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GLASGOW'S TOBACCO LORDS: AN EXAMINATION  
OF WEALTH CREATORS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- G.U.A. - Glasgow University Archives
- G.U.L. - Glasgow University Library
- M.L. - Mitchell Library, Glasgow
- S.R.A. - Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow
- S.R.O. - Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
- S.H.R. - Scottish Historical Review
- S.H.S. - Scottish History Society

## Summary

This thesis examines the group known as the "tobacco lords" of Glasgow who made up the inner circle or elite of merchants trading to the American colonies in tobacco during the greater part of the eighteenth century, c. 1700-1780. As much work has already been done in the past to explain these merchants' activities and successes in the economic sphere, this thesis focuses instead on the social and ideological history of this group as related to their particular eighteenth-century environment in the city of Glasgow. This examination starts with an attempt to establish the criteria under which the personnel can be justifiably viewed as forming this inner circle; and thus establishes their numbers and origins and examines the process of their growth and expansion as they absorb new members in successive waves, as the importance and size of this elite develops throughout the eighteenth century with the expansion of the tobacco trade. The thesis then examines their business policies and the qualities which arose from this to give them success in their commercial ventures. Next, having established their place in the

expanding commercial life of the city, the thesis turns to the less measurable aspects of their influence and examines first their political effects. It establishes the dominant ideological outlook as shown by their activities as leading members of the Town Council. As their wealth increased, giving them an opportunity to consolidate their social position through the acquisition of property in land, their political outlooks and views can be established also to some extent by examining the sides they took in electoral activity at the county level. The thesis then turns to the question of how active or passive they were in respect to the significant ideas of the period, as in their attitudes to and role in the contemporary Enlightenment culture. It then examines what this elite did with the wealth it was creating in order to see if their role as wealth disposers had an effect on the material culture of the city and if their consumption patterns show anything about the values they held as "responsible" recipients of wealth. Finally, the thesis looks at the merchant elite's ideas about religion in the particular religious environment of the city of Glasgow in the eighteenth century. A more holistic view of the Glasgow merchant elite whose activities and wealth creation were such an important part of the development of Glasgow in the period before industrialization can be obtained and their significance compared to and put into the context of similar merchant groups in British cities in this period.

## INTRODUCTION

"Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings"- (Proverbs xxii 29)

In recent years, a considerable amount of material has been written concerning the tobacco trade of Glasgow in the eighteenth century. Parallel to this, much has also been written about merchant elites. However, despite this new found interest in the whys and wherefores of the tobacco trade in Glasgow, very little has been written about the social and ideological history of the merchants themselves. In this thesis, I will endeavour to examine these merchants, whose accomplishments have long been recognised as great economic successes of the day, in the context of being not only components of history and historical change, but also as proponents. There is no need in this thesis, therefore, to re-relate such well-trodden areas like whether or not the Union of 1707 was responsible for such economic success for these external factors, though important to the general history of the time, are but external; and the controversy concerning their importance has given way to more modern theories which are less cut-and-dried about the nature of success

and progress in eighteenth-century Scotland, particularly in the Glasgow area.<sup>1</sup>

The dynamics of history, especially concerning economic advances, have not been ignored by modern economic historians, and when one is talking about the eighteenth century, a sort of transitional period from religious fervor to modern capitalism, the energy and drive as displayed in intellectual and economic phenomena, i.e., the Scottish Enlightenment and the advancement of trade and improvement, necessitates explanation. Chitnis has commented on the lively debate between two leading proponents of this new view as seen in R.H. Campbell and T.C. Smout's attitudes and emphases in this area. "...There is much on which the two authors agree, the central point of disagreement being whether or not the Scottish Enlightenment is to be explained by the failure of Calvinism to achieve its religious objectives, and by the energy which it had generated being diverted to secular ends, or by the fact that theology actually paved the way for the Enlightenment, and the Enlightenment, rather than being a substitute for religious objectives,

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<sup>1</sup>.- For instance, R.H. Campbell has shown increasing concern for the dynamics of change and the attitudes relating to change, as opposed to the actual measurable processes of such change: e.g. in T.I. Rae, ed., The Union of 1707 Its Impact on Scotland (Glasgow: Blackie & Son Limited, 1974), in L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, eds., Comparative Aspects of Irish and Scottish Economic and Social Development (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1977), in May 1990 issue of *History Today*, and in various reviews and articles which have appeared in journals such as *Scottish Economic and Social History*.

was a natural outgrowth of them..."<sup>2</sup> The point here is that energy and its deployment as affected by social structures and sociological environments exhibits itself in the actions of men. As McClelland states in his book The Achieving Society, "For in the end, it is men and in particular their deepest concerns, that shape history."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the "tobacco lords" should be viewed less for their place in the wider sweep of impersonal economic factors and conditions and more as human beings - for what they did, the attitudes and outlooks they had at the time, for the beliefs, hopes and fears, and energies that they brought to their businesses in their lives.

