, as Superintendent, and business and financial affairs were dealt with by Hill, as Collector to the Merchants' House. Managerial oversight was provided by the Necropolis Committee of the House, under the overall strategic direction of the Directors of the House. After the first official burial, members of the committee were involved in regulating the activities of not only their own staff and contractors but also members of the public, whether they were taking part in a funeral or visiting the cemetery, either to visit a grave or to have an uplifting walk among the tombs. For administration purposes, the cemetery was divided into compartments, identified mainly by letters of the Greek

¹³ Julie Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain 1820-53', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1992, p. 44; George Alfred Walker, *Gatherings from Graveyards* (London: Longman, 1839).

¹⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 and 16 March 1833.

¹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 14 May 1833.

¹⁶ Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1836), p. 19.

¹⁷ The children were John Cuthbertson, aged three years and four months, and the son of James Cuthbertson; and Christina Bayne, aged one year and five months, and the daughter of Alexander Bayne, a miller: MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis, p. 1.

alphabet (see Figure 33). Within the compartments, graves were numbered in the order in which they were purchased, since customers were allowed to choose the size and location of their property. This can clearly be seen in lair maps of the cemetery (see Figure 34). Thomas Laqueur has contrasted this practice with the cultural geography of churchyards, where graves were made from east to west and their location was controlled by the church authorities.¹⁸ He has also noted that churches, and hence churchyards, were often built on previously sacred or culturally important sites, whereas cemeteries were constructed where land was inexpensive, and less likely to have underlying cultural meanings.¹⁹

The committee, in the period 1832-1842, completed the bridge over the Molendinar and the walkway along Kirk Lane, added the gatekeeper's lodge and the Façade at either end of the bridge, completed the column, walls and gateway at the Jewish cemetery, and constructed the Egyptian Vaults for the temporary storage of coffins while graves were being prepared.²⁰ The committee also oversaw the employees and contractors, and were involved in disciplining and dismissing staff who failed to meet the advertised high standards.²¹ There may not have been a public ceremony to open the cemetery, but there were public events held there. There were also gatherings to lay the foundation stone of, or to inaugurate, public memorials, such as those funded by private or public subscriptions. These events contributed to the signification of the Necropolis as a place of public memory and not just private grief, and helped to link the cities of the living and the dead.

Supervision and oversight

The members of the Necropolis Committee kept in close touch with operations at the cemetery. As well as receiving regular reports from the superintendent and holding their meetings in the Necropolis, members regularly took turns to visit the cemetery and to report back. In October 1836 the House changed the arrangement: rather than one member visiting each week, two would visit each fortnight, and present a report to the committee.²² James Martin and William Brown, respectively Dean of Guild and the

¹⁸ Laqueur, 'Spaces of the Dead', p.14.

¹⁹ Laqueur, 'Spaces of the Dead', p.14.

²⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, various dates.

²¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, various dates.

²² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

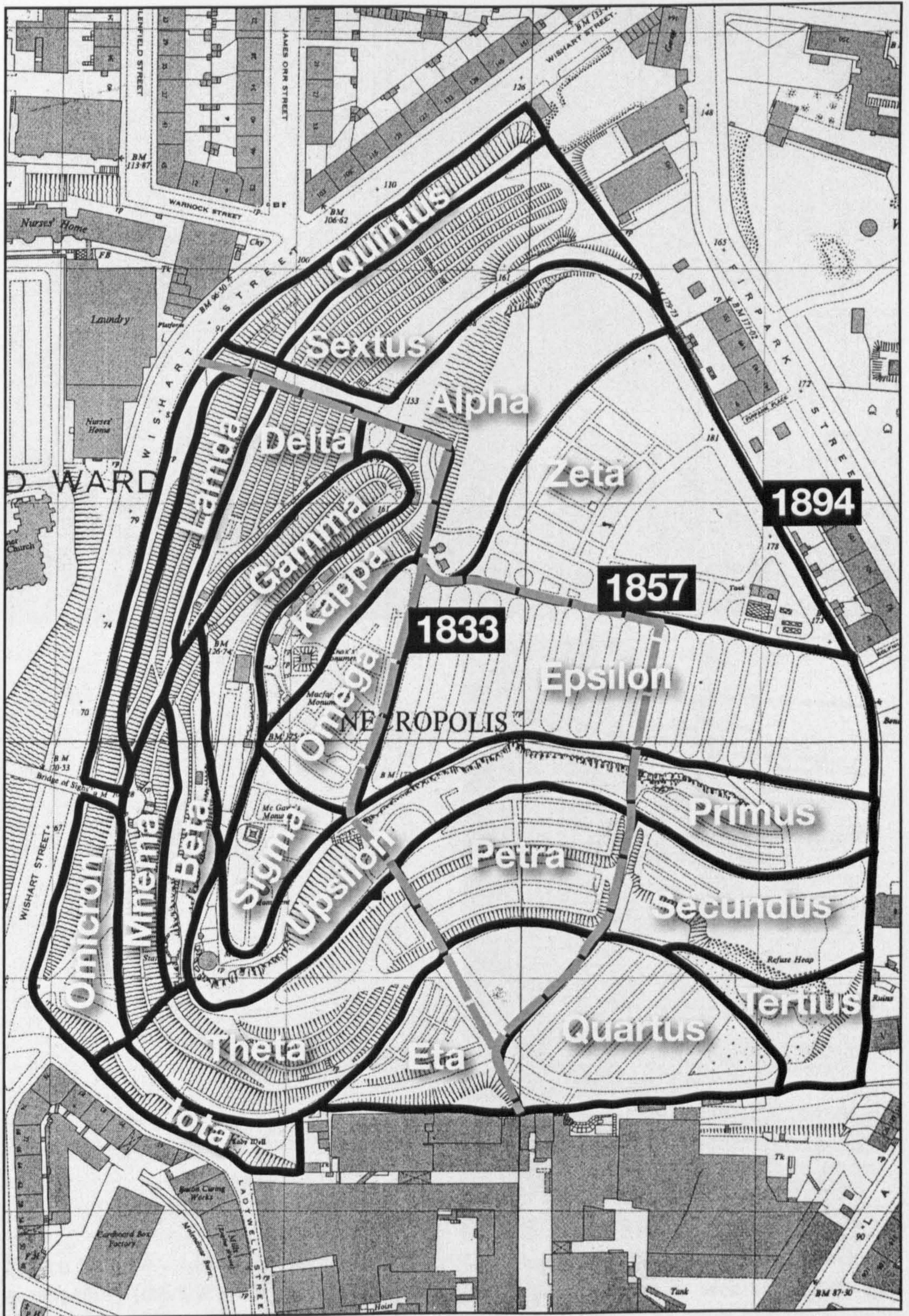
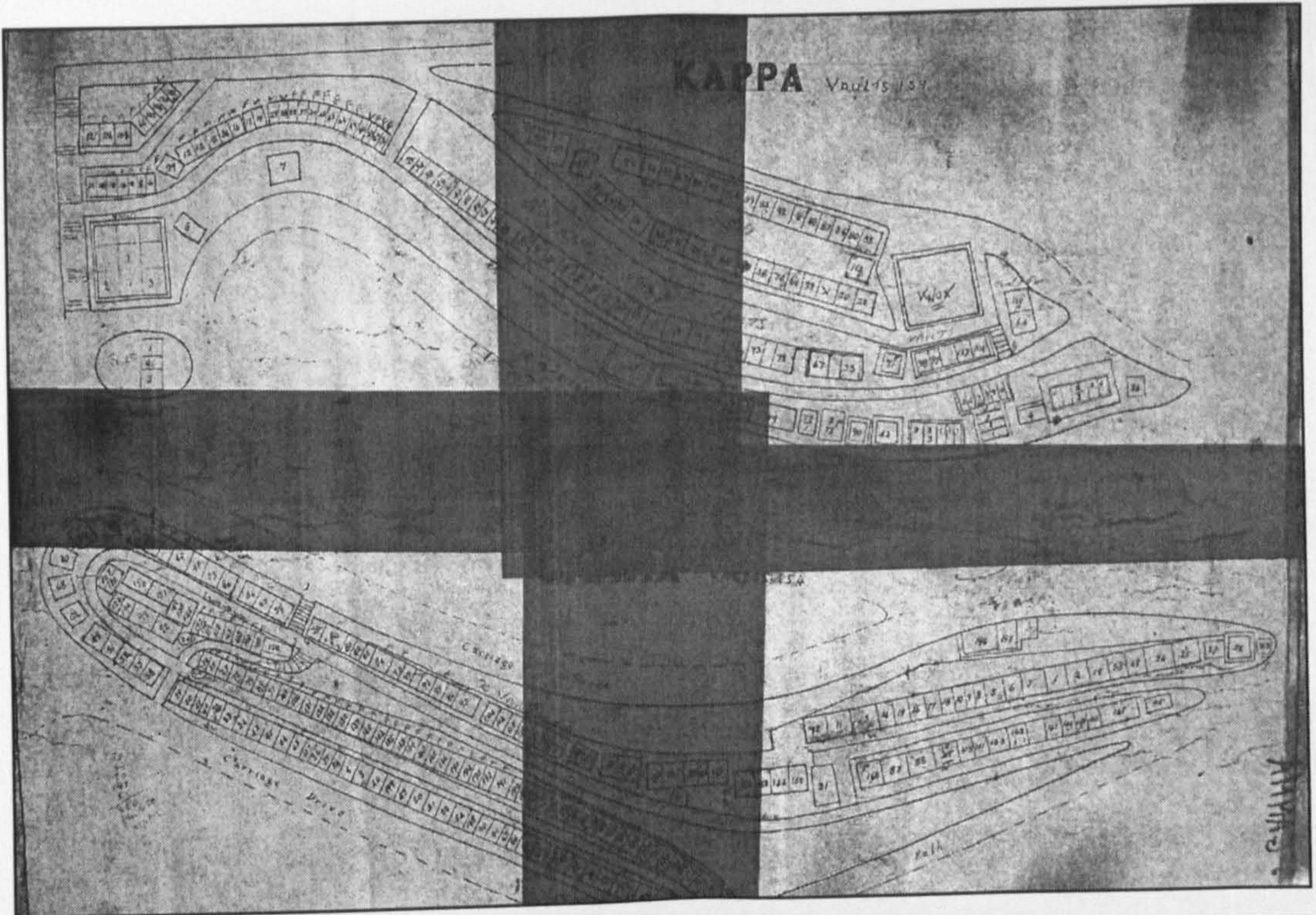


Figure 33 – The Glasgow Necropolis was divided into compartments, mostly named using letters of the Greek alphabet. The three dates show the eastern boundary of the cemetery at its opening in 1833 and after two later expansions. (Based on George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of the Glasgow Necropolis* [Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857], pp. 366-68; and Alexander Welsh, 'Glasgow Necropolis: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture', Glasgow School of Art, 1979; the underlying map is the Ordnance Survey, 1:1250 scale map of Glasgow, 1969.)



GLASGOW NECROPOLIS.	
Cemetery belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow.	
THE FOLLOWING REGULATIONS Constitute the condition of Sale of every Burial- place in the Necropolis:—	THE FOLLOWING REGULATIONS Are adopted for the Management and Control of the Cemetery:—
1. The possession of the Burying-places being either tem- porary or perpetual.	1. The Glasgow Necropolis being established on the prin- ciple of a Garden Cemetery, shall at all times be kept in good order, and due attention paid to preserve the design, beauty, effect, and sanctity, of this place of sepulchre.
2. Proprietors, in perpetuity, will receive on paying the price, a Certificate, containing a specification of the location of the Lot or Tomb sold to them, and a description thereof, and all right in and to the Lot or Tomb shall be transferable or alienable by special infor- mation in the hand of the Purchaser from the House, or the Proprietor, or proper heir at Law, duly entered in the Register of the Cemetery, whereupon the Purchaser shall receive a new Certificate in lieu of the old one, upon payment of 4s. 6d. to the House. In order that it may be understood at all times, who has the right to the burial-place sold, the heirs at Law, or Family Trustees of the Proprietor, shall obtain their names, inserted in the Register, as such, upon production of their general service, and Registered title, for which a fee of five shillings only shall be paid.	2. Constant attendance shall be given by the Super- intendent or Warder, for the purpose of receiving instruc- tions and orders from the Public or proprietors, in regard to funerals; and he shall be responsible, that no Burying- place be opened without undoubted personal, or written authority, from those who have a right to give it.
3. There shall be paid to the House a sum, varying from 2s. 6d. to 2s. 10d. upon each Interment, according to the mode of the funeral.	3. The Warder shall provide proper and sufficient work- men for the purpose of executing orders in regard to the opening and filling up Burying-places.
4. The Proprietors in perpetuity, shall have right to erect any stone work or monument, and put thereon any inscription, provided a plan of the erection, and a copy of the inscription have been submitted to the House, and re- ceived its approbation. Proprietors shall have no right to dig, found, or bury, at a depth so as to endanger or inter- fere with any adjoining tomb or sepulchre.	4. At every funeral, the Warder shall enter the name, and designation, and also the age, and cause of death, so far as known, of the deceased, and the date of funeral in a book to be kept for that purpose.
5. No coffin shall be nearer the surface of the ground than twenty-four inches at least, and the Proprietor of the ground shall cause it to be neatly dressed immediately after the interment, so that the grounds shall always be left, as nearly as may be, of a uniform surface with that adjoining it.	5. On each Interment, the Warder is authorized to receive the following fees payable to the house:
6. Proprietors in perpetuity, shall each be bound to keep his own lot or portion in good order; and when Tombs, Monuments, and other works, are erected thereon, he shall be obliged to preserve, as far as possible, the same from decay; and in the event of a Proprietor not doing so, the House shall be entitled to repair the same, after due in- timation by letter to the Proprietor, or his heir at law, and the House shall be reimbursed in all the expenses of such repair, with the interest thereon, before any other Interment shall take place.	When the Body is carried on a Hearse, drawn by 4 Horses, or Shoulder High, L. 2 0 0 When the Body is carried on a Hearse, drawn by 2 Horses, 1 1 0 When the Body is carried on Handspikes, accompanied by 2 or more Ushers, 0 15 0 When the Body is carried on Handspikes, without Ushers, 0 5 0
7. While Proprietors shall be permitted to plant flowers or shrubs over the grave or by the tomb of their relatives, the whole Cemetery shall be under the constant superintendence of the Warder.	CHILDREN. When the Body is carried in a Casket, and where two or more Ushers are employed, 1 1 0 When the Body is carried in a Casket without Usher, 0 10 0 When the Body is carried otherwise, and with- out Usher, 0 5 0
8. Proprietors shall be bound on each interment, to furnish the Warder of the Cemetery with the name and designation of the deceased, and, if possible, with the age and cause of death.	6. No hewing of stones, excepting under certain regu- lations; and no dogs, cattle, or poultry, nor drying, or bleaching, &c., shall be permitted within the precincts of the Cemetery.
9. Proprietors shall be obliged to pay the necessary expense of the grave digging at each interment.	7. As every Burying-place is expected to be by its con- struction effectually secured against all risk of violation, night watching will be unnecessary.
10. In all sales, there is reserved to the Merchants' House the right of making and disposing of the same.	8. The Warder being the Custodian of the Register Book and Plan of the Cemetery, he is enjoined to keep the same within a substantial safe; and to make Entries, and to give Extracts to parties interested, on payment of 8d. for an Extract.
	9. The House may, from time to time, make such by-laws and regulations, as may be necessary for making the Necropolis as conducive as possible, to the ornament and sanctity of the City, and amenity of the place.

Figure 34 (top) – Lair maps for compartments Kappa and Gamma, showing graves purchased in perpetuity (marked with a 'P'). The monument to John Knox can be seen at the top right. (Glasgow and West of Scotland Family History Society, Library, Lair maps of compartments Kappa and Gamma, Glasgow Necropolis [undated].)

Figure 35 (above) – The first edition of the Necropolis regulations clearly set out the obligations of both the Merchants' House and proprietors of lairs in the cemetery. The first, and longest, regulation dealt with the lair as heritable property. (GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-b.3, Glasgow Necropolis, or Cemetery Belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow: Regulations [first issue, 1834].)

man who would follow him in that office, were the first of the fortnightly visitors.²³ They had been three times, with Hill, before they presented a report to the committee on 28 October 1836, when they noted that ‘the whole range of tombs for single sepultures along the south east end of the Necropolis’, near the Subdean Lodge, had been completed at a cost of £195, and reported that they had ‘repeated to the Superintendent’ the need for ‘the utmost economy’ in hiring labourers.²⁴ Brown and Martin recommended that the regulations should be amended to ensure that at all public funerals ‘no person be admitted into the cemetery as part of the cortege unless in decent mourning or such dress as is considered to be so by the body to which he may belong’, and to help enforce this, the gate that was being constructed for the west end of the bridge should have ‘a small valve or wicket’ to allow people to enter one at a time.²⁵ The reporters felt this restriction was necessary after witnessing ‘the pressure and conduct of the crowd assembled on occasion of a late public funeral’.²⁶ During their visits, Brown and Martin had fined the driver of a mourning chaise for breach of the rules, and also fined a pedestrian one shilling for stepping over iron railings separating one part of the grounds from another.²⁷ Their report shows some of the range of subjects that these senior merchants were finding themselves involved in, from devising ways of regulating crowds, to cutting employment costs and enforcing the smallest of rules. All in the name of economy and respectful behaviour, two issues that repeatedly appear in the minutes of the committee.²⁸

Martin and William McLaren, the second set of visitors, reported in November 1836 that work at the Façade was ‘going on strongly’.²⁹ The same day, Martin and Hill met Hugh Tennent and George Lyon WS, the brewer’s law agent, in the long-running dispute between the House and the brewer.³⁰ The following month, McLaren and William Rodger reported on the range of tombs at the foot of the John Knox monument.³¹ As a result, the committee instructed Hill to write to Thomas Hamilton, the Edinburgh based architect of the monument, reminding him that he had agreed to

²³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 November 1836.

³⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 November 1836.

³¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 December 1836.

provide plans for these.³² Once more, these actions and decisions illustrate the detailed involvement that the committee had with the operation of its cemetery. The visitor system was suspended in January 1837, after the death of Robert Stewart, one of the committee members who had been appointed to tour the Necropolis that month.³³ It was not revived until May 1842, when James Leechman and William Galbraith – the two committee members who were serving as ‘visitors’ – reported that the Façade continued to be a problem and recommended that ‘doors should be put on the open spaces to the right and left of the Façade opposite the bridge’ and that ‘the water should be drained from these vaults’.³⁴

Regulating the city of the dead

The need for regulations to ensure appropriate behaviour in the Merchants’ House’s new enterprise was recognised from the very first. This issue was mentioned twice in Hill’s original letter to Ewing, which first proposed the Necropolis project inside the Merchants’ House.³⁵ Hill, a solicitor, saw the importance of having a specific code of conduct for the different space he was proposing. Choosing and enforcing the regulations of the cemetery, which were ratified by the Directors of the House, allowed the committee to exert control over the behaviour of its staff and the public. The regulations were a written expression of the values and cultural practices approved by the committee members, as well as a practical guide for the behaviour of the staff and the public. The regulations supported the behaviour regarded as respectable and civilised by members of the House, and applied this process to all visitors to the cemetery, regardless of background or supposed level of respectability. The range of items covered by the regulations mirrored the law under which Père Lachaise was opened in 1804. The Official Decree of 23 Prarial, Year XII (12 June 1804) set out new rules for all French cemeteries; these rules ordered cemeteries to be built outside towns and to be planted with trees and shrubs; they also regulated modes of burial and the erection of monuments.³⁶

When, in June 1831, the Necropolis committee decided to draft ‘suitable regulations’ for the House to adopt, they talked about the ‘security, order and good

³² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 December 1836.

³³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 13 January 1837.

³⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 May 1842.

³⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828

³⁶ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (2000), p. 25.

taste' of the cemetery.³⁷ These terms restated the utilitarian and aesthetic objects of the cemetery project, and stressed the desire for 'order', which embraced both public order and horticultural neatness.³⁸ Everything, and everyone, was to be in their place, even after death. The draft regulations, drawn up by Hill, were discussed at committee meetings in January and March 1833, and thought to be 'generally correct' the following month.³⁹ The adoption of the provisional minutes in April 1833, just as the Necropolis was preparing to open for business, was followed by a number of discussions by the committee on additional rules that should be added. This showed that there was a distinction between the rules of a projected or idealised cemetery and the regulations necessary for the orderly and civilised running of a working burying ground. For example, in July 1833 the committee, presumably in response to unauthorised visitors, ordered that no-one was to be allowed into the cemetery 'excepting upon a written order' from a Director of the Merchants' House, or a proprietor of a tomb.⁴⁰ To help enforce the rule, Hill was asked to print tickets for Directors of the House and to post notices at the cemetery.⁴¹ Early in the following month, a subcommittee, including Strang and Hill, was asked to find out the prices charged in other burying places in Glasgow, and any other information that would help the committee finalise the regulations for the working cemetery.⁴²

In the same month, the committee asked Hill to print the latest draft of the regulations, and to issue admission tickets to matriculated members of the Merchants' House,⁴³ and in September 1833, they adopted the latest version of the draft regulations 'in the meantime' (see Appendix I and Figure 35).⁴⁴ The Merchants' House Journal recorded a substantial payment of almost £10 to the printer Edward Khull 'for regulations and tickets' in December 1833.⁴⁵ Even after printing copies of this edition, the committee continued to add to the regulations as unwanted situations in the working cemetery arose. In February 1835, for example, the committee asked Hill to alter the rules to make clear how often and how well 'dressing and keeping the surface of these

³⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 June 1831.

³⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 June 1831.

³⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 January, 15 March and 19 April 1833.

⁴⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1833.

⁴¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1833.

⁴² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 9 August 1833.

⁴³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 August 1833.

⁴⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 September 1833.

⁴⁵ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, p. 176.

tombs neat' should be undertaken by proprietors.⁴⁶ Two months later, they adopted the new rule, which stated that 'each purchaser shall cause the exterior or surface of his tomb to be dressed three times in the year', and asked to have the revised version of the regulations printed.⁴⁷ In May of that year, the committee adopted another new regulation stipulating that plans of all monuments erected in the Necropolis should be submitted to the superintendent, and would be used to illustrate any account of the cemetery that might be written, but would on no account be lent out to anyone who might copy them for a new monument.⁴⁸

There were a number of differences, mainly additions, between the first and second versions of the regulations, which were adopted in April 1833 and June 1835, respectively (see Appendices I and J).⁴⁹ The only point in the first edition that was missing in the second is that washing, bleaching and allowing poultry to run on the premises were banned.⁵⁰ This may be due to the fact that, in the transition from park to cemetery, people persisted in these activities, which they voluntarily stopped once the nature of the ground changed. The principal additions to the regulations were that: drawings of all monuments had to be given to the Collector, proprietors had no right to cut down or injure trees, lairs laid out as gardens should be dressed three times a year, rock and sand removed from tombs were the property of the House, visitors must keep to paths or face a fine, and all visitors must sign the visitors' book.⁵¹ All of these changes involved issues that would have emerged during the initial stages of the normal working of a cemetery; none of them changed the nature of the relationship between the House and the proprietors or tombs. However, the amendments, like the regulations overall, were about controlling visitors, and giving certain responsibilities for the overall look of the cemetery to the proprietors of plots. Perhaps the most notable point about the regulations, even given that they were drawn up by a solicitor, was that the first stated rule is about the ownership and transfer of property.⁵² This rule, which was by far the longest of all the rules, took precedence over regulations about maintaining the beauty of the cemetery, about the activities of visitors, and about the role of the superintendent.

⁴⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 14 February 1835.

⁴⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 April 1835.

⁴⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 May 1835.

⁴⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

⁵⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

⁵¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

⁵² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

Also of interest is that, even after the passage of the Anatomy Act in 1832,⁵³ each burying place had to be constructed securely; the responsibility for this rested with the purchasers of lairs.⁵⁴ Additionally, the inclusion of regulations defining the conduct of the superintendent may well have been intended to impress potential purchasers, but it also placed the superintendent under public scrutiny. Overall, the regulations can be seen as contributing to the signification of the Necropolis; they imply beauty and tranquillity, and – in particular – order in all its meanings: public order, an ordered landscape with defined areas of both sepulture and planting, and social order, with the fortunate in grand, elaborate and costly family dwellings on the upper slopes, and the less fortunate huddled together in impersonal and unmarked communal digs at the margins of the city of the dead. The other remarkable change between the first two editions of the regulations was the considerable fall in prices for funerals.⁵⁵ The cost of land was maintained, but the price of interments in family ground, in general, was reduced by half; for example an adult funeral involving a hearse drawn by four horses fell from two guineas to one, and a child's funeral where the body was carried in a chaise, without ushers, fell from ten shillings and sixpence to five shillings.⁵⁶ The costs had been even lower for a period after the Committee had adopted the prices charged in the town's burying grounds; the three tariffs are discussed later in this chapter.

The minutes were evidently distributed liberally, perhaps as marketing material to encourage people to view the well-ordered cemetery and its new provision for secure – and transferable – plots. In September 1837, Hill told the committee that he had very limited stock of the printed regulations, and the committee instructed him to print 500 more copies.⁵⁷ This confirmed that the regulations were firmly established, and that there was a steady use for the printed pages. However, the regulations continued to be altered by the committee to reflect changing circumstances. The important issue of keeping graves clean and dressed, which had always featured in the regulations, but which would have been one of the most difficult to enforce, came to the attention of the committee in December 1840, when they noted that 'the obligation on all proprietors to keep their burial places in good order and free of weeds is very partially attended to'.⁵⁸ To make it easier for people to uphold this rule, the committee decided that proprietors

⁵³ 2 & 3 William IV, Cap. 75, An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy (1832).

⁵⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

⁵⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

⁵⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 April 1833 and 10 June 1835.

⁵⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836 and 12 September 1837.

⁵⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 December 1840.

could pay one shilling a year for upkeep, with the cash going to the four workmen, who would do the work ‘after the usual hours of labour’.⁵⁹

Additional ground for ornament

One significant issue in the design and development of the Necropolis was not dealt with by issuing a new regulation, however. Proprietors regularly appropriated land adjacent to the lair they had purchased, and used it to build monuments or decorative gardens. The related issue, of the committee being asked to donate plots for public monuments or specific grand private tombs, also caused the Merchants’ House to lose income. This issue, which affected only those with the wherewithal to purchase private family parterres or committees that had raised money to commemorate a public figure, may have been dealt with by negotiation because the committee members were dealing with their peers, and because the House may have given land to a committee in lieu of donating money to the appeal for a monument. For example, the Necropolis committee gathered in the cemetery in May 1834 to discuss an application from John Jamieson asking to be allowed to enclose ‘a small additional piece of ground’ where he had erected a monument immediately adjacent to the lair he had purchased.⁶⁰ The committee noted that this was a recurring issue, and that ‘of course’ no purchaser of a lair ‘has any rights to such additional ground’ beyond ‘the precise and exact number of square yards or feet as measured and paid for’.⁶¹ However, the committee gave Jamieson, at no cost, the ground he wanted.⁶² The fact that they made this decision in the Necropolis suggested that they were willing to compromise on this issue, depending on the effect on the landscape that any encroachment might have.

In another case, the committee expressly considered the effect that allowing proprietors additional land – even if they were proposing to pay for it – would have on the intended overall landscape of the cemetery. In September 1834, a subcommittee, with Milne and Hill, agreed to recommend to the general committee that two purchasers of lairs be allowed to buy further ground that ‘they require for ornament’, provided that they meet the committee’s standards of taste: the proprietors of the lairs in question were enjoined to ‘erect handsome buildings and dress and maintain the lots agreeably

⁵⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 December 1840.

⁶⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May, 1834.

⁶¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May, 1834.

⁶² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 May, 1834.

with the plans'.⁶³ This again suggested that the committee – which endorsed the suggestion later that month – had an overall aesthetic effect to which they were striving.⁶⁴ The same month, the committee asked Hill and John Douglas, the Clerk of the Merchants' House, to draw up 'as distinct as possible an expression of the mutual rights' of customers, and to take the opinion of counsel if necessary.⁶⁵ This passage is not, itself, as distinct as possible an expression of what the committee were discussing; it is likely, however, to relate to purchasers wanting to use ground next to their paid-for lairs to erect monuments or boundary markers, and to the Merchants' House wanting to reserve the right to tunnel beneath lairs to construct catacombs. In both of these cases, which were discussed on a number of occasions over a lengthy period of time, the object was to maximise the House's profits, either by charging people for the use of ground around their lairs, or by increasing the number of burying spaces that could be built within the Necropolis.

In early 1835, the subcommittee approved an elevation and ground plan of a monument proposed to be erected by Archibald Smith at the burying place in compartment Delta – a triangular area to the north of the Façade – already purchased by him, which would require an additional piece of land but which would not interfere with 'the plans or arrangements for laying out' the neighbouring grounds.⁶⁶ This implied that the committee had, in fact, a firm view of how the overall cemetery should look, and that Smith – who appeared to be negotiating about a monument to himself, obviously purchased before his death – was proposing a complementary design, and that he was not being charged for the extra space he was taking because of this. In a similar case the following month, the undertaking firm of Wylie & Lochhead asked the committee for permission to 'erect tablets or monuments' on the face of the rock immediately to the east of their tombs in Compartment Gamma, which stood on the right of the main carriageway that led north from the Façade; the committee allowed this, but warned the firm that – since it had 'only purchased and paid for ordinary sized lairs' and not for any of the dressing and laying out of the rockwork – this did not give them ownership of the rock face.⁶⁷ At the same meeting, the committee made plans to visit inscriptions that had been made on tombs 'without the sanction of the committee' and also claiming

⁶³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 September 1834.

⁶⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 September 1834.

⁶⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 September 1834.

⁶⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 3 January 1835.

⁶⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes 14 February 1835.

property rights far in excess of their actual purchase.⁶⁸ The same month, the committee noted that three proprietors had constructed tombs larger than the plots of land they had bought.⁶⁹

The fact that a significant number of people were encroaching on land next to their lairs, whether that land belonged to neighbouring proprietors or the Merchants' House, indicated that either the regulations were capable of misinterpretation by people unused to ornamental cemeteries – in which case the committee could have rewritten them – or that purchasers felt that they had paid enough for their burying ground and that they should be allowed to use the surrounding space for monuments and ancillary stonework. In October 1835, the committee discussed a related breach of the rules: proprietors using land they had bought 'for monumental or ornamental purposes' next to their lairs as burial ground.⁷⁰ The members agreed a new regulation that no more than four bodies could be interred in the standard three square yard plot – 'notwithstanding the entire decomposition of bodies previously interred' – unless proprietors paid for the 'ornamental ground' at the current market price of the adjoining burial ground.⁷¹

The committee had, in the early days of the Necropolis, given additional ground at no cost to proprietors who were proposing to construct significant monuments; they had also given ground at no cost to committees set up to raise by public subscription the cost of a public monument to a prominent citizen. These practices were formally concluded in 1837. In June of that year, the congregation of the late John Dick, minister of Greyfriars Church and Professor of Theology in the United Secession Synod, asked for some more land for the monument they proposed to erect.⁷² The Dick family had earlier purchased nine square yards at two guineas each, but the price of land so near the summit was then selling for three guineas.⁷³ The committee members noted that they 'have for some time discontinued giving any ornamental ground or ground for monuments for gratis' because it was 'no longer necessary to bring the cemetery into notice and to increase the monuments which were so desirable in the first or earlier years of the institution'.⁷⁴ The committee, however, was willing to sell land to the congregation for three guineas a square yard.⁷⁵ This decision showed that the

⁶⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes 14 February 1835.

⁶⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes 27 February 1835.

⁷⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 October 1835.

⁷¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 6 October 1835.

⁷² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

⁷³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

⁷⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

⁷⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

Necropolis no longer had to offer discounts or gifts to encourage customers to buy prominent plots and build impressive monuments.

Staff and responsibilities

The day to day workings of the Necropolis were undertaken by George Milne, with a small staff of a gate-keeper, a night-watchman and a number of labourers. Milne, who was appointed in spring 1832 on the recommendation of Stewart Murray, was given an annual salary of £60 and the use of the 'enlarged and improved' Lodge.⁷⁶ The superintendent, who was praised by the Necropolis Committee and by Hill during the first few years of his tenure, appointed the other Necropolis staff members. After initially praising him, the committee minutes show an undercurrent of increasing irritation with Milne, which led to the committee appointing cemetery staff and, eventually, sacking him in 1842.⁷⁷

Milne was the first person appointed by the Necropolis committee, after Hamilton, Baird and Murray presented their report in 1832, which followed on from the competition for plans. The three were 'decidedly of opinion' that converting the park could 'only be effected under the direction of an experienced landscape gardener', and the committee selected Milne.⁷⁸ His title is given variously, with Hill referring to the Superintendent and Head Gardener, and the committee minutes to the Keeper and Manager of the Park, and Superintendent of the Quarries. In October 1832, the committee noted that Milne had exhibited 'taste, diligence and economy' in laying out the roads, transplanting trees and landscaping the surface of the House's property 'into a natural and graceful form at the least practicable cost'; and in 1836, Hill wrote that his

⁷⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832. The first record of a salary payment to Milne was in May 1832, although there was a previous payment to a George Milne 'for sinking pits' on 25 February 1831 (GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 120, 69. He may have been employed in Glasgow before taking up the Necropolis post; given the involvement of Stewart Murray of the Botanic Gardens in the development of the Fir Park at that time (and various payments to him for this work), Milne may have been working for Murray in the Botanic Gardens before May 1832. The committee minutes did not record Milne's precise starting date or his previous employment.

⁷⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 November and 17 December 1842.

⁷⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 January 1832.

work in the Necropolis showed Milne to be a man of 'skill and taste'.⁷⁹ It is significant that the committee's praise of Milne emphasised financial issues: not only was the work done cheaply, it was done with the immediate view of attracting paying customers. The elements of taste and judgement, while overwhelmingly important in the marketing and signification of the cemetery, seemed to be taking second place to economy in this instance. The first sign of irritation with Milne emerged in March 1833, when the Necropolis Committee considered the superintendent's report on the 'expense of the operations' on the eastern boundary of the cemetery, which was presumably higher than they were expecting, as they instructed him to incur 'no further expense in that quarter' except completing the boundary wall, and postponed any further work on executing 'the plan of the cemetery'.⁸⁰ There was more than a hint that Milne had been extravagant, at least in the eyes of the committee, and this issue seemed to be in the background of its later dealings with him.

When Milne had been appointed in May 1832 he was awarded the use of a lodge, probably immediately north of the Lady Well, near the original entrance to the Necropolis, on the southern boundary of the Merchants' House property; the newspaper advertisement that first offered plots in the Necropolis for sale directed those who wanted a tour of the grounds to contact Milne 'at the Ladywell Lodge'.⁸¹ However, in February 1834 the committee awarded Milne £10 for a house until it could provide him with accommodation on the premises.⁸² This suggested that the Ladywell Lodge was no longer habitable, or no longer suitable for receiving potential customers. Slightly more than a year later, the committee agreed to spend £30 to refurbish a house on Ralph Kerr's land, to the east of the quarry, as a residence for the superintendent, and in June 1839, the committee instructed Milne to repair the empty lodge 'near Ladywell' and to try to rent it to one of the Necropolis workmen.⁸³

Matters of housing aside, in February 1834, Milne, evidently unhappy with his salary of £60 a year, asked for an increase, and was awarded £90 a year, backdated to the previous Martinmas (11 November).⁸⁴ This presumably would not have endeared him to the Necropolis Committee. There was another apparent slight to Milne in April 1835, when he produced plans for 'a small inn and stabling', which he suggested should

⁷⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 8 October 1832; Laurence Hill, *Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 11.

⁸⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 6 March 1833.

⁸¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 February 1833.

⁸² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 March 1834.

⁸³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 April 1835, 26 June 1839.

⁸⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 March 1834.

be built on the vacant ground next to the Barony Church.⁸⁵ The committee, evidently unimpressed, agreed to note the proposal.⁸⁶ Later that month, the committee instructed Milne to employ only gatekeepers with perfect 'prudence, discretion and discrimination' and to suspend the absolute necessity to sign the book in the case of people 'visiting the tombs of recently deceased relatives'.⁸⁷ This indicated that Milne was seen as responsible for any over-zealousness on the part of the gatekeeper. The following month, the committee asked Hill and Milne to investigate a claim, made in a letter from John Dalziell, which again showed the staff employed by Milne in a bad light.⁸⁸ The letter stated that a group of women had visited the Necropolis in March but were 'refused very surlily' since they did not have a letter of introduction from a director or lair-owner.⁸⁹ However, the mood of the gatekeeper 'instantly changed' when some money was pressed into his hand and 'in the civilest manner possible' invited the women in and told them to stay as long as they pleased.⁹⁰

The committee had evidently not yet lost trust in Milne, for in August 1835, the members agreed to send the superintendent to visit Père Lachaise, 'for the purpose of making himself master of or acquainted with' that 'celebrated cemetery'.⁹¹ As justification, they pointed to the 'importance and value of the cemetery undertaking' to the Merchants' House, and its 'similarity' to the French burying ground.⁹² The cost of this journey was recorded as £30.⁹³ It is interesting that the committee looked to France for inspiration, just as they had when first discussing an ornamental cemetery for Glasgow; London, the imperial capital, was for some reason overlooked. Similarly, when the Glasgow Educational Association decided to establish a teacher training college in the city in 1836, it appointed a rector and sent him to study schools and Normal Schools in Germany for a number of months before taking up his post; the association had previously studied reports of education in both France and Germany.⁹⁴ Earlier, the Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics, in which James Ewing was involved, had noted that, it had 'derived the most important improvements in the treatment of

⁸⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 April 1835.

⁸⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 April 1835.

⁸⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 23 April 1835.

⁸⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 May 1835.

⁸⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 May 1835.

⁹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 May 1835.

⁹¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 August 1835.

⁹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 August 1835.

⁹³ GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, Necropolis Journal June 1831-, unpaginated.

⁹⁴ Henry P. Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1987), pp. 29-30.

lunatics', from France, where, unlike Britain, there is 'but one constitution for all lunatic establishments'.⁹⁵ Later that century, after the Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages (Scotland) Act was passed by parliament in 1854, Scotland did not follow the English procedures, but 'based its system broadly upon the Napoleonic Code enacted in France in 1804'.⁹⁶ The Auld Alliance was seemingly still strong.

After he returned from the Continent, Milne submitted a lengthy report to the Dean of Guild and the Cemetery Committee in 30 July 1836, outlining the latest state of affairs in the Necropolis.⁹⁷ There were no complaints. However, in October of the same year, the superintendent reported that he proposed to plant about three acres of forest trees in the Necropolis, from four to six feet in height.⁹⁸ The committee, presumably on grounds of cost, preferred two to four feet, and said that no more than £20 should be spent.⁹⁹ Milne's report also addressed the costs of the men working in the Necropolis, noting that there were five men working every day, which he promised to reduce to four, plus one gatekeeper and one night watchman.¹⁰⁰ The five workmen, he explained, dealt with up to five funerals a day, 'frequently at the same hour'; he also noted that it took four people to lift a cast iron grave cover.¹⁰¹ The men, who were paid weekly, were also employed to keep the grounds tidy.¹⁰² The committee ordered that no more than four workmen were to be employed in the Necropolis, and that the wage bill should not vary from week to week.¹⁰³ Any extra men needed should be paid by customers, they ruled.¹⁰⁴ As noted earlier, when committee members Brown and Martin made a tour of inspection in preparation for the meeting on 28 October 1836, they 'repeated to the Superintendent' the need for 'the utmost economy' in hiring labourers.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵ RFGP, Hill Collection, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Directors of the Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics, 1828, pp. 10, 13.

⁹⁶ 17 & 18 Victoria, Cap. 80, An Act to Provide for the better Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Scotland (1854); General Register Office Scotland, Factsheet 1: Births, Deaths and Marriages, viewed on-line at www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/files/history.pdf, April 2005. The Napoleonic Code, which was enacted in March 1804, was a system that was intended to bring order and fairness to civil and criminal law, and to define the relationship between the individual and the state.

⁹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

⁹⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

⁹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

¹⁰⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

¹⁰¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

¹⁰² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

¹⁰³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

¹⁰⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 October 1836.

¹⁰⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

The second annual report on the cemetery, presented by Hill in January 1837, covered the 12 months to 31 December 1836.¹⁰⁶ This noted that there had been four labourers working in the Necropolis, three being paid 12s. and one 14s. a week; in addition, the gatekeeper received 12s. and the night watchman 10s. 6d., which was summarised as 'in all, six servants for seven days a week'.¹⁰⁷ The night watchman had evidently been employed from the time that it opened. Yet the second edition of the regulations, published in June 1835, stated:

9 – As every burying place is expected to be by its construction effectually secured against any risk of violation, night watching will be unnecessary.¹⁰⁸

While the first part of the regulation was easy to implement, people's fear of disturbance was not banished by either the Anatomy Act of 1832 or the physical security that was integrated into each Necropolis grave. So while it could have been possible to reduce the wages bill by removing the night watchman, this would possibly have affected sales of lairs.

Another indication that the committee was unhappy with the conduct of Milne surfaced in June 1837, when Hill was instructed to tell the superintendent that the committee 'do not approve of his keeping horses and a cart' and that he was expected to 'discontinue the same'.¹⁰⁹ This was an early indication of the committee's displeasure at Milne offering his services as a contractor in the Necropolis, which could have been seen as involving a conflict of interest. The committee was not averse to agreeing with a suggestion from Milne, however, especially if it was going to save them money. In the same month, the superintendent reported on the progress of the vaults that were being constructed to the west of Knox's Monument.¹¹⁰ The agreed plan was to build nine vaults, each measuring eight feet by two feet six inches internally, at a total cost of £135; these would be sold for £225, leaving £90 to pay for ground.¹¹¹ However, Milne now proposed to build ten vaults at a cost of £150; these would be sold for £250,

¹⁰⁶ This report was engrossed in the committee minutes (Necropolis Committee Minutes, 27 January 1837) and also printed for circulation to the Directors of the Merchants' House (GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1837).

¹⁰⁷ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report.

¹⁰⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 June 1835.

¹⁰⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

¹¹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

¹¹¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

leaving £100 to pay for ground.¹¹² The proposed vaults were to be arched, plastered inside, and with ashlar fronts and iron gates.¹¹³ The committee agreed with Milne's proposal.¹¹⁴ It was not to last, and, in another sign of irritation with Milne, in October 1838 the committee instructed Robert Buntine, the collector, who had taken over the duties of Hill in October 1837, to ask the superintendent for an inventory of all 'the tools and moveable property belonging to the House within the cemetery'.¹¹⁵ The committee also required Milne to ask its permission before buying any new implements, and to hand over to them responsibility for hiring any new gatekeeper, quarry keeper or night watchman.¹¹⁶ The following month, committee members instructed Buntine to remind Milne about the inventory, which he had not supplied.¹¹⁷

In 1840, the committee faced more staff problems. In July the members had heard that George Milne had dismissed Alexander McDonald as gatekeeper on 25 June 'for being intoxicated on that day and on previous times while on duty', and decided to advertise the vacant post 'on the gateway of the Necropolis'.¹¹⁸ Milne questioned how he could be responsible for an employee who was to be appointed by the committee, but this was brushed aside, in another snub to Milne.¹¹⁹ The same meeting voted £5 to Mrs. Martha Dounan, 'whose husband was killed in the Necropolis on 25 March last while in the employment of the Merchants' House', which may have reflected badly on Milne.¹²⁰ The sub-committee duly appointed John McBeth as gatekeeper on 10 July 1840.¹²¹ The following month, the committee discussed a letter that had been sent by John Buchanan, a wine and spirit merchant of 295 High Street, to the Dean of Guild and Directors of the Merchants' House, complaining about the activities of the superintendent.¹²² The members asked Milne for a written response to the letter.¹²³ After considering his response to Buchanan's 'complaint', the committee met in the Necropolis, where the collector told them he had met Buchanan, who 'would not be satisfied unless Mr. Milne

¹¹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

¹¹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

¹¹⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 June 1837.

¹¹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 October 1837.

¹¹⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 October 1837.

¹¹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 November 1838.

¹¹⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 July 1840.

¹¹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 July 1840.

¹²⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 2 July 1840. There are no other details of this incident in the Necropolis records.

¹²¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 July 1840.

¹²² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 7 August 1840.

¹²³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 7 August 1840.

were dismissed from his situation'.¹²⁴ The members visited the ground belonging to Buchanan, 'which appeared to be in good order', and then discussed how they might avoid similar complaints in the future by forbidding Milne from acting as a contractor 'for excavating or building tombs'.¹²⁵ This recalled the committee's earlier rebuke to Milne for keeping a horse and cart on the premises, which he presumably used in connection with his contracting business.

The issue seemed to be resolved in October 1840 when the committee decided that Milne could continue as a contractor 'for such persons as choose to employ him', provided that all purchasers of plots were told that employing the Superintendent was optional; this statement was to be printed on the notice of the new fees and distributed to all prospective purchasers.¹²⁶ The solution seemed more designed to deflect any complaints about Milne away from the Merchants' House rather than preventing any possible abuses of the superintendent's position. However, the version of the regulations that were reprinted in Hill's *Companion* in 1836 forbade the Superintendent from working as a contractor in the Necropolis without special permission.¹²⁷ On a more prosaic matter, the same October 1840 meeting received a petition from Duncan Campbell, night watchman in the Necropolis, and agreed to raise his wages to 12s. a week, and to provide him with a greatcoat.¹²⁸ Two months later, the committee discussed a report from two of their number who had visited the Necropolis in the preceding weeks.¹²⁹ The report, by Alexander Wardrope and W. H. Dobie, included a complaint against the gatekeeper.¹³⁰ Later that month, the committee decided to give 30 days' notice to quit to McBeth, for his unspecified offence.¹³¹

The following year, storm clouds were gathering over Milne. The executors of the late James Merry, a leading coalmaster, wrote to the House to complain about 'the charges made by Mr. Milne for excavating the tomb lately purchased by them in the Necropolis'.¹³² After discussing the letter at a meeting in November 1841, the members of the committee, mindful of 'the numerous complaints' made to many of the Directors of the Merchants' House against Milne, decided that 'it would be for the interest of the

¹²⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 August 1840.

¹²⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 and 13 August 1840.

¹²⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

¹²⁷ Hill, *Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 37.

¹²⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

¹²⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 December 1840.

¹³⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 December 1840.

¹³¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 and 30 December 1840.

¹³² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 November 1841.

House to make a change in that department', and promised to report accordingly to the Directors at their next meeting.¹³³ The following month, the committee noted that Milne would depart on 1 February 1842.¹³⁴ By the time of the committee meeting on 11 January 1842, a total of 29 people had applied for the job of superintendent.¹³⁵ The meeting agreed on a short list of six, all gardeners.¹³⁶ Later than month, the committee elected John McLeish, a gardener from Hamilton, as the new Superintendent, with the stipulation that he was not to engage as a contractor; he was awarded an annual salary of £75 plus a house, or £90 without.¹³⁷ Milne's salary had been £90 a year, and he had initially been awarded £10 until the House could provide him with a dwelling, so McLeish was being appointed on a lower rate than Milne. The outgoing superintendent, of course, had been able to supplement his income by contracting to excavate and build tombs, so McLeish was doubly disadvantaged. The committee also heard that Milne had demanded a year's salary, but rebuffed this.¹³⁸

The committee meeting in early February 1842 heard that Milne was still in his house, and asked the Collector to instruct lawyers to have him removed.¹³⁹ Three days later, the committee acceded to Milne's request that they pay various small claims made by him, including, worryingly, the cost of 'a gun'.¹⁴⁰ By May, Milne had vacated the house, and McLeish was free to move in.¹⁴¹

Finances and reports

The annual reports of the cemetery, written by the Necropolis Committee and presented to the Directors of the Merchants' House, provided the directors with an overview of the development of the cemetery. The first annual report, which covered the period from 1 May 1833 to 31 May 1835, made a direct appeal to the members of the House: 'in similar undertakings,' the committee noted, 'a great number of individuals are interested personally, as joint stock proprietors', who would be guaranteed to patronise the

¹³³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 November 1841.

¹³⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 December 1841.

¹³⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 January 1842.

¹³⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 January 1842.

¹³⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 January 1842.

¹³⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 25 January 1842.

¹³⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 February 1842.

¹⁴⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 7 February 1842.

¹⁴¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 May 1842.

cemetery.¹⁴² So if the members of the House would recommend the Necropolis to all their family and friends, ‘they might render this undertaking one of the most popular and beneficial of any in the empire’.¹⁴³ These annual reports, while they were public documents, reflected the financial and cultural interests of the House, as perceived by the Committee. As the years went by, a central point emerged: at what point would the House see a reasonable return for the substantial financial investment it had made in the Fir Park?

The annual reports made clear that there were two types of burial plots in the Necropolis, sold at different rates. The first type, known as private – or family – ground, involved the House selling the proprietor a number of square yards, typically three, for forming a grave, and any other adjacent land required for a large or an elaborate monument or any other decoration. On average, in the early days of the cemetery, land towards the summit of the cemetery was sold for two guineas a square yard, and half that sum on the lower slopes. These were sold in perpetuity, with the contract ruling out “speculating, or selling off any portions of the lots, or competing with the House in the disposal of burial places or accommodation to others”¹⁴⁴. The second type was described in the first annual report as:

single rights of sepulture, with no property in the ground beyond a guarantee against disturbance to the remains deposited for such period as will ensure their entire decomposition, when the ground becomes available to the House for similar purposes.¹⁴⁵

The period of time was defined in an entry in the Necropolis Journal in May 1833, which stated that ‘the remains shall not be disturbed with a view to other interments in the same place for ten years’.¹⁴⁶ There are no indications in the minutes or records of the cemetery that any of this ground was reclaimed, perhaps because the sections of the Necropolis set aside for common burials were not filled and there was no need to open any for re-use.

The first annual report recorded that the cemetery’s income was principally from the sale of lairs: the committee had sold 76 separate burial places to as many

¹⁴² GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants’ House of Glasgow, 1835, p. 5.

¹⁴³ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, Necropolis Journal 1831-, unpaginated.

individuals, in plots from three to 54 square yards, totalling 666 square yards.¹⁴⁷ These lairs, which were sold for either one or two guineas per square yard, brought in £1,043; fees for burials in these tombs, at the amounts specified in the published regulations, raised the lowly sum of £2 17s. 6d.¹⁴⁸ Fees from people ‘buried with single rights of sepulture’ brought in £59; these were sold to the families of 53 adults and 57 children.¹⁴⁹ These figures demonstrated that while the bulk of the income came from those who could afford private plots held in perpetuity, the majority of the people being buried were less well off.

Milne’s report to the Dean of Guild and the Cemetery Committee, submitted in July 1836, noted that the House’s expenditure on the cemetery had previously ‘been very heavy’, but that operations were ‘nearly at an end’; he added that the roads and drains (see Figure 36) were all made, with the exception of a direct road to James Dennistoun’s quarry, where cemetery rubbish was dumped.¹⁵⁰ All the necessary walls were complete, Milne continued, and the land taken from the worked-out area of the Merchants’ House quarry was almost all levelled and planted; the remained would cost no more than £55 to complete.¹⁵¹ Milne stated that he had been constructing memorials for sale ‘where it was most likely to get them first disposed of’, and at the time of writing he had 30 tombs excavated and built, and ‘parts of them also covered with iron gratings or flags’, and two tombs excavated but not built.¹⁵² The 23 graves in Compartment Delta were expected to sell for £802; the cost of building these graves, Milne explained, included excavating and carting away rubbish, explosives for blasting the rock, brick and masonry work, coping and flags, and cast-iron work.¹⁵³ Evidently, the committee was willing to spend money to create attractive locations for graves and monuments.

The second annual report, which covered the period to the end of the Lammas quarter (10 November) 1836, recorded that the total amount expended on the Necropolis to the end of August 1836 was £11,872, and the income in the same period amounted to

¹⁴⁷ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report, p. 6.

¹⁴⁸ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report, p. 6.

¹⁴⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 9 June 1835.

¹⁵⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

¹⁵¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

¹⁵² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

¹⁵³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

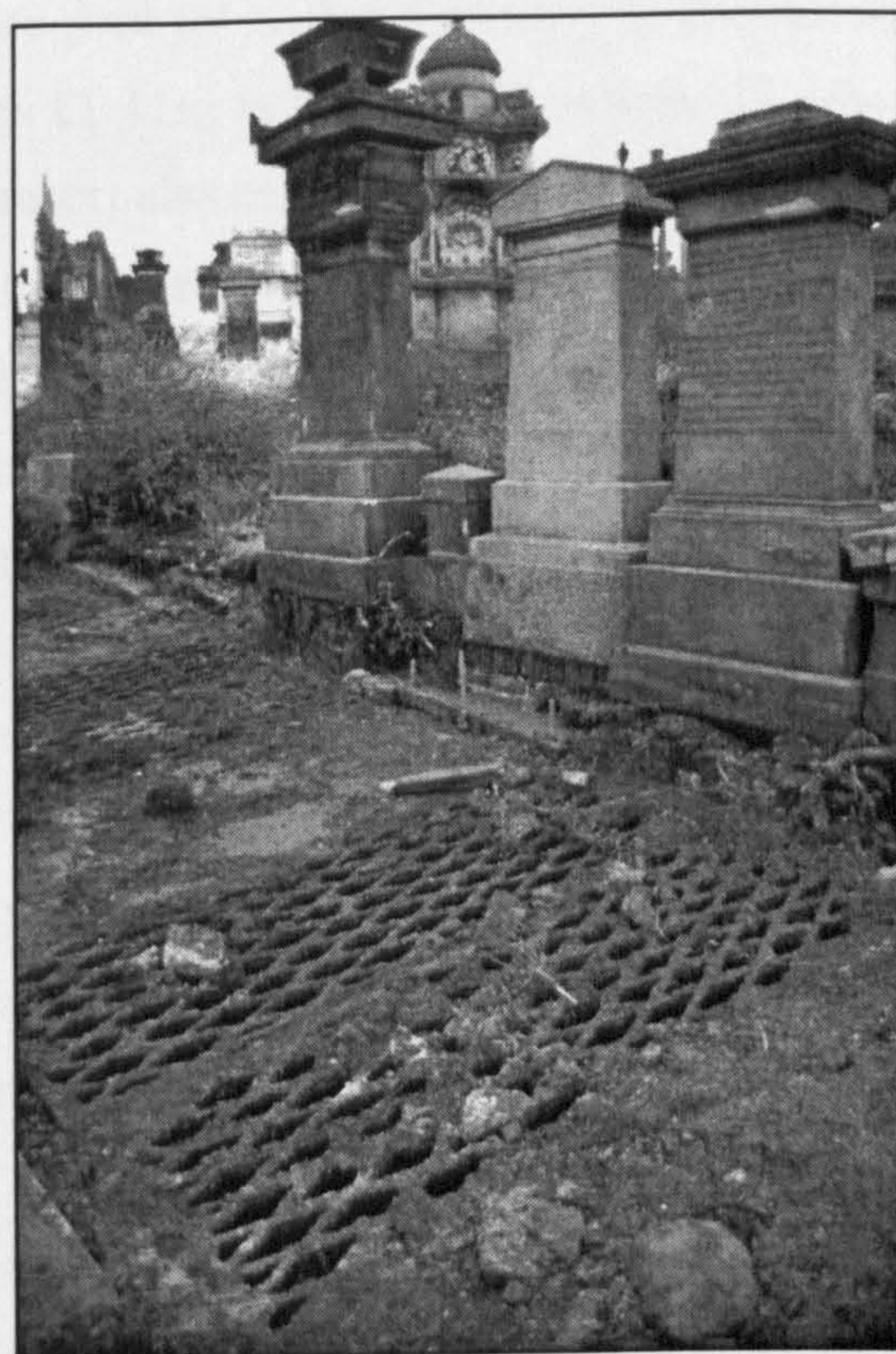
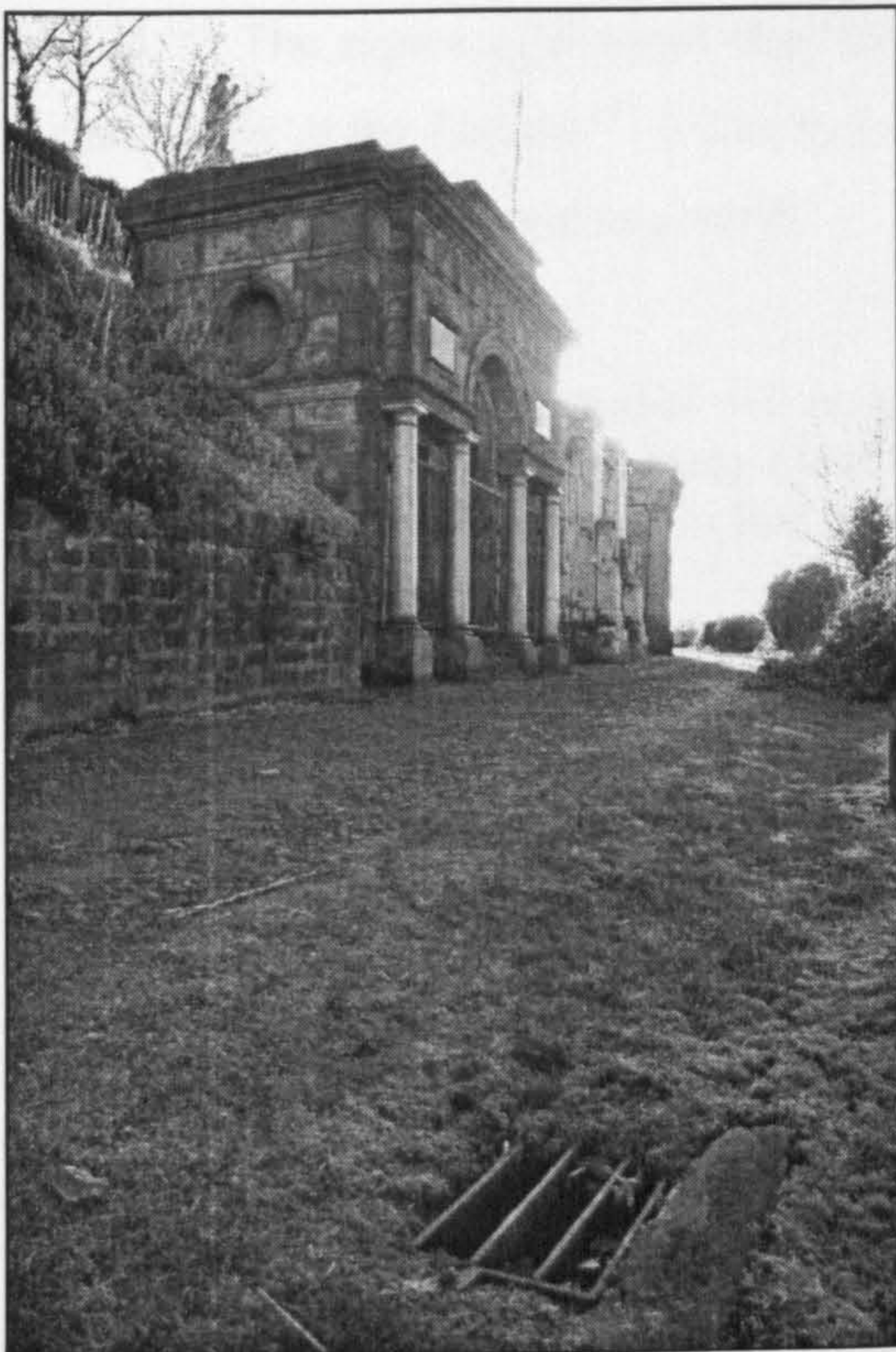


Figure 36 (top, left) – The Necropolis successfully combined the aesthetic and the utilitarian, as seen in the juxtaposition of this fine mausoleum and a drain. (Photographed October 2003.)

Figure 37 (top, right)– Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church, which opened in 1828, offered burial places in its crypt. (J. Logan Aikman, ed., *Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Congregations in Glasgow* [Glasgow: Annan, 1875].)

Figure 38 (above, right) – Twentieth-century photograph clearly showing the cast iron gratings that were securely fixed to graves. (West of Scotland Archaeology Service, reference 05162, A group of nineteenth century funerary monuments located within the Necropolis at Glasgow [undated].)

£6,324.¹⁵⁴ The report also noted that there were 32 ‘tombs ready for use and sale’, including six at the Façade.¹⁵⁵ Milne had visited ‘the celebrated Père Lachaise at Paris’ in the summer of 1835, and as a result

much economy of ground will be effected, or rather the extra quantity of ordinary tombs will in many cases be superseded, which is requisite for the erection of the monuments that give so peculiar a grace and effect to the cemetery.¹⁵⁶

This second report recorded the average price paid for each square yard of ground: in the first 19 months, to February 1835, it was £1 11s.; in the next 12 months, £1 16s.; and in the following six months, £2.¹⁵⁷ The report also noted the number of interments: in the seven months to 31 December 1833, there were 29 interments; in the 12 months to 31 December 1834, there were 114; in the 12 months to 31 December 1835, there were 263; and in the eight months to 31 August 1836, there were 360.¹⁵⁸ Both sets of figures show rising numbers of people being interred in the Necropolis, in private and public graves, and the increasing fees that could be charged for private lairs, indicating the increasing popularity of the cemetery to the people of Glasgow. The report added that the committee had added almost 300 yards of drains to House’s property.¹⁵⁹ The report was followed by a short document updating its results to the end of December 1836, presented on 26 January 1837.¹⁶⁰ It gave the total number of interments in 1836 as 544, a substantial advance on the 263 of the previous year.¹⁶¹

The Hill Collection in the library of the Royal Faculty of Procurators of Glasgow includes a document titled ‘Third Annual Report on the Necropolis of the Fir Park of Glasgow’.¹⁶² It was marked both ‘proof’ and ‘never published’, and dated 9 March 1838; Hill had left the service of the Merchants’ House on 10 October 1837.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁴ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants’ House of Glasgow, 1837, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report, p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual Report, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁰ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Merchants’ House Cemetery.

¹⁶¹ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Merchants’ House Cemetery.

¹⁶² RFPG, Hill Collection, Third Annual Report on the Necropolis of the Fir Park of Glasgow [proof], 1838.

¹⁶³ RFPG, Hill Collection, Third Annual Report on the Necropolis of the Fir Park of Glasgow [proof], 1838.

Hill's document would have been superseded by the reports issued by the new Collector, but this text illustrates the established position of the Necropolis at the time Hill's involvement came to an end. The report covered the 12 month period to the end of August 1837, when expenditure on the cemetery was £962 and income was £2,280, indicating that the infrastructure had been paid for, and growing customer numbers were beginning to nudge the enterprise towards profitability; the figures for expenditure to date, £12,834, and accumulated income, £8,604, support this interpretation.¹⁶⁴ The total expenditure was significantly more than the £600 suggested by Hamilton, Baird and Murray in 1832. This putative third annual report noted that the committee had built a *fosse commune*, at a cost of £149, and four family vaults, at a total cost of £45, in the year under discussion; it added that previous *fosses communes* had provided 'a great extent of accommodation'.¹⁶⁵ The Necropolis Journal makes reference to the '*fosse commune* next quarry'.¹⁶⁶ These appear to be the only places in the records that the common graves are referred to in this way.

The task of repaying the House for its investment in the Necropolis was a slow one. In the first annual report, the committee members stated that it was their intention to pay interest to the House on its investment from the running income and profits of the cemetery.¹⁶⁷ In subsequent annual reports, published in January 1837, April 1839, August and September 1840 and August 1842, the committee instructed the Collector to transfer £452, £700, £500, £500 and £1,000 respectively from the Necropolis account to the House, 'to account of the debt due by the cemetery'.¹⁶⁸ The final payment was made and the debt liquidated in July 1847, some 15 years after the first burial in the Necropolis.¹⁶⁹ The Merchants' House Journal records a number of payments, described variously as 'interest on advances' (August 1836), 'to account loans' (February 1837) and 'to account of debt' (August 1837), culminating in an entry in late August 1837 that read: 'Balance debited to sundries, Fir Park Cemetery, £4,400.'¹⁷⁰ The Necropolis

¹⁶⁴ RFPG, Hill Collection, Third Annual Report on the Necropolis of the Fir Park of Glasgow [proof], 1838.

¹⁶⁵ RFPG, Hill Collection, Third Annual Report on the Necropolis of the Fir Park of Glasgow [proof], 1838.

¹⁶⁶ GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, Necropolis Journal 1831-.

¹⁶⁷ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 27 January 1835, 14 April 1839, 12 August and 22 September 1840 and 9 August 1842.

¹⁶⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 19 July 1847.

¹⁷⁰ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 289, 308, 318 and 326.

Journal noted that the House had set up a dedicated account for the Necropolis project at the Glasgow Bank; the Merchants' House Journal dated this to February 1832.¹⁷¹

Other committee reports

As well as the annual reports that were generated for the House, the members of the Necropolis Committee were also presented with updated financial figures as they were compiled by either the Supervisor or the Collector. These could be compared to Hill's original financial estimate in his letter dated 7 July 1828, where he wrote that the four acres of the Fir Park could yield 'at least 300 parterres or places of interment', which 'in a few years' might bring the House a total sum of £5,000 or a net annual income of almost £300 from sales of land 'at the very moderate sum of £20 each.'¹⁷² Hill had also predicted that if the House would offer parterres for sale, 'the list might be nearly fixed up in a week' to the value of several thousand pounds, and that 'all the expenses or outlay to the House in the first instance' would be little more than the costs of landscaping the park and building a boundary wall.¹⁷³

In the following October, a report from the committee to the House predicted that the Fir Park cemetery could produce 800 parterres or tombs, which if sold 'at the modest price of £25' would contribute 'no less than £20,000 to the funds of the House'.¹⁷⁴ Hill's 300 burying places had mushroomed to 800, presumably by thinking of each burying place as being smaller. Strang, in his *Necropolis Glasguensis*, had recommended a minimum width of 16 feet for each parterre, and this may have been the underlying measure of Hill's estimate.¹⁷⁵ However, a smaller size of plot, presumably wide enough for a three-foot-wide grave plus space for a minimum of decoration or border, would be no wider than six feet, thus allowing many more parterres to be sold. Whether the lairs were narrower or not, the expected selling price had risen from £20 to £25 each. By October 1832, some £604 had been spent on labour, tools and cartage, and the superintendent's salary for four months came to an additional £20; this was offset slightly by the sale of sand and brushwood for £64.¹⁷⁶ The cost of constructing the new

¹⁷¹ GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, Necropolis Journal 1831-; GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, p. 104.

¹⁷² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

¹⁷³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

¹⁷⁴ Merchants' House Minutes, 1823-38, p. 64

¹⁷⁵ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831), p. 46.

¹⁷⁶ Merchants' House Minutes 1823-38, pp. 213-220.

road from Duke Street to the quarry was £300, of which £160 had been paid, plus £150 to Tennent for the servitude through his brewery premises.¹⁷⁷ Already, the cost of labour and tools had exceeded the estimate for the whole works produced by Hamilton, Baird and Murray in 1832; adding the cost of the entrance road from Duke Street had almost doubled the estimate.

A few months before the opening date of the Necropolis, the committee instructed that advertisements should be placed in the newspapers, announcing that the Merchants' House was 'ready to treat' for the sale or feuing of lairs in their planned cemetery and that 'as soon as possible' a 'convenient and sufficient' carriage access will be constructed 'from the Barony Church to the Fir Park'.¹⁷⁸ It also set up a sub-committee to draw up 'necessary regulations' for the cemetery.¹⁷⁹ The expensive access from Duke Street was evidently not impressive enough for potential purchasers, and the committee members agreed to build a new bridge across the Molendinar Burn, which they advertised as a feature of the new cemetery. Even though sales of plots were being advertised, the final pricing had not been agreed and on 12 March 1833, the members of the committee asked the House for authorisation to sell burying places 'both for single interments and in separate property' at 'full rates'.¹⁸⁰

The committee's wish to extract as much income from the House's property, perfectly reasonably for a charity with many dependents, ran aground within 18 months of the official opening. The committee accepted the criticisms of customers and potential customers that the prices for burial in the Necropolis were 'exorbitantly heavy', and which some proprietors – especially those who had bought lairs 'upon urgent emergency' or without looking at the price list – had objected.¹⁸¹ The committee agreed to reduce its rates to the level of the new charges for burial in the High Church burying ground, which had been announced six months' previously by the Town Council (see Appendix K).¹⁸²

These new rates were considerably lower than those listed in the first version of the regulations. For example, the cost of burying an adult in private ground in the Necropolis, when the funeral involved a hearse and four horses, was two guineas in the first edition of the regulations and one guinea in 1835, which matched the Town

¹⁷⁷ Merchants' House Minutes 1823-38, pp. 213-220.

¹⁷⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 January 1833.

¹⁷⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 January 1833.

¹⁸⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 March 1833.

¹⁸¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

¹⁸² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

Council's price of one guinea, announced in August 1834.¹⁸³ Similarly, the cost of burying a child in private ground in the Necropolis, when the funeral involved a chaise and two ushers, was one guinea in the first edition, and ten shillings and sixpence in the second, slightly above the Town Council rate of seven shillings.¹⁸⁴ The adoption of a price list substantially similar to the Town Council's perhaps indicated that the forms of burial at that time were no different in the Necropolis than they were in the High Church yard and other burying grounds in the city. These charges were, in the case of the private ground in the Necropolis, over and above the price of buying ground, preparing a secure burial chamber and erecting a monument above it.

The members of the committee were also provided with a number of other financial reports. In 1834 its members considered a document which set out the costs of the cemetery, under various headings, between June 1831 and September 1834: the total sum was £4,961, which included the costs of plans and surveys (£94), operatives' wages (£1,865), salaries to superintendents (£192), plants and seeds (£107), drains (£5), iron pipes (£200), mortsafes (£150) the bridge (£1,428).¹⁸⁵ Balanced against these costs was the income from selling burying places and associated works, recorded as £688, which indicated a loss of £4,273 over the period, not including the cost of the land to the House.¹⁸⁶ The income derived from £184 for 143 and a third square yards of burying ground, £350 of reimbursed expenditure, £41 for ground for individual interments, and £113 from sales of sand and wood.¹⁸⁷ This document gave details of individual customers. For example, John Jamieson bought nine square yards of ground at two guineas a square yard, a total of £18 18s, and was also charged £22 for 'expenditure reimbursed' in constructing the grave; he therefore paid the House a total of £40 18s. for his lair.¹⁸⁸ The burial records note that Isabella Patterson, wife of John Jamieson, merchant in Glasgow, was buried in Delta 5 on 21 October 1833.¹⁸⁹ Also, Laurence Hill

¹⁸³ GUL, Mu22-b.3, Glasgow Necropolis, or Cemetery Belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow: Regulations; Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834; Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 June 1835.

¹⁸⁴ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-b.3, Glasgow Necropolis, or Cemetery Belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow: Regulations [first edition, 1834]; Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834, 10 June 1835.

¹⁸⁵ Abstract of the Expenditure of the Merchants' House of Glasgow in the Formation of the Fir Park Cemetery, September 1834, engrossed in the Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁸⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁸⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁸⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁸⁹ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis 1833-54, p. 2.

purchased a total of 14 and a third square yards, at the same rate, for £30 2s., and also paid 'expenditure reimbursed' of £15, far less proportionately than Jamieson; Hill's total expenditure was £45 2s.¹⁹⁰ The burial records note that his wife Barbara Hopkirk was buried there on 9 May 1833 in Beta 1.¹⁹¹ Most people, it seems from the records, paid a guinea a square yard, and the higher price would appear to be charged for larger and more prominent sites.

Two invoices that remained unpaid at the time the abstract was drawn up also provide examples of individual expenditure. Daniel Macintyre owed three guineas (£3.15) for ground and £9 17s. for 'excavation, rails, etc.', and Stewart Smith owed 18 guineas (£18.90) and £20 18s. for the same items.¹⁹² The abstract also shows that 27 customers owed a further £1,000 to the Necropolis, but that their accounts had not been approved by the committee. Of these 27, three are of interest: the Jewish community was due to pay £40, Milne nine guineas (£9.45) and Hill £30.¹⁹³ The final entry for accounts not yet rendered related to 'four tombs finished not sold', with an estimated cost of £47 for excavation, rails etc. and an unspecified sum for ground.¹⁹⁴ Adding the unpaid and uninvoiced amounts to the earlier total of £688 brings the total potential income for the period to September 1834 to almost £2,000, around two fifths of the House's expenditure to that date.¹⁹⁵

Milne's report to the Dean of Guild in 1836 suggested that the costs of opening and closing graves should be included in the prices printed in the regulations, as some people had seen the extra costs as 'an imposition', even though they barely cover the price of the workers' time.¹⁹⁶ Where graves incorporated mort-safes, there was an extra charge for opening and closing these, of 2s. 6d. for adults and 1s. 6d. for children, to cover the costs of removing and replacing the rivets.¹⁹⁷ Hill also produced annual reports on the causes of death of those interred in the Necropolis. The first of these, for the year 1833, recorded that of the 29 people interred in the Necropolis that year, six

¹⁹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁹¹ MLG, 929.3 GOU, typescript, Register of Burials: Glasgow Necropolis 1833-54, p. 1.

¹⁹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁹⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

¹⁹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834. This calculation allows £100 for the cost of the ground for the four unsold tombs, on the basis that the 27 unissued invoices totalled £652 for grounds and £348 for excavation, rails etc, giving an average cost for ground of around twice the cost of excavation, rails etc.

¹⁹⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

¹⁹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

died of consumption, three of debility and one of a disease of the spine.¹⁹⁸ The following year, the causes of death of the 114 people buried there included stroke (six people), burns (one), dropsy (three) and sore throat (one).¹⁹⁹ The report for 1836 recorded that 544 people were buried that year, with causes of death ranging from asthma (seven), through cancer (one) and typhus (42) to heart disease (six).²⁰⁰ These mortality bills complemented the similar work produced on the city burial grounds by James Cleland.²⁰¹

The Necropolis was shown as an appreciating asset in the Merchants' House's accounts. On 1 March 1829, the overall lands of Wester Craigs, which included the Fir Park, were valued at £7,328.²⁰² These were by far the most valuable lands owned by the House, bringing in £305; all the other lands brought in a total of £60.²⁰³ By 1 March 1830, thanks to some improvements at the Fir Park, it was valued at £7,888, almost a third of the total property and investments of the House, which stood at £25,582.²⁰⁴ Two years later, on 1 March, the lands of Wester Craigs were valued at £7,328 and the 'Fir Park Cemetery' separately at £227, a slight reduction in the total value of the overall property.²⁰⁵ By March 1834, after the House had purchased land to increase the area of the Necropolis, the 'Fir Park Cemetery and Bridge' were valued at £3,340, around one tenth of the House's total assets, which then stood at £37,786.²⁰⁶ Later valuations include those at Candlemas (2 February) 1835 and the same date the following year, when the cemetery and bridge were shown as being worth £4,673.²⁰⁷

Competition for custom

¹⁹⁸ Laurence Hill, 'Synopsis of the Monthly Mortality Bills, or Classified Lists of Diseases, Ages, etc. of all interred at the Cemetery of the Merchants' House of Glasgow in MDCCCXXXIII [1833]', (Glasgow: Merchants' House, 1835). In a bound volume of pamphlets, Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Mu22-a.15.

¹⁹⁹ Laurence Hill, *Synopsis of the Monthly Mortality Bills* [1834], (Glasgow: Merchants' House, 1835).

²⁰⁰ Laurence Hill, *Synopsis of the Monthly Mortality Bills* [1836], (Glasgow: Merchants' House, 1837).

²⁰¹ For example, those collected in James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Brash, 1820)

²⁰² GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 3-4.

²⁰³ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 3-4.

²⁰⁴ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 42.

²⁰⁵ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 112.

²⁰⁶ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 189.

²⁰⁷ GCA, T-MH 5/5, Merchants' House Journal 1829-40, pp. 242 and 278.

By 1840, the Southern Necropolis and Sighthill, as well as the earlier St. Mungo's, were offering competition to the Necropolis, which again forced the Committee to rethink its pricing policy. In October that year, the committee agreed to sell plots in Iota – at the southern wall of the cemetery, alongside Ladywell Street – and Beta – on the slope of the hill behind the Façade – ‘at prices rather lower and of sizes smaller than those hitherto sold in the Necropolis’.²⁰⁸ This was ‘in order to meet the increased competition from the new cemetery establishments’.²⁰⁹ Members also agreed to adopt lower fees for single interments, based on a report from Milne that discussed competition for the Necropolis. The Superintendent wrote that ‘there are now two other cemeteries established in the neighbourhood and in one of them in particular the ground, as also single interments, can be got much cheaper than in this one’.²¹⁰ He was referring to St. Mungo's and Sighthill, with the latter being much less expensive than the Necropolis.²¹¹

Milne's report noted that there were then only two vaults in the Necropolis for single interments, that is, burial in a common grave. The charges for the first were one guinea (£1.05) for adults and 10s. 6d. for children, and for the second 12s. for adults and six shillings for children.²¹² Milne suggested that he should construct a third, ‘fitted up with temporary security’, which he described as ‘planks which I have’, and an iron cover that would be removed once the vault was full and used for the next one.²¹³ He offered to build this for £1 or £1 10s., and promised that it would take business from ‘the High Church, St. Mungo's and Sighthill’.²¹⁴ Milne's proposal to undercut the opposition's prices included a new scale of charges for his proposed vaults: Interment in permanent vault number one in Alpha would cost £1 for those more than 20 years old, 15s. for those aged ten to 20, and 10s. for children under ten. Interment in permanent vault number two in Iota would cost 12s., 9s. and 6s. respectively.²¹⁵ Interment in the proposed temporary vault in Iota would cost 6s., 4s. 6d. and 3s. respectively.²¹⁶ He also suggested offering discounts to undertakers, to secure their custom. Milne noted that Wylie & Lochhead was given a ‘rather liberal’ discount of 3s. for an adult burial and 2s.

²⁰⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²⁰⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

for a child, ‘as they brought a good many to this place’.²¹⁷ He proposed that this should be extended, although at a reduced discount, to all undertakers ‘who might bring or have a large number of interments in these single burial places [...] by way of encouragement to come to this cemetery’.²¹⁸ The proposed new discount was 1s. on adults, 9d. on youths and 6d. on children.²¹⁹ These lowered prices and discounts for single burial indicated that the Necropolis was competing solely on price – rather than any associations attaching to its reputation and location – when it came to interment without monuments.

In contrast, Milne proposed that the fees for burial in private vaults, where proprietors could erect monuments, should remain as they were. This indicated that the reputation of the Necropolis as a place of commemoration was still worth paying a premium for. For adults, a first class burial, with four horses or the body carried shoulder high, cost one guinea; a second class burial, with two horses, cost 10s. 6d.; and a third class burial, with the body carried on hand-spokes or otherwise, cost 5s. For children, a first class burial, with the body in a chaise with an usher, cost 10s. 6d.; a second class burial, with the body in a chaise without ushers cost 5s.; and a third class burial, with the body carried otherwise, cost 2s. 6d.²²⁰ The cost of opening and closing private graves varied, reported Milne. On average, ‘in a built vault’, proprietors were charged between 2s. and 3s., and ‘in the ground in a grave’ between 2s. 6d. and 15s.²²¹ The report also suggested selling smaller graves for smaller sums, which would yield the same income per acre, but would allow the Necropolis to compete with the other burying grounds.²²² The committee accepted all of the recommendations in Milne’s comprehensive review of the pricing policy, and asked for the new price list to be printed and circulated.²²³

Many of the issues raised by Milne, and many of the instructions issued to him, had previously been the preserve of Hill, who left the service of the Merchants’ House in October 1837. Robert Buntine, his replacement as Collector, seems to have been far less interested or involved in the affairs of the Necropolis. By this point, however, Hill was a director of the committee set up to develop Sighthill Cemetery, which positioned itself as a less expensive version of the Necropolis, affordable by a wider section of the

²¹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²¹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²²⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²²¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²²² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

²²³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 October 1840.

community. Sighthill, which was run by a joint-stock company, was developed on land bought from the magistrates of Forres, to whom it been bequeathed by Jonathan Anderson, a Glasgow merchant.²²⁴ The project was begun by an interim committee, which included Hill, under the rubric of the City Burial Grounds and Père Lachaise of Sighthill, thus drawing on the meaning attached to the Parisian prototype.²²⁵ Its initial advertisement stated that a square yard of burial ground would sell for 2s. 6d., 'or about one twelfth of the present minimum prices' in the Glasgow or Eastern necropolises.²²⁶ Hill was intimately involved in this project: he was a shareholder, he was elected as one of the six directors, he was delegated by the board to write the regulations of the new cemetery, his firm Hill and Hoggan acted as solicitors to the company, and his son James Hopkirk Hill was appointed secretary.²²⁷ Of the four people appointed to judge the competition for plans, two had been very closely involved in the design and landscaping of the Necropolis: Stewart Murray, who was also a shareholder in the new company, and David Hamilton.²²⁸ The first interment was on 24 April 1840.²²⁹ The Southern Necropolis, which was developed by a committee led by Colin Sharp McLaws, a tea merchant, was laid out on part of the lands of Little Govan.²³⁰ The first internment was on 23 April 1841.²³¹ The town council had also developed St. Mungo's burying ground, north of the Royal Infirmary, which opened in 1832.²³² In 1847, James Pagan wrote:

Of Sighthill, the Necropolis and the Gorbals cemetery, it may be truly said that the earth lies light and the sky hangs blue over many a grave which would otherwise have been subjected to the foul compost and heavy tread and sulphureous [sic] canopy of a city churchyard.²³³

He added that, again in contrast to the churchyards of the city, 'a real mourner may, without distraction or disgust, cherish and renew his communion with a lost friend' in

²²⁴ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, p. 3.

²²⁵ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, 24 February 1840.

²²⁶ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, 6 March 1840.

²²⁷ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, 24, 25 March 1840.

²²⁸ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, 27 March 1840.

²²⁹ GCA, T-HH 5/1/1, Sighthill Minute Book, 1840, 24 April 1840.

²³⁰ Charlotte Hutt, ed., *City of the Dead: The Story of Glasgow's Southern Necropolis* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries and Archives, 1996), p. 10.

²³¹ Hutt, *City of the Dead*, p. 10.

²³² Robert Renwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, vol 11 (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1916), p. 523.

²³³ James Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Robert Stuart and Company, 1847), p. 168.

these three cemeteries.²³⁴ Pagan's praise for the new cemeteries was rather fanciful, certainly compared to his very practical condemnation of the older churchyards, which suggested a different way of thinking about the two types of burying grounds.

The Eastern Necropolis, also known as Janefield Cemetery, opened in 1847, and St Peter's Dalbeth Cemetery, which was for the exclusive use of the Roman Catholic community, in 1851.²³⁵ The city's other large Victorian cemeteries were developed in the 1870s and 80s.²³⁶ There were also two speculative companies that proposed to promote commercial burying grounds on the site of the Botanic Gardens at Sandyford and on Gilmorehill, the future home of the University of Glasgow; neither of these schemes was pursued.²³⁷ Another source of competition for secure and sanitary burial in grand surroundings was the crypt of the Wellington Street Church, a United Secession church (see Figure 37). Church officers advertised burial places for sale in *The Scots Times* in 1827, 'enclosed by railings on an improved plan, and covered over with cast metal lozenge gratings', and where 'no expense has been spared to render this depository of the dead a place of perfect safety'.²³⁸ The price of lairs varied from £20 to £70, exclusive of any wall tablet or other monumentation.²³⁹ Three prominent men, including James Cleland, had visited and given their opinion of the crypt, continued the advertisement, and had written that it was 'spacious, handsomely finished, uncommonly deep in soil, and so secure that there is not the least risk of depredation'.²⁴⁰

The popular concern about grave-robbing can be clearly seen in the references to security, and the endorsement by three prominent people – the others were named as William Roger and Robert Ferrie – suggests that there may have been concerns among the grave-buying public about this relatively unusual form of burial.²⁴¹ Burial in churches had been outlawed at the Reformation, but it did seem to be possible, including within the High Church, for the wealthy. It is worth noting that the burial

²³⁴ Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow*, p. 168.

²³⁵ June A. Willing and J. Scott Fairie, *Burial Grounds in Glasgow* (Glasgow: Glasgow and West of Scotland Family History Society, 1997), pp. 10-12.

²³⁶ Willing and Fairie, *Burial Grounds in Glasgow*, pp. 10-12.

²³⁷ Julie Rugg, 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-53', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1992, p. 222.

²³⁸ *Scots Times*, 29 December 1827, p. 416.

²³⁹ *Scots Times*, 29 December 1827, p. 416.

²⁴⁰ *Scots Times*, 29 December 1827, p. 416.

²⁴¹ The other two endorsees of the crypt may have been, allowing for the inconsistencies in spelling of the time, William Rodger, a timber merchant and Deacon Convener of the Trades House of Glasgow in 1827, and Robert Ferrie, builder.

places were offered to people outside the congregation, perhaps to recoup the costs of building the church.

Until 1840, when competition forced a reduction of the prices, there had been an increasing interest, with some fluctuations, in buying property in the Necropolis, and a healthy income from sales and burial fees to the House. Between 1833 and 1839, the number of square yards sold for burial each year rose from 26 to 522, and the average price increased from £1 10s. to £2 14s.²⁴² In the same period the income from sales of land rose from £52 a year to £1,400, and the number of burials from 29 to 520.²⁴³

Constructing and selling graves

The Necropolis Committee constructed a variety of graves and vaults in the early years of the cemetery, partly to make it easier for families responding to sudden death to choose the Necropolis over other choices, and partly to demonstrate how people might use their new cemetery differently from other burial grounds in Glasgow. This was part of the process of signification, as well as working to familiarise people with the new concepts of burial and commemoration that the committee had, with the help of Strang and his writings, imported from Paris. While the failed project to construct six vaults and a range of catacombs at the Façade was discussed in the previous chapter, and a later chapter deals with those graves and monuments constructed by private lair holders, this section examines the graves and vaults produced by the Necropolis committee, as well how the cemetery was laid out to accommodate private burials in perpetuity as well as single interments in common graves. There were a number of descriptions given in the committee minutes and reports of how vaults were constructed.²⁴⁴ First, the grave was excavated, in some cases using explosives, from the sandstone or whinstone layers of the Fir Park hill. Then they were lined with brick, and iron rails were fixed to the inside top edges. Cast iron grilles were then placed on top, to be riveted onto the iron rails after an interment (see Figure 38). Flagstones were laid around the edge of the grave, and a single large stone was placed over the grille to seal the tomb. This

²⁴² Figures derived from a handwritten note headed 'Sales in Necropolis – and fees received', in RFPG, Hill Collection, Necropolis Reports.

²⁴³ Figures derived from a handwritten note headed 'Sales in Necropolis – and fees received', in RFPG, Hill Collection, Necropolis Reports.

²⁴⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, various dates.

procedure applied to both graves for family use, which generally covered three square yards, and to the much larger vaults that were excavated for common burials.

The committee minutes provided useful descriptions of how graves were constructed. For example, when the committee discussed a number of tenders that had been submitted for building tombs in various parts of the Necropolis in August 1836, the minutes recorded the following details.²⁴⁵ Where the grave was constructed of brick, the wall varied in width from four and a half inches to nine inches; and where vaults were built of stone, their thickness was to vary from 18 inches to two and a half feet, 'according to the situation or nature of the ground'.²⁴⁶ In a standard three square yard grave, iron wall plates were nine feet and two inches long, six inches broad and three quarters of an inch thick.²⁴⁷ Bearers, which rested on the wall plates, were nine feet six inches long, five inches broad and five inches deep, with square holes five inches spaced five inches apart to retain balusters, which were used for subdividing tombs wider than three feet across.²⁴⁸ These balusters were nine feet long, one inch square with two cross bars to each division.²⁴⁹ Covers were nine feet long, three feet broad and one and a half inches thick, with diamond openings; they were secured to the wall plates at one end with two snibs and at the other by rivets.²⁵⁰ A report from Milne, discussed at a later meeting, included a description of the work that was involved in creating these single graves: 'ground work, dressing and making roads [...] cartages [...] mason time laying and fitting in cast iron bearers [...] stone work [...] brick work [...] a drain stone [...] covers of Caithness pavement [...] cast iron work'.²⁵¹ These items indicated that the graves were not mere holes in the ground, but were dry, brick-lined chambers with cast-iron and stone closures that kept the contents safe from any disturbance.²⁵²

Other operational matters were recorded. In March 1833 the Directors of the Merchants' House agreed 'that a stripe of ground from Ladywell gate be secured with iron rails underground for single interments at a certain rate for grown persons and the half of that where the length of coffin shall not exceed four feet, with no other condition than that the corpse shall not be disturbed for ten years'.²⁵³ The House also discussed

²⁴⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 August 1836.

²⁴⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 August 1836.

²⁴⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 August 1836.

²⁴⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 August 1836.

²⁴⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 August 1836.

²⁵⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 26 August 1836.

²⁵¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁵² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁵³ Merchants' House Minute Book, pp. 244-7.

the disposal of private burial places in perpetuity, and instructed Murray and Milne to design 'a ground plan of the compartments into which the whole park should be divided, distinguishing as far as can be done by proper references the suitability for pits or catacombs'.²⁵⁴ In the same month the committee, which at that point included Strang, instructed Milne 'to prepare and have ready always on hand' between nine and 12 tombs 'of different descriptions'.²⁵⁵ These completed burial places were both a showroom and stock: they were used to show potential customers the range of options for lairs and also for sale to people with an immediate need for them. Strang, with Murray, Hamilton and Milne, were authorised to take plans of each compartment and lay out 'the relative positions of the tombs properly marked and numbered'.²⁵⁶ Remarkably, Strang, whose expertise in designing cemeteries was restricted to writing about burial and mourning reform, was placed ahead of three people with practical, professional expertise in landscape planning and design. He was, however, as the committee might have said, a gentleman of recognised taste.

The party of four, with Strang in the lead, met at the cemetery the following day to decide the positions of the first tombs to be constructed by the committee.²⁵⁷ They first decided that three tombs should be prepared on the northern boundary of what had been the Fir Park so as to have 'a monumental appearance' at the termination of one of the walks.²⁵⁸ The new cemetery may have been a radical departure from precedent, but these new tombs were to be built 'in accordance with the hitherto prevailing choice of having sepulchres adjoining a wall'.²⁵⁹ The four then agreed a plan for Compartment Delta to the south of this: on the lower side of the walk there would be a row of single interment tombs, which would 'always be kept as a smooth grass plot on the surface; on the east side of the walk there would be 'lair or parterres for family building places', all built with 'iron work sunk to the full depth of the grave under ground', similar to the secure burial places constructed, during the previous two weeks, south of the road from Ladywell gate.²⁶⁰ These new tombs were to be slightly grander than the Ladywell ones: they were both 'one foot larger in the surface every way', and a strip of ground around three feet wide was to be left on the eastern side 'for decorative architecture' or

²⁵⁴ Merchants' House Minute Book, pp. 244-7.

²⁵⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 March 1833.

²⁵⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 March 1833.

²⁵⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁵⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁵⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁶⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

‘monuments for these tombs’ and the lairs that would be formed behind them.²⁶¹ As well as being more imposing, the new range of lairs was also to include three family tombs ‘or iron vaults’ that would be sunk at the southern corner of the triangle.²⁶² To allow future development, any graves to be planned on the west side of the walk were to be set back, so that the walk could easily be converted into a carriageway ‘at some future period’.²⁶³ The Strang party also decided that three family tombs ‘with facings of Egyptian architecture’ should be constructed where the ground is ‘loose and precipitous’; these could be built near the walkway previously mentioned, or in the compartment ‘at the summit of the cemetery’ or in a lower compartment.²⁶⁴ It is interesting that these decisions were taken in the Necropolis, in response to the site conditions, and to the visual effect that tombs would have, rather than being taken on paper, which would have been the case if the committee had followed any of the plans submitted to its competition in January 1831. In his report to the Dean of Guild and the cemetery committee, delivered in July 1836, Milne noted that he had been constructing graves for sale ‘in those parts of the ground where it was most likely to get them first disposed of’, and that at the time of writing he had 30 tombs excavated and built, and ‘parts of them also covered with iron gratings or flags’, and two tombs excavated but not built.²⁶⁵ The 23 graves he had previously constructed in Compartment Delta were expected to sell for £802; the cost of building these graves, Milne explained, included excavating and carting away rubbish, explosives for blasting the rock, brick and masonry work, coping and flags, and cast-iron work.²⁶⁶ Before the cemetery began building in advance of need, Milne recalled, his workers frequently had to work all night to prepare tombs for customers.²⁶⁷

The following month, the committee recommended that tombs should be prepared for sale at all points in the Necropolis – ‘except the place where Mr Tennent may be desirous of purchasing a servitude’ – and not just in the highest-priced ground or where there is already a demand.²⁶⁸ They argued that this would help to bring the whole of the Necropolis into operation, and offer accommodation in both the low and

²⁶¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁶² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁶³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁶⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 16 March 1833.

²⁶⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

²⁶⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

²⁶⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 30 July 1836.

²⁶⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 August 1836.

high priced parts of the ground, 'for all kinds of purchasers'.²⁶⁹ For the sake of economy, the committee also recommended that work of all kinds should be put out to tender where there was any possibility of it being done more cheaply than by hiring day labourers.²⁷⁰ In the same month, the committee continued this campaign by instructing Milne to provide a plan for the 'line of common interment places' at the north-east corner of the cemetery, and also to provide a plan and estimated costs for preparing a number of tombs in the parts of the Necropolis where no sales had taken place, so that the cemetery could 'accommodate the public' at a lower cost than in tombs 'at the top of the hill'.²⁷¹ Later that month, he was instructed to complete the common tombs and four private tombs at a total price of £195.²⁷² In October 1836, Brown and Martin reported to the committee that 'the whole range of tombs for single sepultures along the south east end of the Necropolis', near the Subdean Lodge, had been completed within the specified cost of £195.²⁷³

When Hill presented the second annual report of the cemetery, which covered the calendar year of 1836, in January 1837, he reported that the Necropolis was no longer constructing tombs speculatively.²⁷⁴ This practice, recorded Hill, was 'sometimes productive of disputes' and was 'not attended with any *profit* whatsoever'.²⁷⁵ The committee continued to construct vaults for common burials, however. In March 1840, it agreed to build 'a new vault for common interments near the Ladywell Gate'.²⁷⁶ A report from Milne noted that 'the single sepulture vaults at the lowest rates are now about filled up', and he proposed 'a vault 27 feet long by nine feet broad and nine feet in depth, which is all that would be required for at least 12 months'; this would hold 150 bodies, reported Milne.²⁷⁷ If those interred were all adults, the charges for each would vary between nine and 12 shillings; at an average charge of 10 shillings, the project would yield £75 in income.²⁷⁸ The cost would be £26 8s., including £28 10s. for excavation, levelling, planting; £4 18s. 8d. for rubble walls, lime and cartage; £10 5s. 4d. for 224 square feet of Caithness pavement corners, plus cartage; £8 14s. for eight

²⁶⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 August 1836.

²⁷⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 August 1836.

²⁷¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 6 August 1836.

²⁷² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 17 August 1836.

²⁷³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁷⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 27 January 1837.

²⁷⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 27 January 1837. Emphasis in original. The 'disputes' may have involved George Milne, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

²⁷⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 March 1840.

²⁷⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 March 1840.

²⁷⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 March 1840.

cast iron bearers, two wall plates and one cover.²⁷⁹ This would have left £48 12s. for the cost of the ground over ten years.²⁸⁰

Public and private aspects of the Necropolis

The Necropolis contained both public and private spaces; the uses to which these were put – and the balance that needed to be maintained between the users of these areas – were controlled by the Necropolis Committee through its regulations. The huge public interest in visiting the Necropolis, from within the city and across the world, which is discussed further in the next chapter, was also testament to its being viewed as a public space, one of the few in the city. The regulations were instrumental in balancing the needs of the visitor with those of the grieving, who were in effect inhabiting parallel worlds within the Necropolis. For example, the regulations insisted that ‘everyone visiting the cemetery’ must sign the visitors’ book, except those ‘in attendance upon a funeral’ or visiting ‘the tomb of a recently deceased relative’.²⁸¹ In addition, the committee had insisted that those attending a public funeral be ‘in decent mourning’, at least as interpreted by those conducting the funeral.²⁸² Another regulation stressed the need to protect the overall ‘sanctity and privacy’ of the cemetery.²⁸³ These edicts distinguished between the private world of burial, grief and remembrance, and the shared world of public funerals and rational recreation, all within the restrictions of what was seen as proper and appropriate behaviour. What is not stated explicitly in the minutes or the regulations is that the Necropolis was freely open only to those who shared the dress customs and the values of the Merchants’ House, rather than everyone in the city.

The delicate demarcation of the public and the private is part of the complex cultural geography of cemetery landscapes. Richard Etlin has argued that the development in eighteenth century Europe of ‘the conceptual basis’ of the garden, burying ground and city mirrored that of ‘the modern house as a system of public and private spaces with specific functions organised with respect to the dual poles of

²⁷⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 March 1840.

²⁸⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 5 March 1840.

²⁸¹ Second edition of the Regulations, Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 June 1835.

²⁸² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

²⁸³ Second edition of the Regulations, Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 June 1835.

comfort and ceremony', which was formulated at this time.²⁸⁴ This may also parallel the management of public and private roles which the middle classes were increasingly called upon to perform. This was reflected in guidebooks, which also recognised that the Necropolis had private and public spaces. George Blair, writing in 1857, was careful, in his descriptions of monuments in the Necropolis, to discriminate between private memorials and those raised by corporate bodies or funded by public subscriptions.²⁸⁵ Blair wrote that his guidebook described 'those that are associated with some kind of celebrity or popularity that gives them a title to be regarded as public property', but passed over 'many of the monuments in the Necropolis reared to private worth'.²⁸⁶ Similarly, Walter Craig's guide to the Necropolis is sub-titled 'with a list of the public monuments', and he was also careful to demarcate the public and the private.²⁸⁷ For example, after a discussion of a number of memorials to the south-east of the John Knox monument, he wrote: 'There are many monuments in this part of the cemetery worthy of the notice of the visitor, and they either tell their own story, or are not of a public character.'²⁸⁸

As well as having public and private areas within it, the Necropolis could be temporarily transformed to community use. In July 1835 the Necropolis committee considered two requests that demonstrated that the Necropolis was accepted by the city as a space suitable for public gatherings, distinct and different from the taint of the city burial grounds.²⁸⁹ The ministers of the Barony Parish, and others interested in building a schoolhouse near Bluevale, requested permission to hold a charity concert in the Necropolis the following month, where children of various charity and Sunday schools would gather for a performance of 'solemn music' and collect donations for the school at the gate.²⁹⁰ The sub-committee 'cheerfully concurred' with this, and to a request from John Orme, Precentor of the Inner High Church, that the Band of the Cathedral should be allowed to use the Necropolis to rehearse the psalms to be sung in church each

²⁸⁴ Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and its Legacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. xvii.

²⁸⁵ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches*, pp. x, xii.

²⁸⁶ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches*, pp. x, xii.

²⁸⁷ Walter T. Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide to the Glasgow Necropolis (near the High Church) with History of the Public Monuments* (Glasgow: R. Brown, Printer, 1871).

²⁸⁸ Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide to the Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 20.

²⁸⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1835.

²⁹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1835.

Sunday.²⁹¹ The second request strongly suggests that the High Church yard was not suitable for choir practice. A handbill for the charity concert advertised:

The children of the different charity and Sunday schools [...] will be raised under the direction of Mr. Orme and the Cathedral Band, from the valley of the Necropolis and the different parts of the hillside [...] bystanders are requested to join.²⁹²

While these two organisations made full use of the Necropolis, there was no ceremony to mark the opening of the Necropolis to burials in May 1833, and the first public event in the cemetery took place on 18 October of that year, when, ‘in the presence of a great concourse of the citizens’, the Merchants’ House and the Town Council assembled to lay the foundation stone of ‘the cemetery bridge’, as discussed in the previous chapter.²⁹³ The Fir Park had also been the location of a public ceremony to lay the foundation stone of the John Knox monument in 1825.²⁹⁴ Both of these events incorporated Masonic ceremonies, according to their descriptions. There are no records of foundation stone or opening ceremonies for any of the other public structures in the Necropolis, whether built by the House or by outside organisations or appeals. However, a committee meeting in July 1835 decided that when the foundation stone of the Façade was to be laid, there should be a similar ceremony as took place when the foundation stone of the bridge was laid, including hymns sung by children from the charity schools or John Orme’s High Church band.²⁹⁵ This did not come to pass, perhaps because of the delays and disappointments surrounding the building of the Façade.

Overall then, the Necropolis was open to casual visitors, who had to be introduced by a member of the House, those attending funerals, in appropriate mourning dress, people visiting the graves of family or friends, or people attending a community event. In all cases, the presumption was that they shared a social and cultural background with the members of the House, or were at least respectable members of the lower orders.

²⁹¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1835.

²⁹² RFGP, Hill Collection, Handbill for charity concert in the Necropolis, 1835.

²⁹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes 18 October 1833.

²⁹⁴ James Cleland, *Account of Ceremonial etc. at Laying the Foundation Stone of Knox’s Monument in the Merchants’ Park* (Glasgow: Khull, Blackie, 1825).

²⁹⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1835.