The question as to whether or not theory precedes experience or whether theory arises from experience is such that it is difficult to either prove or disprove. One cannot come without the other. Let it suffice to say that the historical materialism of Marx and the deductive theory of Weber can be treated as both correct on consideration of the premise that factors for growth can be considered as both causes and effects.

T.M. Devine, who has contributed most significantly to the understanding of economic progress and the merchant elite in Glasgow has also made reference to this idea of cause and effect. He has stated, "...but perhaps,

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<sup>2</sup>.- Anand Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment : A Social History (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 251.

<sup>3</sup>.- David McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton, N.J: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961), p. 437.



ultimately, the achievements in colonial commerce ought to be regarded as much a symptom as a cause of growing sophistication. The ingenuity and sheer business skill which formed the basis of Scottish successes in the colonies were to be again among the nation's prime assets in the later period of industrial growth and penetration of world markets. It follows therefore that one of the fundamental tasks confronting Scottish economic historians is to discover why such qualities flourished in the eighteenth century. Only by doing so can they hope to provide a comprehensive exposition of the country's economic growth."<sup>4</sup> It is necessary then to examine these merchants in the context of their time period by systematically determining their size and number, the business skills and qualities that may have been responsible for their economic successes, their role as local politicians through their membership as provosts and baillies in the town council in making decisions for the city of Glasgow, their involvement in the Scottish Enlightenment, their disposal of their wealth in the secular world, and their role in the religious atmosphere in Glasgow in the eighteenth century for a better understanding of what made them such a wealthy and enduring mercantile elite whose very title of the "tobacco lords" testifies to, and yet at the same time in its very

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<sup>4</sup>.- T.M. Devine, "Colonial Commerce and the Scottish Economy, c. 1730-1815" Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, eds., Cullen and Smout, p. -186.

simplicity tends to mask, their deep significance in the history of modern Glasgow.

Needless to say, there are many pitfalls in such a study, but the benefits to be accrued, as in the understanding of mentalities and their contribution to progress, are significant in that they are directly relatable to both modern and past histories of merchant elites. As the "tobacco lords" have been compared to such merchant elites as the merchants of Venice in their ascendancy during the Renaissance<sup>5</sup>, it seems logical that such a study should be undertaken. Unfortunately, however, the international status of Scottish history, which has at times been described as "ghetto history", has precluded such a study and whitewashed a thin layer of historical ignorance over the history of the city of Glasgow. If Adam Smith can be described as "the father of modern capitalism", why is it that Glasgow, the home of the wealthiest merchant in Europe at the time (as John Glassford of Dougalston was called with an ownership of 25 ships of 300 to 400 burthens) has fallen by the wayside even in its treatment by its present day stewards who

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<sup>5</sup>.- As for example by John Strang in his Glasgow and its Clubs: or Glimpses of the Condition, Manners, Characters, and Oddities of the City, During the Past and Present Centuries, (Glasgow: 1864), pp. 34-36 who seems to be the first to draw attention to their qualities as an "aristocracy", for instance dubbing them "tobacco lords", noting the large houses they constructed for themselves as being like "palaces", commenting on their "lordly", "superior" airs towards their social "inferiors". All perhaps typical of this early nineteenth-century man's mixture of admiration for their commercial achievement and at the same time dislike of their political and social exclusiveness.

ignore the historical value of only two remaining tobacco mansions in the city centre and allow historical sites<sup>6</sup> to become eyesores. The Glasgow merchants were international traders, not provincial salesmen. Their activities and successes must be seen in the context of the history of early modern Europe, as they were active during a century which saw progress not only in material wealth, but also in intellectual areas. The Scottish Enlightenment has long been seen as a major contributor to intellectual thought in the eighteenth century, many of its ideas finding vocalisation in the ideas and writings of the American Revolution. So too, must the Glasgow merchants be seen as part of the history of early modern Europe, contributing in their own specific way to the idea of progress.