Conclusions

The Necropolis project was both less lucrative and took longer to become profitable than the initial proposals suggested. As recorded earlier, Laurence Hill, in July 1828, indicated that the four acres of the Fir Park could be sold as 300 parterres that could produce £5,000 of income.²⁹⁶ The first report on the subject, produced by the Cemeteries Committee for the Merchants' House in October 1829, revised these figures: the five acres available in and around the Fir Park could be laid out to provide 800 parterres, which could be sold at the higher price of £25 to yield £20,000 of income.²⁹⁷ A third report, produced by David Hamilton, John Baird and Stewart Murray in January 1832, estimated that the costs of converting the Fir Park into a garden cemetery would be between £500 and £600, plus the price of a boundary wall.²⁹⁸ The three men – two architects and the Curator of the Botanic Gardens, respectively – had already been members of the judging panel that awarded a total of £150 in premiums to the architects who submitted the five best plans for the Necropolis; they did not appear to have included this relatively important sum – or indeed, their own fees as judges and in preparing a working plan from the winning entries – in their estimate.²⁹⁹

The first 'abstract of expenditure' prepared in September 1834 showed that the money spent on converting the Fir Park and other property, some of which had been acquired specifically for the Necropolis project, into a garden cemetery was £4,960 to that date; balancing this sum was an income – mainly from selling burial spaces – of £688 and a loss of £4,732.³⁰⁰ The following June, the first Annual Report of the Necropolis showed that the total expenditure to that date was £6,299, balanced by an income of £3,198 and a loss of £4,376.³⁰¹ Taking these two sets of figures together, it is apparent that the expenditure between September 1834 and June 1835 was £1,339 and the income was £2,510, showing that the majority of the costs of creating the Necropolis had been covered, and that income from sales of ground and from burials

²⁹⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

²⁹⁷ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 66.

²⁹⁸ Merchants' House Minutes, p. 171.

²⁹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 14 June 1831.

³⁰⁰ Abstract of the Expenditure of the Merchants' House of Glasgow in the Formation of the Fir Park Cemetery, September 1834, incorporated in the Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 September 1834.

³⁰¹ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or the Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1835.

was increasing. This state of affairs was recognised in the decision, recorded in the first Annual Report, to begin to pay back money to the House from 28 February 1836.³⁰²

The second Annual Report, which covered the 17-month period to November 1836, stated that the total expenditure to date was £11,872 (an increase of £5,573 since the first Annual Report), balanced by income of £6,324 (an increase of £3,814) and a loss of £5,548 (an increase of £1,172).³⁰³ The much larger figures for expenditure and income reflected the increasing volume of sales and burial in the Necropolis, as it became a busy working cemetery. By the time of the third Annual Report, which covered the period to the end of August 1837, the accumulated expenditure was £12,834 (a modest increase of £962) and the income was £8,604 (a healthy increase of £2,280), leaving a reduced standing loss of £4,230.³⁰⁴ Alongside this reducing debt were a series of repayments of capital to the Merchants' House, beginning with £425 in 1837 and concluding with a final payment of the remaining debt in 1847.³⁰⁵ Alongside this repayment of capital should be noted the increasing value of the Necropolis as an asset: it was recorded at £227 in March 1832 and by March 1834 had risen to £3,340, an increase of £3,113.³⁰⁶

These figures, then, show that initial financial projections for the Necropolis project were wildly inaccurate; none of the people involved had owned or operated a garden cemetery, after all, and the initial costs seemed to be based on doing little more than laying out paths, planting trees and building a boundary wall. The ambition of the Necropolis Committee, which was always stocked with senior members of the House, to create not just an attractive landscape but to provide an expensive bridge and entrance structure – the Façade, which ended up as little more than a folly – increased these figures substantially. None of the structures created by the committee generated any income, which helped unbalance the accounts in the early years, when expenditure was high and income low. However, the cemetery did generate increasing annual incomes, and the debt to the House was repaid, even if it took more than 15 years for that to happen. On balance, then, the authors of the initial financial projections were wrong, but the project became more complex and costly than they had anticipated, and

³⁰²³⁰² GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report.

³⁰³ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, Second Annual from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1837.

³⁰⁴ RFPG, Hill Collection, Third Annual Report on the Necropolis of the Fir Park of Glasgow [proof], 1838.

³⁰⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 27 January 1837 and 19 July 1847.

³⁰⁶ Merchants' House Journal, 1829-40, pp. 112 and 189.

the House did make money from its investment, although perhaps not as soon as it would have liked.

This discussion of the early years of the Glasgow Necropolis as a working cemetery, in terms of both the construction and signification of a cultural institution, indicates that the introduction of a burying ground that was distinctly different from its predecessors in the city was remarkable unproblematic. Customers and visitors were attracted to the new institution, and proprietors were enthusiastic about erecting the elaborate and expensive monuments that the Merchants' House had encouraged. For those with the financial resources, the opportunity to purchase plots in perpetuity in a secure and regulated landscape was hugely attractive, and much of the effort of the House and its staff went towards maintaining high standards for both the style and size of the monuments that were erected, and the behaviour of people who, for whatever reason, were visiting the Necropolis. The supervision and oversight of the cemetery by senior members of the Merchants' House, including serving and past Deans of Guild, ensured that the cultural values of the trading elite were reproduced in the Necropolis. The architects who were designing houses, business premises and marine villas for these merchants were also active in the cemetery, ensuring that the symbols of their power and taste were reflected from the world of the living into the world of the dead. These stone tributes to the departed – some bought and constructed by the living for their later use – were intended to extend the power of these symbols, and the manner in which they reflected the importance and status of the living, into the post-mortem world of reputation and remembrance.

The signification of the Necropolis as a grand garden of rest, separate from the city, but connected both physically and symbolically with the ancient High Church, seems to have been relatively uncontested in the city. The issue of how the Necropolis was received is discussed fully in the following chapter, but it is worth pointing out here that the activities of the Necropolis Committee during the first ten or so years of the cemetery that have been examined in this chapter attracted very little criticism, other than that of Hugh Tennent, whose campaign against the burial of corpses next to a working brewery, distillery and bleach-field, could be seen to be entirely rooted in commercial interests, rather than as a cultural response to a new form of burying ground, and a related change in attitudes towards death and the dead.

Chapter five

The public response to the Necropolis, 1833-1857

Introduction

The people of Glasgow were well prepared for the Necropolis, which had been written about in newspapers and books from 1828. Even before it opened, specific meanings had been given to the cemetery in a variety of written works; these included the publications of John Strang and Laurence Hill, the printed regulations of the cemetery, and the newspaper advertisements produced by the Merchants' House. Meanings were also given through the performance of ceremonies and events in the Necropolis, not least the laying of the foundation stone of the bridge. Along with the material aspects of producing the new cemetery, this process constructed a cultural product that could be understood and interpreted by the people of Glasgow, and by visitors to the city. Among the key concepts that the Merchants' House attached to its property through these processes of signification were taste, hygiene, security, repose, respect, tradition, and a continuity of the heritage of the High Church. This chapter examines how these meanings were given to the Necropolis, firstly by investigating the responses, in prose, of local people, including the writers of guides for tourists, and secondly by discussing works of poetry inspired by the cemetery. Much of the cultural meaning given to the Necropolis was conveyed in abstract terms, through terms such as taste and sublimity, or in the equally intangible concepts of eschatology. Because of this, contemporary reactions can more clearly be seen through the work of poets, who could represent thoughts and feelings towards the cemetery, and towards death and whatever was believed to follow it, in a way that was accessible to a wide audience.

The reception of the Necropolis was relatively unproblematic, since almost all those who viewed and experienced it understood the cemetery in the terms adopted by the Merchants' House and its supporters. In fact, many of those who wrote about the Necropolis did so using quotations, whether attributed or not, from the speeches and writings of those associated with the project. There were dissenting voices, however,

such as Hugh Tennent, an influential brewer and local politician, and those people who campaigned for extra-mural burial, which help to provide an overall view of how the Necropolis was viewed and understood by the people of Glasgow and visitors to the city. The positive depictions of the Necropolis in prose and poem helped to shape people's perceptions of it, and of subsequent ornamental cemeteries in the city and beyond. John Strang's manifesto was only partly a detailed plea and proposal to the Merchants' House about how it should develop the Fir Park; it was just as importantly a cultural blueprint about how people should think and feel about the new space, and what they should do and how they should behave once in it. The works of the poets, with their appeals to feelings and emotions, also played an important part in changing the attitudes and practices of viewers and users of the new cultural playground; this applied equally to customers, mourners and visitors, and helped to create a cult of the dead on the slopes of the Fir Park. The popular response to the Necropolis at the time of its opening and in its early years can be seen through the writings of local people and visitors, as well as the willingness of people to become customers and to adhere to the regulations. Together, these showed both the degree to which a wide group of people welcomed a new type of burying ground and the extent to which they accepted or were persuaded by the rhetoric of the Merchants' House. The success or otherwise of this process could be measured by asking: to what extent did the reception given to the Necropolis mirror its signification by the House? Or, to put it another way, were the cultural meanings given to the Necropolis by its producers embraced by its purchasers and visitors?

Local responses to the Necropolis

It is clear from reading the contemporary visitor guides to Glasgow that the Necropolis was seen as fitting easily into the catalogue of visitor choices, alongside the attractions of the High Church (see Figure 39), the Hunterian Museum, the Botanic Gardens and George Square. However it can also be seen as having more in common with the institutions that were on the visitor trail, including the Blind Asylum, the City and County Bridewell, the Lunatic Asylum and the Royal Infirmary, which all welcomed visitors. Visitor guides, such as that produced by William McPhun in 1840, gave short

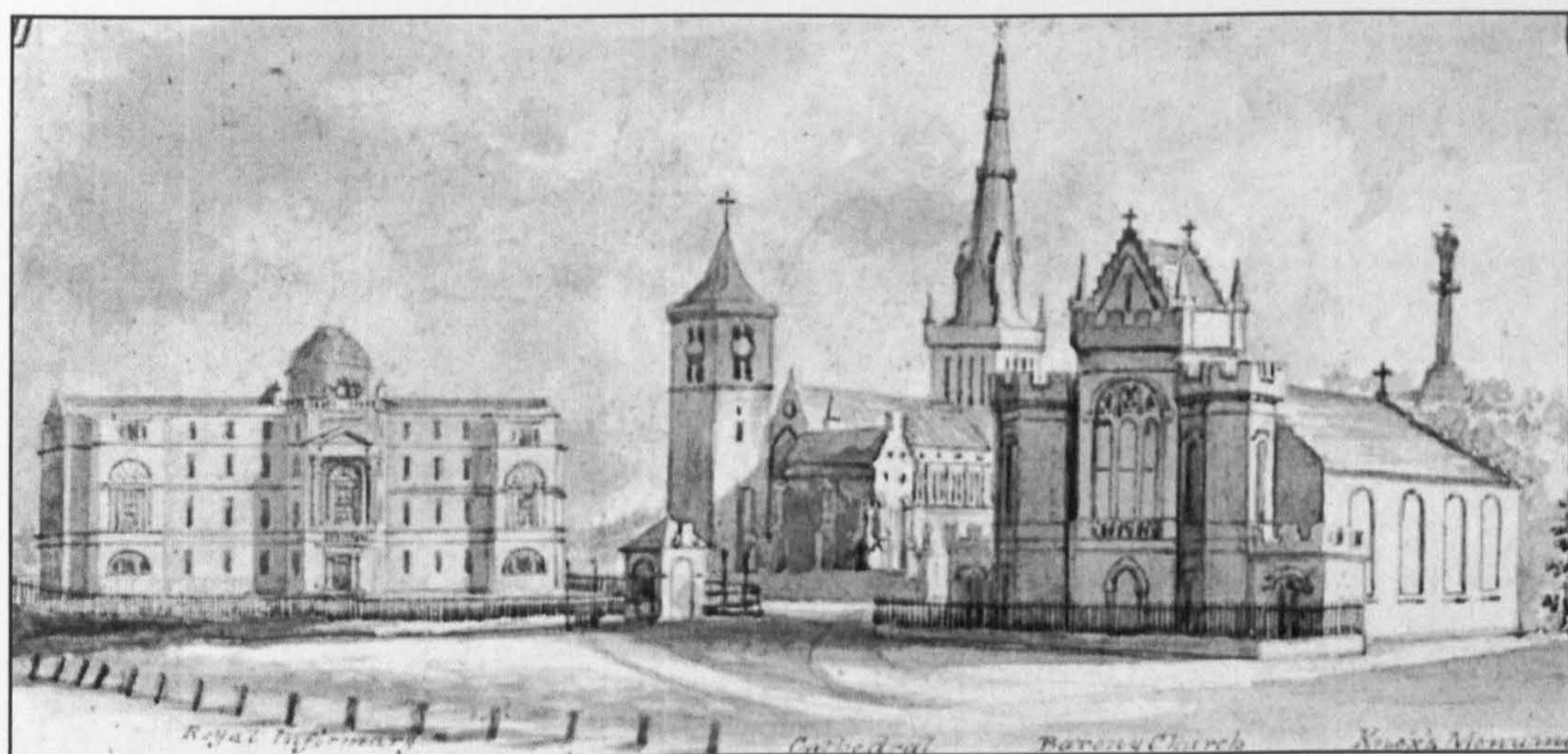


Figure 39 (top) – James Hopkirk’s drawing of the High Church and surrounding buildings showed the two western towers of the church, which were removed in 1846 and 1848. The single-storey building in the centre of the illustration was the gatehouse of the Royal Infirmary, on the left. Note the John Knox monument, seen behind the Barony Church, on the right. (GUL, Special Collections, MS Murray 636.)

Figure 40 (above) – Charles Tennant, who built a substantial chemical works at St. Rollox, was immortalised in Carrera marble in the Necropolis, on the initiative of a few friends. (Photographed April 2005.)

commentaries on all these working institutions alongside details of opening times.¹ What perhaps united these latter institutions is that they had all been sited, literally and metaphorically, on the edge of the city and that they all segregated their residents – whether they are called patients or inmates – from the rest of society.² In addition, within the boundaries of each institution, each customer was allocated a designated social space that reflected and reproduced their social status. In the Lunatic Asylum, for example, where the architect William Stark ‘followed the supervisory logic of the prison’,³ patients were divided according to sex, social status and degree of mental illness.⁴ In the Necropolis, those without means were buried anonymously, and the costs of plots increased with proximity to the top of the hill and the memorial to John Knox. The policy of these institutions, wrote Markus, Robinson and Walker, ‘seemed to be to bring their victims together, put them under surveillance and, if possible, cure or reform them’.⁵ The Necropolis, in its own way, aggregated the dead, put them under the supervision of a professional staff, made them safe and secure, and gave the bereaved a meaningful social space in which to mourn and commemorate the dead, and thus allow them to return to their place in the family and in society.

The Necropolis was accepted in Glasgow as a city improvement, both in terms of utility and aesthetics. It was praised for its physical characteristics, such as its location on a hill outside the city, with landscaped and drained surfaces and appropriate plantings. It was also lauded for its good taste, its picturesque setting and the Romantic ideal which it incorporated. Commentators echoed the phrases and concepts used by the Merchants’ House to describe its new asset, and were happy to repeat the connection to the pioneering Père Lachaise. For example, James Cleland, Superintendent of Public Works in Glasgow from 1814 to 1834, and an advocate of burying ground reform, commended the Necropolis in a letter to Alexander Garden, Lord Provost, and the magistrates and council of Glasgow in 1829. Cleland referred to ‘the magnificent

¹ William McPhun, *McPhun’s Stranger’s Pocket Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1840). This volume was dedicated by the publisher to James Ewing.

² The Fir Park was outside the boundary of the Royalty until 1830. The other named institutions were sited where the boundary of the city stood at the time they were built.

³ Thomas A. Markus, Peter Robinson and Frank Arneil Walker, ‘The Shape of the City in Space and Stone’, in T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, *Glasgow Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 128.

⁴ Frank Worsdall, *The City that Disappeared: Glasgow’s Demolished Architecture* (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1981), p. 45.

⁵ Markus *et al.*, ‘The Shape of the City’, p. 128.

cemetery which the Merchants' House are now preparing to make in their park, where Knox's Monument is placed'.⁶

In February 1833, as the Merchants' House was preparing to open the Necropolis for burials, the *Glasgow Herald* reported that:

The splendid improvements which the Merchants' House are carrying on in their park eastward of the Cathedral, preparatory to a necropolis, does them great honour, and ere long we may expect to see temples, gardens and superb mausoleums erected in this 'City of the Dead'.⁷

The newspaper contrasted this glowing future with 'the stain' of the city's poorly-maintained burying grounds.⁸ The same year, Archibald McLellan produced a polemical guide to the High Church, arguing that it should be repaired and remodelled; the book included a description of the Necropolis, which he saw as part of the setting of the church.⁹ McLellan, reflecting many of the words and expressions used by the people who developed the cemetery, wrote that the Merchants' House had

expended a very large sum in converting the Fir Park [...] into a splendid cemetery, upon the plan of that of 'Père Lachaise', and their operations have been conducted with such good taste that its naturally picturesque and romantic appearance has been increased rather than diminished.¹⁰

The book also praised the 'terraced walks and wooded banks studded with cenotaphs and mausoleums', and asserted that 'one of the finest panoramic views in the kingdom is to be seen from the summit'; in contrast to this, McLellan reported, the burying grounds to the north and south of the High Church were in a 'slovenly condition'.¹¹

In a prominent article published on the front page in August 1835, *The Scots Times* noted 'the complete success' of the project to convert the Fir Park into a cemetery.¹² This article – which was likely written by Strang, given his previous work on the topics of burial and commemoration – continued:

⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 20 March 1829.

⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 February 1833.

⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 February 1833.

⁹ Archibald McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Brash, 1833).

¹⁰ McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral Church*, p. 141.

¹¹ McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral Church*, pp. 141-42, 160. There would have been very few if any cenotaphs and mausolea constructed in the first few months of the cemetery, which opened in May of the year in which this book was published.

¹² *Scots Times*, 19 August 1835

We need not say one word on the beauty of the cemetery – it is now known and visited as one of the greatest ornaments of Glasgow [... which exhibits] the most interesting admixture of the beauties of nature and art.¹³

The report predicted that, if the Merchants' House invested in the improvements proposed in the first annual report of the Necropolis¹⁴ – namely completing the Façade and constructing a number of prominent graves speculatively – then:

We shall see the Glasgow Necropolis the most popular and beneficial undertaking in the Empire – [one which] dispenses all its fruits and advantages among the poor, the aged, the orphan and the widow, who are indeed the peculiar owners of this vast city of the dead.¹⁵

The Scots Times may not have been the most impartial observer, given Strang's involvement in the Merchant's House and its Necropolis Committee, but this piece of boosterism for the further development of the Necropolis, which appeared 15 months after the opening but just two months after the publication of the first annual report, would certainly have helped position the cemetery as both a successful project and a thriving business. The conceit that the recipients of the charity of the Merchants' House were the true owners of the cemetery is a direct quote from the first annual report.¹⁶

The entry for Glasgow in *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* – which was written by Duncan Macfarlan (1771-1857), principal of Glasgow University, and Cleland and published in 1845 – noted that there were 20 burying grounds in the city and suburbs. However, the authors chose to describe only one: 'The Necropolis, formed by the Merchants' House in 1830, in their elevated park adjoining the cathedral, in imitation of the cemetery Père Lachaise in Paris, stands unrivalled in the kingdom for picturesque effect.'¹⁷ An addendum to the city's entry noted, in a piece of civic boosterism characteristic of Cleland, that Glasgow was 'greatly indebted' to James

¹³ *Scots Times*, 19 August 1835

¹⁴ GUL Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, 'First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow'.

¹⁵ *Scots Times*, 19 August 1835.

¹⁶ GUL Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, 'First Annual Report', p. 6.

¹⁷ Duncan Macfarlan and James Cleland, the entry 'Glasgow' in *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* vol 6 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1845), p. 209. James Cleland died in 1840, five years before the work was published.

Ewing and Laurence Hill for respectively projecting and promoting what the authors called ‘this beautiful and romantic cemetery’.¹⁸

J. F. S. Gordon, the minister of St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church from 1844 until 1890, and editor of *Glasghu Facies* (1872), wrote that ‘the Necropolis is to this city what the beautiful cemetery of Père Lachaise is to Paris’, a comparison that had been made by the Merchants’ House all through the project.¹⁹ He added that:

The natural beauty of the rocky eminence, crowned with its monumental terraces; its close proximity to the Cathedral; [and] the ready access to it from the town; render it a principal attraction to strangers and a favourite resort of our citizens.²⁰

Again, all these points had been made by the Necropolis Committee, showing that there was a close agreement between the meanings given to the cemetery by the House and its reception by the commentators of Glasgow. Gordon also related the story of the Necropolis, closely following the version given by Hill in his *Companion*, showing how the authorised version of events became accepted as authentic. His retelling of the story included the observations that:

this was the first thing of the kind attempted in Scotland, that it conflicted in some degree with national or religious prejudices, that in a sanitary view it inaugurated a new era in Glasgow, and set an example to other towns, which was speedily followed throughout the kingdom.²¹

Once more, these comments repeat and reflect the view of the promoters of the Necropolis. Gordon also awarded ‘no inconsiderable credit’ to three people chiefly responsible in his opinion for ‘this enlightened improvement’: Ewing, Hill and Strang. While Ewing ‘appeared, from his prominent official position, and his hearty zeal in the cause, as the principal leader in the movement’, there were other citizens ‘who actively co-operated with that gentleman, and to some of whom, perhaps, the credit is due of making the original suggestion’. Among these, Gordon suggested, was Hill. Since he mentions none of the others, this seems a strong suggestion that Hill was known to have

¹⁸ Macfarlan and Cleland, addendum to the entry ‘Glasgow’, p. 239.

¹⁹ J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), vol 2, p. 735.

²⁰ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, vol 2, p. 735.

²¹ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, vol 2, p. 738.

made the original proposition within the Merchants' House.²² Gordon, however, did not welcome the monuments and funerals inspired by the Necropolis, and compared them unfavourably to the modest stones in the burying ground surrounding his own church. He thought that the epitaphs on the monuments were 'weak and fulsome' and 'surmounted with towels, tea-caddies and soup tureens', and that the new style of funerals turned 'the last solemn rites into mere spectacles of burlesques'.²³

Writing about the Necropolis in 1878, the *Glasgow Herald* reminded its 'younger readers' of the conception and early life of the cemetery.²⁴ After quoting Ewing's purported speech at the first meeting of the Merchants' House committee that discussed the potential for creating a garden cemetery on the House's lands, the newspaper reported that 'the picture outlined by Dr. Ewing has [...] been realised in the picturesque cemetery which now surmounts the valley of the Molendinar'.²⁵ Since the cemetery opened in 1833, continued the report, 'the passing years have given to the City of the Dead its silent population in ever increasing numbers', which had only been matched by the growing throng of people visiting the Necropolis.²⁶ The *Herald* reported that 'tourists from all parts of the Kingdom enter their names in the book at the lodge, from which we gather that during last month [July 1878] the cemetery was visited by no fewer than 1,333 strangers and 12,400 citizens – in all 13,733 persons'.²⁷ Simply multiplying this figure by 12 gives an annual total of 164,769; even allowing for July being one of the busiest months, it is likely that the annual total was more than 100,000, of whom around 10,000 were 'strangers'. The newspaper's statement that the vision of the Merchants' House had been realised in the Necropolis supports the argument implicit in this chapter that the reception accorded the cemetery closely matched the signification given to it by its promoters.

The lengthy description of Glasgow's cemeteries in *The Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (1894) was mainly taken up by the Necropolis. This commentary, which again shows the match between signification and reception, reported that the Necropolis was:

the parent of all the garden cemeteries throughout Scotland [...] It was begun in 1828, the intention being to lay it out after the model of Père Lachaise at Paris

²² Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, vol 2, p. 738.

²³ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, vol 1, pp. 564-65. This would seem to be contradictory to the Episcopalian taste for ritual and ceremony inside the church.

²⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1878.

²⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1878.

²⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1878.

²⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1878.

[...] It is beautifully laid out and kept, and has, with its trees, flowers, shrubs and gravel walks, the appearance of a fine terraced garden.²⁸

In the same year, Andrew Aird, a retired Glasgow printer, published his memories of the foundation of the Necropolis. Aird, who was born in 1819, recorded another example of how the popular response to the cemetery mirrored the intentions of the Merchants' House:

Some thought this scheme was too utopian, but the wisdom of those who started this undertaking has been well rewarded. The Necropolis was, what it still is, one of the favourite resorts of strangers.²⁹

As this section has shown, commentators such as Duncan Macfarlan and J. F. S. Gordon echoed the connections between the Necropolis and Père Lachaise made by the Merchants' House and its associates. The following sections demonstrate that writers of guidebooks and visitors themselves repeated the idea that the Glasgow cemetery was not only based on but could stand shoulder to shoulder with its Parisian model. However, the two landscapes were not directly comparable: their layout and design, their acreage, their tree cover, their distance from the town centres, and the size, design and material of their monuments differed greatly. For example, the typical family tomb in Père Lachaise was a 'miniature chapel' with a door and internal altar, while the most popular monument in the Necropolis was a neo-classical obelisk;³⁰ similarly, the monuments of the former reflected the social standing and wealth of families living in a capital city, rather than a provincial manufacturing and trading town. The comparison, therefore, was perhaps more symbolic than literal, and the concept of the Parisian masterpiece was used to validate the Glaswegian project. Rather than comparing the two cemeteries directly, perhaps the most appropriate proposition was that the Necropolis was to Glasgow what Père Lachaise was to Paris.

²⁸ Francis H. Groome, *The Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, vol 3 (London: William Mackenzie, 1894), p. 128.

²⁹ Andrew Aird, *Glimpses of Old Glasgow*, (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1894), p. 249.

³⁰ Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 370.

How travellers were guided to view the Necropolis

The Necropolis quickly became one of the ‘lions of Glasgow’, as contemporary guidebooks referred to the essential sights, and featured in travellers’ handbooks. In contrast, Sighthill Cemetery and the Southern Necropolis barely merited a mention. As historian Alastair Durie has shown, the early development of tourism in Scotland was driven by a Romantic view of the Highlands, fuelled by the writings of Sir Walter Scott and others, and underpinned by improvements in transportation.³¹ Glasgow, as an important staging post on the popular routes to the Highlands and the Trossachs, benefited from this traffic, as well as attracting visitors of its own, particularly those drawn by its industrial and commercial progress. Printed guides for travellers to Glasgow, published both in the city and in Edinburgh, and distributed in both cities and from London, also provided reactions to the Necropolis. Stephanie Ross’s recent statement about printed guides to the large public gardens of England can usefully be applied to these books:

The very fact that these guides were so popular says something about the way eighteenth century viewers construed the task of visiting a garden: they sought help, a book or a lexicon which would unpack the garden’s meaning.³²

Cemetery historian Julie Rugg, too, has noted that town guides are ‘indispensable for appreciating the cultural values associated with cemetery formation’.³³

The first guide to provide a response to the Necropolis, and to suggest the importance of the project, was written in June 1833, one month after the cemetery opened for business. The first edition of *McPhun’s Guide through Glasgow* reported:

The ground surrounding this [the Knox monument] has been recently very tastefully laid out as a cemetery, and, much to the credit of the citizens, has met

³¹ Alastair Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c1780-1939* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003).

³² Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 63.

³³ Julie Rugg, ‘The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853’, Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of History, University of Stirling, September 1992, p. 22.

with very general support. If the stranger's time admits it, he will be gratified by ascending this interesting spot.³⁴

A dedicated guide was not long in appearing: Laurence Hill published *A Companion to the Necropolis* in 1836.³⁵ This 36-page guide was sold, according to the frontispiece, by booksellers in Glasgow, Edinburgh, London and also 'at the gates of the Necropolis', which showed that there was a ready market for the guide, both for the prospective traveller and the curious local.³⁶ Longman, Rees and Company, the London stockist, would also have ensured that the guide, and the Necropolis itself, came to the attention of burial reformers in the capital. Cleland, by then the former Superintendent of Public Works in Glasgow, spread knowledge of the Necropolis in another way. His address to the statistical section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which met at Bristol in August 1836, included the assertion that 'the Necropolis, formed [...] in imitation of the cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris, stands unrivalled in the kingdom for picturesque effect'; the address was also published in book form.³⁷ Cleland expanded these remarks in print in 1840, noting that the Necropolis:

was opened for sepulture in May, 1833, and already contains a great number of splendid monuments erected to the memory of departed worth [...] Mr. Milne, the able Superintendent, has displayed great taste in laying out the burying places and decorating the ground.³⁸

The 1840 edition of William McPhun's guide ('new edition, greatly enlarged and improved') set the Necropolis firmly in the same class of attraction as the High Church, the Royal Exchange, the University of Glasgow and its Hunterian Museum and the Botanical Gardens.³⁹ McPhun described the Necropolis as both visually appealing and morally uplifting, and firmly recommended a visit:

³⁴ *McPhun's Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: London Newspaper Office, 1833), p. 31. This guide was also published by John Hamilton in Edinburgh, Simpkin & Marshall, London, and W. F. Wakeman, Dublin. The introduction is dated June 1833.

³⁵ Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1836).

³⁶ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 1.

³⁷ James Cleland, *Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 1837), p. 6.

³⁸ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840), p. 18. Hill's family burying space, a large semi-circular platform excavated from the western face of the Necropolis, was not a Mausoleum. It was, however, the first family burial space that was not a simple lair.

³⁹ *McPhun's Stranger's Pocket Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1840), p. 1. The book was also published by Ball, Arnold, of London.

If the stranger's time admits of it, an hour or two may be most agreeably and profitably spent in traversing the fine walks here and, and looking around him on the *mementi mori* that surround him. Admittance gratuitous from morn to dusk.⁴⁰

The twin aspects of the Necropolis, as being both aesthetically appealing and offering a place for reflection on death and whatever may lie beyond, are also seen in the guide written by Peter Buchan (1790-1854) around 1843, and addressed to 'the traveller'.⁴¹ This pocketbook contains 18 pages concerning the history of the High Church and a 24-page guided tour of the Necropolis. The latter is concluded with two pages headed 'Fees payable for interments in the Necropolis', presumably for those travellers considering a second, much longer, visit.⁴² Buchan's guide to 'this palace of the triumphant dead' noted that 'a more picturesque spot could not have been chosen for a Père Lachaise after the model of the one in Paris', and that it had 'an air of melancholy gloom, suited to the subject and place'.⁴³ As well as being appropriately murky, the author noted, the monuments in 'this palace of skulls' serve as warnings to visitors.⁴⁴ He quoted an un-named author: 'Every stone that we look upon in this repository of past ages is both an entertainment and a monitor.'⁴⁵

The guide called to the reader's attention the 'very handsome' Bridge of Sighs, the gate keeper's 'neat and handsome lodge', and the natural advantages of the site which the Directors of the Merchants' House 'have turned to a noble account, not only in a pecuniary way, but as an ornament to the city'.⁴⁶ This combination of cold cash and civic improvement reached its apogee in Buchan's bathetic description of the Bridge of Sighs:

As the most proper entrance to this city of the silent dead, the foundation stone of this bridge was laid by James Hutchinson, Esq., then Dean of Guild, on the 18th day of October 1833, in presence of the magistrates, the members of the Merchants' House and a great concourse of other people; and cost, when finished, about £1,240, being the lowest estimate by Mr. John Lochore.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ *McPhun's Stranger's Pocket Guide*, p. 26.

⁴¹ Peter Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis* (Glasgow: Andrew Rutherglen, c. 1843), p. 5.

⁴² Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 47-48.

⁴³ Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 28.

⁴⁵ Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 33.

⁴⁶ Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 27, 28.

⁴⁷ Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 28.

Adam and Charles Black's 1843 guidebook gave extensive coverage to the Necropolis, providing a colourful account of the scenery, and short mentions of the memorials to John Knox, William McGavin and John Dick, three dissenting Presbyterians. A footnote added that, since the text was written, a marble statue of Charles Tennant of St. Rollox had been built (see Figure 40), and that a 'splendid mausoleum' for Major Monteath, which 'is in course of erection', would become 'one of the most striking objects in this noble garden of the dead' (see Figure 41).⁴⁸ The guidebook's description of the Molendinar Burn offered a pointed suggestion of how the entrance to the Necropolis should be understood:

With a fine bold arch, the bridge [of Sighs] spans the brawling waters of a rivulet, which, after being collected into a small dam or lake, dash briskly over an artificial cascade down a steep ravine, imparting a character of life and cheerfulness to a spot consecrated to the most solemn associations.⁴⁹

This response to the Molendinar, repeated by Alexander Campbell in 1847 (see below), suggested that the burn contributed much to the Romantic image of the Necropolis, offering colour and movement – as well as symbolic associations of life, and the passage from life to death – to a static landscape. During the course of the nineteenth century, milling and more industrial activity upstream of the Necropolis took its toll, and the Molendinar was culverted and its valley converted into Wishart Street in the 1870s, following the implementation of the City Improvement Act of 1866.⁵⁰

In 1844, the third edition of *Black's Economical Tourist* [sic] of Scotland stated that Glasgow had lately become 'a kind of emporium to tourists', thanks to the 'cheapness and rapidity of steam communication'.⁵¹ The author listed the 'objects in Glasgow, besides factories, most worthy of the attention of strangers' as the High Church, the Necropolis, the University of Glasgow, 'Hunter's Museum', the museum of the Andersonian Institution and the Royal Exchange.⁵² The aspects of the Necropolis described echo other writers' depictions of the cemetery:

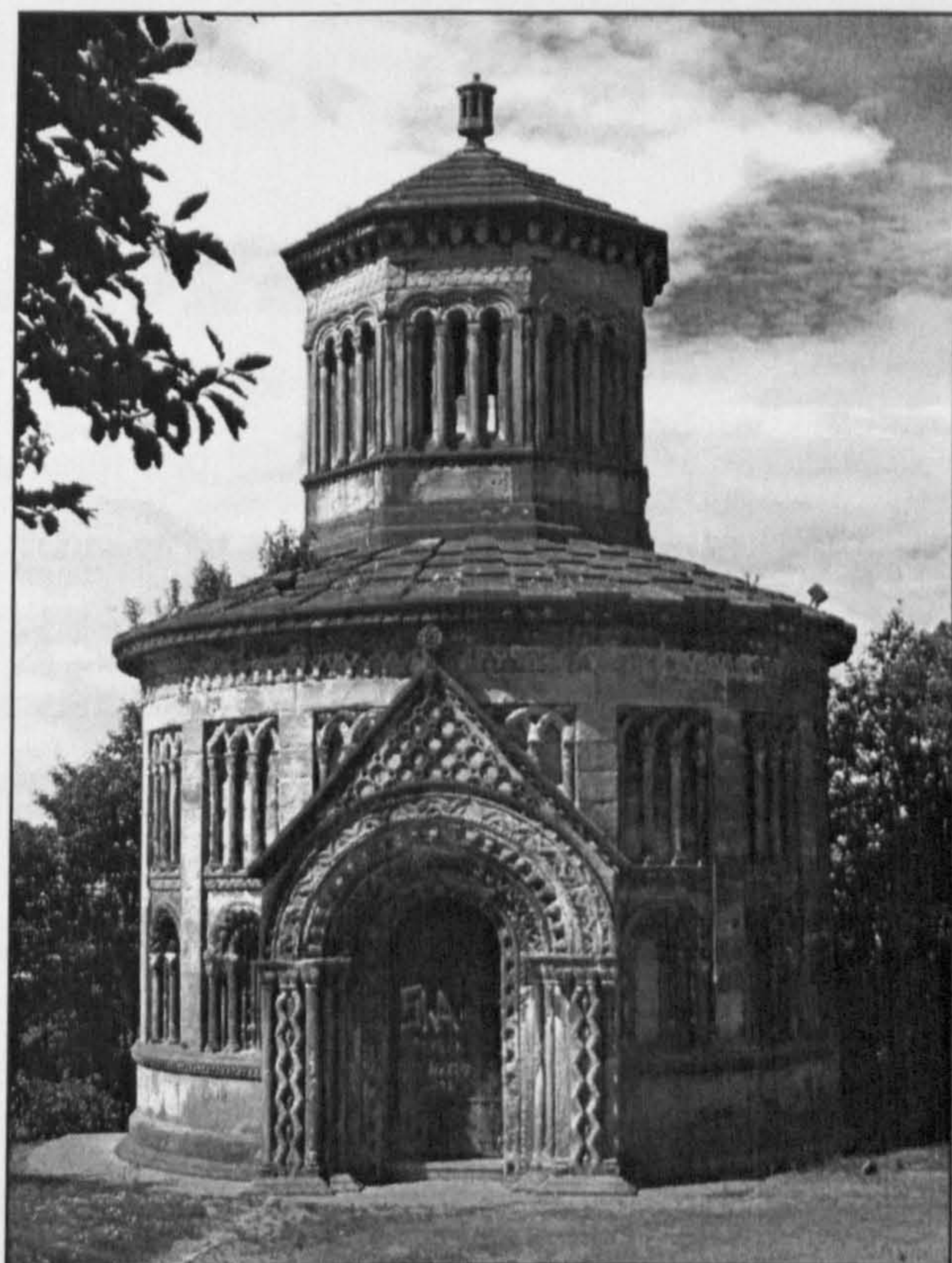
⁴⁸ *Black's Economical Guide through Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1843), p. 21.

⁴⁹ *Black's Economical Guide*, p. 21.

⁵⁰ Joe Fisher, *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p. 220, 365.

⁵¹ *Black's Economical Tourist* of [sic] Scotland (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1844), 3rd edn, p. 7.

⁵² *Black's Economical Tourist*, p. 7.



Necropolis Visiting Book			
Residence & Country by whom Introduced			
June 23	David Gibb	Glasgow	John R. Gibb
	Miss Robinson	Liverpool	
	Mr. McLauchlan	Do	do
	Miss Adam	Paisley	do
	Thomas Booth	Manchester	George Adam
	Robt. Pickles	Manchester	
	Miss Bondie	Glasgow	James St. C. Macintyre
	James Buchanan	Campbeltown	do
	Isabella Buchanan	do	do
	J. Coleman junr	Richmond St	J. Coleman
	Thomas Young	Stockwell Place	John Douglas
	A. Thomson	Paisley	" "
	J. Brown	do	" "
	Miss	Dublin	Thos. Dwyer

Figure 41 (top) – Archibald Douglas Monteath, a major in the service of the East India Company, and his brother were the only people interred in this imposing Romanesque rotunda, built in the 1840s to the design of a Templar church. (Photographed July 2005.)

Figure 42 (above) – The Necropolis quickly became a popular visitor attraction, as this page from the visitors' book, part of the entry for 23 June 1835, showed. (GCA, TD-192, Pages from a visitors' book of the Glasgow Necropolis, c. 1830-1845.)

The ground has been laid out with great taste in walks and shrubberies; monuments to the memory of John Knox and of William McGavin Esq. have been erected in it.⁵³

The reference to ‘taste’ and the elevation of the Necropolis as one of the leading six non-industrial attractions in Glasgow certainly reflect the Merchants’ House agenda.

A guide to the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and to the railway between them, published in 1845, dedicated 76 lines to describing Glasgow.⁵⁴ Two of these lines, representing more than two per cent of the total, were dedicated to the Necropolis, which ‘abounds with sepulchral ornaments; the principal one is in honour of John Knox the Reformer’.⁵⁵ In addition, a short guide to Glasgow published in Edinburgh three years later gave not only an account of the Necropolis but a brief mention of Sighthill cemetery, indicating that these two civic improvements were of interest to the traveller. The first account included:

This large ornamental burying ground is entered by a fine gateway in Italian style, well worthy of a visit from the stranger, being tastefully laid out with fine walks, shaded by trees and containing many chaste and interesting monumental erections.⁵⁶

The three monuments mentioned in this account – and others published around this time – were to John Knox, William McGavin and John Dick, which suggests evangelical or fundamentalist sympathies on the part of the writers, or perhaps these were, for more general reasons, the most striking structures in the cemetery at that time. Perhaps interestingly, all three named monuments celebrated the lives of people buried elsewhere. The entry for Sighthill, which appeared more concerned with the aesthetic appearance of the cemetery, seemed to make a point of not mentioning the actual purpose of the grounds:

Sighthill Cemetery (visitors admitted every lawful day). Well worthy of a visit from the stranger, being tastefully laid out, and, from its elevated sight, commanding a most delightful prospect.⁵⁷

⁵³ *Black’s Economical Tourist*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Guide to the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, including Guides to Edinburgh and Glasgow* (Edinburgh: John Thomson, 1845).

⁵⁵ *Guide to the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway*, p. 34.

⁵⁶ *McDowall’s Penny Guide through Glasgow* (Edinburgh: T. & W. McDowall, 1848), pp. 13-14.

⁵⁷ *McDowall’s Penny Guide*, p. 12.

Robin and Lindsay's guide to Glasgow, published in 1855, described both the appearance of the Necropolis, as part of its tour of the city, and its most prominent grave markers, in a section devoted to monuments.⁵⁸ This section had eight paragraphs, of which two were dedicated to the Necropolis, which shows the importance of both that cemetery and the practice of constructing grand and conspicuous memorials there. This guide also mentioned the High Church yard ('an old burying ground'), the Southern Necropolis (without any description), and 'a beautifully ornamented cemetery, designated Sighthill, situated on a rising ground, which commands from its summit a delightful prospect of Glasgow and its environs'.⁵⁹ The book's description of the Necropolis noted that, behind the High Church:

there presents itself to view another city of the dead, beautiful for situation, and magnificent in its adornments of terraces, shrubberies and monumental columns. In everything that pertains to the picturesque, this Necropolis surpasses any other in the kingdom.⁶⁰

The guide commented on the monuments to Knox ('the most conspicuous and the oldest'), McGavin ('much beauty of design and execution'), William Motherwell ('graceful'), John Dick, John Henry Alexander, Charles Tennant (all 'fine erections'), and Major Monteath ('a massive and imposing fabric' and 'a beautiful example of Norman architecture').⁶¹ Overall, this was a very positive article that helped to position the cemetery as an important Glasgow landmark, both culturally and literally.

A later guidebook, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, written by George Blair and published 1857, was reviewed by John Doran in *The Athenaeum* in June of that year; this suggests that there was still a metropolitan interest in the Necropolis and the lives of the people interred there.⁶² Blair's guide closely reflected the Merchants' House view of the cemetery: he derived much of his history and background, with acknowledgement, from both Strang's book and Hill's guide, and dedicated the work to the Dean of Guild and the other directors of the House. The first paragraph of Blair's preface contained all the standard tropes: how the Necropolis was matched only by Père Lachaise, how the cemetery added to the natural beauty of the

⁵⁸ *Robin & Lindsay's New and Complete Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: Robin & Lindsay, 1855).

⁵⁹ *Robin & Lindsay's New and Complete Guide*, p. 27.

⁶⁰ *Robin & Lindsay's New and Complete Guide*, pp. 26-27.

⁶¹ *Robin & Lindsay's New and Complete Guide*, p. 45.

⁶² George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857); *The Athenaeum*, 6 June 1857, p. 725.

site, how it was related to the High Church, how it gave a pleasing view of the city, and how it had become a place of leisure for citizens and an attraction for visitors.⁶³ Blair then noted that his interpretation of the Necropolis in 1857 was ‘precisely in accordance with the object and design of the cemetery’, indicating that the signification of the cemetery was closely matched by its reception, at least for that writer.⁶⁴

The consensus view of the Necropolis also prevailed in the 20th edition of *Oliver and Boyd’s Scottish Tourist*, published in 1860.⁶⁵ After giving its location and the date of its foundation, the guide noted that this ‘large and picturesque burial ground’ offered the visitor ‘an extensive view of the city and the river’, and that the ‘most conspicuous’ monument was ‘a Doric column with a statue of John Knox’.⁶⁶ Thomas Cook’s guidebook for English visitors to Scotland portrayed Glasgow as ‘the great city of merchant princes and of commercial energy and magnificence’, a phrase that could equally apply to the Necropolis.⁶⁷ Half of the book’s entry for Glasgow is taken up with a description of the Necropolis, and the cemetery takes second place only to the High Church in the guidebook’s list of seven attractions; the others are, in order, George Square, the West End Park, the University, the Hunterian Museum, and the Royal Exchange.⁶⁸ Cook’s description of the Necropolis includes the observation that it is ‘situated on a high and pleasant locality, on the bank of a stream’.⁶⁹

James Pagan (1811-1870) gave a detailed account of the Necropolis in his 1866 guide. This included a description of the summit, from which:

The whole city stretches out beneath the eye of the spectator, while at hand rises the lofty and imposing spire of the Cathedral. On the opposite side, the eye ranges over a large expanse of fertile and well cultivated country [...] including the princely domains of Hamilton and Bothwell.⁷⁰

Five years later, Walter Craig’s guide to the Necropolis opened with the statement that ‘this beautiful garden cemetery is every year becoming more popular as a place of resort

⁶³ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches*, p. vii.

⁶⁴ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches*, p. vii.

⁶⁵ *Oliver & Boyd’s Scottish Tourist*, 20th edn (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1860).

⁶⁶ *Oliver & Boyd’s Scottish Tourist*, 20th edn (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1860), p. 93.

⁶⁷ Thomas Cook, *Cook’s Scottish Tourist Official Directory* (London: W. Tweedie, 1861), p. 45.

⁶⁸ Thomas Cook, *Cook’s Scottish Tourist*, pp. 45-46.

⁶⁹ Thomas Cook, *Cook’s Scottish Tourist*, p. 45.

⁷⁰ James Pagan, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Cathedral Church, Glasgow, Necropolis, etc.* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray, 1866), pp. 35-36.

for the citizens, and also as a place of interest to every visitor to the city'.⁷¹ Craig also asserted that this cemetery 'is considered by all to be the finest in Europe in point of situation and the splendour of its monuments'.⁷² The remainder of his guide was derivative, and offered few original reflections on the Necropolis; as he wrote: 'much labour has been saved in this guide by a free use of works already published.'⁷³

In summary, then, these guidebooks for visitors to the city helped to frame the Necropolis as a place of rational recreation, where the beauty of the landscape and the inscriptions on the monuments combined to offer pleasant views and timely reminders of mortality. They also, particularly in the case of Buchan, compared the hygienic and landscaped qualities of the Necropolis with what had gone before, and what was still the norm in other parts of the country, suggesting that Glasgow was evolving as a mature, urban entity, dealing with an age-old problem in a progressive, rational and indeed beautiful way.

Dissenting voices

Not everyone saw the Necropolis as an unalloyed improvement. The movement for extra-mural burial, which changed its view on this cemetery after Sighthill opened in 1840, and presumably as the expanding city began to surround the Necropolis, pointed out the danger to public hygiene posed by burials in populated areas. For different reasons, the Tennent brewing family objected to burials next to their operations, arguing that this would ruin their business. Both these campaigns showed how the Necropolis was viewed in the city. Much of the outraged reaction to intra-mural interment derived from the pythogenic and miasmatic theories of disease, which proposed that the vapours that were given off by decomposing bodies were carriers of fatal illnesses. These theories were eventually superseded by the germ theory, through the pioneering works of Louis Pasteur and Joseph Lister.

From around 1840, there was pressure for new cemeteries to be built outside the city boundary. This was driven in part by the publication of *Gatherings from Graveyards* in 1839, in which George Alfred Walker (1807-84), a medical practitioner

⁷¹ Walter T. Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide to the Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: E. Brown, 1871). p. ii.

⁷² Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide*, p. 1.

⁷³ Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide*, pp. ii.

in London, sensationally recounted the horrors to be found in the small Anglican, nonconformist and private grounds of central London.⁷⁴ Walker also presented his research to a Select Committee of the House of Commons in early 1840, which helped give wide coverage to his views.⁷⁵ Walker's book used choice language: he referred to 'the pestiferous exhalations of the dead' and described burying grounds near houses as 'a national evil' that promoted 'inhumanity, immorality and irreligion'.⁷⁶ Walker reprinted a paragraph from *The Glasgow Courier* as an example of the 'most disgusting indignities' inflicted on the dead, and their impact upon the living:

Disgraceful nuisance – In the St. Mungo's New Burying Ground there is a pit or common grave for the remains of persons who die at the Royal Infirmary. This capacious receptacle is only covered by a few planks, and the stench emitted in hot weather is most insufferable. On Sabbath it was so abominable as to become matter of very general complaint on the part of persons passing to church within a hundred yards of the place.⁷⁷

The effect of Walker's writing was 'to bludgeon the public with the results of his single-minded investigations', wrote James Stevens Curl, and 'his vivid and horrible descriptions shocked contemporary opinion'.⁷⁸ Other London publications echoed Walker's findings, and his revulsion. Charles Dickens, as editor of *Household Words*, published an anonymous poem called 'City Graves' in 1840. It included the following stanza:

I saw from out the earth peep forth
The white and glistening bones,
With jagged ends of coffin planks,
That e'en the worm disowns;
And once a smooth round skull rolled on,
Like a football, on the stones.⁷⁹

The Builder, too, found much to criticise in the state of the British capital's burial arrangements. Each year, it reported, London 'buries – no it does not bury – but stores and piles up 50,000 of its dead to putrefy, to rot, to give out exhalations, to darken the

⁷⁴ George Alfred Walker, *Gatherings from Graveyards* (London: Longman, 1839).

⁷⁵ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud, Gloucester: Sutton publishing, 2000), p. 92.

⁷⁶ Walker, *Gatherings from Graveyards*, pp. vii, iii.

⁷⁷ Walker, *Gatherings from Graveyards*, p. 213. Walker did not give a date for the newspaper article.

⁷⁸ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (2000), p. 113.

⁷⁹ 'City Graves', in *Household Words*, 14 December 1840.

air with vapours [...] and one talks of decent and Christian burial'.⁸⁰ Edwin Chadwick's report on intra-mural burial, commissioned by the Home Secretary, gave further impetus for reform.⁸¹

In Glasgow, the problem was far less severe, and had been identified by Strang and others more than ten years earlier; however, there was a shared rejection of intra-mural burial, which was expressed in pamphlets designed to inform and persuade the public to demand action. These pamphlets, in their descriptions of the Necropolis, provide another view of that cemetery as an accepted hygienic model. One of these pamphlets, by 'Civis', published in 1840, complained that the city's church yards were 'the fruitful source of disease' and repeated the description of the pit in St. Mungo's Burying Ground given by the *Glasgow Courier* and reprinted by Walker.⁸² The site of the Botanic Gardens at Sandyford had been suggested for a possible new cemetery, but the author dismissed this on the grounds that it was surrounded by houses; however, in contrast, 'a better situation than that of our beautiful Necropolis could not be wished. It is an admirable burying place.'⁸³ An anonymous pamphlet on the same subject, published in 1842, noted that extra-mural burial 'was much discussed' in Glasgow 'two years ago' and again complained of the nuisance of crowded church yards, in particular the Ramshorn.⁸⁴ The author, after referring to Walker's *Gatherings*, discussed the two new cemeteries that had opened since 1840 – the Southern Necropolis and Sighthill – and the slightly older Necropolis. While the Southern Necropolis was praised – 'the soil is very dry and it has been tastefully laid off and enclosed' – its situation 'is not what we could have wished', presumably because it was close to housing. Sighthill, however, 'is all we could desire': it was at 'a proper distance' from the city, it was tastefully laid out, it was elevated, the soil was dry, and – unlike the 'noble Necropolis' to the east of the town centre – 'the poorest can have a last resting place, without danger to the living'.⁸⁵ Now that Sighthill was opened, concluded the writer, 'there is now no excuse in Glasgow for city burial'.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ *The Builder*, 8 April 1843, p. 104.

⁸¹ Edwin Chadwick, *A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns* (London: W. Clowes, 1843).

⁸² 'Civis', *A Letter to the Lord Provost of Glasgow, on the Danger of Burying within the City* (Glasgow: John Symington, 1840), pp. 4, 14.

⁸³ 'Civis', *A Letter to the Lord Provost*, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁴ *Remarks on the Origin and Evils of City Interments* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1842), pp. 15, 16.

⁸⁵ *Remarks on the Origin and Evils of City Interments*, pp. 15.

⁸⁶ *Remarks on the Origin and Evils of City Interments*, pp. 16.

The idea that intra-mural burial constituted a public nuisance was legally tested in 1835, when brewer Hugh Tennent (1780-1864) took action against the Merchants' House. Tennent was the proprietor of the Well Park estate, on Duke Street, which was also the site of the famous family brewery, founded in the eighteenth century. The estate was located immediately to the south of the Merchant's House property. Tennent, who served as a Glasgow town councillor in the 1830s and 1840s, objected to the operations of the House adjacent to his property, which he claimed were polluting the water supply to the brewery, bleach-field and distillery on his land. The extent of the industrial operations on his estate, which was also the location of Well Park House, the family seat, would have qualified it as a tourist attraction to rival the Necropolis; one description of the brewery alone noted that its operations included 'a maltster's, a cooperage, an engineer's shop, a printing office, a wright's yard, a saw mill, [and] a carrier's quarter'.⁸⁷ The dispute between the brewer and the House went to law in early 1835, when Tennent applied to the Court of Session for an Interdict 'against interments in the neighbourhood of his brewery'.⁸⁸ In July 1835, the brewer petitioned the same court for a Summons of Declarator against the House, supplementing the complaints in his application for an Interdict. This included the assertion that the House was conducting burial near his property in such a way as to create a prejudice against his brewery. The House pledged to defend the action vigorously.⁸⁹

In his submission to the court, the brewer stated that the House had been 'converting different parts of their lands of Wester Craigs into public burying grounds'. Firstly, the 'higher and more picturesque portion' was made into a cemetery 'for the wealthier citizens of Glasgow', to which he did not object, but that recently the House had 'appropriated the lower part of their lands [...] to accommodate the poorer classes of the community'. Tennent claimed he held the right to collect water from the springs in this area of land, immediately to the north of the brewery.⁹⁰ Tennent asked for burials to be halted on four grounds. The second of these sheds some light on the reception that

⁸⁷ James MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, two vols (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1886), pp. 313-315.

⁸⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July and 17 August 1835. A Summons of Declarator was a writ, issued in the name of the sovereign, declaring a right or a fact that has been questioned (A. J. G. Mackay, *The Practice of the Court of Session* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879], pp. 93, 118.). In this case, Tennent's claimed right to the water in the quarry was at risk.

⁸⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July and 17 August 1835.

⁹⁰ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Hugh Tennent v. Merchants' House, 1835. This is a bundle of various court documents.

the Necropolis received from the people of Glasgow: the brewer stated that a cemetery was not ‘a common and legitimate use’ of ground but rather a ‘very unusual and extraordinary one’. The Lord Ordinary did not grant the brewer an interdict, but gave Tennent leave to appeal this decision.⁹¹

The House’s defence was lodged with the court in December 1835. This asserted that the House’s proposal for a cemetery, which had been ‘published as extensively as possible’, had been ‘received by the public with the greatest approbation’, and that the completed Necropolis was agreed to be ‘an imperative public necessity’ that was ‘no less an ornament than a convenience to the city’.⁹² The project was a success in any terms, continued the response:

The demand of the public for additional burying ground was [...] satisfied, the expenditure of the respondents bade fair to be amply repaid, and the city was adorned with a place of sepulture forming in fact a beautiful and tranquil promenade, the frequent resort both of the inhabitants and of strangers.⁹³

The House’s statement added that the Necropolis was ‘more pleasing to the eye and to the imagination than any cemetery of which any other city in the Empire can boast’.⁹⁴ The submission dismissed Tennant’s claims about the inherent nature of burying grounds, denying that ‘a burying ground is itself and necessarily a nuisance’, and refuting his arguments as ‘childish prejudices and fancied terrors’ and ‘absurd and imaginary apprehensions’.⁹⁵ On the contrary, the House claimed, the Necropolis was ‘an ornament both to its own neighbourhood and to the city [... which] betrays nothing of death but its silence and repose’, thanks in part to its ‘sequestered walks and the shade of its foliage’.⁹⁶ In short, it was nothing more than ‘a continuation to the eastward of the High Church burying ground’.⁹⁷ Another defence document, submitted to the Outer House of the Court of Session in December 1835, pointed out that the Merchants’ House had given wide publicity to its plans to transform the Fir Park into a cemetery, and that many families had bought burial places there, yet – with the exception of the

⁹¹ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

⁹² NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

⁹³ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

⁹⁴ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

⁹⁵ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

⁹⁶ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

⁹⁷ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Tennent v. Merchants’ House, 1835.

pursuer of the case – ‘no objection was heard from any quarter’.⁹⁸ The dispute ended out of court, in September 1837, with the House agreeing to restrict burials along their boundary with Tennent’s lands, where ground would be sold only ‘to families or individuals for lairs’ and not used for ‘promiscuous interment’.⁹⁹ The House also agreed to pay the brewer £350 to settle his disputed claim to water from springs on the House’s lands.¹⁰⁰

Responses to the Necropolis in verse

Stephanie Ross has argued that in eighteenth century England there was a consensus that gardening was ‘a bona fide art, a full sister to painting and poetry’, and that gardens ‘were expected to perform the tasks of their sister arts, to offer messages visitors could “read” and scenes they could savour’.¹⁰¹ James Stevens Curl and other architectural historians have traced the movement of this Romantic style that emerged during the eighteenth century – known as the English landscape garden – from the grand gardens of England to Père Lachaise and from there to the ornamental and garden cemeteries that were inspired by the Parisian pioneer, in Britain and elsewhere.¹⁰² This new picturesque style of gardening, as it was also known, in contrast to its emblematic precursor, was ‘carefully cultivated to resemble untouched nature’, as Ross noted, reflecting a broader change in aesthetics from neoclassical to Romantic taste.¹⁰³

Scottish garden historian Sheila Mackay’s statement that ‘from medieval times the evolution of gardens in Scotland kept pace with the rest of Europe, ideologically at least, and often in fact’ suggests that Ross’s observations about poetry and gardening in England can be applied north of the Border, and specifically to the Necropolis, given the close involvement of Stewart Murray, superintendent of the Glasgow Botanic

⁹⁸ GCA, T-MH52/8/2/1, ‘Legal Papers Referring to Agreements between Hugh Tennent [...] and the Merchants’ House’.

⁹⁹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 September 1837.

¹⁰⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 September 1837.

¹⁰¹ Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. xi-xiii.

¹⁰² Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (2000), pp. 11-27. It is interesting to note that both ‘landscape’ and ‘picturesque’ are terms derived from the art of painting.

¹⁰³ Ross, *What Gardens Mean*, pp. xi-xiii.

Gardens at Sandyford, in the cemetery.¹⁰⁴ This, in turn, suggests that the response of poets to the Necropolis is a legitimate and productive historical source. If gardening is an ideological enterprise, as both Ross and Mackay believe it to be, then Romantic poetry, written from the same cultural standpoint, should offer some insights into how the readers of these texts responded to the emotional and aesthetic aspects of the Necropolis.

The practice of writing poetry about burying grounds had been established a number of decades before the opening of the Necropolis. The accepted primogenitor of this school, known as the Graveyard Poets, was Thomas Gray (1716-1771), whose ‘Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard’ was published in 1751.¹⁰⁵ This poem contained many of the tropes that were to become standard within the genre, such as death as a leveller, death as sleep, epitaphs as lessons, burying grounds as places of contemplation, and the activity of animals in contrast to the silent dead, all wrapped in a Deism that – in terms of the dominant religion – denied Christ. While the Graveyard Poets – who included the Scottish writers James Beattie (1735-1790), James Macpherson (1736-1796), James Thomson (1700-1748), and Robert Blair (1699-1746) – and their successors produced a plethora of work on these subjects, there were two poems that, particularly through their titles, had specific relevance to how people, and specifically poets, perceived the Glasgow Necropolis. The first was ‘The City of the Dead’ – the direct English translation of the Greek word Necropolis – by Letitia Elizabeth Landon (1802-1839), which appeared in a popular annual in 1828; the volume also included work by Sir Walter Scott, John Gibson Lockhart and James Hogg, suggesting that it would have circulated widely in Scotland.¹⁰⁶ The second is ‘Père Lachaise’ by John Malcolm, which was published in Edinburgh in the same year.¹⁰⁷

Landon’s poem begins with a prologue addressed to the grave, described as a ‘dark portal of another world’ which some people want to enter ‘for thou/ Alone canst reunite the loved and lost/ With those who pine for them’.¹⁰⁸ There follow five stanzas, each concerned with one topic: the laurel, the rose, the dark cypress, a sunbeam, and the

¹⁰⁴ Sheila Mackay, *Early Scottish Gardens* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001); p. 13. Ross, *What Gardens Mean*, p. xiii.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Gray, *An Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (London: R. Dodsley, 1751).

¹⁰⁶ Letitia Elizabeth Landon, ‘The City of the Dead’, in *The Bijou, or Annual of Literature and the Arts* (London: William Pickering, 1828), p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ John Malcolm, ‘Père Lachaise’, in *Scenes of War and Other Poems* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1828), pp. 114-117.

¹⁰⁸ Landon, ‘The City of the Dead’, p. 13.

narrator's dead partner. The consolations of nature and of an eventual reunion with one's loved ones are the main themes here, with no mention of God or religion. Malcolm's poem describes a specific burying ground, unusual for poets working in this genre, who preferred to present a Romantic ideal. He describes it in terms of 'silence and repose' and 'sacred solitude', in contrast to the 'living city's distant hum'.¹⁰⁹ Again, there is no appeal to the consolations of religion and it is the 'glad warblers, [...] shady boughs and whispering leaves' that supply the 'versper hymns' and 'matin song' that bring comfort to 'the long last repose'.¹¹⁰

These poems not only helped prepare people for the coming of the Necropolis, by attributing positive cultural values to burying grounds, but also by making the subject a proper and popular one for the subject of poetry. They also, particularly in the case of Malcolm, attributed the values of the sacred and the sublime to burying grounds that were not attached to churches, either in the literal or metaphorical sense. These poems both gave significance to the Necropolis, and gave a poetic context within which later poets could write specifically about Glasgow's new cemetery.

Hill's guidebook to the Necropolis both began and ended with poets.¹¹¹ Beneath the frontispiece were the words 'And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave', attributed to 'Beattie'. The quotation was from the poem 'The Minstrel; or The Progress of Genius', an autobiographical poem in Spenserian stanzas written in 1771-74 by James Beattie (1735-1803), Professor of Moral Philosophy in Aberdeen University.¹¹² Beattie was also a key figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, and had written on the topic of taste, which was a recurring issue in the deliberations of the Necropolis Committee.¹¹³ Everard King has demonstrated that this poem greatly influenced the first generation of British Romantic poets, particularly Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron.¹¹⁴

The guidebook ended with a poem 'by a lady', which had been previously published in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1834. The 11 stanzas dealt with the recurring themes of the beauties of garden cemeteries compared to over-crowded church yards, the contemplation of death and mortality, and the commemoration of the good and great. On the first theme, she wrote:

¹⁰⁹ Malcolm, 'Père Lachaise', p. 115.

¹¹⁰ Malcolm, 'Père Lachaise', p. 116.

¹¹¹ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 32.

¹¹² James Beattie, *The Minstrel* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771-74).

¹¹³ James Beattie, 'Of Memory and Imagination' in *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (London: Strahan & Cadell, 1783), pp. 165-183.

¹¹⁴ Everard King, *James Beattie's The Minstrel and the Origins of Romantic Autobiography* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellin Press, 1992).

What gorgeous tints adorn the west,
 As twilight mourns th' expiring day.
 And thus should man be laid to rest,
 With beauty hallowing his decay.¹¹⁵

Here we have the end of the day poetically paralleling the end of human life, and the burial place made sacred by the beauty of both the natural sunlight and the human-made garden-like surroundings. On the matter of visiting graves and contemplating eternity, she wrote:

How good to leave the city's strife
 To muse upon this sacred ground.
 And quit the troubled tide of life
 To commune with the dead around.¹¹⁶

Once more, the grave was viewed as sacred, even though the specific cemetery under discussion was unconsecrated. Unusually, perhaps, the social life of the deceased continued among their new surroundings, presumably with people of their own social standing. Then, while the High Church was the home to 'the saints and heroes of the past', the Necropolis was a fitting resting place for the contemporary equivalent:

And living names to genius dear
 Shall after-times emblazoned see
 On shrines their natal town shall rear
 To grace her garden cemetery.¹¹⁷

Hill's guidebook, in prose and poetry, foreshadowed the portrait of the Necropolis painted by later, more independent, writers. The tropes of beauty, contemplation and commemoration became standard ways of observing and interpreting the Necropolis, which quickly developed – literally and metaphorically – as part of the Glasgow landscape that was proudly recommended to the attention of visitors and locals.

Other poets helped both bring the Necropolis to the attention of a wide range of society, both in Europe and America, and frame its meaning in terms of contemplation, commemoration and memory. One such was Lydia Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865), an

¹¹⁵ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*.

¹¹⁶ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 33.

¹¹⁷ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 33.

American popular writer on education and religious issues, who visited Glasgow in 1839.¹¹⁸ Her poem, 'The Necropolis at Glasgow', was published in a book of her travel writing published in Boston in 1842.¹¹⁹ She covered familiar ground: the contrast between the High Church yard, 'with tombstones mouldering round its base' and the Necropolis; the enclosure set aside for the Jewish community – 'Poor child of Judah, exiled and oppressed, How wrapped in shades thy lowly spot of rest'; and the atmosphere of contemplation of death and, for her, resurrection and eternal life.¹²⁰ Sigourney's poetic journey through the Necropolis to the statue of John Knox contained references to Mount Auburn cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Laurel Hill in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the first two American garden cemeteries, founded in 1831 and 1836 respectively, showing its significance to an American visitor.¹²¹ Her reading of the Necropolis as a culturally significant location, and her interpretation of the memorials, landscaping and planting as reminders of both mortality and eternal life helped frame the Necropolis for her readers, and suggested how it and other garden cemeteries should be viewed and understood.

Another poet who examined the Necropolis was Hugh Brown (1818-1881), a school teacher in Drumclog and a member of the Free Church, who visited the Necropolis during the first ten years of its existence.¹²² His poem, *Lines, on Visiting the Glasgow Necropolis*, was published in 1844 in an anthology of Ayrshire poets.¹²³ It made clear that three of the aims of Strang and others had been made manifest: the Necropolis was hygienic and pleasant, at least compared to the High Church yard; it was an ecumenical burying ground; and it was a place of contemplation and mourning. It was also clear that the Necropolis was, as an institution, worthy of poetic notice.

The fourth stanza described the High Church yard:

Where crowd on crowd are hurried in,
Like men in battle slain –
The very charnel house of death,

¹¹⁸ Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), p. 253.

¹¹⁹ Lydia Huntley Sigourney, 'The Necropolis at Glasgow', in *Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands*, (Boston: J. Munroe, 1842).

¹²⁰ Sigourney, 'The Necropolis', p. 101.

¹²¹ Sigourney, 'The Necropolis', p. 101.

¹²² John MacIntosh, *The Poets of Ayrshire* (Dumfries: Thomas Hunter, 1910), p. 209.

¹²³ Hugh Brown, 'Lines, on Visiting the Glasgow Necropolis', in Robert Crawford, editor, *The Ayrshire Wreath* (Kilmarnock: H. Crawford and Son, 1844), pp. 219-22.

Foul with corruption's tainted breath.¹²⁴

By comparison, in the Necropolis, 'There is charm and beauty shed, Around that city of the dead', and there 'the scattered ones of Israel's race [...] have found a grave – a resting place, and with the Christians, too'.¹²⁵ The morally uplifting aspects of the Necropolis were praised – 'We thank these tombs for what they teach' – as were the lessons that future generations will learn from contemplating the monuments and their inscriptions.¹²⁶

In conclusion, then, the medium of poetry had a strong connection with death and commemoration, and significant poems on these topics could be said to have prepared people for the coming of the garden cemetery. Specifically in Glasgow, poets saw the Necropolis as an appropriate topic for their musings, and poetry inspired by the cemetery delivered, through another medium, another view of the consensus between the Merchants' House vision and its reception.

Responses to the Necropolis by visitors

By 1836, according to Hill, 'the number of visitors' names entered in the visiting book now average above 100 daily'.¹²⁷ Since the Necropolis was open seven days a week, this gives an annual figure of more than 36,500, not counting those taking part in funerals. Potentially, each visitor could have helped to spread news of the city's new cemetery. One page from an early visiting book, with some of the entries for 23 and 24 June 1835, shows 36 visitors, 11 from Glasgow and the rest from as far afield as Belfast, Dublin, Manchester, London, New York and Boston (see Figure 42).¹²⁸ By 1838, the owners of the cemetery had employed a gatekeeper 'to supervise the admission of the increasing number of visitors' and built a set of sturdy gates at the west end of the approach from Cathedral Square.¹²⁹ The following year, the Necropolis Committee of the Merchants' House recorded that its creation had 'acquired a celebrity

¹²⁴ Brown, 'Lines, on Visiting the Glasgow Necropolis', pp. 219-22.

¹²⁵ Brown, 'Lines, on Visiting the Glasgow Necropolis', pp. 219, 221.

¹²⁶ Brown, 'Lines, on Visiting the Glasgow Necropolis', pp. 221.

¹²⁷ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 9.

¹²⁸ GCA, TD 192, 'Pages from a Visitors' Book of the Glasgow Necropolis, c1830-1845'. This is a bundle of damaged, loose pages from the first visitors' book.

¹²⁹ Welsh, Alexander. 'Glasgow Necropolis: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture', Glasgow School of Art, 1979, p. 17.

unequalled by any similar establishment in the United Kingdom and is daily resorted to by vast numbers of visitors including strangers from every part of the globe'.¹³⁰ Thomas Davidson, in 1864, noted that 'strangers from all parts of the world have visited and admired our Necropolis'.¹³¹

A writer in *The Scots Times* in 1835, presumably Strang, showed a German visitor round the Necropolis in August of that year.¹³² He reported that he had toured the Necropolis with Friedrich von Raumer 'the celebrated Professor of History at Berlin' the previous week, and that the visitor was very impressed:

Although he had visited and recollected the general appearance of almost all the cemeteries in Europe, he declared that to few of them would our Necropolis yield in picturesque beauty, and to still fewer in romantic effect.¹³³

While it seems unlikely that the historian, however celebrated, had in fact made as many cemetery visits as the author claimed, this passage does serve to highlight three aspects of the Necropolis: for the author, after two years in business the cemetery was of the highest European standard, it was one of the most picturesque and beautiful seen by Friedrich von Raumer (1781-1873), and it was one of the most Romantic in Europe. Whoever wrote this newspaper passage, the Necropolis, according to his description, had more than attained the high standards of utility and aesthetics demanded of it by Strang in his 1831 book.

Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776-1847), an English clergyman and bibliographer, toured Scotland five years after the Necropolis had been established. His account of a visit to the Necropolis quoted from both McLellan's book on the High Church and Strang's volume on the cemetery, and referred to an account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Knox monument.¹³⁴ Dibdin, who was accompanied on his tour of the Necropolis by Strang, wrote:

¹³⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 12 December 1838.

¹³¹ Thomas Davidson, 'Memoir of John Strang', in John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. xii.

¹³² Strang, one of the principal contributors to *The Scots Times*, spoke German, and was among the first to promote the Fir Park as a location for a garden cemetery.

¹³³ *Scots Times*, 19 August 1835, p. 1. Friedrich von Raumer was in 1819 appointed both professor of state sciences at Breslau University and professor of history at Berlin University, positions he held until 1859. His principal work was a six-volume history of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

¹³⁴ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* vol 2 (London: T. F. Dibdin, 1838).

This cemetery has been of but recent establishment, and is likely to be most generally and liberally supported. Its site is imposing [...] The very entry to this cemetery, over a bridge, across a river bestrid by one of the most elegant arches of stone ever witnessed, is full of classical feeling.¹³⁵

Dibdin's book included a number of engravings, supplied by John Scott of Glasgow. One of these was of the Façade, presumably taken from the plans of John Bryce (see Figure 43). Whether Dibdin saw the completed structure is in doubt, since he wrote – for his obviously English readers – that it formed the entrance to the Necropolis:

Mr. Bryce, an architect of Glasgow, has erected a façade, of the time of our James I, of which the opposite plate is a faithful copy [...] You enter through the arch of this façade, and almost every step afterwards is in ascent.¹³⁶

Dibdin, who gave a detailed account of the Jewish cemetery, concluded his report on the Necropolis by noting that: 'This cemetery reflects great credit on the good feeling, good sense and good taste of the worthy citizens of Glasgow [...] It seems to hold out every rational hope of the completest success.'¹³⁷ His language certainly reflected that of the founders of the Necropolis, with his references to feeling, sense and taste, which echoed all through the writings of those who founded and developed the cemetery.

Another visitor who admired the appearance of the Necropolis was Christian Ployen, the Danish-born commandant of the Faroe Islands. When Ployen visited Scotland in the summer of 1839, he passed briefly through Glasgow on his way to Crieff. While waiting for the 1pm mail coach, he spent three hours in the company of a Mr. Drysdale, a seedsman to whom he had a letter of introduction. Ployen, who had 'resolved to see as much of Glasgow as I could', visited the cotton manufactory of John Dennison & Company, the Royal Exchange in Queen Street, the High Church, the Necropolis and the Argyll Arcade.¹³⁸ Of the Necropolis, Ployen wrote:

The Necropolis [is] a church yard [sic] very tastefully laid out, where are very many beautiful monuments, and from the top of it there must be a splendid view of the town, if seen on a clear Sunday, as at all other times the half of it is enveloped in thick coal smoke.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour*, pp. 696-98.

¹³⁶ Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour*, p. 701.

¹³⁷ Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour*, p. 701.

¹³⁸ Christian Ployen, *Reminiscences of a Voyage to Shetland, Orkney and Scotland in the Summer of 1839*, trans. by Catherine Spence (Lerwick: T. & J. Manson, 1896), p. 123. The book was written by Ployen in 1840.

¹³⁹ Christian Ployen, *Reminiscences*, p. 125.

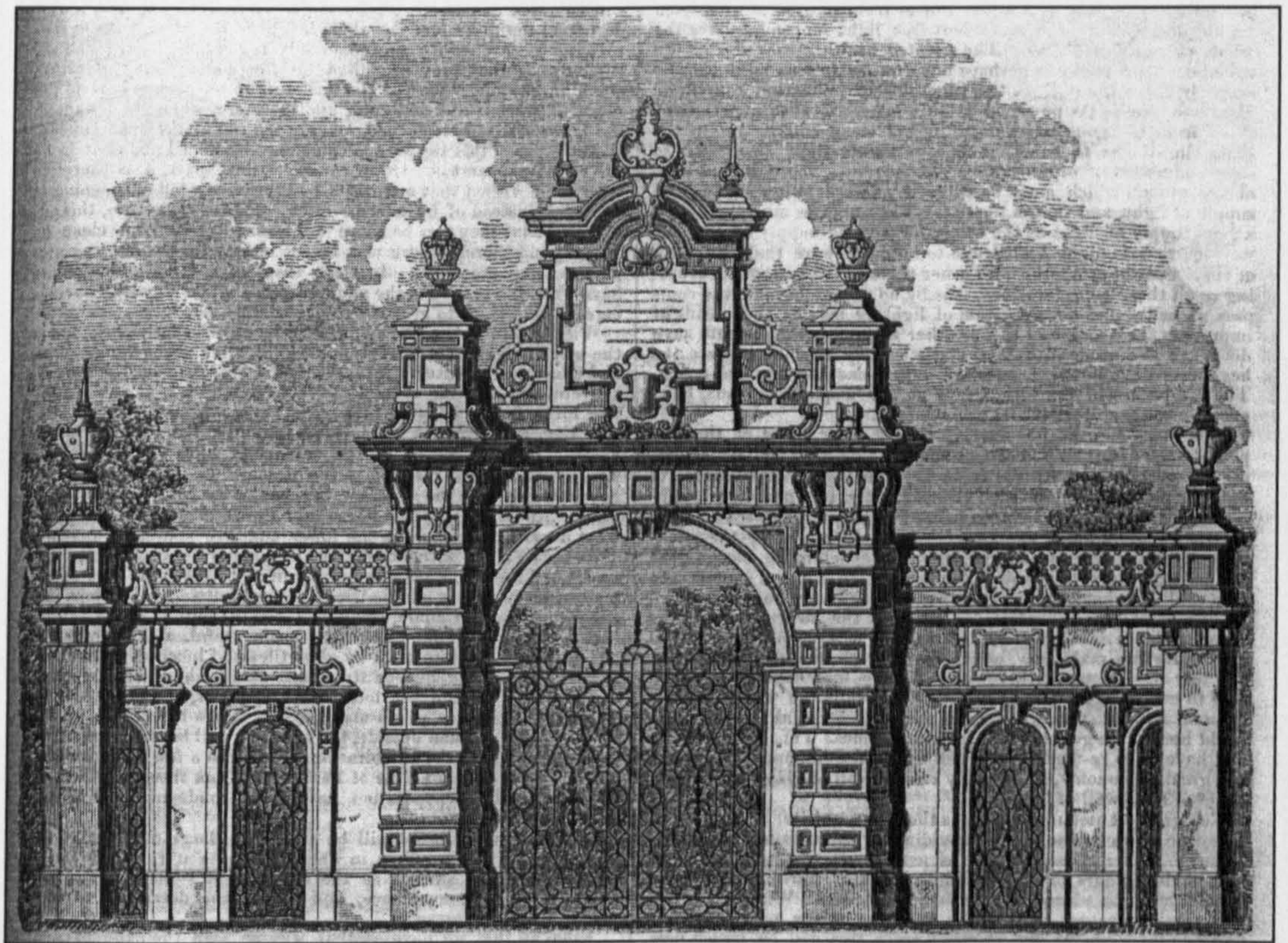
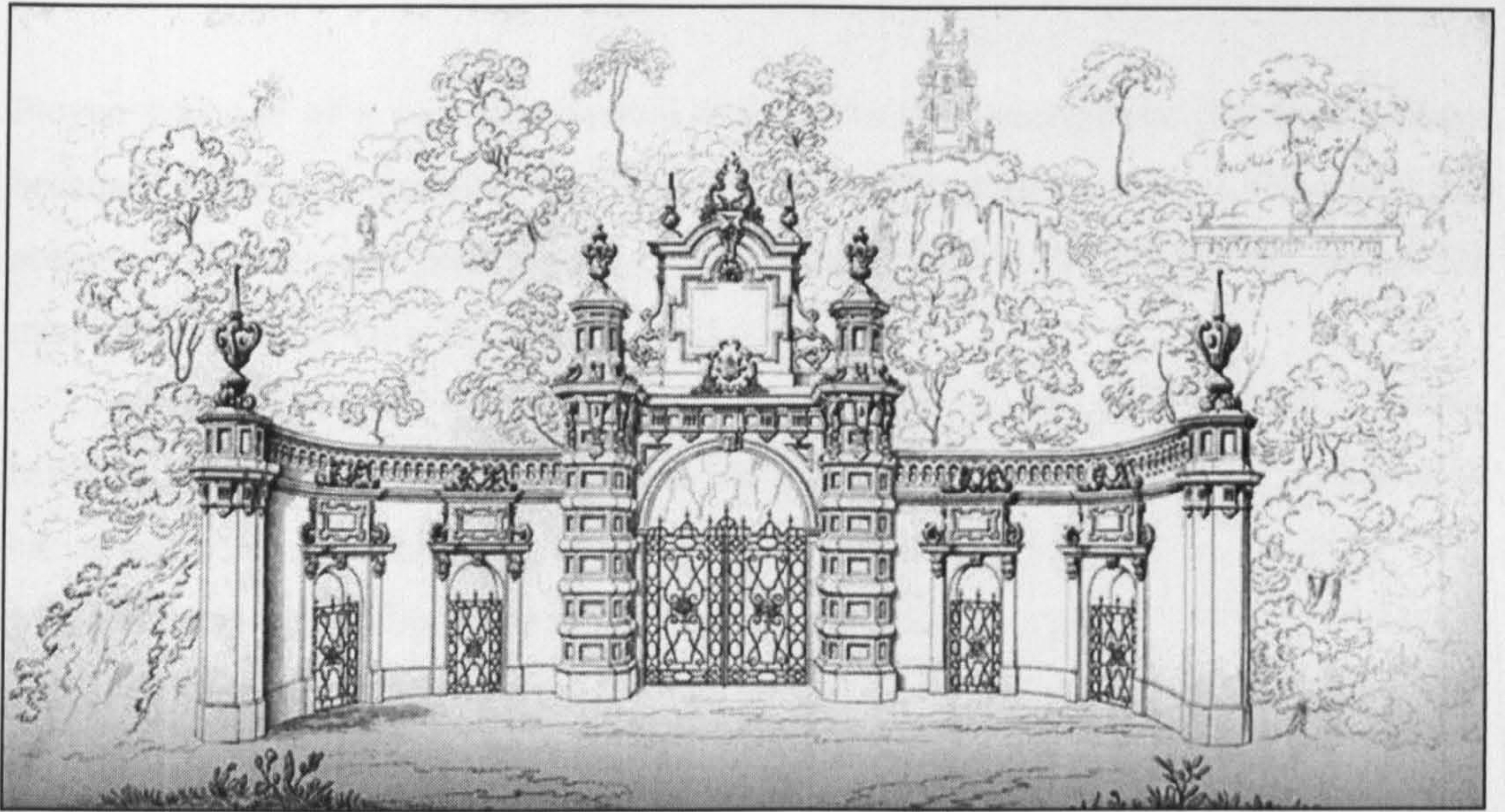


Figure 43 (top) – This idealised engraving of the Façade by John Scott, presumably directly from a drawing by the architect John Bryce, suggested that all five gateways led into the Necropolis, rather than into four burial vaults and a tunnel. Note the monument to William McGavin on the summit, and the balustrade in front of Laurence Hill's family burying ground to the right. (Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* [London: T. F. Dibdin, 1838].)

Figure 44 (above) – Slightly more realistic than Figure 43, this engraving is still ambiguous about the status of the five gateways. It was reproduced in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* in 1851, more than 15 years after the Façade was completed. The view was presumably derived from a drawing by Bryce, since the finished structure did not have trees behind the gate, as the journal illustration showed. (*Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, vol 14, 1851, p. 543.)

Ployen was one of a very few writers to mention this atmospheric problem, perhaps because he was accustomed to the clean, non-industrial air of the Faroes. Otherwise, his account was consistent with those by other visitors', which emphasised the layout, the monuments and the view from the summit of the hill.

Strang's writings on burying grounds, as noted above, were published widely between 1827 and 1831. As discussed in Chapter two, his ideas of civilised and tasteful burial and commemoration held great appeal for John Claudius Loudon, a fellow Scot who had been making his name in London as a tireless campaigner, writer and publisher in horticulture, agriculture and garden design since 1803.¹⁴⁰ Loudon was best known as the editor and publisher of the *Gardener's Magazine* (1826-1843), the first periodical devoted to the subject, and also founded the *Architectural Magazine* in 1834, as well as writing definitive encyclopaedias on the plants, trees and shrubs of the British Isles.¹⁴¹ Loudon published a lengthy description and commentary on the Necropolis in the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1842, as part of a series of articles titled 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour in the North of England and Part of Scotland from June 22 to September 30, 1841'.¹⁴² Accounts of such tours, which author Priscilla Boniface has calculated ran to more than 400,000 words, were a prominent part of the magazine's contents, and a potent way of spreading ideas of taste and practical improvements among Loudon's readers.¹⁴³

Loudon began by noting that since his last visit in 1831, Glasgow was 'greatly increased in extent [...] and improved also in its street architecture, which is always a gratifying proof that taste is spreading among the mass of society'; however, he was disappointed by both the atmosphere, which was 'constantly charged with coal smoke', and the weather, which he thought 'very unfavourable'.¹⁴⁴ He began with a short visit to

¹⁴⁰ James Stevens Curl, 'Introduction', in John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries*, (facsimile repr. Redhill, Surrey: Ivelet Books, 1981), pp. 9-22.

¹⁴¹ Brent Elliott, 'John Claudius Loudon', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 34 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 475-77.

¹⁴² John Claudius Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour in the North of England and Part of Scotland, Made from June 22 to September 30, 1841', in *The Gardener's Magazine*, February 1842, pp. 49-55.

¹⁴³ Priscilla Boniface, ed., *In Search of English Gardens: The Travels of John Claudius Loudon and his Wife Jane* (Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire: Lennard Publishing, 1987), p. 16.

¹⁴⁴ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 50.

Sighthill Cemetery, 'which is being laid out in the pleasure ground style, with handsome entrance gates, lodges and chapels, all in a forward state'¹⁴⁵ before an extended tour of the Necropolis, on its 'steep, rocky hill'.¹⁴⁶ He wrote:

The impression made by the first view of this hill, studded with trees and tombs and scars of solid rock, [...] is grand and melancholy; [...] by] a bridge [...] it is] joined to the ancient church yard, so as to unite the tombs of many generations with those of generations yet unborn.¹⁴⁷

So, for Loudon, an expert in landscape design and the effect it has on the mind and senses, a principal meaning of the Necropolis is unity and continuity, of both place and time. The differences between the church yard and the cemetery are put aside, and their common purpose is emphasised. He added that from the bridge, 'the spectator [...] has his mind filled with the subject to the exclusion of every other idea, and feels, in short, the effect on his mind to be sublime'.¹⁴⁸ The heightened sensibility of Loudon's spectator was reacting to the aesthetic aspects of the Necropolis and its older neighbour, rather than utilitarian considerations. This was a landscape to be consumed rather than used, in Loudon's estimation. On a perhaps more practical note, Loudon informed his readers that 'every tombstone has a solid foundation' on the rocky hill, so that each one 'is perfectly erect, and not like a great number of those in Père Lachaise and Kensal Green, leaning on one side'.¹⁴⁹ In addition, the majority of the memorials were in architectural forms, rather than having 'the mean appearance of being thrust in like stakes or laid down like pavement', and had lettering either well cut in the stone 'or raised in metallic forms', which 'ought not to be neglected when an architectural character is to be maintained'.¹⁵⁰ Here were instructions for constructing tasteful and appropriate monuments, presented as fact and law, where the architectural was more proper than the traditional. Loudon had more to say about the monumentation of the Necropolis:

Many of the monuments are magnificent combinations of architecture and sculpture; others are simple and grand forms, such as pyramids, obelisks, columns, arches etc.; but perhaps the most instructive of these architectural

¹⁴⁵ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 51.

¹⁴⁶ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 51.

¹⁴⁷ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 51.

¹⁴⁸ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 52.

¹⁴⁹ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 53.

¹⁵⁰ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 53.

memorials are those of the commonest kind [...] mostly pedestals of different descriptions.¹⁵¹

Loudon was again combining description with instruction, approving of the intentions of the people who have designed the Necropolis and who have populated it with fitting memorials, and suggesting that they have acted in good taste that deserves to be copied elsewhere. Loudon's thoughts and language showed clearly that his ideas of taste coincided neatly with those expressed in the Necropolis, and that he expected his reading of the landscape to have resonance with his readers in other parts of the United Kingdom. Loudon concluded his description of the Necropolis with complaints about the coarseness of the grass and the raw edges of the paths, but these are mere cavils; by his praise he was holding up the Necropolis as an exemplar in both its aesthetic and utilitarian aspects. In his eyes, it was sublime, grand and made a deep impression on the visitor. Through Loudon's writings, both in the *Gardener's Magazine* and his later book on cemeteries, these interlinked aspects of the Necropolis were brought to wide notice and became part of the mainstream of cemetery design and management.¹⁵² Indeed, wrote James Stevens Curl, the *Gardener's Magazine* 'had a profound effect on taste and expertise, and was widely read'.¹⁵³ Curl has also pointed out that Loudon's praise for the Necropolis may have been influenced by his patriotism, noting that 'Loudon was particularly keen to point out the advances made by the rational Scots over the idle and unadventurous English in matters of cemetery establishment.'¹⁵⁴

When John R. Hamilton, an architect in Gloucester who designed the Church of England cemetery at Warstone Lane in Birmingham in 1848, gave a lecture on interment to the Gloucester Literary Association in 1846, he held up the Necropolis as a shining example. His presentation, reported *The Builder*, was intended to show the 'evils' of intra-mural burial and the necessity for extra-mural cemeteries.¹⁵⁵ Hamilton told his audience that 'Glasgow boasts of its Necropolis', before listing other contemporary cemeteries at Dublin, Cork, London and Liverpool. The architect believed that any visitor to these cemeteries would emerge

¹⁵¹ Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour', p. 53.

¹⁵² John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries, and on the Improvement of Churchyards*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1843).

¹⁵³ Curl, 'Introduction', p. 12.

¹⁵⁴ Curl, 'Introduction', p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ 'Ancient and Modern Sepulture', *The Builder*, 28 November 1846, p. 571.

with the conviction that it is far more agreeable to our feelings to have the dear remains of those we love consigned to these retired, protected and charming sanctuaries than to the repulsive and uncertain keeping of a city graveyard.¹⁵⁶

While this may be seen as a self-serving advertisement for the cemetery design skills of Hamilton, his naming of the Glasgow Necropolis at the head of a list of exemplars suggests that his audience in Gloucester was familiar with both the cemetery and its accepted status as a suitable model for a similar construction in its own city. While not strictly a visitor to Glasgow, Hamilton does demonstrate that the reception of the Necropolis was remarkably consistent across those who wrote about it.

Another visitor held similar views. Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), a Scottish Protestant preacher who had emigrated to America as a young man, travelled through Europe in 1847 and 1848, recording his impressions in a series of letters to his daughter Clarinda.¹⁵⁷ In Glasgow, during August and September 1847, he gave a series of lectures, and found time to visit the Necropolis:

This is a vast burial field, where stands many a splendid monument, and lies many of the sainted dead. We spent a forenoon, one of the most beautiful and happy I had spent in Scotland, in conversing with the living and yet communing with the dead.¹⁵⁸

Campbell thought the Bridge of Sighs was a 'bold and splendid arch', where the waters of the Molendinar 'dash violently over an artificial cascade' and 'down a steep ravine', giving 'a sort of melancholy cheerfulness to the scenes around us'.¹⁵⁹ He was also struck by the monuments to John Knox, William McGavin and John Dick, whose religious outlook matched his own. His description of the Necropolis continued:

The splendid gateway and delightful shrubbery every where surrounding the sculpted walks, solemnly adorned with monumental columns, greatly enhance

¹⁵⁶ 'Ancient and Modern Sepulture', *The Builder*, p. 571. The illustration by John Scott used by Dibdin, mentioned above, also gives the impression that the façade was intended to be a grand entrance. Both drawings ignore the slope of the ground along the structure.

¹⁵⁷ Alexander Campbell, 'Letters from Europe No. XXIX', in *The Millennial Harbinger*, July 1848, pp. 392-402. Republished on-line at www.mun.ca/rels/hrollman/restmov/texts/acampbell/lfe/LFE31.HTM, consulted January 2005.

¹⁵⁸ Campbell, 'Letters from Europe No. XXIX', pp. 392-402.

¹⁵⁹ Campbell, 'Letters from Europe No. XXIX', pp. 392-402.

the melancholy pleasures of a visit to this capacious and much adorned garden of the dead.¹⁶⁰

It is interesting that Campbell, as a fundamentalist Protestant, found the elaborate surroundings and monuments uplifting and in no way Roman Catholic or pagan. This was in contrast to J. F. S. Gordon, the Episcopalian who dismissed the ornamentation of the Necropolis as unchristian.

Other journals were eager to pass on details of the Glasgow Necropolis. Readers of *The Engineer and Architect's Journal*, for example, were presented with a large architectural drawing of its 'entrance', drawn by John Bryce, described as the architect of the Necropolis (see Figure 44).¹⁶¹ The illustration is of the structure known as the Façade, designed by Bryce in 1835-36 and constructed to face the eastern end of the bridge over the Molendinar. The illustration suggested that the Façade was a free-standing entrance feature built on flat ground, with trees visible through the ornate ironwork. The magazine may have been presenting its readers with a working drawing for a structure that was not built quite as intended, but nevertheless its praise for the drawing, 'which shows much care in the design, and is marked with a strong expression of character', shows that the Necropolis and its constituent structures were not only of interest to engineers and architects but were being held up as examples of good taste and practice.¹⁶² Dibdin, an earlier visitor to the Necropolis, made the same mistake, thinking that the arch was a free-standing structure through which people entered the Necropolis.¹⁶³

When Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), a Victorian novelist on Jewish themes and a pioneer Zionist, visited Glasgow in the 1890s, his account focused on the rich collection of paintings and sculptures in the city's public collections. Yet he was able to write that 'pictorially the hill of the dead was the most interesting part of Glasgow I saw – a scene which, especially in its simple severe Protestant draping of snow, might tempt the artist'.¹⁶⁴ The writer also deployed his ready wit – the essay was written for the humorous *Pall Mall Gazette* – to sum up his impression of the city: the 'most

¹⁶⁰ Campbell, 'Letters from Europe No. XXIX', pp. 392-402.

¹⁶¹ *The Engineer and Architect's Journal, incorporated with The Architect*, 14 (1851), pp. 542-543.

¹⁶² *The Engineer and Architect's Journal*, p. 542

¹⁶³ Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour*, p. 701.

¹⁶⁴ Israel Zangwill, 'Glasgow', in *Without Prejudice* (London: William Heinemann, 1902), pp. 304, 305.

characteristic thing' he saw in Glasgow was a plaque in the Necropolis, recording the laying of the foundation stone of the bridge:

There you have Glasgow! An auctioneer's advertisement blent with an edifying sermon, a happy combination of commerce and Christianity, making the best of both this world and the next.¹⁶⁵

By these visitors' accounts and by other printed descriptions, the aesthetic and utilitarian aspects of the Necropolis were transmitted to other parts of Glasgow, Scotland and Europe. By 1864, as Thomas Davidson wrote, Sighthill Cemetery (1840), the Southern Necropolis (1840) and the Eastern Necropolis (1847) had been established 'in the wake of the Necropolis', and

in the principal towns of Scotland the happy example has been followed, and the national reproach has been taken from us of burying our dead in places devoid of natural beauty and interest, and which were left to the uncared for and neglected luxuriance of a rank vegetation.¹⁶⁶

For Davidson, and for the other people who recorded their reactions to the Glasgow Necropolis, the vision of a garden cemetery for Glasgow, as conceived by Hill and Ewing, and described by Strang, had been translated into reality, and the finished product reflected the aesthetic and utilitarian values elaborated by its founders.

Conclusion

The introduction to this chapter questioned to what extent the reception given to the Necropolis reflected the meanings given to it by the Merchants' House. After examining the reactions of local and visiting writers, poets and cultural commentators, the answer seems clear: not only did the response match the vision closely, it was also couched in the same terms and often using the same words and phrases. The Necropolis, it would therefore seem, quickly and unproblematically became embedded in the cultural and

¹⁶⁵ Zangwill, 'Glasgow', pp. 304, 305. The text of the inscription is given in Appendix F (i).

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Davidson, 'Memoir of John Strang', in John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, 3 edn, (Glasgow: John Smith, 1864), p. xii. The three other garden cemeteries in Glasgow established before 1864 were Sighthill Cemetery (1840), the Southern Necropolis (1840) and the Eastern Necropolis (1847).

literal landscape of the city. In addition, over the course of three decades, Scottish ideas and practices relating to funerals and commemoration had been changed, through the work of the Merchants' House, Strang and other reformers. In this way, the cemetery replaced the church yard as the tasteful, secure and hygienic last resting place of the majority of the middle classes.

This chapter has, in the absence of other sources, depended on published accounts of writers who responded to the Necropolis in some way. The audiences of these writers, of course, represent a more populous and perhaps a more important set of respondents. Some of those audiences would not have visited or lived in Glasgow, but for those who did live there, the printed works would have served both as a reaction to the Necropolis and as a way of reinforcing the meanings given to their cemetery by the Merchants' House and its coterie. As this chapter has demonstrated, there appeared to have been very little dissent about these meanings, except by proponents of extra-mural burial and by the Tennent family, both obviously special interest groups. As discussed earlier, any direct comparison between the Necropolis and Père Lachaise, first made by the Merchants' House and then enthusiastically taken up by the various commentators on the cemetery, does not admit to much scrutiny; instead it could be stated that the Necropolis was to Glasgow what Père Lachaise was to Paris.

The following chapter, which examines the early funerals and monuments in the Necropolis, also discusses a group of people who both embraced and extended the values of the cemetery. Those who held funerals and built monuments there not only accepted the meanings given to the Necropolis by the House, they also consolidated and extended these meanings in the way they contributed to the ritual life and the material culture of the cemetery.

Chapter six

Early funerals and monuments, 1832-1857

Introduction

The early funerals and monuments in the Necropolis continued the process of giving meaning to the new cemetery that had been begun by the Merchants' House. The way in which funerals were conducted consolidated the ideas of dignity, taste and undisturbed rest that the promoters of the Necropolis had been stressing, and the design of memorials confirmed the architectural and monumental styles that the Merchants' House had chosen for the cemetery. The House, of course, exercised control over what took place in its burying ground, and the use of professional undertakers, architects and memorial masons served to codify the style and quality of what was acceptable in the Necropolis. This chapter falls into two broad sections, the first of which discusses early funerals and the second of which examines early monuments; the chapter concludes with an exploration of lesser-used primary sources that illuminate both the life and death of people who are buried or remembered in the Necropolis. The scope of this chapter is determined by the date of the first burial in 1832 and the publication of *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, by George Blair, in 1857.¹ By this date, Blair was able to compare the cemetery to both Westminster Abbey and Père Lachaise, noting that 'almost all our eminent fellow citizens' who had died in the previous 25 years had been buried in the Necropolis or were 'represented by cenotaphs' there.² There seems to have been a need to recreate the full panoply of middle class-Glasgow society in the Necropolis, with absent grandees represented by carved stones, perhaps for the instruction of future generations. This chapter also discusses the importance of two family firms – Wylie & Lochhead, and the Mossmans – which dominated their respective trades in the Necropolis. However, customers were free to

¹ George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857).

² Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches*, p. vii.

choose any undertaker, mason or other contractor.³ The Necropolis was not tied to any supplier, and did not own its own hearses or monumental mason works. This may have reflected the Merchants' House commitment to free trade.

There has been much discussion of death customs by historians, anthropologists, folklorists and other academic specialists. Most agree that the death of an individual disrupts the balance of life for those left behind, and that custom and ritual provide ways for people to regain that balance. As folklorist Margaret Bennett has written, death customs – including conducting funerals and constructing monuments – are 'essential to the stability of life', because they provide 'the security of established order' at a time when the bereaved do not have the 'inner resources' to organise funerals and burials.⁴ Similarly, Mary Douglas, an anthropologist, has argued that the act of death moves a human body from its familiar classification into a distinct new category, and, to restore the balance of society, the body has to be moved to an appropriate place, with due ritual to both ease and mark the passage.⁵ Robert Pogue Harrison, a professor of literature who turned his attention to death in *The Dominion of the Dead*, has written that death rites 'serve to effect a ritual separation between the living and the dead', and form a significant part of the process of 'getting the dead to die in us'.⁶

The impressive and elaborate monuments in the Glasgow Necropolis, however, seem more intended to allow the dead to continue to live among us. Sarah Tarlow, a historical archaeologist, has described garden cemeteries as 'landscapes of remembering' where the deceased 'continued to have a social identity past the point of their death', and where they were represented and replaced by a monument.⁷ Douglas Keister has also argued that memorials become the 'material representatives' of the dead.⁸ In the Necropolis, the regulations, following on from those of Père Lachaise, sanctioned burial in perpetuity, which encouraged people and families to invest large sums of money in monuments and mausoleums that would preserve the name of the

³ Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1836), p. 19.

⁴ Margaret Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), p. 175.

⁵ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁶ Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 147.

⁷ Sarah Tarlow, 'Landscapes of memory: The Nineteenth Century Garden Cemetery', in *European Journal of Archaeology*, 3.2 (2000), p. 234. She had also made this point more fully in: Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

⁸ Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone* (Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2004), p. 7.

family for centuries. The promise of immortality implicit in this extended to those who named their companies after themselves, or established charitable foundations or prizes in their names, or even arranged for a suitably-named heir. For example, James Finlay & Company was founded in 1750, the James Ewing Prize in History was established at the University of Glasgow in 1828, and the monument to Archibald Douglas Monteath was erected in the Necropolis in 1844. All remain in place today.

The personal aggrandisement exhibited in elaborate funerals and monuments – and the design and scale of the Necropolis itself – were not thought of as appropriate for a Protestant city before the establishment of the Necropolis; Presbyterian frugality was opposed to the kind of conspicuous consumption exhibited by, for example, the funeral of William Lochhead, junior, and the monument to William McGavin, both of which are discussed below. Richard Sher and Andrew Hook have noted the ‘intensity and extent’ of evangelical Presbyterianism in the late eighteenth century in Glasgow,⁹ and John Strang wrote that Glasgow towards the end of the eighteenth century had a ‘long-cherished affection for the severest Protestantism’.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the Necropolis, derived from a cemetery in a Roman Catholic country, became the site of larger and more elaborate interments and monuments as the years went by. This elaboration was apparent in the dynastic aspirations of many wealthy Glasgow men. As the heads of their families, they erected a substantial family burying places or mausolea, with room for many generations. Ironically, their fathers, who often had as strong a claim to be patriarchs, were buried with modest stones. For example, James Ewing’s parents were buried in the North West burying ground, behind the Ramshorn Kirk, while he was interred at the summit of the Necropolis, in the lair closest to the memorial to John Knox. He died childless, but left part of his estate to his sister’s second-oldest son, on condition that the young man change his surname to Ewing.

Whatever way people chose to be remembered, the new landscape of the Necropolis provided a stage for performing elaborate funerals and for erecting impressive memorials, quite different from the surroundings of the overcrowded and far less attractive churchyards of the city.

⁹ Richard B. Sher and Andrew Hook, ‘Introduction: Glasgow and the Enlightenment’, in Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995), p. 14.

¹⁰ John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1864), third edition, p. 97.

Early funerals and their meanings

As the nineteenth century progressed, funerals in Glasgow became more elaborate and more demonstrative of wealth and social standing. The same elements – such as the tolling bells, which were reminiscent of pre-Reformation practice, and the ushers and ‘saulies’ (hired mourners), which derived from medieval times – were present throughout the period, but became more prominent as time went by (see Figure 45). James Stevens Curl and Trevor May have described how many of these elements were borrowed from the landed classes, and taken from a list of ‘extras’ offered by undertakers.¹¹ These included ushers, with long black crepe ‘weepers’ trailing from their silk hats; two men with black wands standing at the door of the deceased’s house; a man wearing a silk scarf, about three yards long and draped over his left shoulder, leading the procession; a man carrying a plume or tray of black ostrich feathers; and pall bearers with batons; all derived from ‘the heraldic array of a baronial funeral’.¹² Julian Litten has traced the origins of these practices to the funerals marshalled by the College of Arms, part of the Royal Household, for the upper echelons of English society from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.¹³ The college, under the Garter King of Arms, strictly regulated the order of precedence in funeral processions and the chivalric and heraldic elements of funeral services. Many of these were transferred, in debased form, into the funerals of people of lesser rank.¹⁴ The other principal change in the nineteenth century was the rise of the professional funeral undertaker, who gave easy access to the latest fashions in funeral accessories, and so brought extravagant funerals to anyone with the money to pay for them. As John Morley noted, polite society demanded that its members ‘maintain the standards [... of their] class in death as in life’ and that many people chose to ‘use death as means of further social advancement’.¹⁵ Morley added

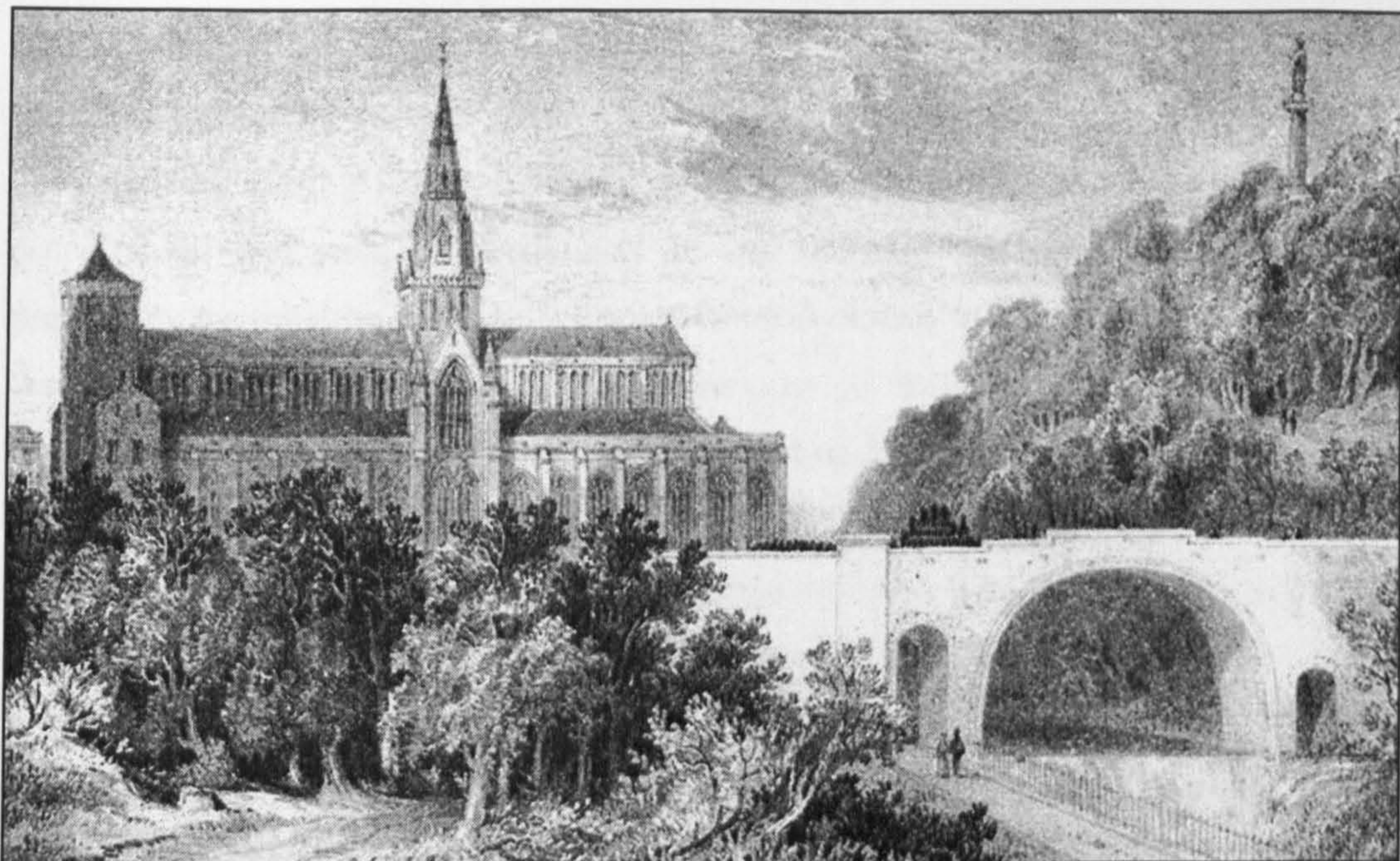
¹¹ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2000), p. 121.

¹² Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 121; Trevor May, *The Victorian Undertaker* (Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire, 1996), p. 7. May explained that the ‘weepers’ were vestiges of the long trailing hood, or liripipe which, along with the black silk scarves, were derived from mourning cloaks. The wands and batons were reminders of the staves of office of gentlemen ushers, and the plumes referred back to the squire who carried his master’s shield and plumed helmet.

¹³ Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 1991), p. 173.

¹⁴ Litten, *The English Way of Death*, p. 30.

¹⁵ John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London: Studio Vista, 1971), p. 11.



FUNERAL DEPARTMENT.

Qualified Persons always in Attendance to render necessary assistance. (Entrance, during night, by 48, Mitchell Street.)

W. and L. continue to give this Department their most careful superintendence, and do all in their power to accommodate every class in the community, on the lowest terms consistent with due respect by friends to their deceased relatives. They have also a most extensive assortment of appropriately fitted-up CARRIAGES, consisting of Hearses, Mourning Coaches, and Plain Carriages of every style. The Drivers are steady, attentive, and thoroughly qualified.

The liberal patronage bestowed on them by the Public for a quarter of a century—*specially*, the appreciation of their exertions in altering the mode of conducting funerals generally, and reducing them to an economical system—merits their most grateful thanks.

Horses and Carriages Let on Job.

Coaches—Harrington, Chariot, Phaeton, Cab, &c., Let by Time or by the Mile.

Coffins, Covered, Plain, or Polished.

Do. Lead or Zinc.

Shrouds, Dead-Dresses, Mortcloths, &c., &c.

Intimations and Funeral Letters neatly Lithographed on shortest notice.

Lairs and Vaults provided in the various Cemeteries.

Figure 45 (top) – A large and ornately plumed hearse was shown making its way into the Necropolis in this lithograph, which was produced before the alterations to the High Church that were made in 1846 and 1848. The illustrator may have used the funeral party to graphically link the High Church and the new cemetery. (Robert Stuart, *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times* [Glasgow: Allan and Ferguson, 1848].)

Figure 46 (above) –Wylie & Lochhead boasted that, during its 25 years in business, the firm had been responsible for ‘altering the mode of conducting funerals generally, and reducing them to an economical system’. (*List of Goods: Wylie and Lochhead* [Glasgow: W. G. Blackie, 1855].)

that ‘death also had its consumer goods’ and that wealth was ‘intimately linked with respectability and salvation’.¹⁶

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the funeral of John Taylor, a schoolmaster and poet, featured many of the elements that came to dominate the practice by the time the Necropolis opened in 1833. Strang recalled that Andrew Taylor, the nephew of the deceased, engaged the services of ‘the very first undertaker of the city’.¹⁷ Funeral cards were delivered by ‘the leading beadle’, and the guests arrived at the ‘mournful mansion’ at the appointed time.¹⁸ The city bells were tolled ‘at doleful intervals’, as ‘two worthy divines’ each delivered an ‘impressive’ prayer; following this, the guests ‘sipped’ a glass of wine in silence, then the leading usher pronounced ‘the grave summons’ and the group left the house for the High Church yard.¹⁹ The procession, led by ‘sombre saulies with black hunting caps and sable batons’, moved towards the High Church.²⁰ In that era, Strang wrote, the coffins of ‘persons of the highest rank’ were carried shoulder high, while those of the rest of the population were borne on ‘spokes’; the coffins were covered with mort cloths, which could be rented from mort cloth societies, at prices corresponding to quality.²¹ Strang also recorded that, in Glasgow at this time, there was a ‘universal love for coloured clothes’ and that ‘there were then few persons to be seen dressed in black’, except at funerals or during mourning.²²

A description of a middle-class funeral in 1832 showed that the structure had not changed from John Taylor’s day, but that it had become much more extravagant, and thus less Presbyterian, in nature. James Cleland’s description of ‘the present mode of conducting burials’ (see Appendix L) recorded that the mourners, who could number 100 in the case of the head of a family, gathered at 2pm in the house of the deceased, dressed ‘in full mourning with weepers and hat capes’.²³ In each of the rooms occupied by the mourners, a clergyman gave a prayer before wine and cakes were served, and a second clergyman gave a prayer afterwards; if the throng were spread across three

¹⁶ Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, p. 11.

¹⁷ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 184.

¹⁸ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 184.

¹⁹ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 184.

²⁰ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 185.

²¹ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 184.

²² Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 149.

²³ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832. The article was an extract from Cleland’s ‘new statistical work’, outlining his views on funeral reform.

rooms, six clergymen were needed.²⁴ After this, the company boarded their carriages for the journey to the burying ground, following behind the hearse and mourning carriages; at the head of the cortege were mutes and ushers, the latter usually led by the beadle of the church attended by the deceased.²⁵ There could be as many as 10 ushers, depending on the status of the deceased.²⁶ If the family had paid £5 to 'the sessional poor', the church bells of the city rang out during the funeral.²⁷ There was no religious service at the grave.²⁸ The ringing of the city bells during funerals may have been a continuation of a pre-Reformation practice, when they were rung to solicit prayers for the soul of the departed; both practices may in fact be related to an earlier belief that ringing bells removed evil spirits from the atmosphere.²⁹

The funeral process began by ordering the coffin and sending out invitations. The collection of 25 funeral invitations from the years 1810 to 1833 kept by James Smith Kidston, a schoolteacher in Glasgow, showed that funerals began at 11am, 12 noon, 1pm or 2pm.³⁰ Some of the invitations he had received were hand written, some were engravings of script and some were printed. A typical example read:

Sir, your company, on Tuesday the nineteenth current, at 2 o'clock p.m. to attend the funeral of George Younger my husband, will much oblige.
Sir, your most obedient servant, Ann Younger
3 Paterson's Street, Deanside Brae, Glasgow, 16 June 1827.³¹

A similar note was written in 1832 by Agnes Campbell of Maybole, Ayrshire, to John Jamieson of the same town. The invitation was an engraved form letter with space for the appropriate details. It read:

Sir, the favour of your company, on Thursday next, the 13 current, at 12 o'clock, to attend the funeral of my son, John Campbell from my house for Dalrymple Church yard the place of interment, will oblige.
Sir, your most obedient servant, Agnes Campbell

²⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

²⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

²⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

²⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

²⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

²⁹ Anne Gordon, *Death is for the Living* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris Publishing, 1984), p. 15.

³⁰ MLG, Manuscript Collection, MS 112, James Smith Kidston, Funeral Invitations 1810-33.

³¹ MLG, Manuscript Collection, MS 112, James Smith Kidston, Funeral Invitations 1810-33.

Maybole, 10 September 1832.³²

It is interesting to see how impersonal these notes were, and how the pre-printed ones forced the bereaved to conform to an emotionless, formal style that could not have expressed their personality, beliefs or feelings. There was also a complete absence of any religious sentiments; many senders and recipients would surely have welcomed the consolation that an appropriate Biblical quotation could have offered.

Funerals were classed as either private, which were restricted to those invited, or public, where crowds were encouraged or even expected. Daniel Frazer recalled the intended 'private funeral' in December 1836 of his older brother, N. B. Frazer, a pharmacist whose business was in Buchanan Street.³³ Frazer wrote that although his brother was not yet 27, his prominence in the community drew almost 200 people to his funeral, including William Mills of Sandyford, the Lord Provost; James Oswald M.P.; and James Ewing of Strathleven.³⁴ Following what was then 'the universal custom', the mourners walked in procession to the Necropolis.³⁵ Frazer added the comments of an un-named correspondent, who wrote that at the time of this funeral, there were no hearses or funeral coaches in use and that 'everybody walked in procession behind the coffin, which was carried shoulder high by four *saulies* or mutes'.³⁶ Funerals could not only be popular, but frequent: in the same year, there were five men working each day in the Necropolis, dealing with up to five funerals a day, 'frequently at the same hour'.³⁷

By 1863, when Strang died, the structure of the funeral was still intact. The *Glasgow Herald* reported that on the day of his death, Peter Clouston, the Lord Provost, and the Magistrates assembled, and unanimously recorded the loss felt by 'the Corporation and the city generally' on the death of Strang, their City Chamberlain for almost 30 years.³⁸ They also expressed 'their sympathy' with his widow, and asked to

³² 'The Jamiesons of Maybole' on the Maybole local website, <http://www.maybole.org/history/articles/jamieson/jamiesons.htm>, viewed October 2002. The items in bold were hand-written by the sender.

³³ Daniel Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street* (Glasgow: James Frazer, 1885), p. 28.

³⁴ Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 28.

³⁵ Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 28.

³⁶ Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 28. There were at least two hearses in Glasgow at that time, owned by Burn, Scott and Company, and by Wylie and Lochhead. They are both mentioned later in this chapter. Frazer's mistake, however, suggested that hearses were an innovation of the early 1830s.

³⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

³⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 December 1863.

be allowed to attend Strang's funeral 'in a body'.³⁹ Mrs. Strang, 'notwithstanding Dr. Strang's express wish that his funeral should be a private one', acquiesced to their request.⁴⁰ Three days later, the *Herald* printed a full description of his funeral (see Appendix M), which noted that the funeral, 'although of an almost private nature', had attracted a number of city grandees.⁴¹ At 2pm the mourners arrived at Strang's house in Woodside Place, where they took part in 'religious services' before boarding their carriages and following the hearse and the mourning carriages to the Necropolis; as the cortege passed through the city, the church bells rang out 'in solemn tones'.⁴² An obituary to Strang, by his friend John Kerr, noted that:

His mortal remains, attended by the Magistrates and other civic dignitaries, are to be interred this day in that Necropolis – that hill of tombs – which, by his *Necropolis Glasguensis*, he was mainly instrumental in originating.⁴³

There is a suggestion here of a circle being closed, of Strang's burial in the cemetery that he pioneered being more meaningful than his being interred anywhere else.

The funerals described above may have had a small religious element, with ministers offering prayers in the house of the deceased, but the Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian denominations were determined to keep their involvement to a minimum. This derived from church policy made in the wake of the Reformation, which both outlawed burial in church and removed the sacred status of both churches and burying grounds. It also withdrew religious services and prayers for the dead, transforming the social process of laying the dead to rest into a matter of secular disposal of the corpse, conducted at minimal expense and involving limited numbers of people. Burial in church had been forbidden by the *First Book of Discipline* in 1560, and this stricture was repeated in two Acts of General Assembly in 1576 and 1643. Nevertheless, as outlined in Chapter One, the lower choir and two aisles of the High Church were used for burial from the early years of the nineteenth century. In addition, religious ceremonies at burials – in particular, prayers for the dead – had been outlawed by both the *First Book of Discipline* and the *Westminster Directory of Public Worship* in 1644; and the Scottish Parliament had passed an Act in 1681 limiting the number of

³⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 December 1863.

⁴⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 December 1863.

⁴¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 December 1863.

⁴² *Glasgow Herald*, 15 December 1863.

⁴³ *Glasgow Citizen*, 12 December 1863.

people attending the funeral of 'a person of rank' to 100.⁴⁴ Whatever the church's policies or their practical application, there remained a strong social belief in the sanctity of the dead body and the grave. As George Blair noted in 1857, Scots 'do not, like our brethren of the Church of England, consecrate our places of worship or the cemeteries of the dead', but, he stressed, they did 'have a natural desire [...] to associate an atmosphere of sanctity with both places'.⁴⁵

Cleland noted that funeral services in church had been formally outlawed at the Revolution of 1688, and ministers were instead instructed to give a prayer in the house of the deceased before the funeral.⁴⁶ This puritan approach prevailed – with the exception of those parts of the seventeenth century when Scotland was under the rule of the Episcopalian Church – until the 1860s, when the Church Service Society suggested changes to the liturgy of the Church of Scotland⁴⁷. Before then, it was customary for a minister to give a short service, with readings and an address, in the house of the deceased before the burial; this had developed over time from the minister saying grace before the serving of the wine and biscuits.⁴⁸

At the time of the establishment of the Necropolis, Glasgow's religious composition was changing, and the Church of Scotland was no longer a monolithic power in the land, losing ground particularly to the Seceder churches. James Cleland recorded that in 1831 there were 73,425 seatings in the churches of Glasgow, of which 30,928 were in Church of Scotland buildings, and the remainder of 42,497 in buildings

⁴⁴ John Knox, *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. J. K. Cameron (Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press, 1972; originally published 1560); 'Concerning Burial of the Dead', in *The Westminster Directory of Public Worship* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1901; originally published 1644). The latter was adopted by both the General Assembly and the Scottish Parliament in 1645. See also William Birnie, *The Blame of Kirk-Buriall, Tending to Perswade Cemiteriall Civility* (Edinburgh: 1601); William Andrews, 'Death and Burial Customs and Superstitions', in William Andrews, ed., *Bygone Church Life in Scotland* (London: William Andrews, 1899), pp. 237-253; Andrew Spicer, 'Defyle not Christ's Kirk with your Carrion: Burial and the Development of Burial Aisles in post-Reformation Scotland', in Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 149-169; William Birnie, *The Blame of Kirk-Buriall, Tending to Perswade Cemiteriall Civility* (Edinburgh: 1601).

⁴⁵ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 4.

⁴⁶ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1840), p. 83.

⁴⁷ Douglas Murray, 'Disruption to Union', in Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray, eds., *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1996), p. 94.

⁴⁸ Murray, 'Disruption to Union', p. 101.

belonging to Seceders, Dissenters, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.⁴⁹ Other faiths had other customs, from the simple funerals and uniform crosses of Quakers to the requiem masses of Roman Catholics. The *Glasgow Courier* reported in September 1833 that ‘the beautiful service of the Church of England for the burial of the dead’ had been read by the Rev. Mr. Almond of St. Mary’s Episcopal Church, in Renfield Street for the first time in the Necropolis on the 26th of that month.⁵⁰ The city’s Presbyterian community may have been becoming more evangelical as the nineteenth century wore on, and other denominations may have been increasing in size and influence, but the fashion in the city for more elaborate funerals dominated, even if the religious element of the funeral was limited. At the time of the Disruption in 1843, ‘burial services at the grave were [...] uncommon’ in the Presbyterian churches;⁵¹ George Washington Sprott reported in 1882 that funeral services in church were still rare at that date;⁵² and William Andrews, writing in 1899, noted that ‘religious ceremonies at burials have never found favour in the Church of Scotland’.⁵³

However, the changing fashion in funerals also affected the role of the clergy. From merely offering prayers in the house of the deceased, they began to be asked to give memorial services for the dead, which took place on the Sunday after the funeral. John Strang described a funeral service held in 1843 for George McIntosh, one of the founders of the Gaelic Club of Glasgow, and a leading textiles manufacturer and dyer in the city. On the Sunday following his death, the members of the club went ‘in deep mourning’ to St. Andrew’s Church, accompanied by the city magistrates and the directors of the Highland Society, to hear a funeral sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. William Ritchie.⁵⁴

The Necropolis, although a non-denominational project from the beginning, was not free of religious associations. George Blair stressed that the cemetery ‘was the first thing of the kind attempted in Scotland’ and that ‘it conflicted to some degree with national or religious prejudices’.⁵⁵ It was not simply that ‘a garden cemetery was a novelty in advance of the age’ around 1820, but – Blair seemed to suggest – since its

⁴⁹ James Cleland, *Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 1837), p. 10.

⁵⁰ *Glasgow Courier*, 28 September 1833, p. 2.

⁵¹ Murray, ‘Disruption to Union’, p. 89.

⁵² George Washington Sprott, *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1882), pp. 167-68.

⁵³ Andrews, ‘Death and Burial Customs and Superstitions’, p. 240.

⁵⁴ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn, p. 120.

⁵⁵ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 27.

model was French, and therefore Roman Catholic in spirit, it was antagonistic to the religious and moral heritage of Scotland.⁵⁶ It is worth pointing out that Père Lachaise was planned and opened after the Roman Catholic church was disestablished in France, and so cannot accurately be described as incorporating the values of that church. Blair also recorded religious division in his description of the Jewish cemetery in the Necropolis. There were suggestions here, in his defence of prejudice and his use of the word 'perhaps', that he would have had some sympathy with those who saw such a division:

Some allowance must be made for olden prejudices, even though they do not rest on any valid principle, and therefore it is perhaps well that the burying ground of the Jews has been placed in this sequestered corner, which may be regarded as a suburb of the beautiful city of the dead.⁵⁷

However simple funerals and burials were in the early nineteenth century, there was some money to be made by the church and others, which was spent on the poor. In 1816, the General Session recorded that it received a net income of £225 from the funerals held in Glasgow during the previous year.⁵⁸ This was derived from 37 'donations for tolling church bells at funerals', where the contributions ranged from the minimum £5 to £25, totalling £255, less the 'charges for tolling seven turret bells' and the costs of inscribing the name, age and designation of the deceased, 'and the amount of donation' on a tablet in the hall of the General Session.⁵⁹ The distribution of the income changed in 1832, when the General Session 'unanimously agreed' that the sum of two shillings and sixpence that was given to the Beadles 'at the tolling of the bells on occasion of a funeral' should be increased to five shillings, and that the full sum should be given to the Beadle in charge of the funeral.⁶⁰ There was no mention in these records of money raised from the hire of mortcloths. James Cleland noted that in 1774 the Incorporations of Tailors, Weavers and Wrights pooled the 57 mortcloths that they had previously hired to their members, and opened an office from which to hire them out

⁵⁶ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 28.

⁵⁷ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 337.

⁵⁸ James Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* vol 1 (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1816), p. 248. Cleland noted that the General Session consisted of the eight parish churches of the city, the College Chapel, the Cannon Street Chapel, and the two Gaelic Churches in Ingram Street and Duke Street.

⁵⁹ James Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* vol 1, p. 247-48.

⁶⁰ GCA, TD 209/3, The General Session Minute Book of Glasgow 4 October 1832 to 5 December 1854 (unpaginated).

generally.⁶¹ In 1820, wrote Cleland, the business of the office was ‘well conducted by a keeper’, who received ‘a suitable salary’ and the mortcloths were being charged out ‘in proportion to the wealth of the deceased or his connections’.⁶²

As noted above, there was a clear distinction between public and private funerals in the city. This applied equally in the Necropolis; for example, in October 1836, when the Necropolis Committee of the Merchants’ House discussed ways of regulating the dress of people taking part in public funerals, there was no suggestion that they should do the same for private funerals.⁶³ The committee recommended that the regulations should be amended to ensure that at all public funerals ‘no person be admitted into the cemetery as part of the cortege unless in decent mourning or such dress as is considered to be so by the body to which he may belong’; it also noted that three of their number had witnessed ‘the pressure and conduct of the crowd assembled on occasion of a late public funeral’.⁶⁴

Large public funerals of the kind described here could have been a form of commercial advertising. When William Lochhead, junior, son of one of the founders of Wylie & Lochhead, died in 1863, the grandeur of the funeral suggests that it was seen as a marketing exercise by the undertaking firm. The death notice for Lochhead, of 18 Royal Terrace, was inserted in the *Glasgow Herald*, the *North British Daily Mail* and the *Morning Journal*, and a number 17 coffin (at a cost of five guineas) was ordered, complete with shroud and engraved nameplate, and the town church bells were ordered to be rung (also at a cost of five guineas).⁶⁵ The undertakers also supplied four crepe hat bands, one neck tie and 42 pairs of black gloves for mourners, and the family ordered 65 dozen letters, of which 105 were posted and the rest hand delivered.⁶⁶ The hearse was drawn by four white horses, with mourning plumage, followed by 10 coaches in mourning livery.⁶⁷ The total cost for taking Lochhead to his grave in compartment

⁶¹ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 1st edn (Glasgow: James Brash, 1820), p. 226.

⁶² Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* 1st edn, p. 226.

⁶³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

⁶⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 28 October 1836.

⁶⁵ GUA, HF57 6/2/1/26, Wylie and Lochhead funeral order book 16B, p. 159. All prices in the order books were given in a simple code. The key to the code was recorded in: Simon Bennett, ‘Introduction to Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Registers’, 2002, typescript in Glasgow University Archives, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Bennett, ‘Introduction to Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Registers’, p. 8.

⁶⁷ GUA, HF57 6/2/1/26, Wylie and Lochhead funeral order book 16B, p. 159.

⁶⁷ GUA, HF57 6/2/1/26, Wylie and Lochhead funeral order book 16B, p. 159.

Gamma in the Necropolis was £30.⁶⁸ Simon Bennett, an archivist who has written on the Wylie & Lochhead records, has noted that ‘most funerals in the nineteenth century cost in the region of one or two pounds’, which demonstrated just how elaborate and expensive Lochhead’s funeral was.⁶⁹ It can be assumed that his farewell was well attended, although numbers are not available. However, the people of Glasgow were quite prepared to come out in force for the funerals of distinguished citizens. For instance, the funeral of the aptly named Robert Kettle, president of the Scottish Temperance League, attracted almost 2,000 mourners in March 1852.⁷⁰

While the records of Wylie & Lochhead provide quantative information about funerals, there are few first-person descriptions of a funeral in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century. However, *The Day*, a daily newspaper edited by Strang, carried a lengthy article in January 1832 titled ‘A Father’s Funeral (From the unpublished autobiography of an orphan)’.⁷¹ This rather over-wrought piece – even though it was a work of fiction – usefully outlined the events of the day of a funeral in a middle class household through the eyes of Henry, the only son and eldest child of the deceased. More importantly, it also described the feelings of the young man, and his attitudes to custom and duty. Given the identity of the editor, and the fact that the narrative reproduces a number of complete paragraphs from his book *Necropolis Glasguensis*, published in 1831, it was likely Strang was the author of this account. Strang lost his father at the age of 14 in 1809, and, as the only surviving male child, became head of the household, which consisted of his four sisters, so this article was likely to have been based on his own experiences.⁷² Whatever its genesis, the article provided an insight into the feelings and beliefs of a bereaved young man in the early nineteenth century.

After an eight-line quotation from ‘Young’ – Edward Young’s book-length poem *Night Thoughts*⁷³ – the article begins with the 13-year-old narrator’s father lying ‘cold and still’ in his coffin, and a ‘suit of sables [black] and deep-creped hat’ which he described as ‘those outward habilments of woe which custom has declared necessary for

⁶⁸ GUA, HF57 6/2/1/26, Wylie and Lochhead funeral order book 16B, p. 159.

⁶⁹ Bennett, ‘Introduction to Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Registers’, p. 8.

⁷⁰ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 139.

⁷¹ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93-94. The newspaper styled itself ‘a morning journal of literature, fine arts, fashion, etc’.

⁷² Robert Chambers, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, vol 6 (London: Blackie, 1875), p. 413.

⁷³ Edward Young, *Night Thoughts* (London: T. Heptinstall, 1798), p. 50. The quotation is from Night Three, ‘Narcissa’, lines 285-292.

a father's funeral' lying on his table.⁷⁴ In the parlour, the servant had placed his father's usual chair at the breakfast table. All around, his sisters – who as females were to take no part in the day's proceedings – were weeping.⁷⁵ After breakfast, the orphan Henry, who was now master of the household, wrote letters to 'friends of the family at a distance' to inform them of his father's death, four year's after the death of his mother; at that point, the undertaker arrived, prompting Henry to recall a few (unattributed) lines of verse:

The sable tribe, that painful watch
The rich man's door, and live upon the dead,
By letting out their persons by the hour,
To mimic sorrow where the heart's not sad.⁷⁶

Henry then entered the dining room, ready to greet the invited guests. While he waited, he reflected:

Simple though the ceremonial of our funereal rites may be in Scotland, it may safely be affirmed that there is no people in the world among whom the last offices, which man is called to bestow upon his fellow, are more affectionately paid, or more solemnly performed, than in this country.⁷⁷

In Scotland we were spared, he wrote, that 'heartless refinement' that caused coffins to be lowered into graves 'by the hands of strangers' and loved ones to be 'wept for by the wretched mockery of hired mourners'; rather, in Scotland, most people felt that 'to assist at the sad obsequies of a friend', and to attend the burial, was 'the most solemn demonstration [...] of affectionate respect for the memory of his departed companion'.⁷⁸ The author's views on undertakers expounded here were similar to those expressed in the four lines of verse reproduced above.

At the appointed hour, Henry's father's 'friends and companions' arrived, and offered sympathy to the young man and his sisters; then the minister offered a prayer, and the party left the house.⁷⁹ Immediately outside the door, Henry recalled, was 'the pall in all its mournful trappings'.⁸⁰ The undertaker handed him the chief mourner's

⁷⁴ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93.

⁷⁵ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93.

⁷⁶ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93.

⁷⁷ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93.

⁷⁸ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93.

⁷⁹ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 93.

⁸⁰ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 94.

ribbon, and the ‘melancholy cortege moved slowly’ towards the churchyard; as the party made its way towards the ‘cinerel depot which already held the ashes of my mother’, the city bells tolled out.⁸¹ Once at the grave, the pall was removed and the coffin was placed inside ‘the railed enclosure’, then the chief mourners ‘took the different stations that were assigned to them’, with Henry at the head, and the coffin was lowered as the remainder of the party raised their hats in farewell.⁸² At the end of the narrative, Henry shuddered and wept as the earth was shovelled over his father’s coffin, then he rushed home to comfort his sisters and resume his place at the head of the household.⁸³

The sentiments may be highly coloured – Strang was not noted as a writer of fiction – but the underlying beliefs are unmistakably his, as previously expressed in *Necropolis Glasguensis* and his regular articles on funerals and burying grounds in the *Scots Times*. The meaning of the funeral to Strang lies in the young man’s acceptance of the customs surrounding the death, such as assuming the duties of chief mourner – greeting the guests and taking the lead in lowering the coffin into the grave – and those of head of the household – writing the letters and comforting his sisters. The writer is aware of the power of custom, as noted by Bennett above, and his place in the long Scottish tradition of paying ‘the last offices’ to a loved one.

The rise of the undertakers

The central role played by professional undertakers in the fictional funeral of Henry was a reflection of the reality in Glasgow. The importance of the fashionable trappings of mourning, especially the horse-drawn hearse, were made clear in an earlier newspaper article, probably also from the pen of John Strang. Given his great interest in funeral and burial matters, and his senior position on the newspaper, it is likely that Strang was the author. This text, which appeared in the *Scots Times* in 1828 (see Appendix N), showed a clear change in attitudes to death in Glasgow in the first third of the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ At that time, the decorative scheme of a new hearse in the city demonstrated, in symbolic form, the triumph of Enlightenment attitudes. The writer gave a full description of a new model of funeral hearse belonging to Burn, Scott &

⁸¹ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 94.

⁸² *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 94.

⁸³ *The Day*, 28 January 1832, pp. 94.

⁸⁴ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

Company of Union Place. The writer noted that the ‘old offensive figures of a skull and bones’ were missing and that in their place were ‘beautiful typifications of Time, Religion and Grief’ designed by Mr. Mitchell, a young artist in Glasgow.⁸⁵ Each of the three panels was painted to represent ‘the chancel of a Gothic cathedral’, with columns rising from a ‘tessellated pavement’ and, at the top of a few steps, a pedestal on which was mounted one of the ‘typical figures we have alluded to’.⁸⁶ There is more than a hint of Freemasonic symbolism here, particularly the tessellated pavement, which – to the initiated – represented the ‘alternate good and evil of human life’;⁸⁷ the allusive figures, the columns and the pedestal may also be Masonic references.

On each side of the hearse, beneath the driver’s seat, was an escutcheon. One used ‘striking emblems’ to display ‘the various conditions of life’ and the other depicted ‘the various ages’ at which people die.⁸⁸ The railing around the top of the hearse consisted of ‘richly gilt Gothic pillars’ rather than the usual ‘clumsy pieces of painted timber’, and above this were large plumes in the shape of a coronet.⁸⁹ The author thought that the hearse was a credit to the ‘taste’ of the artist and to the ‘enterprise’ of owners.⁹⁰ As Miles Glendinning *et al.* have noted, ‘the chief architectural expression’ of the ‘revolutionary, modernising urban society’ in Scotland between 1800 and 1840 was a Romantic neoclassicism.⁹¹ This change in visual and material culture can be seen reflected in the new hearse. The attitudes represented by the livery of the new hearse could also be seen in the rise of the professional undertaker, who offered funerals conducted independently of the family in a style derived from the aristocracy of an earlier age. These elements, of stage management, professional distance and adopted visual style, combined to produce a funeral culture that was delivered by undertakers and not generated from within a family or community, as it had been in the past.

The rise of the professional undertaker in Glasgow began in the early part of the nineteenth century. At that time, according to Strang, William Lochhead, who had premises in Saltmarket, was ‘the most remarkable type of an old Glasgow undertaker’

⁸⁵ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

⁸⁶ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

⁸⁷ Kenneth Mackenzie, *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia of History, Rites, Symbolism and Biography* (London: John Hogg, 1877), p. 726.

⁸⁸ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

⁸⁹ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

⁹⁰ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

⁹¹ Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechnie *A History of Scottish Architecture: From the Renaissance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 189.

who was so busy that he ‘had rarely his sable [black] attire off’.⁹² Lochhead, who was an elder in Blackfriars Church in High Street, ‘made the coffin, attended the funeral, asked the blessing and served the company’.⁹³ This versatile figure began an undertaking dynasty that has served Glasgow and the west of Scotland for more than 200 years. The firm of Wylie & Lochhead was formed in Glasgow on 6 September 1829 by Robert Wylie (1798-1866) and William Lochhead, junior, (1796-1875), the son of the William mentioned above.⁹⁴ Before this, Wylie ran his own business as a hair and feather merchant and upholsterer at 80 Trongate, and Lochhead worked in his father’s business of post-hiring, undertaking and cabinet-making in Saltmarket.⁹⁵ At this time, wrote Lochhead, ‘my father’s funeral business was the largest of the kind in Glasgow’.⁹⁶ The new firm – which combined the activities of the partners’ previous operations – opened for business at 164 Trongate; when the elder William died in 1831, his business in Saltmarket was incorporated into Wylie & Lochhead.⁹⁷

During the 1832 cholera epidemic, which affected 6,200 people and killed 3,000,⁹⁸ Wylie & Lochhead and their employees were among the few firms who continued to offer a full service, ‘regardless of their own personal safety’.⁹⁹ Following the epidemic, the partnership was asked by the Town Council to ‘put the undertaking [profession] on a proper footing’ in Glasgow, which led to the firm becoming the first to offer a ‘complete undertaking service’ in Scotland; this relieved ‘relatives and mourners of much trouble and expense at a time of natural distress’.¹⁰⁰ Wylie and Lochhead’s complete service included providing coffins, hearses, mourning stationery and catering.¹⁰¹ The firm continued to innovate, introducing a hearse in 1834, and by 1855 it was carrying out more than 4,000 funerals a year.¹⁰² The business moved to ‘more

⁹² Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 184.

⁹³ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 184.

⁹⁴ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service* (Glasgow: Wylie & Lochhead, 1954), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁵ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 3.

⁹⁶ GUA, HF57 10/1/1, Notes by William Lochhead, Esq., from 1829-68. Bound typescript copy of originals, made in 1926 by William Adam Wylie, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Cleland, *Statistical Facts*, p. 7. This book also noted that population of Glasgow in 1831 was 202,426 (p. 5).

⁹⁹ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 22.

¹⁰¹ Lynda Smart, ‘Records of Wylie & Lochhead Limited’, catalogue produced by Glasgow University Archives, 2002, p. 3.

¹⁰² *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 22.

central and commodious premises at 45 Buchanan Street in 1855.¹⁰³ Because of 'the elaborate nature of funerals in the last half of the nineteenth century', when a hearse drawn by four horses with outriders was the fashion, the firm owned more than 400 horses.¹⁰⁴ The partnership also kept a ready supply of 'weepers', the black crepe dressing that was worn around the silk hats of ushers and at the cuffs of drivers, and black plumes for horses.¹⁰⁵ When the founders retired in 1856, their sons Robert Downie Wylie (1828-1866), John Wylie (1830-1888) and William Lochhead III (d. 1863) continued the business.¹⁰⁶ The first named of these was also manager of John Street United Presbyterian Church, which may have been good for business.¹⁰⁷

In a newspaper advertisement dated 12 December 1836, the firm promoted its funeral undertaking department, which offered 'every necessity connected with funerals' and which always had mounted and furnished coffins at hand.¹⁰⁸ The advertisement also noted the 'superior manner' in which its hearses and mourning coaches were finished, and reassured potential customers as to the 'neatness and cleanliness' of their men and horses.¹⁰⁹ There is more than a suggestion here that the firm's competitors were less suited to the task of seeing Glasgow's middle classes to their eternal rest. The size and importance of the firm meant that it was not just reflecting funeral practice in the city, but influencing it. The section describing the funeral department that appeared in the firm's *List of Goods* in 1855 (see Figure 46) made that plain by referring to 'their exertions in altering the mode of conducting funerals generally, and reducing them to an economical system'.¹¹⁰

Wylie & Lochhead conducted much of their business in the Necropolis, as a number of references to them in the minutes of the Necropolis Committee showed. For example, the firm had ground in the Necropolis reserved for the burials of their customers¹¹¹, they had tombs in compartment Gamma¹¹², they were offered discounts

¹⁰³ *List of Goods: Wylie & Lochhead, upholstery furnishers, paper-hanging merchants, funeral undertakers and post-horse and carriage hirers* (Glasgow: W. G. Blackie, 1855), p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁵ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ *Five Generations of Furnishing Service*, 1954), p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ GUA, HF57 10/1/1, Notes by William Lochhead, Esq., from 1829-68, p. 78.

¹⁰⁸ GUA, HF57 10/1/1, Notes by William Lochhead, Esq., from 1829-68, p. 93. There is no indication of where the advertisement was published.

¹⁰⁹ GUA, HF57 10/1/1, Notes by William Lochhead, Esq., from 1829-68.

¹¹⁰ *List of Goods: Wylie and Lochhead*, p. 16.

¹¹¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 4 February 1835.

¹¹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, 14 February 1835.

for interments in common graves¹¹³, and they were described by Hill as ‘very good friends to the establishment’¹¹⁴. In addition, the names Wylie and Lochhead were among the first to be listed as funeral directors in the *Glasgow Post Office Directory*. William Lochhead, undertaker, was listed in the 1828-29¹¹⁵ and 1829-30¹¹⁶ editions; the 1830-31 issue listed William Lochhead & Son, undertakers¹¹⁷, while the 1831-32 edition included Wylie & Lochhead, upholstery furnishers, and William Lochhead & Son, undertakers¹¹⁸. The next edition listed Wylie & Lochhead, upholstery furnishers, William Lochhead & Son, undertakers, and William Lochhead, junior, undertaker.¹¹⁹ The 1833-34 edition of the *Directory*, which was the first to have classified trade and professional listings, had three entries for ‘Undertakers’: William Lochhead, junior; William Simpson; and Wylie & Lochhead.¹²⁰ By the time of the 1835-36 edition, 11 people or firms were listed under the heading ‘Funeral Undertakers’.¹²¹

In response to the growing size, complexity and cost of funerals, whether supplied by Wylie & Lochhead or others, there were calls for them to be made more modest, based on Presbyterian frugality or plain utilitarianism born of Enlightenment rationality. In Glasgow, both Cleland and Strang were advocates of funeral reform: a lengthy extract from Cleland’s ‘new statistical work’ was featured on the front page of the *Glasgow Herald* in July 1832, in which he proposed a six-point plan for reformed funerals.¹²² In outline, these were: (1) Funeral gatherings should be moved from 2pm to 3pm, to ‘give an additional and important hour to business before dinner’; (2) There should be no more than 50 guests for the head of a family, and 25 for a young person; (3) There should be one prayer before the wine and cake, and none after; (4) Funeral letters should be delivered by the Post Office, which would lead to the reduction in the

¹¹³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 31 July 1835.

¹¹⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 24 September 1836.

¹¹⁵ *Glasgow Post Office Directory for 1828-29* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1828), pp. 44, 230.

¹¹⁶ *Glasgow Post Office Directory for 1829-30* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1829), pp. 162, 162, 261.

¹¹⁷ *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1830-31* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1830), pp. 170, 272.

¹¹⁸ *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1831-32* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1831), pp. 326, 171.

¹¹⁹ *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1832-33* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1832), pp. 345, 181.

¹²⁰ *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1833-34* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1833), p. 313.

¹²¹ *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1835-36* (Glasgow: John Graham, 1835), p. 320.

¹²² *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

number of ushers and thus the expense of a funeral; (5) The ushers should wear scarves and hatbands, the mutes should fill up the grave, and the funeral director should be dressed 'as one of the company'; and (6) The warden of the church yard should take charge of making the grave and recording the burial.¹²³

Cleland's rational reforms would have reduced the time and money involved in funerals, and removed many of the ceremonial aspects. In his own family, he had replaced the usual two or three rounds of wine and burial bread to 'one glass of wine and a biscuit'.¹²⁴ He was a member of the Church of Scotland, and when he died in 1840 was buried in the under-church of the Ramshorn Kirk in Ingram Street. Cleland had inserted the burial space under the church in 1824, in defiance of Church of Scotland policy, by amending the plans of Thomas Rickman.¹²⁵ Similarly, Strang was an ardent and long-standing advocate of funeral reform. Through the pages of the *Scots Times* from 1827, his own publication *The Day* (1832), and most importantly in his book *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831), he condemned the 'disgusting' aspect of churchyards and promoted the virtues of extra-mural burial in garden cemeteries based on Père Lachaise.¹²⁶ He was also determined to introduce the practice of paying respectful visits to the tomb of departed friends and family members, which he had seen on his tours of Europe and which he thought was in advance of Scottish beliefs and practice.¹²⁷ From a different religious perspective, J. F. S. Gordon, the Episcopalian minister of St. Andrew's Church in Green Street, disapproved of the 'spindle-shankit mutes' who were to be seen 'spanking in front of a hearse ridiculous in device'; he also found modern coffins, which were 'bespattered with tinsel heads, having wings and puffy piper cheeks lusty blowing bugle horns' to be 'extremely incongruous'; all this, he concluded, was turning 'the last solemn rites into mere spectacles of burlesques'.¹²⁸

James Stevens Curl has described the campaigning efforts of Edwin Chadwick, secretary to the New Poor Law Commission from 1834 to 1842, to reform funerals,

¹²³ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832.

¹²⁴ James Cleland, *Description of the City of Glasgow* 2nd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1840), p. 30.

¹²⁵ Charles McKean, David Walker and Frank Walker, *Central Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989), p. 71.

¹²⁶ John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831), p. 33.

¹²⁷ For example, see John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1831), p. 56.

¹²⁸ J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* vol 1 (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1871), p. 565.

particularly among the working class.¹²⁹ Chadwick's report to Parliament in 1843 included his experiences in Scotland, where he found much to horrify him. His report included a description of the 'evils' of wakes, where there was 'much drinking of ardent spirits':

W. Dyce Guthrie [a surgeon] speaks strongly of the evils attendant upon the practice of unguarded retention of the body under such circumstances, and of the instances known by himself where persons have come from a distance to attend the funeral of a departed friend and have returned infected with a disease similar to that which terminated the friend's existence.¹³⁰

In 1848 John Carrick, who later became Glasgow's City Architect, demanded that the town council should outlaw these wakes, which were a feature of the Irish community in the city, presumably on similar public health grounds. He wrote that, typically, 15 to 20 people stay in a small room for two days with a corpse, claiming to be in mourning, but 'in reality they are getting drunk as fast as possible'.¹³¹

Chadwick reported that the cost of a 'decent burial' for a labouring man in Scotland was at least £5, 'exclusive of the cost of mourning'.¹³² Mary Elizabeth Hotz has criticised Chadwick for interviewing everyone except the poor, writing that his zeal for restricting their spending on funerals, which often led them into crushing debt, was part of his overall plan to control and police the activities of the lower orders.¹³³ Chadwick's report proposed a number of reforms to funeral, burial and mourning practices. Chris Brooks has noted that many of these, particularly where they related to the design and operation of cemeteries, were 'drawn directly' from John Claudius Loudon's various writings on the subject.¹³⁴ Loudon, of course, drew much of his inspiration on this topic from Strang, so this may be another example of Strang's reforming zeal finding a wide audience through being adopted by writers in London.

In the Necropolis, the impecunious could purchase a space in a common grave. Documents produced on behalf of Hugh Tennent during his court case against the

¹²⁹ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 121.

¹³⁰ Edwin Chadwick, *A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns* (London: W. Clowes, 1843), p. 42.

¹³¹ John Carrick, 'Old Houses – Irish Wakes', in James Pagan, ed., *Glasgow Past and Present* (Glasgow: David Robertson and Company, 1884), vol. 1, pp. 21-26.

¹³² Chadwick, *A Supplementary Report*, p. 70.

¹³³ Mary Elizabeth Hotz, 'Down Among the Dead: Edwin Chadwick's Burial Reform Discourse in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 2001, 21-38.

¹³⁴ Chris Brooks, *Mortal Remains* (Exeter: Wheaton Publications, 1989), p. 34.

Merchants' House in 1835 (see Chapter five) described the formation of common graves in the Necropolis in 1835, in the lower part of the property, which had been set aside 'to accommodate the poorer classes of the community':

The graves are not formed in the usual way but pits are dug from ten to 12 feet in depth, and instead of one, not less than six or eight coffins are piled one above another. The ground [in question] will in this way be completely filled with dead bodies.¹³⁵

Given the intention of Tennent's case was to convince the Court of Session to prevent the Merchants' House forming more graves on the land next to his brewery, over which he had claimed the right to take water, his language was emotional, but his comment did provide a description of the class of grave that a person of limited means could have expected in the Necropolis.

While Cleland worried about biscuits and Chadwick concerned himself with working-class debt, there were practical alternatives, usually organised on a community or co-operative basis. For example, the Molendinar Burn Funeral Society, which was based in Calton, to the east of the city, was active from before 1830 to after 1853; subscribers received the costs of a decent funeral, without putting their families into debt.¹³⁶ In addition, some large Glasgow employers, such as William Dixon Ltd., coal and iron masters, established funeral funds for their employees.¹³⁷ The purpose of these societies were spelled out in the 'aim and object' of the Bonhill Funeral Society, which was formed in the Vale of Leven in 1834 to 'assist in defraying the expense attending a death bed', especially among members of the working class, who 'can only procure a bare subsistence while in health'; the Alexandra Funeral Society was founded on similar lines in 1837.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ NAS, CS 238 T 9/65, Hugh Tennent v. Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1835.

¹³⁶ GCA, TD 200/8, Minute Book of the Molendinar Burn Funeral Society, 1830-53. The society was in existence before and after this period, but this was the only record to have survived.

¹³⁷ GUA, UDG 1/35/1-4, William Dixon Ltd., Funeral Fund roll books. Four of these roll books survive, for the years 1841, 1845, 1859 and 1866.

¹³⁸ John Neill, *Records and Reminiscences of Bonhill Parish* (Dumbarton: Bennett and Thomson, 1912).

Early monuments and their meanings

Funeral monuments convey, through their design and iconography, cultural attitudes to death and to the hereafter. They, as a replacement for or representative of the person buried beneath them, also play a large part in the negotiation of that person's position in the cemetery, in relation to the other personalities on show there. Tarlow, with a keen focus on the cultural beliefs of the customers of the nineteenth century cemetery, suggested that 'social display' was an important aspect of the choice of memorial.¹³⁹ She noted that 'classical, Gothic and Egyptian designs' were prominent in the early garden cemeteries – and this is certainly true of the Necropolis – where the owners of these monuments were 'making reference to a glorious past' and were framing themselves 'as heirs of an illustrious, imperial tradition' and so 'gaining prestige and legitimation in the present'.¹⁴⁰ Tarlow also observed that 'to play status games' with memorials, both the owners and the audience would have to be aware of 'the particular associations of various styles, materials and forms'.¹⁴¹ Those who wrote on the Necropolis, particularly Strang and Hill, provided this awareness for the audiences of Glasgow.

Additionally, Ken Worpole has described burying grounds as 'assemblages of signs', which we are able to read because 'they were designed and inscribed as messages to the future'.¹⁴² As Tarlow has indicated, one of the messages embedded in individual stones was social display and the opportunity for conspicuous consumption.¹⁴³ In the Glasgow Necropolis, at least, this became another capitalist contest for the merchants and tradespeople buried there, who engaged in what T. M. Devine has called 'competitive emulation in death'.¹⁴⁴

It is certainly easy to read the sentiments and beliefs underlying the inscription on one of the earliest monuments in the cemetery, and the first in compartment Delta. This was designed by David Hamilton for David Mylne, the young son of the Superintendent, who died on 11 May 1833, just as the cemetery was opening for

¹³⁹ Tarlow, 'Landscapes of memory', p. 229.

¹⁴⁰ Tarlow, 'Landscapes of memory', p. 229.

¹⁴¹ Tarlow, 'Landscapes of memory', p. 229.

¹⁴² Ken Worpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion, 2003), p. 99.

¹⁴³ Tarlow, 'Landscapes of memory', pp. 229.

¹⁴⁴ T. M. Devine, 'Glasgow City of Empire', Trades House annual lecture, University of Strathclyde, 31 May 2005.

burials. The stone was paid for by a man who wanted to reward Milne for sterling service rendered after a bereavement of his own.¹⁴⁵ The modest stone, which is illustrated in Hill's *Companion* (see Figure 47), first noted the bare details: 'David/ Son of Mr. George Mylne/ Died 11 May 1833/ Aged four years and two months'.¹⁴⁶ This was followed by a short verse:

Early removed from bleak misfortune's blast,
Secure from storms, here rests a tender flower,
Short though its bloom, the opening bud began
To promise fair when ripened into man;
Sleep on, sweet babe! High heaven's all-gracious King
Hath to eternal summer changed thy spring.¹⁴⁷

The stone to the young David Milne revealed, particularly through its choice of inscription, that the family believed in a benevolent supreme being and that the child's continuing existence after death involved sleeping, and in more pleasant surroundings. The Romantic view of the Christian afterlife given in the verse offered the family both pleasant memories of the child and the hope of a happier future. Over and above the stark details recorded on the stone, the Necropolis burial records showed that David Milne died of influenza.¹⁴⁸ They also recorded that George Milne's mother – Elizabeth Milne (maiden surname Miles) – and sister – Isabella Kennedy, wife of James Kennedy – had been buried in compartment Delta earlier the same year.¹⁴⁹

Other monuments are equally indicative of contemporary beliefs and attitudes. The second monument constructed in Delta was also described and illustrated by Hill (see Figure 47), who noted that it had been raised by John Hervey to his son James, who died in November 1833, aged 24.¹⁵⁰ The solidly architectural memorial – which was completed almost one year after the burial – had been designed by John Bryce, who had produced the Façade at the east end of the entrance bridge, and carved by John Park.¹⁵¹ The inscription included a paraphrase of Isaiah 57. 2, much to the delight of Hill, who

¹⁴⁵ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁶ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 26. The first superintendent's family name is variously spelled in the Necropolis records.

¹⁴⁷ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 26. Hill does not give a source for the verse on the stone.

¹⁴⁸ MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one, entry for 14 May 1833.

¹⁴⁹ MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858', microfilm spool number one, entries for 9 February (Elizabeth Milne) and 4 April (Isabella Kennedy) 1833.

¹⁵⁰ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 29-30.

¹⁵¹ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 31.

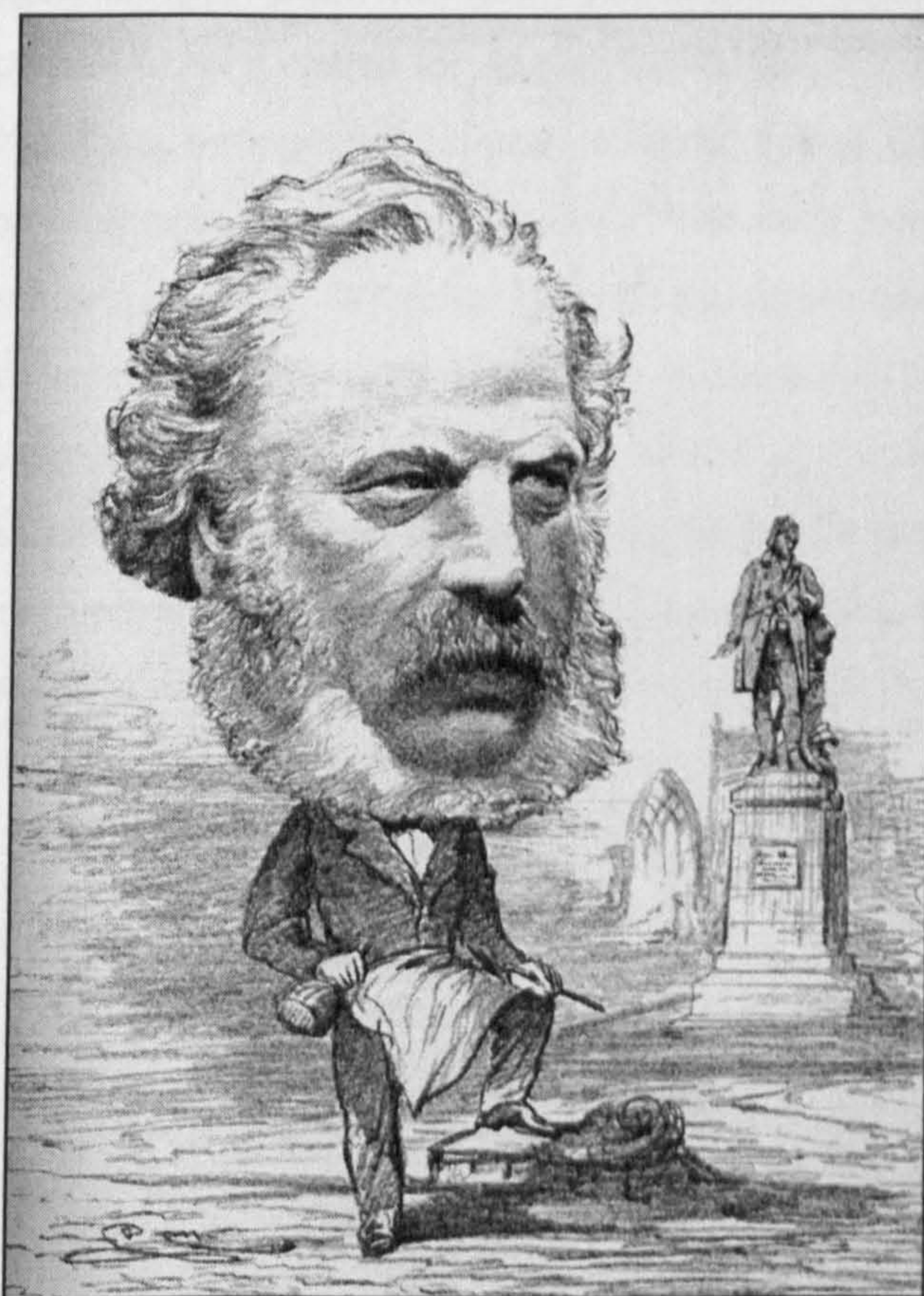
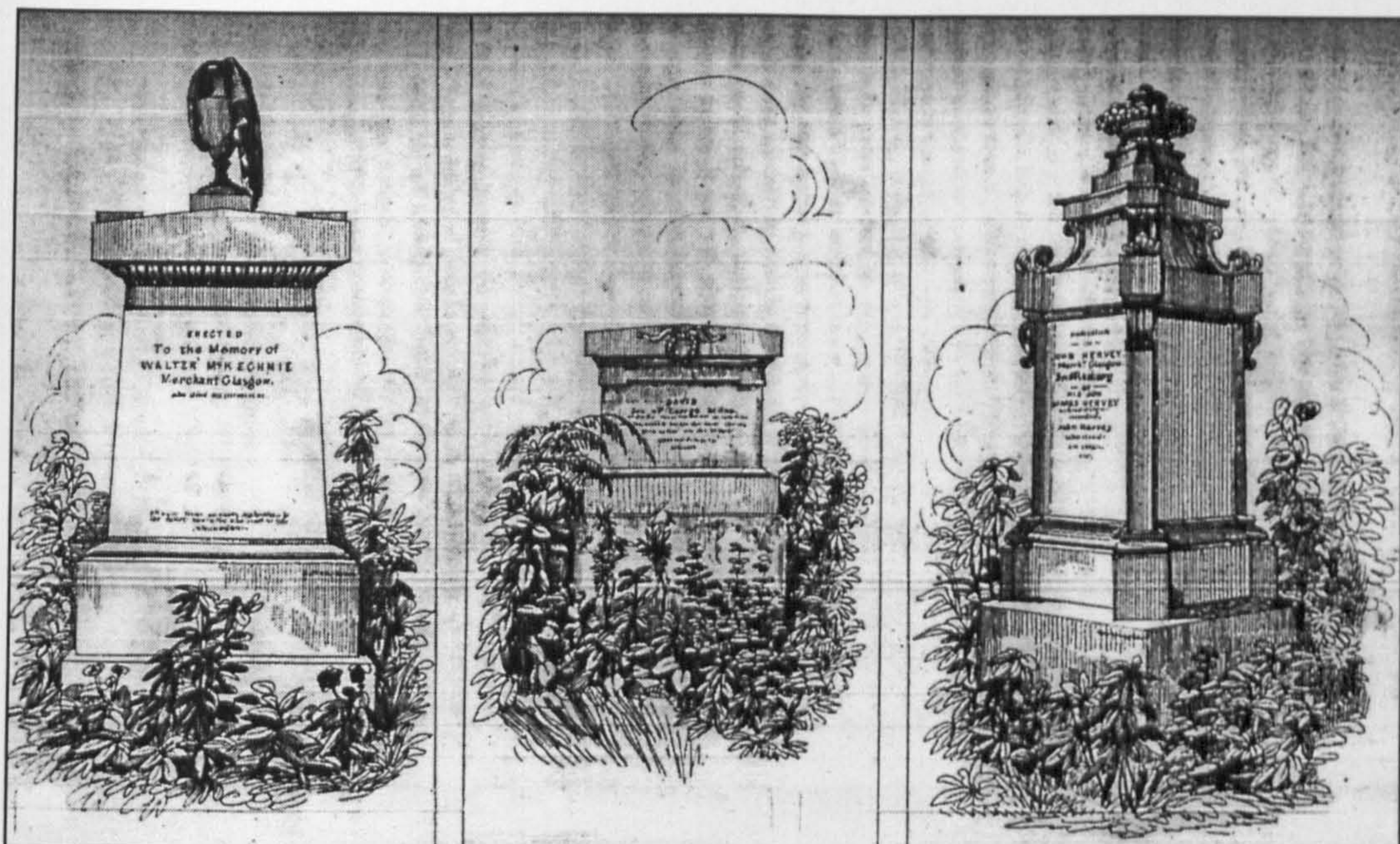


Figure 47 (top) – Laurence Hill's book highlighted three architectural monuments in the Necropolis. The memorials, from left, to Walter McKechnie, David Milne and James Hervey, were each derived from neoclassical styles. Hill was holding these works up as being appropriate for the cemetery. (Laurence Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis* [Glasgow: John Smith, 1836].)

Figure 48 (above) – John Mossman, the eldest son of William Mossman, was one of a family of talented and entrepreneurial sculptors and stonemasons who created or contributed to many of the imposing monuments in the Necropolis. (*The Bailie*, 21 October 1874.)

wrote: 'We are always pleased to meet with scriptural quotations on the monuments.'¹⁵² The Collector's pleasure derived from his belief that such inscriptions were the 'sound and sweet philosophy' of 'the Great Teacher who now presides in these woods'.¹⁵³ Hill had previously referred to his hope that contemplating the trees in the Necropolis would lead people's minds 'from Nature up to Nature's God', which might suggest Deist leanings.¹⁵⁴ Again, the monument contained and communicated the views of the family of the deceased. The third monument described and illustrated in Hill's *Companion* (see Figure 47) was a simple headstone surmounted by a draped urn. It was dedicated to the memory of Walter McKechnie, a merchant who died in April 1835, and designed by James Anderson.¹⁵⁵ The simplicity of the stone and the neoclassical reference of the urn suggests an uncomplicated Presbyterian certainty of belief.

As well as describing the various monuments in the Necropolis, Hill and the Merchants' House attempted to suggest an appropriate size and style of grave stone. The title page of the *Companion* showed a tomb prepared for sale by the House, which Hill described as a 'simple tomb' which was as 'an exact representation of that at the grave of the poet Chenier', one of the most popular in Père Lachaise.¹⁵⁶ The stone may have been modest, but it had an illustrious precedent. Whatever Hill and the House had in mind, the writers of guidebooks agreed on the most interesting monuments to recommend to their readers. An examination of a cross section of the tourist guides to Glasgow published in the 30 years following the opening of the Necropolis has shown that the most frequently described structures are the monuments to John Knox, William McGavin, John Dick, Charles Tennant and Archibald Douglas Monteath, and the Jewish cemetery.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 30.

¹⁵³ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁴ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 7. The phrase 'Nature's God' had previously appeared in Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*, written in 1734 (Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, 4 vols [London, 1733-74]) and in Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, written in 1776 (Garry Wills, *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of independence*, [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978]).

¹⁵⁵ Hill, *A Companion to the Necropolis*, p. 31-32.

¹⁵⁶ Hill, *Companion to the Necropolis*.

¹⁵⁷ *McPhun's Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: London Newspaper Office, 1833), *McPhun's Stranger's Pocket Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1840), *Black's Economical Guide through Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1843), *Guide to the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, including Guides to Edinburgh and Glasgow* (Edinburgh: John Thomson, 1845), *McDowall's Penny Guide to Glasgow* (Edinburgh: T. & W. McDowall, 1848), and *Robin & Lindsay's New and Complete Guide through Glasgow* (Glasgow: Robin & Lindsay, 1855).

As well as reading the inscriptions on monuments, as recorded by Hill, examining the architectural styles of the monuments can reveal attitudes and beliefs about the family, or peers in the case of a stone raised by public subscription, who paid for the memorials in the Necropolis. At the time the Necropolis opened in the 1830s, a 'pristine neo-Greek' style was dominating architectural tastes in Britain.¹⁵⁸ This fashion, noted Alexander Welsh, fitted perfectly with 'the preoccupation with the grander aspects of life' and 'the high moral tone' of the emerging middle classes.¹⁵⁹ Second in popularity were Egyptian styles and motifs, made fashionable by the discoveries of the recent expeditions to that country, and their exposure of the veneration of dead of its ancient inhabitants.¹⁶⁰ In the period from 1800 to 1840, in Scotland and in other European countries, the 'chief architectural expression' of the 'revolutionary, modernising urban society' was 'a Romantic neo-classicism', which was primarily conveyed by 'a stately Greek style.'¹⁶¹ By the last decade of this period, other styles began to flourish, and 'Grecian public institutions were built alongside Roman banks, Baroque churches and Gothic monumental spires.'¹⁶²

Charles McKean has noted that while the dominant form in architecture in early nineteenth century Scotland was the neoclassical, the structures produced were placed in settings derived from romantic picturesqueness, the antithesis of the 'Attic reasoning' represented by the neoclassical.¹⁶³ This owed more to James Macpherson's Ossianic poems (published from 1760) and the works of Walter Scott – not least Abbotsford, his picturesque home in the Scottish Borders, which was created between 1817 and 1823 by Scott, working first with William Stark and then William Atkinson.¹⁶⁴ Ray McKenzie, an architectural historian, in his survey of the city prepared for the Public Monument and Sculpture Association in 2002, wrote that Glasgow architects given the 'opportunity to work on a tiny scale, unimpeded by the normal constraints of function and utility' created 'miniature architectural gems in almost every documented national and period style, as if bringing the illustrations in Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture on*

¹⁵⁸ Alexander Welsh, 'Glasgow Necropolis: A Dissertation Presented to the Mackintosh School of Architecture', Glasgow School of Art, 1979, pp. 30-31.

¹⁵⁹ Welsh, 'Glasgow Necropolis', p. 31.

¹⁶⁰ Welsh, 'Glasgow Necropolis', p. 31.

¹⁶¹ Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechie, *A History of Scottish Architecture: From the Renaissance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 189.

¹⁶² Glendinning *et al.*, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, p. 189.

¹⁶³ Charles McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', in Paul Scott, ed., *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1993), p. 241-2.

¹⁶⁴ McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', p. 241-2.

the Comparative Method magically to life.’¹⁶⁵ Curl noted that Augustus Charles Pugin’s *Paris and Its Environs* (London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1828-30), which included illustrations of Père Lachaise, influenced a number of monuments in Kensal Green cemetery in London, which opened in 1833.¹⁶⁶ This book, which may have been the *Views of Père Lachaise* on sale in Glasgow in 1831 during the exhibition of plans of the Necropolis, may also have influenced the design of the cemetery and the monuments in it.¹⁶⁷

In these ways, Glasgow architects had access to both the buildings of the classical period in the Greek and Roman world, but also the best in more recent structures. As the century progressed, these contemporary works grew to include Gothic revival buildings. The Gothic style of architecture, for long seen as redolent of Catholicism, became acceptable in Scotland from the 1830s, perhaps connected with changing public opinions as seen in the enactment of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829. Glendinning *et al.* noted that by 1840, the ‘march of eclecticism’ had added Gothic, Italianate and other styles to the previously neoclassical palettes of Scottish architects.¹⁶⁸

David Hamilton, the leading architect in Glasgow at the time of the formation of the Necropolis, had ‘almost certainly’ worked for the brothers Robert (1728-1792) and James (1732-1794) Adam on their Glasgow commissions, which included the first Royal Infirmary (1791), and the Trades’ Hall (from 1791).¹⁶⁹ The older Adam had travelled through England, Belgium and Paris to Rome, where he lived from 1755 to 1757, studying under neo-classical architects Giovanni Piranesi (1720-28) and Charles-Louis Clérissieu (1721-1820) and researching a guide to the classical structures in the

¹⁶⁵ Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), p. 292. Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1897). Other sources available to architects in that period included J.-N.-L. Durand, *Précis des leçons* (Paris: 1802-5); J.-N.-L. Durand, *Receuil et Parallèle des Édifices en tout genre, Anciens et Modernes* (Brussels: 1801-05); James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* (London: Haberkorn, 1762-1816); and Julien-David Le Roy, *Les Ruines de les Plus Beaux Monuments de la Grece* (Paris: Guerin, Delatour et Nyon, 1758).

¹⁶⁶ Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* 2nd edn, p. 62. See also James Stevens Curl, ed., *Kensal Green Cemetery: The Origins and Development of the General Cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green, London, 1824-2001* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001).

¹⁶⁷ GCA, T-MH 52/2/1/1, Necropolis Journal, 1831-.

¹⁶⁸ Glendinning *et al.*, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, p. 245.

¹⁶⁹ Glendinning *et al.*, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, p. 218.

city.¹⁷⁰ The brothers amassed a large collection of drawings and prints, including architectural and topographical volumes acquired on Robert's journey through Europe.¹⁷¹ All of this would have been available to David Hamilton.

Many of the leading Glasgow architects produced work for the Necropolis. In addition to David and James Hamilton, John Baird, John Bryce, Charles Wilson, J. T. Rothead, Alexander Thomson, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and J. A. Bell all designed significant monuments that reflected their much larger commissions in the centre and west of the city.¹⁷² However distinguished they may have been, there was one restraint on the creativity of architects and writers of inscriptions. Strang, in his influential *Necropolis Glasguensis*, wrote that while customers should have freedom 'to express individual feeling by every diversity of funeral monument', the Merchants' House should not allow any structure 'that is calculated to injure the picturesque appearance of the garden'.¹⁷³ This was later enshrined in the regulations of the Necropolis, which stated that all proprietors had the right to 'erect any mason work or monument and put thereon any inscription', provided these had received the House's 'approbation'.¹⁷⁴

As well as free-standing headstones and monuments, the Necropolis featured a number of mausolea, many derived from classical sources. The first mausoleum in the Necropolis was built by Robert Black of Kelvingrove for his daughter Catherine, who died in 1837 at the age of 12.¹⁷⁵ Architecturally, it is in the form of a simple Greek temple, with plain Doric columns beneath a row of inverted laurel wreaths. It is not a free-standing structure, since its back wall is formed from the rock out of which its chamber and vaults were quarried. In this, it is similar to the Egyptian Vaults, designed by David Hamilton in the same year, although with a slightly different purpose. The first free standing mausoleum was designed in 1842 by David Cousin (1809-1879) of Cousin and Gale, architects, for Archibald Douglas Monteath, who had been a Major in the service of the East India Company.¹⁷⁶ It may have been modelled on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge, a Templar round church dating from around 1130.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome* (London: John Murray, 1962), pp. 112-13, 124, 175.

¹⁷¹ David Irwin, *Neoclassicism* (London: Phaidon, 1997), p. 104.

¹⁷² McKean, *et al.*, *Central Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, p. 16.

¹⁷³ Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis*, p. 46.

¹⁷⁴ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-b.3, *Glasgow Necropolis, or Cemetery Belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow: Regulations* (first edition, 1834).

¹⁷⁵ James J. Berry, *The Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: James J. Berry, 1985), p. 8.

¹⁷⁶ Berry, *The Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 11.

¹⁷⁷ Berry, *The Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 12.

Howard Colvin has traced the history of mausolea in Scotland, from private chapels attached to churches before the Reformation, through semi-detached burial aisles – such as the Skelmorlie Aisle in Largs, Ayrshire, built in 1636 – to free-standing structures, such as the neoclassical Mackenzie mausoleum in Greyfriars churchyard in Edinburgh, completed in 1691.¹⁷⁸ Another influence may have been the family vault that was built on the model of a funerary chapel by the Greffulhe family in Père Lachaise in 1815. This, noted Michel Ragon, prompted a ‘whole series’ of mausolea in Greek, Gothic and Egyptian revival styles.¹⁷⁹

Whether they were simple headstones, elaborate monuments or house-like mausolea, the memorial structures in the Necropolis were carefully segregated by contemporary writers into private and public. Private monuments were family affairs, and public monuments were more likely to have been raised by committees and their unveiled in the presence of institutional grandees such as the Lord Provost and Magistrates. Blair certainly differentiated between them, noting that some stones were ‘tributes of private affection’ while others were ‘tokens of public respect’.¹⁸⁰ In ‘drawing a line of demarcation between the public and the private’, Blair felt able to discuss the lives of people ‘of a decidedly public character’ or those whose monuments had been raised by public subscription; he had no wish, however, to ‘intrude into the privacy and sanctity’ of tombs raised to private individuals and their families, regardless of the fact that any visitor could see these monuments and read their inscriptions.¹⁸¹ Craig’s Necropolis guidebook also makes the distinction between public and private monuments, even in its title.¹⁸² In addition, Frazer’s writings recalled ‘private funerals’ in the 1830s.¹⁸³

There were a number of proposals to erect monuments to public figures, independently of their burial place. For example, William Motherwell, a Glasgow journalist and poet, issued a proposal in 1818 to erect a national monument to William Wallace in the Fir Park. More than 250 people each subscribed one guinea, but the plan

¹⁷⁸ Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 295-303. There is a gazetteer of Scottish mausolea in Lynn F. Pearson, *Mausoleums* (Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire, 2002), pp. 34-39.

¹⁷⁹ Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration and Urbanism* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 87.

¹⁸⁰ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. vii.

¹⁸¹ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. viii-x.

¹⁸² Walter Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide to the Necropolis (near the High Church) with History of the Public Monuments* (Glasgow: E. Brown, 1871).

¹⁸³ Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 28.

did not come to fruition.¹⁸⁴ In 1819 a committee, 'embracing all the noblemen in the west of Scotland' and 'a number of gentlemen' from Edinburgh, was formed to raise a monument to Wallace.¹⁸⁵ In 1835, the subscribers to Walter Scott's monument asked the Merchants' House to contribute £300 towards the cost of the monument. The House declined, on the grounds that 'the sanctity and character which are wished to be obtained and preserved for the surrounding Necropolis' would be disturbed by the monument.¹⁸⁶ One year later, however, the House agreed to provide a site free of charge for the proposed monument, and also to provide stone for its construction from the quarry.¹⁸⁷ This is likely to be the monument which was erected in George Square, in the centre of Glasgow, in 1837, after a public subscription raised £1,000.¹⁸⁸ In addition, a committee was set up in December 1834 to collect funds for a public monument to David Hamilton, to be sited in the Necropolis.¹⁸⁹ The architect had been recently buried in the High Church burying ground, but was not to receive a second monument in the cemetery he was so involved in creating. The following year, the Merchants' House agreed to give ground in the Necropolis for a proposed monument to Henry Bell, for which a public subscription was being prepared.¹⁹⁰ This was not built in the Necropolis.

In the early days of the cemetery, the Merchants' House had been willing to give land for prominent monuments that would attract the attention of potential customers. For example, the House in March 1834 agreed to give William McGavin's Monument Committee a site, approximately 22 feet square, for erecting their monument to the publisher of *The Protestant*.¹⁹¹ He had been buried in the crypt of Wellington Street Church in 1832. The policy of giving ground was later changed, and in June 1837, the Necropolis Committee of the House recorded that they 'have for some time discontinued giving any ornamental ground or ground for monuments for gratis' because it was 'no longer necessary to bring the cemetery into notice and to increase the monuments which were so desirable in the first or earlier years of the institution'.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁴ Charles Rogers, *Monuments and Inscriptions in Scotland* vol 1 (London: The Grampian Club, 1871), p. 472.

¹⁸⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 May, 1819, p. 3. This may have been connected to the Motherwell proposal.

¹⁸⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 11 February 1835.

¹⁸⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes 1828-48, 3 February 1836.

¹⁸⁸ Ray McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow: An Illustrated Handbook* (Foulis Archive Press, 1999), p.46.

¹⁸⁹ *Glasgow Courier*, 12 December 1843.

¹⁹⁰ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 1 April 1835

¹⁹¹ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 21 March 1834.

¹⁹² Necropolis Committee Minutes', 25 June 1835.

Monuments, like all forms of communication, need audiences. Despite the prevalence of Presbyterianism in Glasgow, many of the monuments were designed in elaborate forms and highly decorated and inscribed, and these monuments were praised both by locals and visitors. The two most prominent monuments in the early days of the Necropolis were those to Knox and to McGavin. These were the only two structures in the Necropolis mentioned in the 26 page entry on Glasgow in *The Popular Encyclopedia*, which was published in the city in 1835.¹⁹³ Similarly, the *New Statistical Account*, published 10 years later, mentioned only these two monuments in the Necropolis.¹⁹⁴ James Pagan, writing in 1866, described three monuments, those to Knox, McGavin and Charles Tennant.¹⁹⁵

Thomas Frognal Dibdin (1776-1847), an English clergyman and bibliographer who toured Scotland in 1837, praised a number of 'chaste and classical memorials' in the Necropolis, but disliked those to Knox and McGavin. He dismissed 'the lofty and somewhat astounding statue of John Knox, who looks terrible even in stone' and felt he had to 'question, if not condemn, the taste' of those who erected it. He thought it 'intrusive from its height' and that it had 'the air of a triumphant pillar to the memory of a warrior or a statesman'.¹⁹⁶ Dibdin equally disliked the monument to McGavin, which he thought 'analogous to this [Knox's] monument in size, form and obtrusiveness' and 'a colossal vulgarity'. He added: 'What limbs! What stockings! What small clothes! What a head and physiognomy!'¹⁹⁷

In August 1845 *The Glasgow Herald* reported on a new monument in the Necropolis, which it thought possessed 'extraordinary beauty' and had confirmed the site as being 'peerless for its attractions among all the cemeteries of the land'.¹⁹⁸ The monument, a 26-feet-tall Gothic tabernacle, had been erected by Mr. R. Lockhart of Glasgow in memory of his late wife, and designed by Robert Wallace, an architect in London, who was her brother.¹⁹⁹ The *Herald* report also contrasted the 'trodden

¹⁹³ Entry for 'Glasgow', in *The Popular Encyclopedia* vol 3 (2) (Glasgow: Blackie, 1835), p. 466.

¹⁹⁴ Duncan Macfarlan and James Cleland, 'Glasgow', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* vol 6 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1845), p. 210.

¹⁹⁵ James Pagan, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Cathedral Church, Glasgow, Necropolis etc.*, (Glasgow: Thomas Murray, 1866), p. 35.

¹⁹⁶ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* vol 2 (London: T. F. Dibdin, 1838), pp. 698-700.

¹⁹⁷ Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour*, vol 2, p. 700.

¹⁹⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 August 1845.

¹⁹⁹ McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, p. 458.

headstone, rank grass and sodden clay' of a typical city burial ground with the 'flowers that are lovely in their season, verdure that is evergreen and sculpture that is comely and abiding' in the Necropolis.²⁰⁰ The carvings, by the firm of J. and G. Mossman, included two 'beautifully chiselled small winged figures or angels'.²⁰¹

By the time Blair wrote his guide to the Necropolis in 1857, most of the elaborate structures for which it is celebrated had been built. The book's frontispiece identified 14 of them, including monuments to John Dick, William McGavin, James Ewing, John Henry Alexander, Alexander Hope Pattison, Archibald Douglas Monteath, and William Dunn of Duntocher.²⁰² Other remarkable monuments to Esther, daughter of Henry Ritchie Cooper of Ballindalloch, to William Rae Wilson, and to William Motherwell – as well as mausolea for the Buchanan sisters, the Hutcheson family and Angus Turner – were also erected in time to be included in his guide.

Blair devoted a chapter to 'general remarks on the monuments, epitaphs and poetry' in the Necropolis, beginning with praise for the enlightened attitude to death seen in the cemetery, which operated as 'a standing protest' against the 'fanatical superstition' that enveloped death before the Reformation.²⁰³ He noted that the monuments 'embrace every variety of order and style', including 'the simple grandeur' of the Doric, the 'exquisite elegance' of the Corinthian, the 'massive obelisk' of the Egyptian, the 'picturesque' Gothic, the 'graceful' Italian and the 'formal yet fanciful' Elizabethan.²⁰⁴ By attaching these characteristics to architectural styles, he demonstrated how proprietors in the Necropolis gave significance to their monuments, meanings that could be read by the educated visitor who would project back the virtues of each style on to those buried beneath them. The same can be said for the epitaphs – drawn from poetry and the Bible – inscribed on these monuments.

Blair stressed that 'wisdom' could be found in the inscriptions on monuments; indeed, he wrote, 'this is one of the high and holy uses of an ornamental cemetery'. People visiting cemeteries, which he regarded as rational recreation, would have been exposed to the meanings of the lives of those gone before, and be stimulated 'to emulate their perseverance, their heroism, their domestic and patriotic virtues'.²⁰⁵ The Necropolis can be read, in this light, as the perfect advertisement for the mercantile

²⁰⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 August 1845.

²⁰¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 August 1845.

²⁰² Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, frontispiece.

²⁰³ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 350-51.

²⁰⁴ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 351

²⁰⁵ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 7.

capitalism that funded and supported it, and whose exponents were celebrated by some of the most prominent monuments.²⁰⁶ By 1866, the summit of the Necropolis was ‘a labyrinth of monumental structures, executed in granite and sandstone, embellished with ornament and furnished with appropriate inscriptions’, according to James Pagan.²⁰⁷

However, Blair also put forward the argument that the early monuments in the Necropolis were not particularly Christian in their design. He allowed that many of them were ‘highly beautiful’, but suggested that they lacked ‘distinctive character’ and that they ‘express[ed] nothing’ through their design but only through their inscriptions. He made the charge that the monuments were ‘neither essentially Christian nor necessarily sepulchral in their devices’, and that this ‘ambiguous character’ was to the detriment of the Necropolis. J. F. S. Gordon, the Episcopalian minister of St. Andrew’s Church in Green Street, much preferred the memorials in his own church yard to those in the Necropolis. The former he described in 1871 as ‘memorial crosses and sculptured stones of pure ecclesiastical design’, while dismissing the latter as having ‘weak and fulsome epitaphs’ and being ‘surmounted with towels, tea-caddies and soup tureens, thus carrying the marks of the shop even here’. Furthermore, the deployment of urns and sarcophaguses as decorative items of tombs, Gordon wrote, was an unwelcome reference to ‘how pagans of old burnt their dead and kept their ashes in urns and vases’.²⁰⁸

Gordon also wrote that ‘all the most prominent monuments’ in the Necropolis had been built for people ‘who rose by their own exertions and merits from an humble position in society, either to affluence or to fame, high respectability or public usefulness’.²⁰⁹ Again, this was a suggestion that the Necropolis was a place of useful learning for the lower orders, who could be inspired by the hard work of those who had gone before, who had won a better life and higher social status for themselves through their own efforts.

The monuments may have been conceived by family and peers, but they were carved and constructed by masons. The Mossman family was the most important group

²⁰⁶ Ronnie Scott, *Death by Design: The True Story of the Glasgow Necropolis* (Edinburgh: Black and White, 2005), p. 11.

²⁰⁷ James Pagan, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Cathedral Church, Glasgow, Necropolis etc.*, (Glasgow: Thomas Murray, 1866), p. 35.

²⁰⁸ J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* vol 1 (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1871), vol. 1, pp. 564-65.

²⁰⁹ J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* vol 2 (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), vol. 2, p. 735.

of monumental masons and sculptors in the Necropolis, if not the west of Scotland, from 1833 until the end of the nineteenth century.²¹⁰ William Mossman (1793-1851) worked as a sculptor in Leith from 1816 to 1828, when he moved to Glasgow to work for the architect David Hamilton, as both the manager of his marble business and as a carver on his buildings.²¹¹ Mossman opened his own workshop in West Nile Street in 1833, the year the Necropolis opened, and worked extensively in the new cemetery. His sons John (1817-1890), George (1823-1863) and William (1824-1884) joined the business, and also pursued individual careers as fine art and public sculptors (see Figure 48). The sons were trained by their father, and also worked under some of the leading sculptors of the day: John with Sir Francis Chantrey, Sir William Allan and Carlo, Baron Marochetti; George at the Royal Academy Schools and with Sir William Behnes and J. H. Foley; and William with Marochetti, William Behnes and John Thomas.²¹² The family were buried in Sighthill Cemetery, Glasgow.²¹³ Alexander Welsh has observed that the Mossman family business made ‘a greater contribution to [...] the physical appearance’ of the Necropolis than any other designer or sculptor. As well as producing memorials designed by others, and erecting many monuments built to standard patterns, the family constructed ‘several notable large scale monuments to their own designs’.²¹⁴

William Mossman, junior, wrote to his brother George, then studying at the Royal Academy in London, in March 1845:

Dear Brother [...] Nothing particular has occurred since you left us, except getting the Gothic Monument to do – and the new premises – the monument we expect to have entirely finished next month. I think John [their brother] has been pretty happy with the figures; they are somewhat in a German style, simple; and [he is] feeling on the whole it will be the most interesting monument in the Necropolis.²¹⁵

Given the date, this ‘Gothic Monument’ is likely to be the memorial to Mrs. Matthew Montgomerie, designed by the architect Charles Wilson (1810-63). This Gothic piece,

²¹⁰ Collective and individual biographies of the Mossman family, written by Gary Nisbet and published on the Glasgow Sculpture website (<http://www.glasgowsculpture.com>), viewed June 2005.

²¹¹ The Glasgow Sculpture website, viewed June 2005.

²¹² The Glasgow Sculpture website, viewed June 2005.

²¹³ The Glasgow Sculpture website, viewed June 2005.

²¹⁴ Welsh, ‘Glasgow Necropolis’, Glasgow School of Art, 1979, p. 51.

²¹⁵ GUL, Special Collections, MS Gen 551/36, Autograph letter from William Mossman [junior] to George Mossman, 16 March 1845.

which was modelled on Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey in London, featured two allegorical figures – representing Hope and Resignation – which Ray McKenzie has attributed to 'John (and/ or George) Mossman'.²¹⁶ This letter shows that John Mossman was aware 'a German style' of carving, and the family aspired to produce the highest quality of work.

Early case studies in the Necropolis

There is a rich variety of material in the archives of the Necropolis, and in the records of those undertakers, architects and stonemasons who worked in it. Together, these materials illustrate the day-to-day work of the people who made the Necropolis what it was, and illuminate the lives of the people who bought and inhabited the tombs there. This section brings together some of the information in these primary sources for six people who were buried in the Necropolis or remembered in early monuments there, constructed between 1832 and 1838. These records include the Necropolis burial records held in the Glasgow City Archives, the records of Wylie & Lochhead, and a daybook kept by William Mossman. This third source is a substitute for the records of J. & G. Mossman, which although listed in the National Record of Archives (Scotland) could not be produced by the owners.²¹⁷ Additional background information, in keeping with the style of the three primary sources, comes from contemporary published material, including George Blair's guidebook, a funeral sermon, obituaries and funeral notices. This section is not intended to provide a comprehensive account of the lives of six people, but rather to demonstrate the opportunities for finding material that illuminates certain industries and people in Glasgow in the 1830s in some categories of primary source materials that are not regularly consulted.

The first case study is of the monument to William McGavin (1773-1832), a banker and Evangelical preacher and propagandist (see Figure 49). He was born on a farm in Ayrshire to parents who belonged to the Anti-Burgher wing of the Seceder church; when his family moved to Paisley, he worked in a variety of jobs before going to Glasgow at the age of 25 to work as a clerk and book-keeper to David Lamb, a

²¹⁶ McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow*, p. 12.

²¹⁷ National Register of Archives (Scotland), NRA(S) 1541, J. and G. Mossman and Co. Ltd., 1833-1967: Balance Sheets, Sales Registers, Day Books, Job Books, Orders etc. Privately held by J. and J. Mossman Ltd, Sauchie, Alloa. Contacted May 2005.

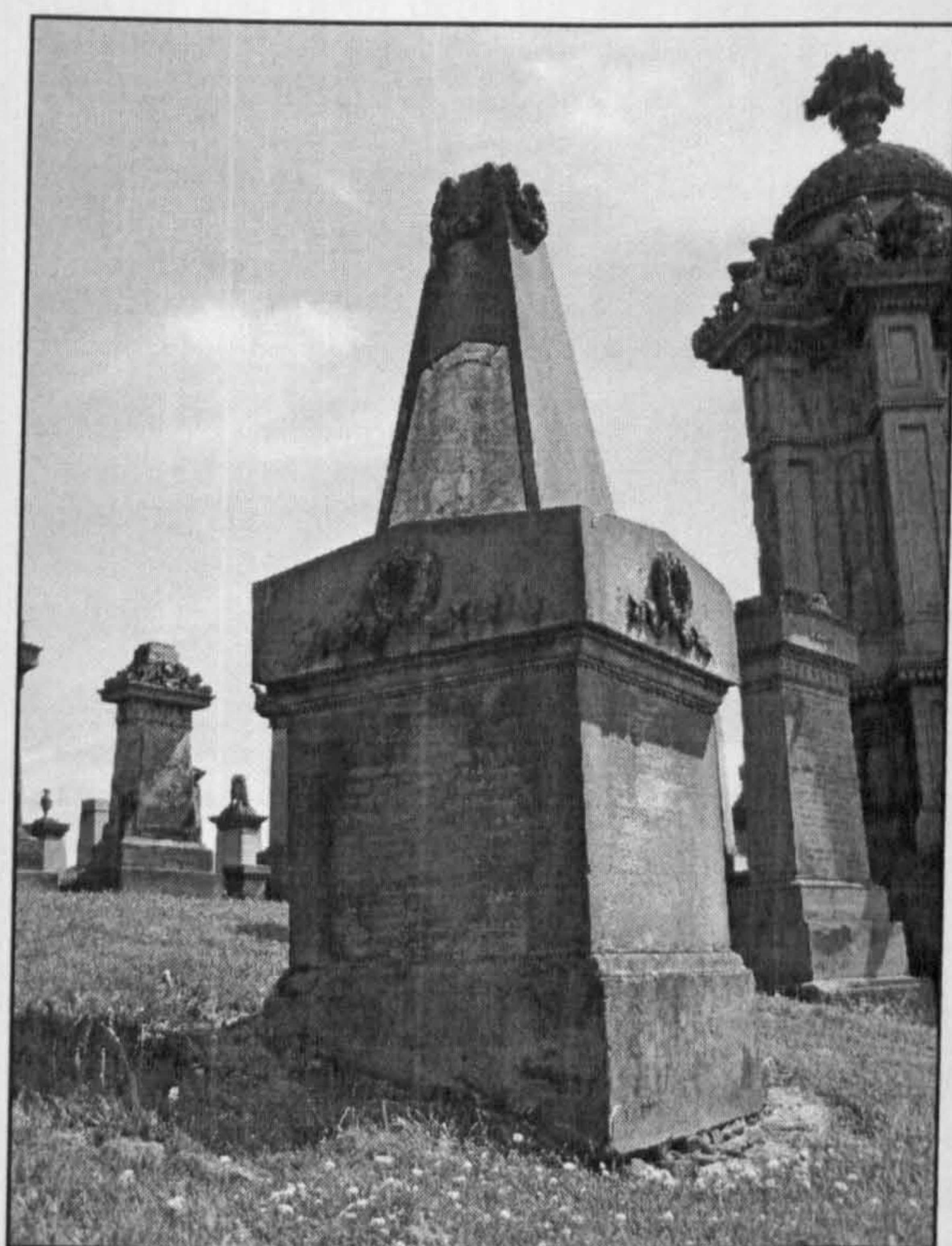
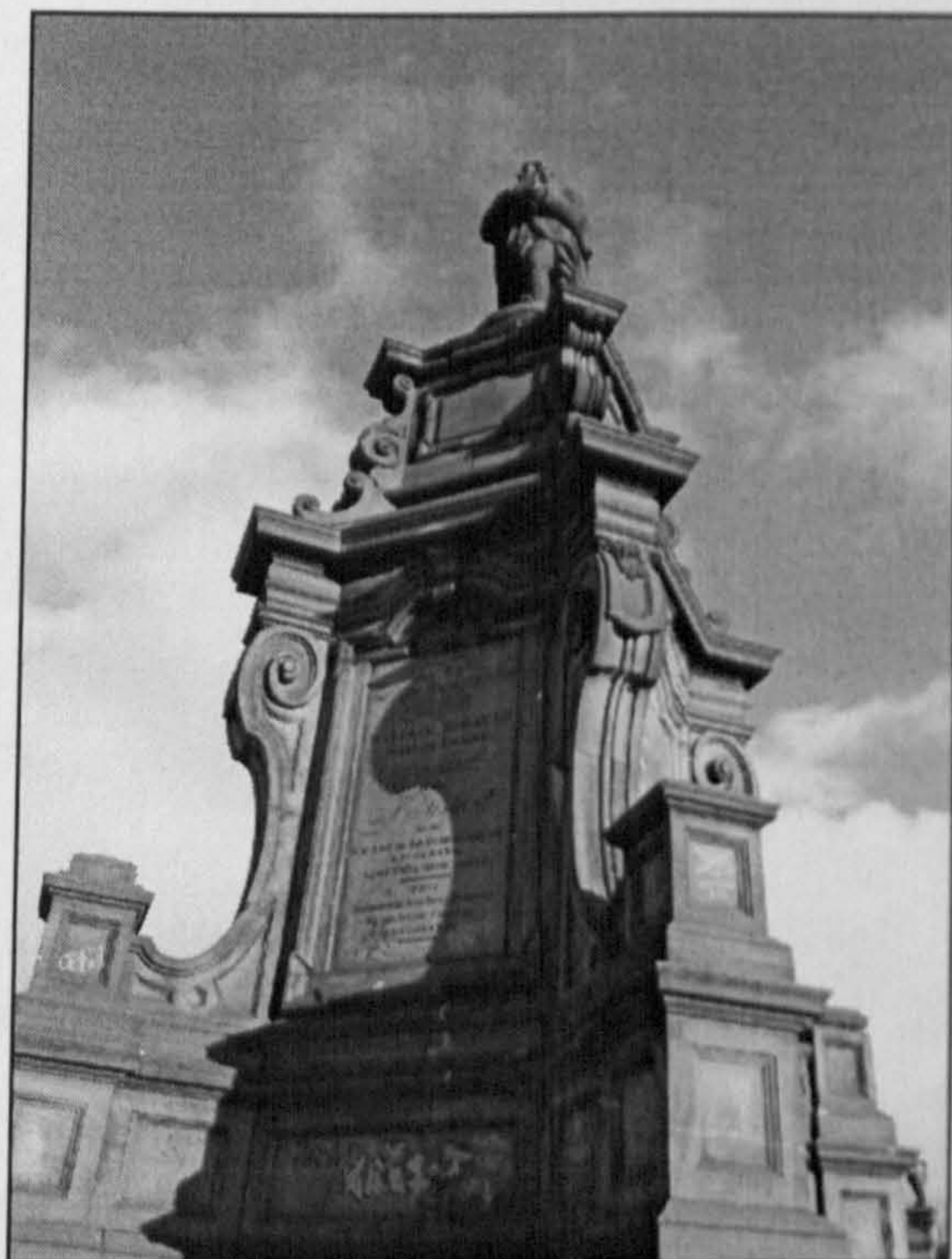


Figure 49 (top) – William McGavin was buried in the crypt of the Wellington Street chapel, but his supporters felt that the radical Protestant preacher and publisher deserved a prominent monument in the Necropolis. (Photographed July 2005.)

Figure 50 (above) – The cenotaph to the bookseller Thomas Atkinson, who died and was buried at sea, included a carving of a dove carrying an olive branch in its mouth, perhaps a reference to the Biblical story of Noah and the flood. (Photographed July 2005.)

merchant trading with America.²¹⁸ After seven years there, he was made a partner in the business.²¹⁹ Around this time, he became a preacher, then a co-pastor to an independent church in the New Light Anti-Burgher tradition. He later joined the Nile Street Meeting House, an independent Protestant church, and from 1818, he published *The Protestant*, a virulently anti-Catholic journal, which J. A. Hammerton described as ‘a work of world-wide fame’,²²⁰ and which Walter Craig thought was ‘the means of exciting the anti-Popish enthusiasm’ that led to the monument to John Knox in the Fir Park.²²¹ McGavin’s business failed in 1821, and he joined the British Linen Bank as manager of its Glasgow branch.²²² When he died in 1832, McGavin was buried in the crypt of the Wellington Street Chapel.²²³

The process of mourning McGavin was clearly also designed to promote a particular set of religious and social beliefs. Greville Ewing, minister of the Nile Street Meeting House, delivered a funeral sermon for McGavin on 2 September 1832. Ewing praised ‘my faithful, affectionate and beloved Christian friend and brother’, whose funeral had been held the previous Monday.²²⁴ He described how McGavin’s family, evidently conscious of both the popularity of the banker and the prevailing public health situation in Glasgow, had declared the funeral a private event,

because to have extended it to the whole of the deceased’s acquaintances would have been improper at such a time as the present [a footnote added: ‘on account of the great prevalence of the cholera’] and, besides, almost impossible.²²⁵

Ewing eulogised McGavin – who had joined his church in 1808 – for his ‘unwearied testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism and every other species of ecclesiastical tyranny and corruption’.²²⁶ He also noted that McGavin’s maternal grandmother was

²¹⁸ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 250-58.

²¹⁹ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 250-58.

²²⁰ J. A. Hammerton, *Sketches from Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Menzies, 1893), p. 58.

²²¹ Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide to the Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 14.

²²² Lionel Alexander Ritchie, ‘William McGavin’ in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 35 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 392-393.

²²³ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 250-58.

²²⁴ Greville Ewing, *A Funeral Sermon on William McGavin Esq., Preached on the 2nd September 1832 in Nile Street Meeting House* (Glasgow: John Reid, 1832), p. 5. The pamphlet was also published in Edinburgh by Waugh & Innes, and in London by Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot.

²²⁵ Ewing, *A Funeral Sermon on William McGavin*, p. 17-18.

²²⁶ Ewing, *A Funeral Sermon on William McGavin*, pp. 57, 19.

buried, not with her husband, but 'in the same grave with the celebrated Alexander Peden', in the parish of Cumnock, Ayrshire.²²⁷

Five months after McGavin's death, a committee was formed to raise funds for a memorial; its members included Cleland and Archibald McLellan;²²⁸ this echoed McGavin's activity the previous decade in the appeal to raise the monument to Knox in the Fir Park.²²⁹ Some additional details of the memorial, which provide an insight into the day-to-day workings of the monumental masons working in the Necropolis, were provided by William Mossman, who recorded that on 4 December 1835 he was 'done working at the statue of McGavin in the Necropolis, to which I was employed by Mr. Ramsey and Mr. J. Bryce' and that on 12 January 1836 he 'received from Mr. J. Bryce the sum of four guineas, being payment for working at McGavin's stone'.²³⁰ The inscription on the monument read:

To the memory of William McGavin, merchant, Glasgow, author of *The Protestant*, etc. etc., who died on the XXIII of August MDCCCXXXII, aged 59 years. This monument has been erected by his fellow citizens MDCCCXXXIV.²³¹

The committee who paid for McGavin's imposing and prominent monument ensured that the man and his message were kept firmly in the minds of the people of Glasgow, just as Greville Ewing had done in 1832, both dedicated to continuing the work of this controversial Christian.

The second case study also sheds light on a memorial to someone who was buried elsewhere. Thomas Atkinson (1801-1833) was born in humble surroundings in Glasgow, and began his business life as an apprentice bookseller (see Figure 50).²³² He later worked in partnership with David Robertson, then on his own account as a bookseller and publisher; he also stood unsuccessfully in the Stirling burghs in the first parliamentary election after the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, and developed

²²⁷ Ewing, *A Funeral Sermon on William McGavin*, pp. 57, 19.

²²⁸ McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, p. 298.

²²⁹ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 250-58.

²³⁰ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman. Unpaginated, but entries in chronological order. J. Bryce was the architect John Bryce, who designed both the Façade and the frontage of the Jewish cemetery in the Necropolis.

²³¹ William McGavin monument in Glasgow Necropolis compartment Sigma, photographed and transcribed July 2005.

²³² Rosemary T. van Arsdell, 'Thomas Atkinson' in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 847-848.

consumption soon after.²³³ Atkinson sold his business and sailed for Barbados, where the climate was expected to be more favourable to his recovery, but died during the passage there in October 1833 at the age of 32, and was buried at sea in an oak coffin that he had, rather pessimistically, taken with him.²³⁴ The bookseller's widowed mother erected a gravestone to his memory, which Blair described as 'of peculiar construction' and 'worthy of the visitor's attention', even if it was 'somewhat impressed with the finger of time' after just 21 years in the Necropolis.²³⁵ He added:

The upper part of this unpretending cenotaph consists of a pyramid, terminating in a flame, and bearing on a slab of white marble the figure of a ship on the ocean, over which is a dove with an olive branch in its mouth, and this curious inscription: 'As forth the dove went trembling.'²³⁶

The inscription on the lower part of the monument recorded the fact that Atkinson died at sea on 10 October 1833, while on a voyage to Barbados 'for the recovery of his health', and included the poignant statement that his 'early widowed, now bereaved and desolate' mother had raised the stone in memory of her son.²³⁷ The inscription also included four lines from Atkinson's own poetry,²³⁸ which seemed to hold references to both his death in foreign waters and to the carving of the dove:

While beneath the verge of time
I've spent – as soon I know they will be –
I rise but in another clime,
– Uncircling – fixed eternity.²³⁹

As before, William Mossman's job book provided some details of the practical aspects of raising a monument. On 6 October 1835 he recorded that he had received £4 10s. from Clark, Hamilton & Company for 'putting ornaments upon Mr Atkinson's monument', and on 16 April 1836 he noted that he had 'finished cutting the inscription upon the late Mr. Atkinson's tomb cenotaph in the Necropolis, containing 338 letters at

²³³ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 107.

²³⁴ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 107.

²³⁵ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 103-04.

²³⁶ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, pp. 103-04.

²³⁷ Peter Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis* (Glasgow: Andrew Rutherglen, 1843), p. 42.

²³⁸ Rogers, *Monuments and Inscriptions in Scotland* vol 1, p. 76.

²³⁹ Buchan, *Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis*, p. 42.

one and half pence each, [a total of] £2 3s. 11d.²⁴⁰ Overall, the monument to Atkinson, raised by his widowed mother, had slightly more work to do than McGavin's in representing the missing man, since the bookseller died so far from home and there was not already a coterie of admirers to consolidate and publicise his reputation.

The monument commissioned by William Jack for his parents in 1836 offered another insight into what people thought about memorials, for both William Jack, senior, and his wife Mary were alive at the time (see Figure 51). George Blair paid passing notice to a private tomb, which he described as 'a prominent obelisk' and 'one of the oldest monuments in the Necropolis'.²⁴¹ He also, perhaps because he was writing 20 years after the fact, wrote that the monument had been erected by 'in filial and affectionate remembrance' of his deceased parents.²⁴² William Mossman recorded in February 1836 he had sent an estimate to William Jack for constructing an obelisk in the Necropolis, from a design by the mason.²⁴³ This was 14 months before the death of William Jack, senior, as dated on the completed tomb.²⁴⁴ Mossman's estimate read:

Sir, I hereby make offer to execute your monument agreeable to the plans that you have in your possession from me, 14 feet high and in the best style of workmanship and of the best stone from Garscube Quarry, except the die, which is to be in four stones from Kilsyth Quarry, for the sum of £28.²⁴⁵

On 18 March, Mossman wrote that Jack had accepted his offer, but had specified stone from Kenmure rather than Garscube; on 9 April he noted that he had 'got in the four Kilsyth stones for Mr. Jack's monument' and that he had 'paid 3s. 6d. for carriage from Port Dundas'.²⁴⁶ A series of job book entries in May 1836 shed some light on the practical process of constructing a monument: on 3 May he 'put up Mr. Jack's monument in [the] Necropolis', and on 5 May he paid a Mr. Shearer 15s. 6d. for 'taking up said monument from my yard' in five pieces.²⁴⁷ The same day he paid John Park ten shillings 'for his men assisting me with his tackle' to erect the monument, and two days later paid Charles Weddle 'a day's wages [for] helping me in putting up Mr. Jack's

²⁴⁰ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁴¹ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 247.

²⁴² Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 247.

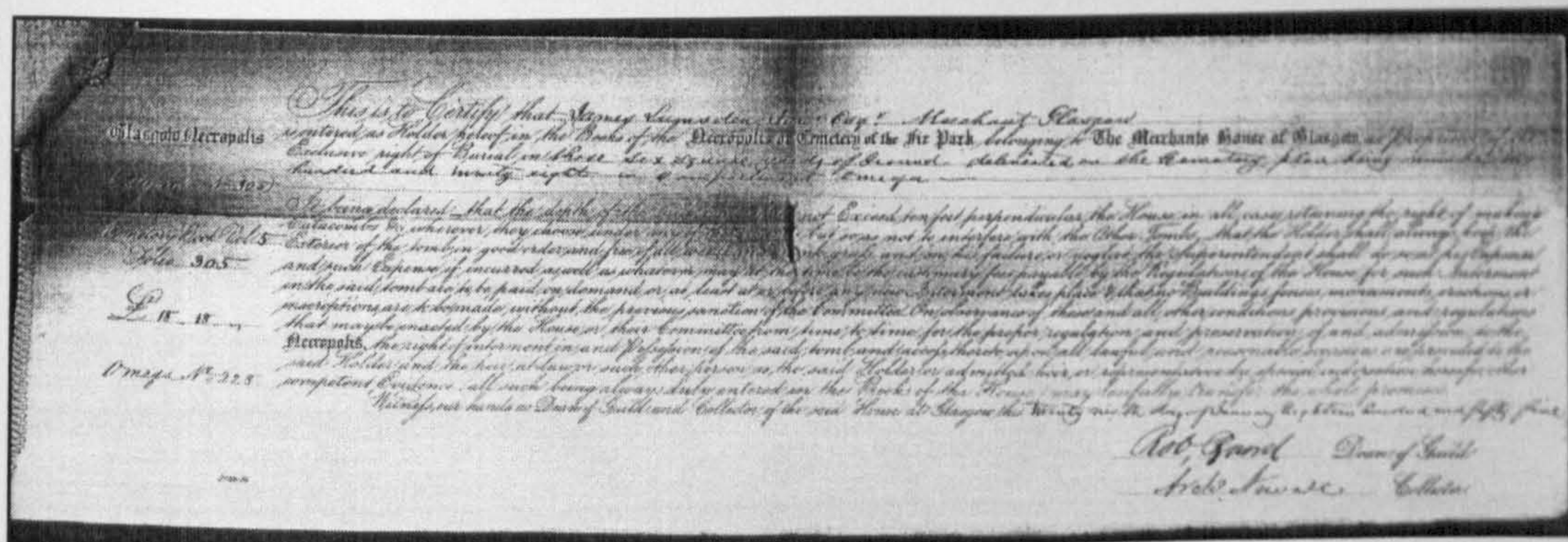
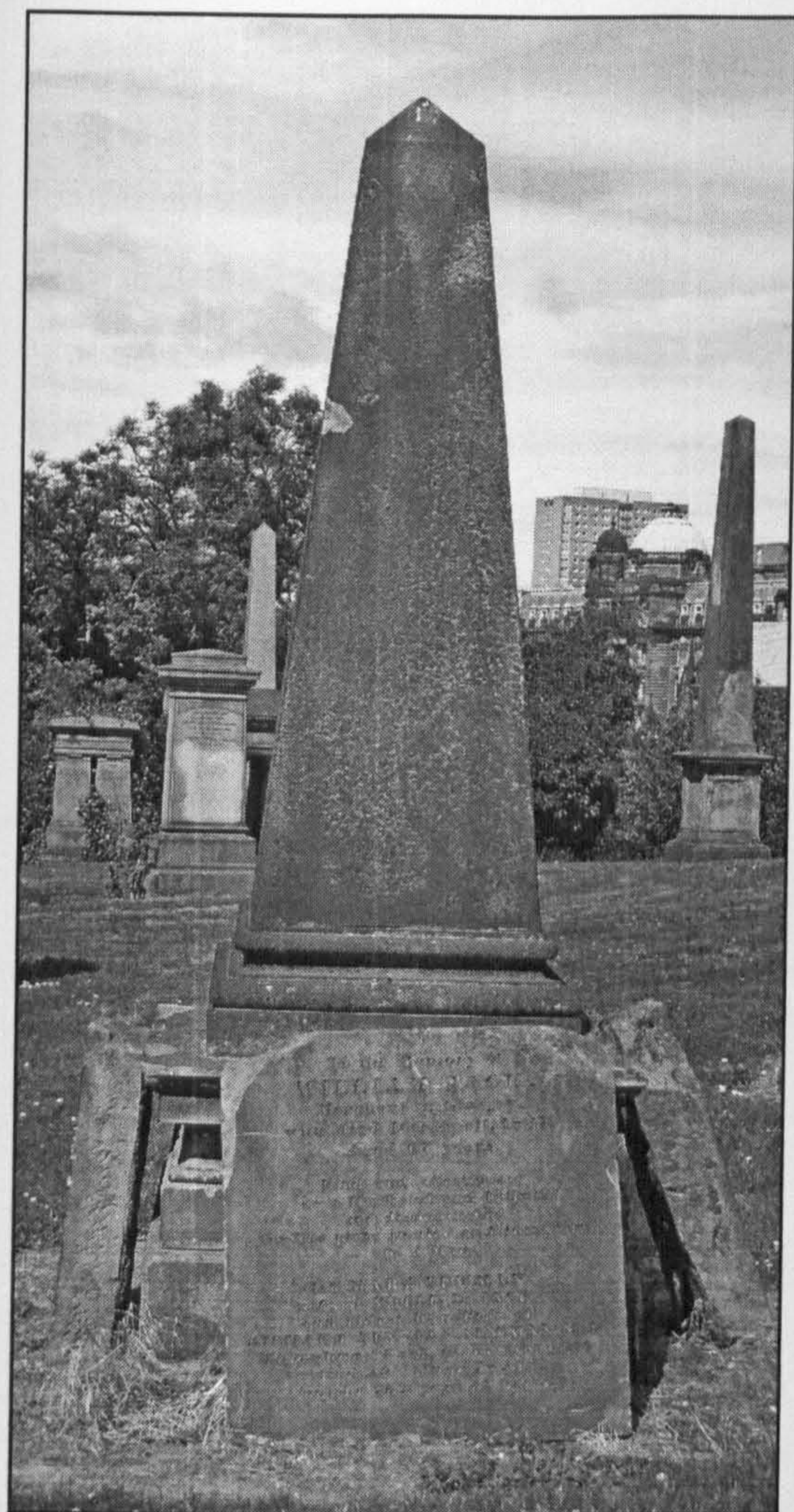
²⁴³ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁴⁴ William Jack monument in Glasgow Necropolis compartment Sigma, photographed and transcribed July 2005.

²⁴⁵ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman. The 'die' was the central block of the pedestal.

²⁴⁶ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁴⁷ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.



monument'.²⁴⁸ On 14 May, he paid 'the gardener in the Necropolis' five shillings to give 'a glass' – presumably of whisky – to the labourers who excavated the foundations for the monument'.²⁴⁹ In return for all these exertions, Jack paid Mossman £20 on 14 May and the balance of £8 on 11 June, and one year later, on 10 June 1837, Mossman 'put up in the Necropolis the railing round Mr. Jack's ground' that had been ordered by him on 1 March that year, at a cost of £20. The inscription, which confirmed that the monument was put in place before the death of either of William Jack's parents, and which confirmed them – rather than the son who commissioned the work – as the head of a dynasty, read:

To the memory of William Jack, merchant in Glasgow, who died 16 April 1837, aged 67 years. Kind and affectionate as a husband and father, and distinguished for his piety, justice and integrity as a man.

Also Mary Newman, wife of William Jack, and eldest daughter of Richard Newman M.D., Thornbury Park, Gloucestershire, died 20 June 1854, in the 76th year of her age.²⁵⁰

Familial devotion was also shown in the monument raised by James Lumsden to commemorate his brother Lauchlan, a solicitor in Glasgow, who died in 1837 (see Figure 52). Blair briefly mentioned this memorial, which he regarded as a private monument, which he described as a tall obelisk with a simple inscription: 'Lauchlan Lumsden, writer, Glasgow, died 4 February 1837.'²⁵¹ Blair, who generally excluded private monuments from his survey, included this one to make a point about philanthropy, noting that the inscription should have included – 'as an honour to the deceased and as an example to others' – the fact that the solicitor left the significant sum of £5,000 to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary.²⁵² The Necropolis burial registers added some detail to the stark inscription on the monument, recording that Lumsden died of chronic bronchitis at the age of 44 and was buried on 15 February 1837, in a family burying ground at compartment Beta Eight, which belonged to James Lumsden; it noted that he was given a class one funeral.²⁵³ A certificate of ownership (see Figure 53), in

²⁴⁸ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁴⁹ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁵⁰ William Jack monument in Glasgow Necropolis compartment Sigma, photographed and transcribed July 2005.

²⁵¹ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 270.

²⁵² Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 270.

²⁵³ MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one, entry for 15 February 1837.

Glasgow University Archives, showed that James Lumsden later bought a lair in Omega for 18 guineas.²⁵⁴

The job book of William Mossman again provided a sidelight on the process of commemoration. On 25 March 1839, Mossman recorded that James Lumsden ordered 'a monument to be erected for his brother the late Mr. Lauchlan Lumsden' in the Necropolis 'from a drawing by Mr. Rhind of Edinburgh'.²⁵⁵ The price, including 'a coping around the ground' was to be either £63 or £64.²⁵⁶ The inscription on this monument, which was erected opposite the McGavin cenotaph, was presumably intended to reflect the affection felt by one brother for another, rather than to glorify the generosity, and thus the status, of the deceased.

The monument to Peter Lawrence, a monumental mason and sculptor in Glasgow, was also born out of a sense of affection, though in this case it was expressed by friends and colleagues rather than family (see Figure 54). George Blair thought that the statue on the monument to Lawrence – which he described as a 'weeping winged figure, with inverted torch' – was 'one of the most exquisite pieces of sculpture in the Necropolis'.²⁵⁷ Blair, noting that it had been erected by a few friends and carved by John Mossman, praised the 'attitude, form and expression' of the sculpture as 'faultless'; he added that 'the countenance of the figure expresses a subdued sadness, chastened by calm resignation, and mingled with that celestial beauty which points to a region of immortality and everlasting youth'.²⁵⁸ The statue may have had some connection to Freemasonry: James Stevens Curl reproduced a Masonic certificate from France in the nineteenth century which showed, as he wrote, a 'boy with inverted torch symbolising the extinguishing of life'.²⁵⁹

William Mossman, also a sculptor and memorial mason, recorded Lawrence's death in a short note dated 27 January 1839. The cause of his colleague's early death may have shocked Mossman, who was equally vulnerable to an injury of this kind:

²⁵⁴ GUA, DC 112/28, Lumsden of Arden papers. The certificate was issued by the Merchants' House in 1855, and related to Omega 228.

²⁵⁵ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman. David Rhind was a leading Edinburgh architect.

²⁵⁶ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁵⁷ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 259-60.

²⁵⁸ Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 259-60.

²⁵⁹ James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: Batsford, 1991), p. 127. Curl includes an illustration of the certificate on page 126: the figure was seated, unlike Mossman's standing youth, but the torch was similarly held.

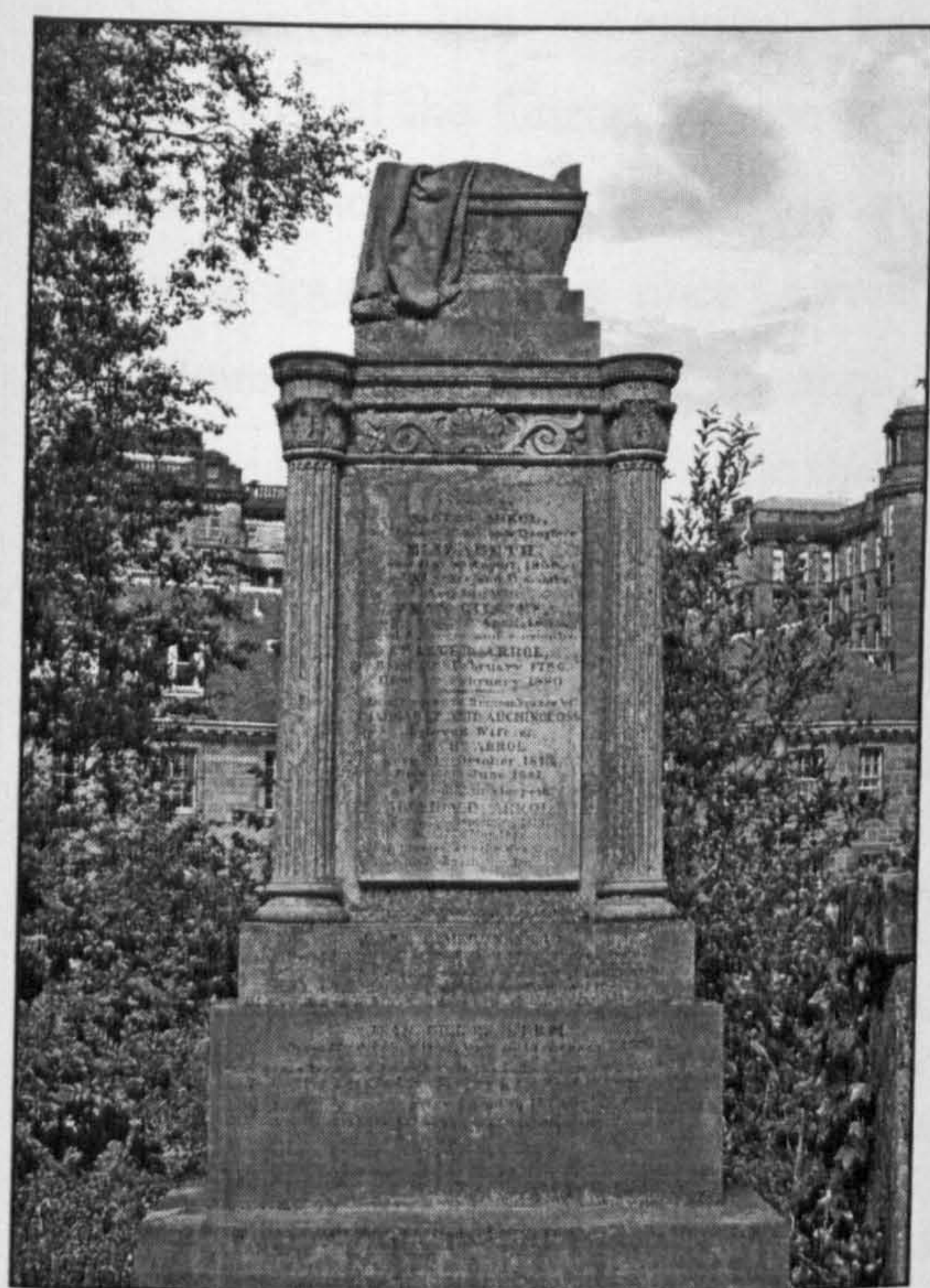
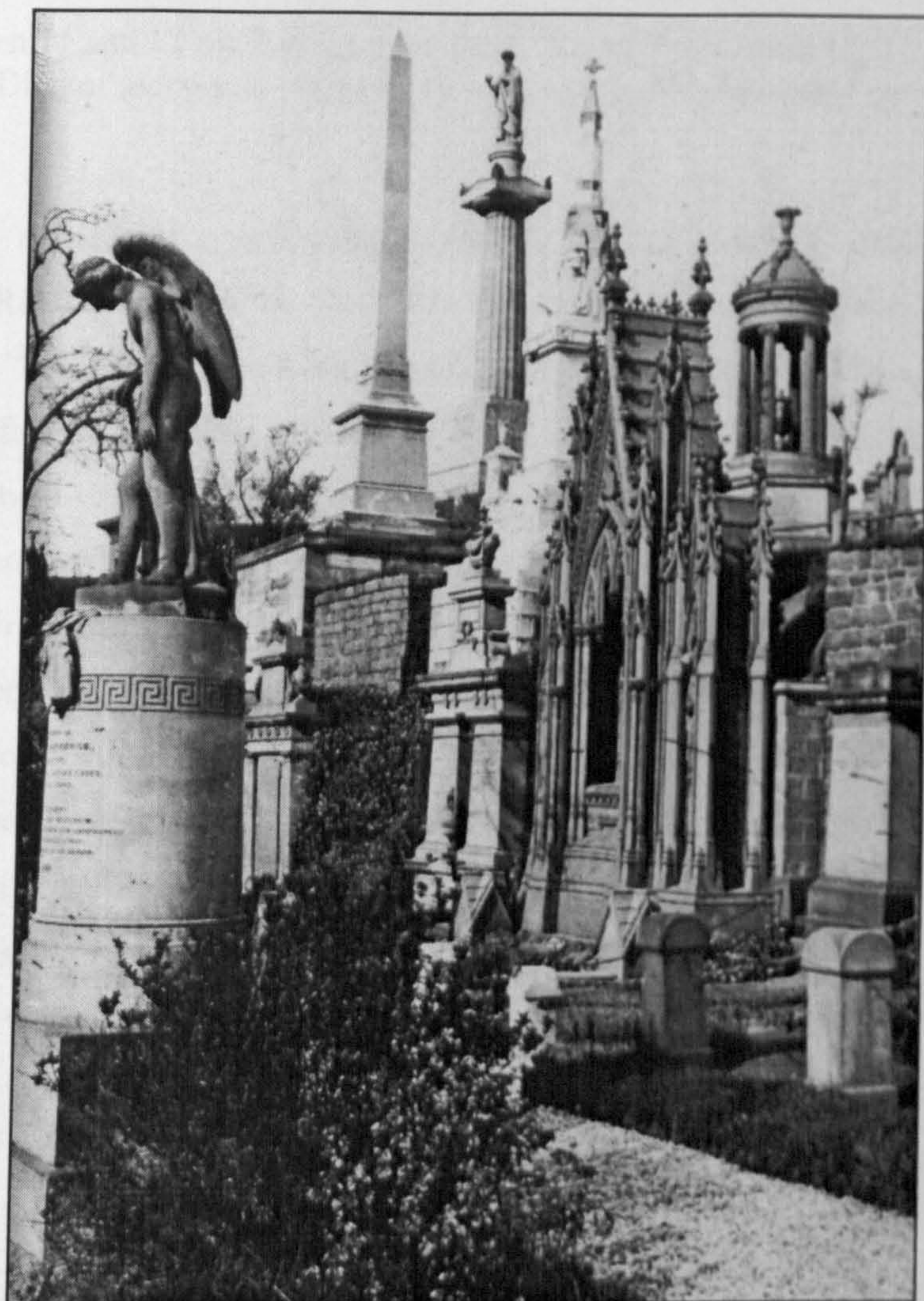


Figure 54 (above) – George Washington Wilson captured this fine statue of a mourning angel with an inverted torch, produced by John Mossman for his fellow sculptor Peter Lawrence, who died in 1839. To the right were a variety of sizes and styles of monument that represented the spread of architectural styles used in the Necropolis over the years. (John R. Hume and Tessa Jackson, *George Washington Wilson and Victorian Glasgow* [Keighley: Kennedy Brothers, 1983].)

Figure 55 (left) – The Arrol family monument, commissioned by Archibald Arrol from William Mossman in 1837, included the inscription ‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord’. (Photographed July 2005.)

On Sunday between 11 and 12 o'clock forenoon, Peter Lawrence breathed his last in this world. Died of lockjaw brought on from a wound in his left hand got by a fall.²⁶⁰

The short death notice carried by the *Glasgow Herald* did not include much information: 'Died. At Renfrew Street, on the 27th current, Mr. Peter Lawrence, sculptor – much regretted.'²⁶¹ However, the Necropolis burial register added a few more details: Lawrence died after an accident, at the age of 43; his 'first class' funeral, directed by his son, was held on 2 February 1839, and the coffin was interred in the family burial ground at Gamma 85.²⁶²

There was a wealth of detail about the Lawrence funeral recorded in the Wylie & Lochhead order book: on 28 January a coffin, six feet and one inch long and costing three guineas, and a shroud priced seven shillings and sixpence, was ordered; a nameplate was to be added to the coffin, at a cost of one shilling.²⁶³ Eight bottles of wine, at a cost of one shilling and sixpence per bottle, and two types of biscuits – three pounds of one type at one shilling and sixpence a pound, and three pounds of another at three shillings a pound – were ordered.²⁶⁴ The family also required 120 letters announcing the death, at a cost of one shilling and sixpence a dozen, of which 90 were to be delivered, at a cost of one shilling a dozen.²⁶⁵ The hearse was to be drawn by four horses, at a cost of £1 10s, with a driver at a cost of one shilling and sixpence.²⁶⁶ There were to be four ushers or bearers, at three shillings and sixpence each, at the burial in the Necropolis at 3pm on Saturday 2 February 1839.²⁶⁷ The order book did not record the total cost of the funeral, but the total of the prices listed was £8 5s.²⁶⁸ The large number of letters announcing the death may have included those sent to customers of the late sculptor's business, since Lawrence's widow intended to carry on the 'sculpture and monumental works' in the premises 'lately occupied by him in the Necropolis', as she wrote in an advertisement in the *Glasgow Herald* one week after his funeral.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁰ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁶¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 28 January 1839, p. 2.

²⁶² MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one, entry for 2 February 1839.

²⁶³ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two, 1837-39 (unpaginated).

²⁶⁴ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁶⁵ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁶⁶ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁶⁷ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁶⁸ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁶⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 February 1839, p. 2.

Once more, the job book of William Mossman contained some relevant information, in this case the name of the sculptor – his son John – and the identity of one of the friends who had commissioned the monument: Mossman referred to ‘the stone for John’s figure for Mr. Lawrence’s monument’ on 30 May, and on 5 July recorded that he had ‘received on account from Mr. Brodie upon Mr. Lawrence’s monument £15.’²⁷⁰ The *Glasgow Courier* confirmed in June 1839 that John Mossman was the sculptor, noting that he was currently employed ‘on a monument to a deceased brother sculptor’, which, its reporter predicted, ‘will be one of the chief ornaments’ of the Necropolis.²⁷¹ The inscription on the monument read:

In memory of Peter Lawrence, sculptor, who died 27 January 1839, aged 43 years. A few friends have raised this monument to express their esteem and admiration for his worth as a man and his talents as an artist. 1840.²⁷²

As the anonymous reporter predicted, Walter Craig thought that that the expression on the face of the winged cherub was ‘very beautiful, combining deep sadness mingled with calm resignation’;²⁷³ more recently, Ray McKenzie has noted that it was ‘the first example of a free-standing figure carved in the west of Scotland by a sculptor rather than a mason’.²⁷⁴ Together, these quotations showed that the importance of this monument lay in the appropriateness of the exceptional standard of the carving, produced by the leading sculptor of his generation for a peer.

The final case study illustrates how the records under discussion can provide useful details about a family stone, in this case to the Arrol family (see Figure 55). This simple, dignified monument, raised in 1837, was a typical family stone, with the details faithfully recorded and a suitable scriptural epitaph added. It was architectural in design, but of a modest size, and placed on one of the lower slopes of the Necropolis away from the carriageway and the gaze of the public. The head of the family, Walter Arrol, a merchant in Glasgow, purchased a lair in the Necropolis for his daughter Elizabeth Arrol, who was buried there on 12 August 1836, at the age of 21 years and 11 months,

²⁷⁰ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁷¹ *Glasgow Courier*, 27 June 1839, p. 2.

²⁷² Peter Lawrence monument in Glasgow Necropolis compartment Gamma, photographed and transcribed July 2005.

²⁷³ Walter Craig, *Biographic and Descriptive Guide to the Glasgow Necropolis*, p. 29.

²⁷⁴ McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow*, p. 12.

after dying of consumption.²⁷⁵ Arrol directed his daughter's funeral, which was recorded as second class, and she was interred in Lambda 3.²⁷⁶ Less than two years later, Walter's wife and Elizabeth's mother, Jane Gilles, was buried in the same lair, at the age of 40, having also died of consumption; again Arrol presided over a second-class funeral.²⁷⁷ Walter Arrol himself was buried there in February 1880.²⁷⁸

Jane Gilles' funeral was recorded in the Wylie & Lochhead funeral order book.²⁷⁹ It noted that Walter Arrol, of 101 Castlemilk Place, Crown Street, had visited the firm's office on 6 April 1838, and ordered a funeral; he chose a coffin, 5' 8' in size and costing three guineas, and also a shroud costing seven shillings and sixpence.²⁸⁰ He declined wine, biscuits or letters announcing the death.²⁸¹ The hearse was drawn by two horses, at a cost of 15 shillings, plus two shillings and sixpence for the driver, but there were to be no coaches or noddies.²⁸² There were two ushers or bearers, at a cost of three shillings and sixpence, at the funeral, which took place in the Necropolis at 2pm on Wednesday 11 April 1838.²⁸³ The order book did not give a total cost for the funeral, but the sum of the recorded prices was £4 12s.²⁸⁴

The job book of William Mossman once more recorded some details that were missing from other sources. For example, on 15 March 1837, Mossman noted that it was Walter's son Archibald Arrol who ordered a monument for the Necropolis 'as per drawing made out by me' with two fluted pillars and a draped sarcophagus, at a cost of £13.²⁸⁵ He later noted that he had 'put up' the monument for £13, plus £1 for 'extra ornament on frieze' and 16 shillings for cutting 96 letters on the frieze on 8 July.²⁸⁶ The inscription on the monument read:

²⁷⁵ *List or Index of Purchasers in the Necropolis from the Commencement till 22 February 1837* (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1837); MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one, entry for 12 August 1836.

²⁷⁶ MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one, entry for 12 August 1836.

²⁷⁷ MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one, entry for 11 April 1838.

²⁷⁸ Walter Arrol monument in Glasgow Necropolis compartment Lambda, photographed and transcribed July 2005.

²⁷⁹ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁸⁰ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁸¹ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁸² GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁸³ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁸⁴ GUA, HF 57/6/1/2, Wylie and Lochhead Funeral Order Book Number Two.

²⁸⁵ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

²⁸⁶ GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

played a part. Blair lamented the paucity of Christian signs and symbols on the stones, and Hill was uplifted to see a Biblical epitaph, but the iconography of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome were paramount in the Necropolis, because of the then-current fashions in architecture and design. If the Necropolis had been promoted by the churches of the city, or by the congregations of the High Church alone, there may have been more explicitly Christian symbolism.

This chapter has demonstrated the growing professionalism of the businesses that conducted funerals and burials from the beginning of the nineteenth century, including undertakers, monumental masons and – in the case of the Necropolis – the burying grounds themselves. This growing sophistication matched the increased wealth of the emerging middle classes in Glasgow and their willingness and ability to invest sometimes considerable sums in mourning and remembering family members. This supply of tasteful and professional services matched the demand for more conspicuous and elaborate rites and symbols.

The Necropolis was a cultural landscape that was not only a product of these new ways of thinking, but an important and powerful means whereby the middle classes of mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow could express these complex beliefs.

Conclusions

The Glasgow Necropolis began with a cartoon in a satirical newspaper. It soon grew to become a significant cultural enterprise in the city, owned and managed by an elite group, principally for the benefit of the established rulers of the city and the emerging middle classes, who wanted to demonstrate their taste, status and wealth by being buried and commemorated there. This thesis discussed the process by which the Fir Park, a wooded hillside opposite the High Church, was transformed into an attractive and lucrative garden cemetery, and how the meanings that its promoters gave to it were received enthusiastically by the people of Glasgow, and by visitors. Other texts have discussed the origins and early development of the Necropolis, but until now none has examined the committee minutes, journals and other primary sources that allowed the story to be told in all its complexity and detail. This thesis, through a close interrogation of a wide range of sources, examined the cultural importance of the Necropolis, firstly in the context of improvements in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century and, secondly, in the context of cemetery development in Britain and Europe. It then, through a study of archive records, demonstrated how the Merchants' House and its advisers conceived and constructed the new cemetery, giving the enterprise, its landscape and its structures meanings that supported the business and cultural success of the project. The thesis then examined how those who used or visited the Necropolis agreed with these meanings, and how they consolidated and extended them with their own activities, whether these were organising funerals, raising monuments or writing city guides. Finally, a series of case studies examined a range of lesser-used archive records to build a fuller picture of those who were buried in the Necropolis, and those who conducted their funerals and designed and built their memorials.

The Necropolis was, as well as being an attractive and hygienic amenity, a symbolic institution that reproduced both the cultural values of the members of the Merchants' House and a broad religious belief that appeared to be rooted in Deism rather than Christianity; this was also true of the other garden cemeteries being produced in London, Liverpool and elsewhere in Britain in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The new cemeteries eschewed overtly Christian symbolism and adopted neo-classical architectural forms and detailing, and the inscriptions and public

ceremonies held there – such as the laying of the foundation stone of the Necropolis – also reflected rational rather than revealed religion; this may have been because the tenets of Deism offered a common ground for the members of various factions of Christianity (and even Jews) who were forming and using these burying grounds.

The Necropolis, through its design and through the beliefs incorporated in it, was easily distinguished from the churchyards of Glasgow; it was also distinct from all other garden cemeteries, including Kensal Green and Highgate in London and later Scottish examples of the genre, because of its form of ownership (the Merchants' House rather than a commercial enterprise) and its dramatic setting next to – and its symbolic links to – a significant medieval church with its own burial ground that dated to the very earliest days of the settlement. No other garden cemetery, no matter how much it played on its pedigree, could match this location and connection.

As chapter three demonstrated, the conception and construction of the Glasgow Necropolis was relatively unproblematic in cultural terms. In short, its promoters' aim was to produce a Père Lachaise for the city. The majority of people and institutions in Glasgow accepted the meanings that the House projected onto the Fir Park. By bridge and by ceremony, the House firmly connected its new cemetery to the ancient burying grounds inside and around the High Church. Customers followed the lead of the classical name and architecture of the Necropolis, producing monuments in the grand Roman and Greek styles that were also in favour in the rapidly expanding town centre, often under the direction of the same architects and sculptors. Overall, the vision of a Père Lachaise for Glasgow was transformed into the reality of a working cemetery in fewer than five years. It was a new venture in a number of ways: the first large burying ground in Glasgow built by an institution other than the Church or the Town Council, the first ornamental cemetery in Scotland, the first declared non-denominational burying ground in Glasgow, the first cemetery in the city with made roads, paths and drains, and the first in Glasgow with designed plantings of appropriate species. All of these innovations were accepted by the people of Glasgow. The Merchants' House, with the skill and taste of its expert advisers, not only produced a new way of thinking about the disposal and commemoration of the dead, but also quickly transferred these ideas into the population at large. Through its regulations, the House also demarcated public and private use of the cemetery; conventions of dress and respectability for members of funeral parties and mourners were upheld, and visitors had to be introduced by a member of the House. This had the effect of making the Necropolis a public space for the middle classes, and excluding those the House deemed unrespectable.

The Necropolis – as a civic utility and as a symbolic institution – was important to both the Merchants' House and to the city as a whole. The House was able to present itself as a benefactor to the city and a forward-thinking organisation, and the city could boast a hygienic and attractive – and utterly necessary – addition to its burying grounds, at a time when other cities were struggling to cope with the public health issues associated with rapidly expanding populations, epidemic diseases and increasing death rates. The merchants also gained an appropriate setting for the grand monuments they wanted to consolidate their status in society, and in turn the city benefited from an innovative and attractive amenity that rapidly became a talking point in Scotland and in the wider world.

The people of Glasgow accepted the Necropolis not just as a proposal, but as a working cemetery, as chapter four demonstrated. Customers and visitors were quickly attracted to the new institution, and proprietors were enthusiastic about erecting the elaborate and expensive monuments that the Merchants' House had encouraged. For the wealthy, the opportunity to purchase plots in perpetuity in a secure and regulated landscape was hugely attractive. The supervision and oversight of the cemetery by senior members of the Merchants' House ensured that the cultural values of the trading elite were reproduced in the Necropolis. The financial values of the House were also reproduced, as the Necropolis became a source of profit; the House's investment was certainly higher than initial estimates, but the increasing number of purchases of land and fees from funerals proved lucrative, and the costs were paid back to the House by 1847. The architects who were designing houses, business premises and seaside villas for these merchants were also active in the cemetery, ensuring that the symbols of their power and taste were reflected from the world of the living into the world of the dead.

This thesis contributed to an understanding of the Necropolis as both a Glasgow cultural institution and as part of the history of the development of cemeteries in Europe. It will, therefore, be of use to those examining the cultural history of Glasgow in the nineteenth century and also to those constructing broader narratives of the propagation of the garden cemetery from Paris in 1804 to all the cities in Europe. In addition, the investigation of the primary sources undertaken for this thesis has suggested a number of other opportunities for research, which are beyond the scope of this thesis. For example, it would be productive to investigate whether there was any correlation between the religious affiliation of families and the size and cost of funerals and monuments. The records of Wylie & Lochhead, J. & G. Mossman and church congregations would be the starting point for this, which might confirm the common

sense assumption that the more evangelical the belief, the less extravagant the funeral and memorial. Whatever its conclusions, a study of this kind would help illuminate religious belief and its consequences for the material culture of death and commemoration. In addition, it would be useful to investigate, to the same degree as this thesis, the Glasgow burial grounds that immediately preceded and succeeded the Necropolis. These were St. Mungo's, hastily arranged as a reaction to the cholera epidemic of 1832 and then developed – to designs by James Cleland – as an elite cemetery by the Town Council, and Sighthill Cemetery, opened in 1840 by a joint stock company as a more affordable rival to the Necropolis. Researching the origins and receptions of these burying grounds would provide a broader understanding of the attitudes and beliefs of Glasgow people in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

In addition, it would be illuminating to investigate any potential influence of Freemasonry on the architects and stonemasons of the city, and their customers, given the important role the fraternity played in laying the foundation stones of all prominent structures in the city, including the monument to John Knox in 1825 and the Bridge of Sighs in 1833. The authors of Freemasonic literature broadly state that many of the architectural styles and details, and the iconography of the ornamentation, in the Necropolis are associated with their belief system, but become coy to the point of obfuscation when read closely. A fuller understanding of the activities and beliefs of Freemasons in Glasgow at the time of the construction of the Necropolis may well deepen understanding of the material culture of the cemetery.

The Necropolis began with a cartoon (see Figure 56), and the first phase of its development – once it had been constructed, given meaning and generated custom – can be seen in an engraving. The frontispiece of George Blair's 1857 book (see Figure 57) offered a landscape to be 'read' and understood, just as William Heath's lithograph did in 1825. Between these drawings, as this thesis has demonstrated, the sketch came to life and became an important cultural institution in the city.

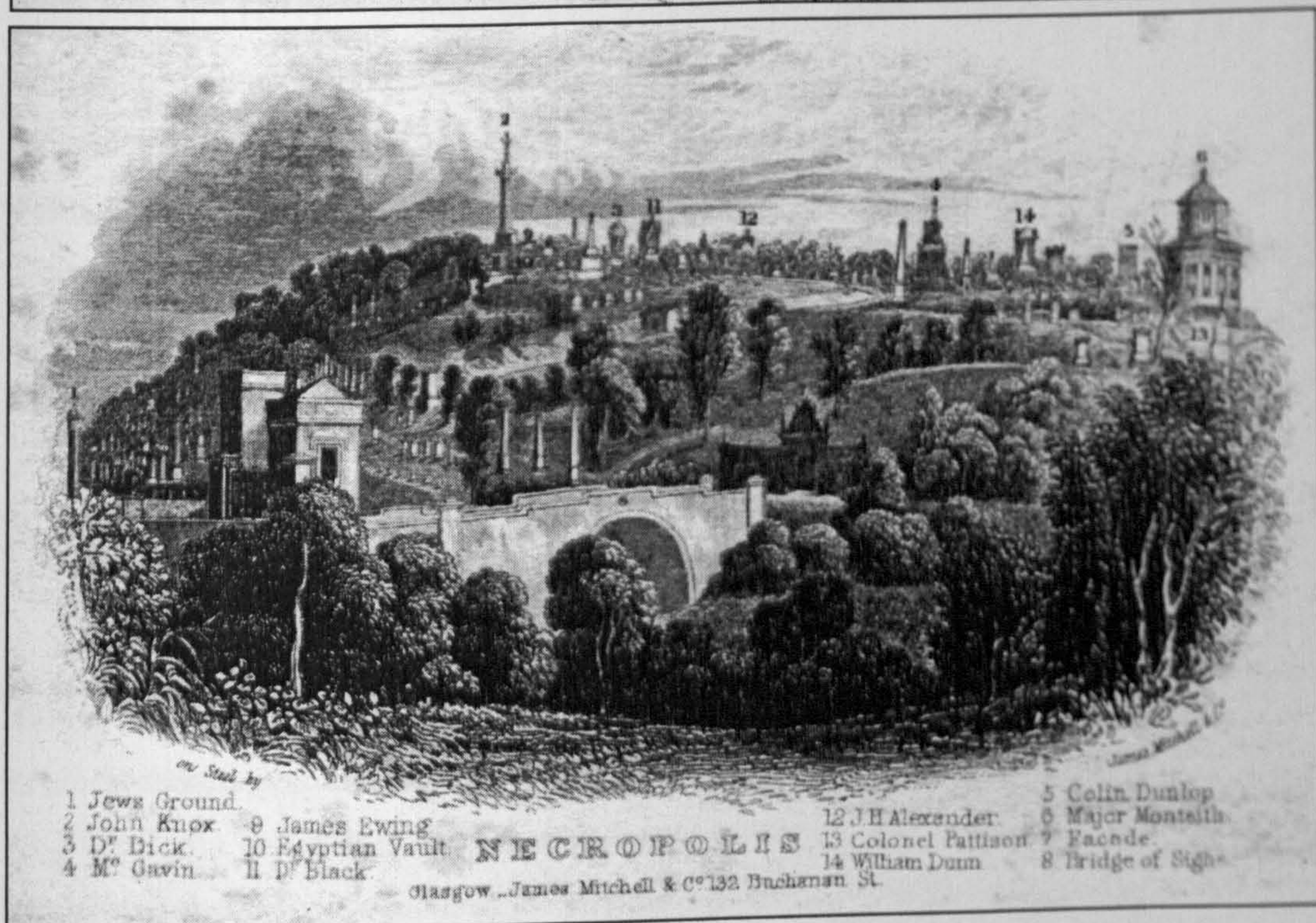
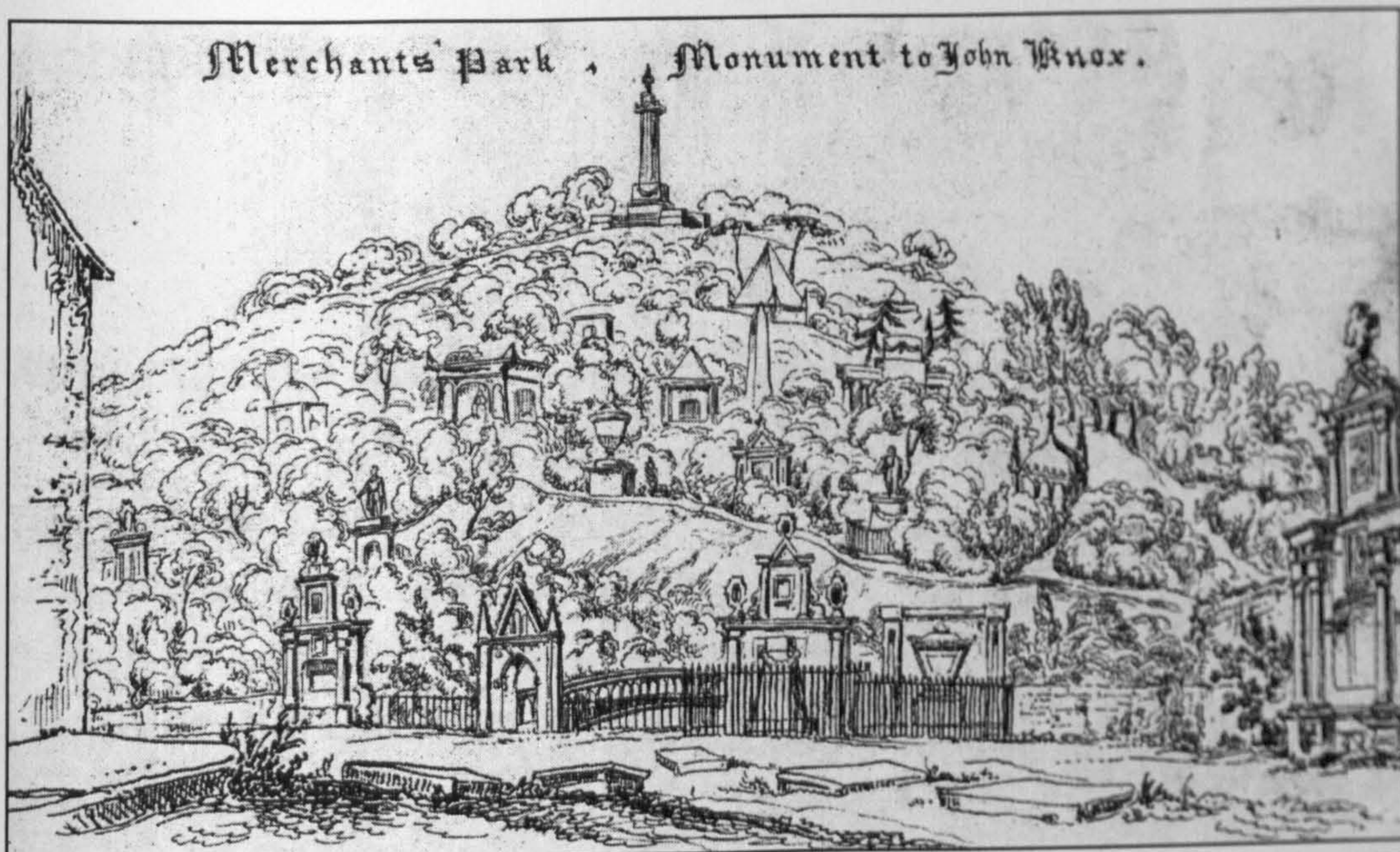


Figure 56 (top) – In 1825, illustrator William Heath proposed that the Merchants' House should transform the Fir Park into a burying ground in the style of Père Lachaise. This was the first illustration of what became the Glasgow Necropolis. (*Glasgow Looking Glass*, 9 July 1825.)

Figure 57 (above) – In 1857, George Blair's guide to the Necropolis offered an illustration of the cemetery as a mature and established city amenity, illustrating how the proposals made by William Heath, John Strang, Laurence Hill and James Ewing had become a reality. (George Blair, *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of Glasgow Necropolis* [Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1857].)

Appendices

Appendix A – Short biographies

John Baird (1798-1859) was a leading Glasgow architect, with a practice second only to **David Hamilton's**, despite refusing to take part in public competitions. **Howard Colvin** noted that Baird's architecture was 'marked by a classical reserve from which he rarely deviated'. He designed the Argyll Arcade in 1827-28. He also designed 12 churches, including three in a simple, unadorned Greek style: Greyfriars United Presbyterian (1821), Wellington (1823) and St. John's Chapel (1823). In 1836 Alexander Thomson joined his office as an apprentice.¹

John Bryce (1805-1851) was born in Edinburgh but built his practice, which wrote Colvin, 'generally maintained faithful to the Scottish classical tradition'. His works in Glasgow included the Duke Street Reformatory (1825) and Queen's Crescent (1840), and in the Necropolis he contributed the Façade, the column and gateway at the Jewish cemetery, and private commissions, including the massive base of the monument to William McGavin. He won second place in the competition for plans for the Necropolis, beaten only by his brother David Bryce (1803-1876).²

James Cleland (1770-1840) followed his father, also John Cleland, into the trade of cabinet maker, and had a sound education at the Grammar School, particularly in English, Latin and arithmetic. He rose to prominence through the ranks of the Trades House and the Town Council: in the first he was elected Deacon Convenor in 1809 and in the second he was elected as a councillor in 1800, Chief Magistrate of Gorbals in 1804, a Bailie of Glasgow in 1806, Treasurer of the city in 1812 and Superintendent of Public Works in 1814. Before he became an official of the town council and was

¹ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1987), p. 81, H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 349-50.

² Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 155; Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches, and Malcolm Higgs, *Glasgow* (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 139, 288.

involved in developing many of the city's assets, Cleland carried on his own business as a property developer, sometimes working with David Hamilton. He was buried in the crypt of Ramshorn Church.³

James Ewing (1775-1853) was a West Indies merchant and leading public figure in Glasgow. At various times he held the offices of Dean of Guild of the Merchants' House, Lord Provost and Member of Parliament for Glasgow, and was also active in the Chamber of Commerce. He was active in a wide variety of civic and charitable organisations. As a Conservative politician and Evangelical church member, he was close to Kirkman Finlay, and worked with him on the abolition of the monopoly of the East India Company, and Thomas Chalmers, and supported his experiment in dealing with poverty in St. John's parish. He was a cautious supporter of electoral Reform. He was buried in the Necropolis.⁴

David Hamilton (1768-1840) began his career as a mason, then was probably employed as clerk of works to Robert and James Adam before rising to become, in Howard Colvin's words, 'for 30 years Glasgow's leading architect'. His commissions included Hutcheson's Hospital (1802), the Theatre Royal (1803), the Royal Exchange (1827) and Royal Exchange Square (1830). He also designed summer houses for James Ewing in Dunoon and Kirkman Finlay at Toward, and he was a close friend and associate of James Cleland. His sons followed in their father's footsteps, James (1818-1862) as an architect and John as the manager of David Hamilton and Sons, a stone and marble cutting business, in which James Cleland was a partner. In the Necropolis, he designed the Bridge of Sighs, the gatekeeper's lodge, the superintendent's lodge, the Egyptian Vaults and a number of monuments for private clients. He was buried in the northern extension of the High Church burying ground.⁵

³ Stana Nenadic, 'James Cleland', in Matthew and Harrison vol 12, pp. 14-15; 'James Cleland, LL.D. (1770-1840): "The Distinguished Statist",' *Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal*, July 1971, pp. 289-291; William Anderson, *The Popular Scottish Biography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Company, 1842), pp. 208-10.

⁴ Michael Stenton, *The Who's Who of British Members of Parliament* vol 1 (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester, 1976), p. 132; James R. Anderson, *The Provosts of Glasgow 1609-1832* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1942), pp. 135-36; Charles Oakley, *Our Illustrious Forebears* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1980), pp. 41-42; Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing Esq., of Strathleven* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1866).

⁵ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 380-1, Matthew and Harrison, vol 24, pp. 779-81.

Laurence Hill (1791-1872) succeeded his grandfather **James Hill** of Cartside (1731-1791) in the family legal business, which had for many years acted as secretaries to a number of leading institutions in Glasgow. Hill was factor of Glasgow University from 1819 until his death, clerk to the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, collector of the Merchants' House, Crown receiver of the Archbishopric revenues of Glasgow, secretary of the Royal Botanic Institution, chamberlain to the Royal Incorporation of Hutchesons' Hospital, and secretary of Miller's Educational Trust. He was also secretary of road trusts in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and other counties in the west of Scotland. As an investor and business man, he was involved in the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway, and Sighthill Cemetery. His first wife, Barbara, was the sister of **Thomas Hopkirk**. He was buried in the Necropolis.⁶

Thomas Hopkirk (1785-1841) was born on his father's estate at Dalbeth, to the east of Glasgow. He was a pioneering botanist who helped to found the Glasgow Royal Botanic Institution in 1816, and gifted the whole of the Dalbeth plant collection to its gardens at Sandyford in 1818. This comprised more than 2,000 specimens, which had covered most of the 120 acre estate. He was also a skilled illustrator and lithographer, and in June 1825 became the editor of *The Glasgow Looking Glass*, working with the cartoonist William Heath. In July 1825, the *Looking Glass* published a cartoon depicting the Fir Park transformed into an ornamental cemetery, three years before the first recorded proposal. Hopkirk's sister Barbara married **Laurence Hill**; she died at age 40 and was one of the first people to be buried in the Necropolis. In 1851 the Dalbeth house and estate were acquired by the Community of the Good Shepherd, who formed a cemetery for Roman Catholics in the grounds.⁷

George Milne was appointed Superintendent of the Necropolis in spring 1832 on the recommendation of **Stewart Murray**, curator of the Botanic Gardens. He was awarded an annual salary of £60 and the use of the 'enlarged and improved' Lodge. With the help of Murray and others, he landscaped the cemetery, laid out walks and decorative

⁶ James MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 1 (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1886), pp. 161-64.

⁷ Malcolm Nicolson, 'Thomas Hopkirk', in Matthew and Harrison vol 28, p. 80; Scottish Book Trade Index, National Library of Scotland (viewed online at http://wwwnls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/hodgetts_thomas/html, December 2004); James Gourlay, *The Family of Hopkirk of Dalkeith, 1700s-1800s* (viewed online at <http://hopkirk.org/hopkirk/Page192.html>, December 2004).

borders, built tombs, and supervised a small staff. He buried his young son David, his mother Elizabeth, and his sister Isabella, all within three months of each other in early 1833, and his wife Margaret in March 1837, in the family plot at lair number 1.1 in Compartment Delta in the Necropolis. He was sacked from the Necropolis in 1842.⁸

George Mossman (1823-63), middle son of **William Mossman, senior**, and partner with his brother John in the firm of J. & G. Mossman. Trained in London at the Royal Academy schools, then returned to Glasgow, where he became a close friend and associate of Alexander Thomson. Probably the most creative of the Mossman family, he became one of the founders of the Glasgow School of Art. Designed and carved many of the monuments in the Necropolis. He was buried in the family plot in Sighthill Cemetery.⁹

John Mossman (1817-90), eldest son of **William Mossman, senior**, who trained under his father and with Carlo Marochetti, who is probably best known for his equestrian statue of Wellington in Queen Street, Glasgow (1844). Worked both in stone and in bronze, and exhibited at both the Royal Scottish Academy and the Royal Academy. With his brother George, ran the firm of J. & G. Mossman, which, according to Ray McKenzie, 'dominated architectural sculpture in Glasgow' in the mid nineteenth century. He was buried in the family plot in Sighthill Cemetery.¹⁰

William Mossman, senior, (1793-1851) was born in Glasgow and was the father of John, George and William, junior. He worked for a time in London, where he was a pupil of Frances Chantrey, whose sculptures included George Washington in Boston, William Pitt in London and Sir Walter Scott in Abbotsford. His first job in Glasgow was managing the marble yard of David Hamilton. He produced portraits and much work in the Necropolis. His work outside Glasgow included a Gothic monument to Lord Cathcart in Paisley Abbey (1848). His job book, from the years 1835-39, contains

⁸ Necropolis Committee Minutes, various dates; MLG, Glasgow Necropolis Burial Registers, 1833-1858, microfilm spool number one.

⁹ Ray McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow: An Illustrated Handbook* (Foulis Archive Press, 1999), p. 109; Glasgow Sculpture website, written by Gary Nesbit, www.glasgowsculpture.com, viewed June 2005.

¹⁰ McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow*, p. 109.

many details of the life of an architectural sculptor and monumental mason in Glasgow. He was buried in the family plot in Sighthill Cemetery.¹¹

Stewart Murray was Interim Superintendent of the Fir Park from March to May 1832, when **George Milne** was appointed Superintendent. The accounts of the Merchants' House show payments totalling £220 to Murray in April and May 1832 'for operations in Fir Park'. By comparison, Milne was contracted at an annual allowance of £60 plus the use of a house, and Hill's salary as collector was £50; he was clearly being paid as an expensive adviser. Murray was also involved in the design of Sighthill (1840), Paisley (1845) and Greenock (1846) cemeteries.¹²

James Smith of Jordanhill (1782-1867), best known as a pioneering geologist and biblical historian, was one of a family of West Indies merchants with wide-ranging interests. His hobbies included sailing, education, the fine arts and architecture. His many public appointments included the presidency of the Glasgow Auxiliary to the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language, whose objects included 'the Christian education of Ireland'. The presence of radical Protestant William McGavin on the committee indicated that the society existed to convert the 'native Irish' to Presbyterian Protestantism.¹³

John Strang (1795-1863) was the son of John Strang of Dowanhill, a leading Glasgow wine merchant. When his father died in 1809, the young Strang did not take over the business, but devoted himself to European languages and literature. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, he took a long tour through Europe, to which he returned each year throughout his life. As a writer and journalist, he wrote a number of books, and contributed to a variety of publications. As well as literature and the arts, he wrote on funeral and burial reform, particularly in the *Scots Times* and in his book *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831), which had an important role in defining the Necropolis. He also

¹¹ Ray McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow*, pp. 106-109; GCA, TD 110, Xerox Copy of Job Book, 1835-39, William Mossman.

¹² Necropolis Committee Minutes, various; Christopher Dingwall and Linda White, 'Garden Cemeteries in Scotland', *Garden History Society Report for Scotland*, Summer 2002.

¹³ George Fairfull Smith, 'James Smith', in Matthew and Harrison vol 51, pp. 186-8; RFGP, Hill Collection, Third Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary to the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish Through the Medium of their own Language (1831).

took control of the family wine and spirits business. In 1834, he was appointed City Chamberlain of Glasgow, and continued James Cleland's work of compiling censuses and statistics of the city. He was buried in the Necropolis.¹⁴

Hugh Tennent (1780-1864) was born into a famous brewing family, but began his working life as a manufacturer and Havana merchant. He took over the family brewing firm in 1827 after the death of his uncle John Tennent. He put his experience of foreign trade to good use, and hugely expanded the business through exporting. After 1843, he was active in the Free Church, to which he gave much financial support. He built a Free Church at the gate of his brewery, to encourage his workers to worship there. His hobbies included sailing, and he built a villa in Fairlie on the Clyde. He was buried in the Necropolis.¹⁵

Appendix B – An exchange of letters

(i) Letter from Laurence Hill, Collector of the Merchants' House, to James Ewing, member of the House's Committee on the Fir Park and Quarries.

Glasgow, 7 July 1828

Dear Sir

As you first broached to the Committee of the Merchants' House the conversion of the Fir Park into an ornamental burying ground similar to the Père Lachaise at Paris, which in its relative position it somewhat resembles, I need make no apology for thus troubling you. On consideration, I am persuaded you will give the execution of such a plan your best exertions for it appears calculated materially to increase the funds of the charity, and to form an improvement worthy of the city, and conducive to the cultivation of the moral and religious sentiments of its inhabitants.

¹⁴ Thomas Davidson, 'Memoir of John Strang', in John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs* 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Smith, 1864), ix-xviii; Leslie Stephen and Sydney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography* vol 55 (London: Smith, Elder, 1898), p. 20; Robert Chambers, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* vol 6 (London: Blackie, 1875), pp. 413-14; MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 2, pp. 305-08.

¹⁵ MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* vol 2, pp. 313-315.

We have now acquired upwards of half an acre immediately adjoining the park with all the buildings and the site of the Ladywell for improving the access to our quarries, a measure particularly called for and requisite. The extensive front of the first purchase and the nominal rental of the second and other local circumstances I think conclusively prove that that quarter of the town is the very antipode of Glasgow for building houses or favourable speculation of that description. But as what remains must be enclosed and added to the park and dressed up a little I submit that our funds and the beauty of all our property may be increased and a great public good be done by adopting your suggestion of laying out the whole park and the vacant ground acquired from the Buchanans as a Garden of Rest or Necropolis such as Evelyn long ago recommended for London but which would still be the first in this country.

You are aware that neither the Park nor what remains of this purchase from the Buchanans yields a shilling of rent or yearly revenue. It comprehends about four acres of wooded banks, and on a moderate computation at least 300 parterres or places of interment might be laid out in different situations, so as not only not detract in the slightest degree from any of the present beauty but materially to enhance it – to say nothing of the superior character and interest the place would acquire, independently of our increasing population, the early period since any additional burying ground was laid off, the numerous gentlemen's houses built in Blythwood Hill etc. in that parish [Barony Parish] which contains no special burying ground attached to its church (except the area of the old church [the High Church]) such burying places as those suggested would certainly have a ready demand, and it is reasonable to think that in a few years the House might have drawn £5,000 (or be in net of nearly £300 yearly) or upwards from sales taking the prices only at the very moderate sum of £20 each. I suggest feu duties as likely to be expedient to the extent of part of the price with a clause of return after a certain period in case of non-payment.

Great additional security would be offered not merely by the fence around the whole property but from the increased interest and resort as a walk which it would command from the judicious regulations which your exertions would bring forward and from other circumstances. Every one also who has of late had the misfortune to bury a relative in an ordinary burying ground can attest the great expense incurred solely for the sake of obtaining *security for each interment* [emphasis in original] and all the anxieties that still remain after every precaution has been used short of an actual iron tomb or palisading round, over and to the full depth of the whole lair. But along the numerous terraced walks of the Fir Park tombs ornamented at least with creeping

evergreen etc. might be formed where walls of stone would be formed by the very excavation to half the required extent and the materials for the remainder are at hand so that a slightly ornamented stone or iron cover would alone be required and the whole would be completed at much less expense than is now frequently gone into in church yards, and as each family would keep a key for its own tomb, the security would necessarily be felt as more complete than that even of the best crypt or burying ground which has a general access or is under a key deposited in the hands of any keeper however trustworthy.

The only objection I ever heard stated to the place was the want of sufficient soil in the land, but while this (which is generally applicable to almost every new burying ground) might be left to be applied by the individual purchasing as occasion required, it fortunately happens that a most ample and complete supply of material for decomposition is at hand in the tirrings of our own quarry, which have hitherto on many occasions caused us much inconvenience.¹⁶ The quarrier will have to remove in a short time upwards of 1,000 cubic yards, and I found he had proposed depositing it in a situation that was formerly objected to, and from which it would certainly have to be removed again on account of our own future operations. While the stuff was on the barrow, a comparative trifle of additional expense would carry it forward to any requisite place of the park.

I therefore think it would be much for the interest of the House if the committee were to take the opinion of professional gentlemen of taste and skill and accustomed to estimate for work and landscape gardening as well as building, how far and at what expense the objective suggested could be carried into effect, and that the Merchants' House if it were found at all advisable should advertise that a certain day a subscription would be opened for disposing of parterres at fixed prices under proper regulations to be fixed by the House and the subscribers to have a choice or preference of situation in the order of their subscription.

My conviction is the list might be nearly fixed up in a week at least to the extent of several thousand pounds, and that all the expenses or outlay to the House in the first instance would hardly exceed what we would be disposed at any rate to incur in forming and improving the park.

¹⁶ Tiring is 'the layer of turf, soil etc. removed from the rock of a quarry' – Mairi Robinson, ed., *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985).

The entrance might with great advantage be placed close by the Ladywell Spring, over which should be placed a suitable inscription etc. The circumstance of the earth being shortly to be tilled and the favourableness of the autumn season for such operations and the age and state of some of the trees, would make it desirable that the measure, if it meets with support, should receive early consideration. I hope you will excuse haste as I have just been informed you go out of town tomorrow, and I would wish to see you after you have perused this before you go.

I am etc. (signed) Laurence Hill¹⁷

(ii) Reply to the above, from James Ewing to Laurence Hill.

Queen Street

Tuesday evening 8 July, 1828

Dear Sir

On my return to my house this forenoon, I found the favour of your communication of yesterday, and am sorry that I afterwards missed the pleasure of your call. As I must go to Muirkirk tomorrow, I shall not have the opportunity of seeing you, and therefore avail myself of this mode to say that I have perused your suggestions with all due attention; that I very much co-incide with the view you have taken; and that I consider the Fir Park as admirably adapted for the formation of a Pere-la-Chaise, which would harmonise beautifully with the adjacent scenery and which would constitute a solemn and appropriate appendage to the venerable structure in its front [the High Church] and which would not only afford a much-wanted accommodation to the better classes of the public, but would convert a property at present unfrequented and unproductive into a general resort and a lucrative source of income. What I would beg leave to recommend is – that you would bring the subject under the consideration of the Directors, in the form of a printed letter, stating all the different inducements to the adoption of the plan – I have not the smallest objection, if you wish it, that you should address the letter to myself, and that I should subjoin my sentiments in its favour, with a request that the members should give it fair consideration. Or you may address the letter at once to the Dean of Guild and his brethren in council, and the subject will be taken up at the next meeting. It is a matter of indifference which way you prefer – and as, in other mode, the letter you have sent me may be of use, I beg to return it, in case you have made no copy.

¹⁷ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 15 July 1828.

Another plan occurs to me – a survey by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Murray, with a report from the Committee. I expect to be home by Monday or Tuesday next week, when I shall be glad to see you.

I remain, very faithfully yours,

James Ewing¹⁸

(iii) Letter from Alexander Garden, Lord Dean of Guild, Merchants' House of Glasgow, to Laurence Hill.

Merchants' House, George Square

Friday 11 July 1828

My Dear Sir

I have read your paper on the subject of the Fir Park, and should like exceedingly to see the plan carried into effect. It would be one of the finest things in the kingdom. With regard to the money part of it. You must make [...] ready money sales – as I conceive the nature of the property ill-suited for feu duties. If you can, with convenience, postpone the meeting of the committee here [...], I shall be able to attend, and most happy to give you a line on the 'accessio'.

In haste, yours sincerely

Alexander Garden¹⁹

(iv) An undated manuscript note, signed L. H. and in Laurence Hill's handwriting, written on the reverse of a report from David Hamilton and George Milne to the Cemetery Committee of the Merchants' House, dated 12 December 1833.

It was only in 1830 at the suggestion of myself and of John Douglas the Clark who took our part in my proposal that John Strang got £200 to write up the plans for his book. It is not fair therefore to me to give away [–] due credit of suggesting the Necropolis entirely whether by Mr. Ewing or Mr. Strang. I was never [–] of Strang [–] These knew

¹⁸ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from James Ewing to Laurence Hill, 8 July 1828, in response to Hill's suggestion to convert the Fir Park to a cemetery.

¹⁹ RFPG, Hill Collection, Letter from Alexander Garden to Laurence Hill, 11 July 1828. Accession, in legal terminology, was 'the natural [...] accretion of additional objects to existing property, e.g. by reproduction or building'. Scott Styles and Niall R. Whitty, eds., *Glossary of Scottish and European Union Legal Terms* (Edinburgh: Law Society of Scotland, 2003), p. 7.

that so far back or earlier than 1828 I as Collector of Merchants' House [–] and urged the formation of Firpark [sic] into Necropolis or making ornamental cemetery there – this was before date of [–] although in my letter to James Ewing. I afterwards delayed the Necropolis [–] wrote him a letter giving him as much credit as I could saying what was literally true that he first proposed to the House the case for forming the Park into an ornamental cemetery. This was literally true. He did so albeit at my suggestion and the proposal from him on [–] coming from me the Collector and his [–] I worked there freely but [–] I suggested and urged the work after I went to Paris in 1825 which I did at my own [–] chiefly to see Père Lachaise.²⁰

Appendix C – The first report to the House

Stewart Smith, the Dean of Guild, presented the following report to the Directors of the Merchants' House on 15 October 1829.

The Fir Park and Quarry Committee beg leave to report that, some time ago, their attention was called by Mr. Ewing to the propriety of converting the park into an ornamental burying ground. They have accordingly, after considering the subject and consulting with other gentlemen of approved taste and professional skill, resolved to recommend the proposal to the favourable consideration of the House; and, in the words of Mr. Ewing at the first meeting held in his house on the subject, so far back as 18 July 1828, to state that 'the Fir Park appears admirably adapted for a Père Lachaise, and which would harmonise beautifully with the adjacent scenery, and constitute a solemn and appropriate appendage to the venerable structure in its front; and which, while it afforded a much-wanted accommodation to the higher classes, would at the same time convert a property, at present unfrequented and unproductive, into a general resort, and a lucrative source of profit to a charitable institution'.

The park and adjoining unoccupied or wrought-out quarry lands extend to about five acres of ground, and certainly not only afford no revenue, but the park is attended with a small annual charge, which, trifling as it is, seems scarcely called for by the little resort of members to the walks. It is totally unfit for the purposes of agriculture, and

²⁰ In bundle GCA, T-MH 52/8/1, Papers relating to proposal to turn Fir Park into Necropolis 1829-34. Dashes indicate words and phrases that have proved impossible to read.

equally so for the erection of houses or manufactories; and, from the extent and nature of the superficies, there is no prospect of the park ever being available, like the property to the east, to the purposes of the quarrier.

But, on the other hand, the great increase of population since any tract of ground has been added to established church yards; the circumstances of that parish within which the park is situated [Barony Parish], and which now contains so many of the residences of our wealthier citizens, having no specific parochial cemetery except the crypt of the cathedral; the improved taste beginning to be displayed in ornamenting some of our neighbouring churchyards; and the fact that additional accommodation of this nature is a desideratum here; while we have occasion to know that such ground inevitably sells dearer and as readily as any other description of property; the peculiar and characteristic advantages of the Fir Park in the facility of acquiring abundant soil from the tirrings of the adjacent quarry; and the adaptation of the section of the rock for constructing vaults and tombs of the securest description – all afford strong reason to believe that a property in the immediate vicinity of the High Church, and of the most crowded burial ground in Glasgow, might be applied to the same purpose with every prospect of advantage.

On a very safe calculation, it would admit of at least 800 parterres or tombs being disposed of in such a way as would not only not detract from, but materially increase, the beauty and convenience of the walks – under proper regulations, of course, for this purpose in regard to planting and burying – but leaving at the same time ample scope to every proprietor for the exercise of his own taste, and for the various modes of expressing individual feelings, which will constitute at once a peculiar elevation or plan. If each of the tombs were sold at the moderate price of £25, it would add no less than £20,000 to the funds of the House.

The committee do not calculate on immediate sales producing any approximation to this sum, yet they apprehend that ultimately, or in process of time, it would not be unreasonable to expect a much larger; and they have been credibly informed that one of the corporations of Edinburgh have disposed of a large tract of ground on the Calton Hill at the rate of from £9,000 to £11,000 per acre; and your committee may also appeal to the operations presently carrying on at Liverpool for obtaining, with a great expenditure and the assistance of Art, the same objects and advantages which are afforded in much greater degree by Nature itself in the property of the Merchants' House.

Should the measure meet approbation, it would be expedient that a special committee be appointed for the purpose of carrying the views of the House into effect.²¹

Appendix D – Soliciting and exhibiting plans

(i) The Merchants' House advertised for plans for their proposed cemetery in January 1831.

Competition for Plans for Converting the Merchants' Park of Glasgow Into a Public Ornamental Cemetery.

The Merchants' House of Glasgow hereby offer premiums of £50, £40, £30, £20 and £10 in the order of merit to be adjudged by the Committee of the House for plans, sections and relative specifications and estimates for converting the Fir Park adjoining the Cathedral into an Ornamental Public Cemetery, in the manner which shall best combine economy, security and picturesque effect, and afford the public diversified objects of choice by exhibiting for suitable situations various designs, descriptions and estimates of different modes of sepulture in vaults or graves in the usual way, with specimens of appropriate decorative monumental architecture. The plans and relative papers which receive premiums will become the property of the House.

Each competitor shall on or before the 13 April next lodge his plan and relative papers sealed up with a signed letter, also sealed, referring to a distinguishing mark or motto in his plan, and addressed to the Dean of Guild with the Clerk to the House, who will furnish lithographic ground plans and sections of the park.

John Douglas, Clerk, 73 Hutcheson Street, Glasgow

14 January 1831²²

(ii) The Merchants' House advertised an exhibition of the plans for their proposed cemetery in May 1831.

Public Exhibition, in the Dilettanti Rooms, Argyll [sic] Street.

²¹ Merchants' House Minutes 1823-38, pp. 66-70.

²² *Glasgow Herald*, 17 January 1831, p. 3.

The Merchants' House having offered premiums for the best plans of converting the Fir Park into an Ornamental Cemetery, on the principle of Père Lachaise at Paris, the Committee think fair to the various competitors that the designs should be submitted to the inspection and judgment of the public. Many of the drawings are distinguished by ingenuity, elegance and beauty, and confer the highest credit on the taste and exertion of our native artists.

This interesting exhibition will commence on Saturday first, and continue for two weeks, every lawful day, from 10 o'clock forenoon till dusk. Admittance, to defray expenses, one shilling, which will entitle the same person to re-admission as often as desired.

By order of the Dean of Guild,

John Douglas²³

Appendix E – Report to the Merchants' House

This report, by David Hamilton and John Baird, Architects, and Stewart Murray, Curator of the Botanic Garden, on converting the Merchant Fir Park into an Ornamental Cemetery, was presented to the Merchants' House on 30 January 1832.

The reporters have examined the various plans obtained by public competition and have also repeatedly perambulated and inspected the Park itself and met on the subject and now beg leave to suggest the following as a basis of operations:

First: That the whole ground that the Merchants' House has lately acquired in the vicinity of Ladywell should be included in the necessary inclosure of the space which may be deemed conveniently applicable for the present for the purposes of a public cemetery. The ground which may have been or may be cleared by quarrying may be added to the cemetery when required.

Second: A gateway should be made near the Ladywell from which a road or roads should be formed sweeping easily and gracefully around the hillside to be laid out in the line which can only be found to be the most advantageous and economical in the course of actual execution under the eye and superintendence of a judicious groundsman.

²³ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1831, p. 3.

Third: That the ground acquired by the Merchants' House from the trustees of John Buchanan and Messrs Wilson should be cleared of the rubbish of old buildings and put into a state suitable for future operations.

Fourth: That some points of the ground should be selected, which will best be done after the road is laid out, for affording a variety of specimens of sepulture in garden and catacombs.

The reporters are decidedly of opinion that this beneficial laying out of the ground for these purposes can only be effected under the direction of an experienced landscape gardener, and that any plan or drawing which they could submit would tend more to embarrass operations than to afford any real use or information to the proprietors of the ground. That in order to exhibit in a satisfactory manner the capabilities of the ground and attract public support to the plan will require (exclusive of the expense of inclosing) a sum of from £500 to £600.

(signed) David Hamilton, John Baird, Stewart Murray, Glasgow 20 January 1832.²⁴

Appendix F – Foundation stone of the Bridge of Sighs

(i) The text of an inscription placed near the east end of the Bridge of Sighs, and also placed in a bottle beneath the foundation stone, in October 1833. It was later moved, and the text inscribed in the central arch of the Façade.

This bridge was erected by the Merchants' House of Glasgow to afford a proper entrance to their new cemetery, combining convenient access to the grounds with suitable decoration to the venerable cathedral and the surrounding scenery, to unite the tombs of many generations who have gone before with the resting places destined for generations yet unborn, where the ashes of all shall repose until the resurrection of the just, when that which is sown a natural body shall be raised a spiritual body; when this corruptible must put on incorruption; when this mortal must put on immortality; when death is swallowed up in victory. Blessed is the man who trusteth in God and whose hope the Lord is.²⁵

²⁴ GCA, T-MH 1/5, Merchants' House Minute Book, 1823-38, p. 171.

²⁵ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833.

(ii) The text of an inscription placed 'on an ornamental obelisk' at the east end of the Bridge of Sighs in October 1833, and also placed in a bottle beneath the foundation stone.

The Necropolis or Ornamental Public Cemetery was constructed by the Merchants' House of Glasgow in their property to supply the accommodation required by a rapidly increasing population, and by embellishing the place of sepulture to invest with more soothing associations that affectionate recollection of the departed which is cherished by those who survive. A.D. MDCCCXXXIII [1833]. 'Even from the tomb the voice of nature cries.'²⁶

Appendix G – First annual report

First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow. Presented to the Merchants' House of Glasgow on 9 June 1835.

The Committee on the Cemetery conceive it will be acceptable to their constituents to receive some detail of the proceedings and transactions connected with the cemetery, whereof an abstract is printed in the last General Accounts of the House; they hope a few months will bring that interesting undertaking to a state which will require no material expenditure beyond its mere maintenance, and also secure a regular adequate return for the whole capital employed in future, but they feel it necessary to solicit some indulgence for the newness and peculiar nature of their charge. The following are the particulars of expenditure or cost from the commencement, and of which the gross annual amount during each of the four years previous to the balance at Candlemas [2 February] 1835 is given in the printed General State of the Affairs of the House (note 1). [...]

[The total expenditure to date was £6,299, and the two single biggest items were 'operatives' wages, at £2,059 and the Bridge of Sighs at £1,494.] And to this should be added £1,275 4s. 6d. estimated as necessary for completing the enclosure and works on hand, and the Catacombs to be afterwards noticed, which would make the cost (note 2)

²⁶ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 18 October 1833.

£7,574 10s. It was only in summer 1833 the premises were opened to the public for interments and sales; at Candlemas last, the committee had disposed of 76 separate burial places, to as many different individuals, comprehending in all 666 square yards of ground available for interments, at prices varying, with only one exception (that of the sale to the Jewish synagogue [note 3]), from 21s. to 42s. per square yard, and yielding £1,024 16s. 4d. The purchasers of these tombs have also repaid, or been charged with the labour and iron work so far as connected with their tombs, amounting to £1,073 0s. 3d. Besides having in several instances themselves made very extensive disbursements in their formation. But of this there is yet outstanding £706 7s.

The purchasers also (with the exception of the Jews [note 3]), bound to pay certain fees for every interment as well as the expenses attending the operations which are generally performed by the House's labourers. These fees, prior to March last, were not charged upon the first interments in the ground, owing to the few instances where the actual appearance of death was not the immediate cause of purchase, and owing to a doubt whether the original table of fees, which has since been materially modified, should then be enforced. The fees, or returns, from this source have amounted to £2 17s. 6d. The proprietors of all these burial places are also bound to dress them regularly, and keep them in a neat and proper condition, which work is done by the superintendent when desired, upon a reasonable charge, so that as sales increase, the annual expense of keeping the whole Necropolis in the order and condition which it should always present will gradually diminish.

A second and material source of revenue to the undertaking arises from single rights of sepulture, with no property in the ground beyond a guarantee against disturbance to the remains deposited for such period as will ensure their entire decomposition, when the ground becomes again available to the House for similar purposes. Within the period ending at Candlemas last, the fees under this head amounted to £59 3s. 6d.

Of the age, sex and other circumstances of the various individuals interred, a register is kept, and furnished for his annual mortality bills to our eminent townsman Dr. Cleland, and the committee have directed every care to be taken to make their records in all respects as interesting (note 4) and valuable as possible.

It is proper to observe here that there have also been four re-interments of bodies from other burying grounds, and more are contemplated, to the private grounds of the Necropolis, for which no fees are charged.

An extra source of revenue has arisen from the discovery of an excellent bed of moulders' sand within the precincts of the cemetery, the excavation of which fortunately also coincides with the operations the committee contemplate, of forming catacombs whereby the whole area of the hill may ultimately be rendered almost double available for burial places, the proprietors' rights being restricted to the depth of from ten to 13 feet. The sand, with some thinnings from the woods etc., has yielded in the course of the last four years £96 3s. 6d., and a small occasional return may be estimated for some time from the same source. Thus leaving the balance still due at Candlemas: to the House £4,376 5s. 8d., to others £58 5s. 9d. Amount as before £6,299 5s. 6d.

It is here necessary to remark that although the purchasers have no right of property or burial, excepting within the particular or specific quantity of square yards sold to them as available for that purpose, it has been indispensably requisite, with a view of encouraging the erection of ornamental architecture within the cemetery, to allow servitudes or the use of particular portions of ground for the express purpose and under condition of properly ornamenting and maintaining them, but reserving to the House every other use that can be got from the ground except the right of making interments from the surface. For some short period it may still be expedient to continue this mode of encouraging what adds so much to the beauty and attraction of the cemetery without any advance of capital from the House; but the progress of the undertaking, and of ornamental buildings within it, will gradually diminish these claims for encouragement, or else enable the House materially to advance the existing prices of available burying ground.

There are, also, throughout the cemetery, owing to the peculiar and picturesque nature of its surface, various pieces of ground which it would be injudicious to dispose of for mere burying places, or not to appropriate to ornamental purposes. But after making every allowance for all these objects, there still remains within the precincts or walls of the cemetery, accommodation for 3,000 tombs, of the average size of nine square yards each, which would, exclusive of interment fees, yield £42, 32s. 8d as the price of the available ground alone, at £1 11s. 4d., being the average price per yard realised for the whole available ground as yet sold; but while a period of years is obviously necessary to elapse before this can be realised, it will be observed that there is every reason to expect that the average selling price will, within the same period, be very materially advanced; and even were these tombs, or every square yard of land within the precincts or present limits of the cemetery, entirely disposed of, the House, from their own immediately adjoining lands at present in cultivation (and partly in the

course of being quarried, in which case, they ultimately become peculiarly suited for the enlargement of the cemetery), could supply 20 times the utmost probable demand arising from the present population of Glasgow.

In these circumstances, the committee could have no difficulty in announcing that at the end of the current year they would be enabled to commence, and continue a regular reduction or liquidation of the capital debt due to the House and interest thereon, and also to pay all the additional works and expenses that are at present under contract. But, before beginning to do so they are very desirous that they should make the still further expenditure, or advance, before alluded to, in the execution of a Grand Façade, or entrance place with catacombs, at the end of the bridge. By this expenditure, the space for turning carriages will be rendered as commodious as it ought to be at the principal entrance to the cemetery, and there will be obtained six handsome and completed vaulted burying places, which the committee are persuaded will, in the course of a few years, yield a reasonable profit, after paying the whole expense.

The committee have noticed that the great proportion of sales are made to parties whose immediate bereavements have not left them the means or time to obtain the accommodation they would otherwise desire, and that there are not unfrequent instances of purchasers being disappointed in the selection of particular sites for tombs, from the mere want of time requisite, between the funeral and the order, to get the proper works completed. The committee thus think it will be expedient for them to have a few of the higher-priced tombs on hand, ready for immediate sale or use. Should the House approve of their recommendation to have these tombs, and the design in question, executed, which their also desiring to commence making a regular return to the House has induced them to bring under the special notice of the House, the committee do not ask any advance of money for that purpose from the House; they calculate on the expense being defrayed out of the proper receipts of the cemetery; but in that case they anticipate that it will not be in their power to liquidate in the course of the present year any of the debt to the House, after defraying also the expense of this work (of which the plan and elevation are herewith submitted [note 5]), and the other works which are yet on hand.

In conclusion, the committee may observe that this undertaking labours perhaps under one disadvantage. In similar undertakings there are, in general, a great number of individuals interested personally, as joint-stock proprietors, or otherwise, whose custom, to use a mercantile phrase, was to be depended on and would alone ensure a handsome profit. In this case, the directors and members of the House, it is

apprehended, are to a great extent elsewhere provided (note 5), so that a material and primary source of profit may be wanting. On the other hand, however, the committee believe that if every director and matriculated member shall determine, as it is now earnestly entreated that they will, to exercise their influence, or resolve to give what assistance and recommendation shall be in their power (note 5), they might render this undertaking the most popular and beneficial of any in the empire; and it must ever be borne in mind that they are thus only asked to plead for the poor, and to help the aged, the orphan and the widow, who are indeed the peculiar owners of this vast city of the dead.

Signed, in name and behalf of the committee, by

James Martin, Dean of Guild

Laurence Hill, Collector

Glasgow, 9 June, 1835

Notes

1 – It must be remembered that this expenditure is exclusive of the cost or value of the land, the whole of which within the cemetery enclosures belonged, with a trifling exception, to the House, before the resolution to form the burying ground; and it is in the increased value and demand for this previously unproductive land that the profits of the undertaking will principally consist.

Considerable purchases were made on the south side of the stream, and adjoining the Barony Church, for enabling the House to form the access by the Great Bridge and change the course of the Church Road [Kirk Lane]; but these still remain available for general purposes, while a part of the work and labour contained in the £6,299 was expended thereon to an extent deemed fully equivalent to what was taken or required for the cemetery purposes, and they are thus included, at their value, in the general stock account of the House.

2 – The cost of the new St. Mungo's Cemetery belonging to the City Corporation including the ground when completed was calculated at £8,524 16s. 11d.; it was to contain 495 tombs, estimated to be sold at £13,801 4s., and to yield an average profit of £10 13s. each to the corporation. The cost of the Lowhill Cemetery at Liverpool, including £2,941 8s. 7d. for ground, was £9,445 7s. 8d.

3 – A descendant of Abraham was the first individual interred in our cemetery. The chief of the Synagogue sent offering to purchase possession of a burial place before any arrangements were completed, or prices fixed, stating frankly that they had a specific

sum raised and laid aside for the purpose, and their desire to have such accommodation as could be given for it. There was a corner with a few trees, in the end of the park next the burn, where free-stone had been wrought, and which seemed peculiarly adapted for the purpose, and least likely to interfere with any future operations; the request was accordingly complied with, although thus the price, when calculated according to what has afterwards been obtained from others, has proved a trifle under the average.

The payment of tribute upon interments was considered inconsistent with their religious ideas, and their mode of interment being peculiar, and such as the committee would certainly wish to see generally introduced, of preserving the spot where any remains have ever been deposited from being again used, the fees which were not then fixed were also agreed to be given up in their case.

4 – An isolated digest or synopsis of deaths and diseases etc., where there are as yet comparatively so few burials, as in this establishment, can afford no conclusive data for the statist. [...] The total number of interments within the 25 months upon which these observations were made, was:

In May to December 1833, inclusive, 14 males and 15 females; total 29.

In January to December 1834, inclusive, 63 males and 51 females; total 114.

In January to May, 1835, inclusive, 31 males and 55 females; total 86.

[...] The register of proprietorships in the Necropolis is so kept as to present a regular obituary for the family to which the burial place belongs, so that it may in future be of some genealogical use and reference. Deaths of relatives may also on proper evidence be inserted in it although the interments may have taken place elsewhere, without interfering with, or affecting, the general ephemeris, or daily register and journal of deaths and interments, from which the foregoing observations are made. The only remark which it as yet elicits is that the second instance of mortality or deaths in the same family have been at the rate of 4.5 per cent, or in a hundred families in 12 months.

5 – A beautiful engraved view in the cemetery containing the plan and elevation referred to will be delivered to each matriculated member who will take the trouble of calling on the Collector, in order to affording or receiving such information as may be within his power to facilitate the labours and promote the objects of the committee.²⁷

²⁷ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-a.15, First Annual Report from the Committee on the Necropolis, or Cemetery of the Fir Park, to the Merchants' House of Glasgow, 1835

Appendix H – Advertisement of burial places

The following advertisement appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* on 8 February 1833.

Glasgow Necropolis.

The Merchants' House of Glasgow having now completed the principal roads through its lands adjoining the cathedral, to be occupied as an ornamental cemetery or burying ground, on the plan of the celebrated Père Lachaise cemetery at Paris, to which these lands possess many advantageous resemblances, and having also purchased the houses and gardens on the south side of Kirk Lane, and east and south of the Barony church, in order to afford a carriage access in that direction, in addition to that by Ladywell, notice is hereby given that the House is ready to treat for the disposal of lots, or burial places of such dimensions, and in such situations, as may be agreed on.

The prices will be reasonable, varying according to the extent, the eligibility of the situation, the intended ornament, and the measure of security desired, which, owing to the principles proposed to be adopted, can be afforded equal if not superior to any possible degree of security elsewhere. Purchasers will have the selection of sites according to the order or dates of their intimating to the Collector of the House their readiness or intention to treat; and, as it is proposed, so soon as a reasonable number of intending purchasers come forward, to submit to them a draft of the regulations before the same shall be finally fixed, in order that they be rendered as acceptable and popular as possible, the advantage and propriety of early applications will be apparent.

The grounds will be shewn by the resident superintendent, Mr. George Milne, at the Ladywell Lodge; and further particulars will be learned on applying to Mr. Laurence Hill, Collector of the House, at his chambers, No. 1 South Frederick Street, Glasgow, to whom those desirous of treating with the committee for lots will be so good as communicate their intentions, in order that the other necessary arrangements may be made.

By order of the Dean of Guild,

John Douglas, Clerk.

Glasgow 4 February 1833.²⁸

Within a few days of the above appearing, the following advertisement appeared.

²⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 February 1833.

St. Mungo's Burying Ground.

St. Mungo's Burying Ground, adjoining the High Church Yard, is now completed. Forty tombs have been fitted up in a uniform manner, some of them are for sale, as also burying places, at various prices. This burying ground is superior to any belonging to the city; sewers are formed through it, and the borders planted with shrubbery. A very efficient nightly guard protects the burying ground. Applications for the purchase or burying places may be made to Mr. Cleland, at the Office of Public Works.

Council Chambers, 14 February 1833.²⁹

Appendix I – First Necropolis Regulations

This edition of the regulations was printed on a single sheet and published in 1834.

Note that the superintendent is also referred to as the warder.

Glasgow Necropolis; or, Cemetery belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow.

The flowing regulations constitute the condition of sale of every burial place in the Necropolis:

The possession of the burying places being either temporary or perpetual.

I.

1. Purchasers, in perpetuity, will receive, on paying the specified price (the prices are from £1 1s. to £2 2s. per square yard, according to the situation), a certificate, containing a specification or other description of the lot or tomb sold to them, and the property thereof, and all right in and to the lot or tomb shall be transferable or alienable by special indorsation, under the hand of the purchaser from the House, or his assignee indorsee, or proper heir at law duly entered in the Register of the Cemetery, whereupon the purchaser shall receive a new certificate in lieu of the old one, on payment of £1 1s. to the House. In order that it may be clearly understood at all times who has the right to the burial place sold, the heirs at law, or family trustees of every proprietor shall obtain

²⁹ Newspaper cutting in RFPG, Hill Collection, Necropolis Reports [bound volume of miscellanea].

their names inserted in the register as such, upon production of their general service, or other registered title, for which a fee of five shillings only shall be paid.³⁰

2. There shall be paid to the House a sum, varying from five shillings to two guineas, upon at each interment, according to the style of the funeral.

3. The proprietors in perpetuity shall have the right to erect any mason work, or monument, and put thereon any inscription, provided a plan of the erection and copy of the inscription have been submitted to the House, and received its approbation. Proprietors shall have no right to dig, found or bury, at a depth or so as to endanger or interfere with any adjoining Tomb or Sepulchre.

4. No coffin shall be nearer the surface of the ground than 24 inches at least, and the proprietor of the ground shall cause it to be neatly dressed immediately after the interment, so that the grounds shall always be left, as nearly as may be, of a uniform surface with that adjoining it.

5. Proprietors in perpetuity shall each be bound to keep his own lot or portion in good order; and when tombs, monuments or other works are erected thereon he shall be obliged to preserve, as far as possible, the same from decay; and in the event of a proprietor not doing so, the House shall be entitled to repair the same, after due intimation by letter to the proprietor, or his heir at law, and the House shall be reimbursed in all the expenses of such repair, with the interest thereon, before any other interment shall take place.

6. While proprietors shall be permitted to plant flowers or shrubs over the grave or by the tomb of their relatives, the whole cemetery shall be under the constant superintendence of the warder.

7. Proprietors shall be bound on each interment to furnish the warder of the cemetery with the name and designation of the deceased and, if possible, with the age and cause of death.

8. Proprietors shall be obliged to pay the necessary expense of the grave digging at each interment.

9. In all sales, there is reserved to the Merchants' House, the right of making and disposing of vaults, catacombs or lower tiers of tombs, where the slope or mode of laying off the ground permits this; but so as never in any case, to interfere with, touch or affect in any way the tombs or burying places of those who have already purchased.

³⁰ A general service was a court document confirming a person as heir to an estate. Styles and Whitty, *Glossary of Scottish and European Union Legal Terms*, p. 153.

II.

Temporary possession will be granted for a period of at least ten years, but without any right of property or other right in or over the ground.

The following regulations are adopted for the management and control of the cemetery.

1. The Glasgow Necropolis, being established on the principle of a garden cemetery, shall at all times be kept in good order, and due attention paid to preserve the design, beauty, effect and sanctity of this place of sepulture.
2. Constant attendance shall be given by the superintendent, or warder, for the purpose of receiving instructions and orders from the public or proprietors in regard to Funerals; and he shall be responsible that no burying place be opened without undoubted personal or written authority from those who have a right to give it.
3. The warder shall provide proper and sufficient workmen for the purpose of executing orders in regard to the opening and filling up of burial places.
4. At every funeral, the warder shall enter the name and designation, and also the age and cause of death, so far as known, of the deceased, and the date of the funeral in a book to be kept for that purpose.
5. On each interment, the warder is authorised to receive the following fees payable to the House:

When the body is carried on a hearse, drawn by four horses, or shoulder high, £2 2s.

When the body is carried on a hearse, drawn by two horses, £1 1s.

When the body is carried on handspokes, accompanied by two or more ushers, 15s.

When the Body is carried on handspokes, without ushers, 5s.

Children:

When the body is carried in a chaise, and where two or more ushers are employed, £1 1s.

When the body is carried in a chaise, without usher, 10s. 6ds.

When the body is carried otherwise, and without usher, 3s.
6. No hewing of stones, excepting under certain regulations; and no dogs, cattle or poultry, nor drying or bleaching etc. shall be permitted within the precincts of the cemetery.
7. As every burying place is expected to be by its construction effectually secured against all risks of violation, night watching will be unnecessary.

8. The warder being the custodier of the register book and plan of the cemetery, he is enjoined to keep the same within a substantial safe, and to make entries and to give extracts to parties interested on payment of six pence for an extract.
9. The House may, from time to time, make such bye-laws and regulations as may be necessary for making the institution as conducive as possible to the ornament and advantage of the city, and sanctity of the place.
10. A copy of the above regulations is to be hung up in the warder's office, or in any conspicuous place in the cemetery, for the inspection of all concerned.
11. The above regulations, which are to remain in force until they are altered by the Merchants' House, are binding on all proprietors of burying places, warders and others connected with the Necropolis.³¹

Appendix J – Second Necropolis Regulations

The second edition of the Necropolis Regulations was first published in June 1835.

Regulations of the Necropolis or Cemetery of the Merchants' House of Glasgow. The following have been adopted as the conditions of sale of all burial places and regulations of the cemetery.

1 – Purchasers in perpetuity will receive, on paying the stipulated price [note one], and two shillings and sixpence as the expense of the certificate, a certificate containing a specification or other description of the lot or tomb sold to them and the property thereof, and all right in and to the same shall be transferable or alienable by special indorsation under the hand of the purchaser from the House or his assignee, indorsee or proper heir at law, duly entered in the register at the cemetery, whereupon, and upon payment of one guinea to the House the purchaser shall be entitled to a new certificate in lieu of the old one; and in order that it may be clearly understood at all times who has the right to the burial places, the heirs at law or family trustees of every proprietor shall

³¹ GUL, Special Collections, Mu22-b.3, Glasgow Necropolis, or Cemetery Belonging to the Merchants' House of Glasgow: Regulations [first edition, 1834].

obtain their names inserted in the register as such upon production of their General Service or other Registered Title, for which a fee of five shillings only shall be paid.³²

2 – There shall be paid to the warden [Warder in first edition] at each funeral fees [note two] to be fixed by the House from time to time according to the style of the funerals, over and above the outlaid expenses in digging or opening and closing the grave.

3 – Proprietors may erect any mason work or monument and put thereon any inscription, provided a plan of the erection and a copy of the inscription have been submitted to the House and received its approbation; and the working plans or drawings or authentic copies thereof to a prescribed scale when the work is finished shall be delivered to the Collector, on his receipt to be carefully preserved by him, and afterwards published if the House see fit, with the architect's name. But on no account to be lent out or used for the erection of any similar buildings. Proprietors shall have no right to dig, found or bury at a depth so as to endanger or interfere with any adjoining tomb or sepulchre, neither shall they have right at any time to cut down or injure any of the trees without the consent of the House.

4 – No coffin shall be nearer the surface of the ground than 24 inches at least; and the proprietor shall cause it to be neatly dressed immediately after the interment and keep it in order; and when tombs, monuments or other works are erected thereon, he shall be obliged to preserve as far as possible the same from decay and if the same is in any [way] laid out as a garden parterre or with plants, the same shall be properly gone over and dressed at least three times a year so as to prevent weeds and rank grass and in the event of a proprietor not doing so the House shall be entitled to repair or dress the same after intimation by letter addressed to the last registered proprietor; and the House shall be reimbursed in all the expense of such repair, with the interest thereon, before any other interment shall take place.

5 – Proprietors shall be bound on each interment to furnish the warder [sic] of the cemetery with the name and designation of the deceased and if possible with the age and cause of death, which shall be immediately inserted in a register.

6 – In all sales there is reserved to the Merchants' House the right of disposing of vaults, catacombs or lower tiers of tombs where the slope or mode of laying off the property permits this, but so as never in any case to interfere with, touch, or affect in any way the tombs or burying places of those who have already purchased. There is also

³² A General Service was a court document confirming a person as heir to an estate. Styles and Whitty, *Glossary of Scottish and European Union Legal Terms*, p. 153.

reserved the whole rock and sand that may be excavated in digging the tombs, beyond what purchasers may require for their own use in building or forming the same.

7 – Constant attendance shall be given by the superintendent or warden [sic] for the purpose of receiving instructions and orders from the public or proprietors in regard to funerals; he shall be responsible that no burying place be opened without undoubted personal or written authority from those who have a right to give it, and shall provide proper and sufficient workmen for the purpose of executing orders in regard to the opening and filling up of burying places.

8 – No hewing of stones excepting under certain regulations and no dogs, cattle etc shall be permitted within the precincts of the cemetery. All persons visiting the cemetery shall confine themselves to the regular walks, and on no account step on, over or interfere with any of the shrubs or plants, new sown grass or any of the fences, tombs, monuments, enclosures, or any place that may be ticketed as to be kept off, and whosoever shall be found to have trespassed shall incur a fine of five shillings to be paid to the Warden before leaving the premises.

9 – As every burying place is expected to be by its construction effectually secured against any risk of violation, night watching will be unnecessary.

10 – Everyone visiting the cemetery, whether a matriculated member of the House, proprietor of ground, or other person unless in attendance upon a funeral or otherwise known as intending to visit the tomb of a recently deceased relative must always insert his or her name with his or her hand and usual signature, in the Visiting Book before admission and conform to the whole Regulations of the Cemetery at the time [note three].

11 – The House may from time to time make such farther and other bye-laws and regulations as may be necessary for making the institution as conducive as possible to the ornament and advantage of the city, and sanctity and privacy of the place.

12 – The above regulations, which are to remain in force until they are altered by the Merchants' House, are binding on all proprietors of burying places, warders and others connected with the Necropolis.

Notes:

1 – The prices are two guineas per square yard and under, according to circumstances. Temporary possession may also be had for ten years, but without any right of property in or over the ground. The charge for single graves in vaults or safes with every possible security being:

- For adults, 12 shillings to 21 shillings.
 - For children, six shillings to ten shillings and sixpence.
- 2 – The following are the fees which have last received the sanction of the House and are at present exigible in family grounds:
- When the body is in a hearse drawn by four horses or shoulder high – one guinea.
 - When the body is in a hearse drawn by two horses – ten shillings and sixpence.
 - When the body is on hand-spokes with or without ushers – five shillings.
 - When the body is in a chaise with ushers, if a child – ten shillings and sixpence.
 - When the body is in a chaise without ushers, if a child – five shillings.
 - When the body is otherwise if a child – two shillings and sixpence.
- 3 – The Dean of Guild and Committee beg leave earnestly to impress on their brethren and the public the necessity of attending to this regulation for the sake of the proprietors themselves as well as the House, seeing the numbers of members and proprietors is now become so great that gatekeepers and watchmen cannot have a personal knowledge of the whole or otherwise properly discharge their duty.³³

Appendix K – Town Council burial rates, 1834

These rates, fixed by the Magistrates and Council on 20 February 1834, were payable to the churchyard wardens.

Private ground:

Burial of an adult – when the body is carried in a hearse drawn by four horses or shoulder high and accompanied by ushers: 15 shillings.

– when the body is carried in a hearse drawn by two horses and accompanied by ushers: ten shillings.

– when the body is carried in a hearse drawn by two horses but without ushers: six shillings.

– when the body is carried on hand-spokes: five shillings.

Burial of a youth – when the body is carried in a hearse drawn by two horses accompanied by ushers: seven shillings and sixpence.

³³ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 10 June 1835.

– when the body is carried in a hearse drawn by two horses without ushers: five shillings and sixpence.

– when the body is carried on hand-spokes: three shillings and sixpence.

Burial of a child – when the body is carried in a chaise accompanied by ushers: seven shillings.

when the body is carried in a chaise without ushers: four shillings and sixpence.

when the body is carried on hand-spokes: three shillings.

when the body is carried under a person's arm: two shillings.

Public ground: This is a description of burying ground which is kept by the town for the accommodation of such persons as have no burying place of their own to bury their dead in.

Grave for an adult – when the body is carried in a hearse with two horses and accompanied by ushers: six shillings.

– when the body is carried in a hearse with two horses or on hand-spokes without ushers: five shillings.

Grave for a youth – when the body is carried in a hearse with two horses: five shillings.

– when the body is carried on hand-spokes: four shillings and sixpence.

Grave for a child – when the body is carried in a chaise with ushers: three shillings and sixpence.

– when the body is carried in a chaise without ushers: two shillings and sixpence.

– when the body is carried on hand-spokes: one shillings and sixpence.

when the body is carried under a person's arm: ninepence.

ditto for a poor person sixpence.

The above rates both for the public and private ground include taking orders for the grave digging and filling it up and entering particulars connected with the interment in the public register.

Taking off and putting on a flat stone on a grave to be charged over and above the rates, according to the time but not to exceed two shillings.³⁴

³⁴ Necropolis Committee Minutes, 20 August 1834.

Appendix L – ‘Present mode of conducting burials’

James Cleland recorded ‘the present mode of conducting burials’ in Glasgow in 1832.

Persons in the more humble walks of life are carried to their long homes on hand spokes by their relatives or part of the company, while the middle and upper classes are carried on the shoulders of hired persons, or in hearses. It is not unusual for more than 100 persons to attend the funeral of the head of a family in respectable circumstances, and half that number is often asked to the funeral of a youth. The full company attend in full mourning with weepers and hat crapes. The usual funeral hour is two o’clock, and the company, who frequently occupy two rooms, sometimes three, are punctual in their attendance. One clergyman gives a prayer in each room before wine and cake are presented, and another gives a prayer after it; by this practice four or six clergymen are frequently expected, that there may be two in each room.

The funeral is preceded by mutes and ushers, varying in number from two to ten, according to the rank or wealth of the deceased, and on payment of £5 to the sessional poor the turret bells are tolled during the time of the funeral. The ushers are the beadles of the churches and chapels. For some time past, it has been usual for families to give the charge of the funeral to the beadle of the church or chapel which the deceased attended. If the usher happen to belong to any of the established churches, he employs his brother beadles to the exclusion of those belonging to the dissenters, without reference to the qualifications of the individuals, and the same thing is done when a dissenter has charge of the funeral. The consequence is that the time of the company is often unwarrantably wasted.

At the grave there is no funeral service, nor other religious ceremony.³⁵

³⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 July 1832. The article was described as an extract from Cleland’s ‘new statistical work’, outlining his views on funeral reform.

Appendix M – John Strang's funeral, 1863

This description of the funeral of John Strang was published in the *Glasgow Herald* on 5 December 1863.

Yesterday afternoon, the remains of the late Dr. Strang, the Chamberlain of the city, were consigned to their last resting place in the Necropolis. The funeral, although of an almost private nature, was attended by a considerable number of relatives and friends of the deceased, amongst whom were several of our leading citizens, William Smith Dixon, Esq., nephew of the deceased, being chief mourner. The Lord Provost and Magistrates were also present, not, as we well know, in obedience to mere official etiquette, but from a desire to show respect to the memory of an honoured citizen and a valued public servant. About two o'clock the party of mourners arrived at the residence of the late Dr. Strang, in Woodside Place, their carriages being set down behind the hearse and mourning coaches. The religious services indoors, before the removal of the body, were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Craik and the Rev. Mr. Charteris. Thereafter, the cortege slowly moved off, and, passing into Sauchiehall Street, proceeded to the place of interment, so cordially granted by the Merchants' House, in the Necropolis, the city bells, meanwhile, sounding forth in solemn tones.³⁶

Appendix N – A funeral hearse seen in 1828

A writer in the *Scots Times*, probably John Strang, described the appearance of a new hearse in 1828.

We were so much struck with the appearance of a new hearse which we noticed on the streets of the city on Tuesday last, that we could not help following it to the stable yard to which it was proceeding, that we might inspect its ornaments minutely. It was carried to the spacious Bazaar of Messrs. Burn, Scott & Co., in Union Place, to whom it belongs [...] The old offensive figures of a skull and bones are discarded and in their

³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 December 1863. James Craik was minister of St. George's Church in Buchanan Street, and Archibald Charteris was minister of Park Church, Lynedoch Place, both Church of Scotland: *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1863-64* (Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1863).

place are to be found beautiful typifications of Time, Religion and Grief, from designs by Mr. Mitchell, a young artist in Glasgow.

Each of the panels into which the body is divided represents the chancel of a Gothic cathedral, in which the columns rest on a tessellated pavement, and in the midst, on a pedestal which surmounts a few steps, are placed the typical figures we have alluded to. Below the driver's seat is an escutcheon on each side, one of which by striking emblems [displays] the various conditions of life, and the other, the various ages at which we are called to throw off our mortal coil.

The railing, too, which surmounts the body of the hearse, is formed of richly gilt Gothic pillars instead of the clumsy pieces of painted timber we have been accustomed to see – and the plumes above are of coronet shape, and are at once large and elegant. In short, the whole does equal credit to the taste of the artist and the enterprise of Messrs. Burn, Scott & Co., who, we are sure, will find their interests promoted by the introduction of a vehicle eminently classic in its design and exceedingly beautiful in its execution.³⁷

³⁷ *Scots Times*, 27 September 1828, p. 308.

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Abbreviations:

GCA – Glasgow City Archives.

GUA – Glasgow University Archives.

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MLG – Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

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