The merchant community, therefore is worthy of examination not only because of their phenomenal creation of wealth, but also because of the simple fact that as merchants they themselves were the mouthpieces of their own commercial interests which controlled and directed the broader areas of politics, economic policy, art, education, and religion. The merchant elite, as most elites, was the determinator of the history of the town in

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<sup>6</sup>. - The Ramshorn Churchyard and the cemetery at Glasgow Cathedral, or what remains of them, have to be the worst examples of the failure of the District Council of Glasgow to preserve and promote historical sites in the city, especially in such times as 1990 when they take credit for being "the Cultural Capital of Europe" but fail to promote the upkeep of important parts of the city's history.

all aspects while they were in power. It seems natural that they would have wished to promote their own economic interests, but it would be a simplification to state or imply that they were merely self-interested monopolists. Their activities in the city of Glasgow during the eighteenth century were much broader, involving themselves not only in the many flourishing businesses that were cropping up, but also in the many clubs and societies, the art academy, schools, the university, and the thriving eighteenth-century society which characterised the Scottish Enlightenment.

The composition and social structure of the Glasgow merchant community has been determined in recent years by T.M. Devine and T.C. Smout, who both came to the same general conclusions as to its size and structure. Smout defined the merchant community in seventeenth-century Glasgow as between 400-500 in a general population of 12,000. One must take into consideration, however, that a merchant was defined as anyone who buys or sells. The elite of this community was much smaller, consisting of approximately 30 "sea adventurers", better known as merchants or merchant-adventurers who engaged in international trade.<sup>1</sup>

The merchant elite that will be examined in this thesis is the much greater merchant community of the eighteenth century who grew out of those seventeenth-

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<sup>1</sup>.- T.C. Smout, "The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century" *SHR*, volume 47, (1968), p. 61.

century 30 or so "sea-adventurers" who were engaged in and finally dominated the tobacco and entrepot trades with North America and the West Indies. The numbers actually involved with these trades were approximately 163, but the inner elite who actually managed to create the enormous sums of wealth during the eighteenth century, of course were smaller, numbering approximately between 30 to 50, depending on the classification of wealth and income.

The acquisition of burghership and guild-brethrenship were the main legal requirements of becoming a merchant, and as Devine and Smout have stated, familial links either by parentage or marriage eased the financial burden of achieving this status. One can easily see this through the "freedom fine" that was paid by merchants when entering with the dean of guild. The fine for a "stranger" was £8 6/ 8d., whereas the fine for a son of a burgher or for a man who married a burghers' daughter was at the most £1 13/ 5d. However, Devine has pointed out that even though this merchant community was linked by family and inter-marriage, there was a constant turnover in the merchant elite ( coming from the same class). "...At Glasgow between 1690 and 1740 about two-thirds of all new merchants were recruited from outside existing merchant families and obtained entry to the guild by marriage, apprenticeship or purchase..."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>.- T.M. Devine, "The Scottish Merchant Community, 1680-1740" in The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment eds., R.H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), p. 29.

The importance of this turnover is that even though the rules of burghship and guild-brethrenship favoured family ties, there was room for new members who were necessary for the continuation of the trade through good business skills. A recent study states, "Yet social movement within the merchant communities of Scotland's larger burghs depended on commercial ability as well as inherited rank and basic to Scotland's industrial achievement in the later eighteenth century, Devine concludes, was the existence of an equally vigorous mercantile class that had already demonstrated its investment skills in terms of new commercial opportunities. 'In all pre-industrial societies', writes Butt, 'capital tends to accumulate for effective industrial investment only if there is an efficient merchant group capable of penetrating the social and economic structure with its standards and practices.'"<sup>9</sup>

As set forth by the sett of the burgh, the government of the city of Glasgow lay in the hands of the merchants and the trades, though the merchants held the monopoly of power. The town council was composed of a provost and three baillies, a dean of guild, a deacon convener, a treasurer, a master of works, and a council of thirteen merchants and twelve craftsmen. "...The provost and two of the baillies must, by the sett of the burgh, be elected from the merchant rank, and the other baillie from the

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<sup>9</sup>.- George Gordon and Brian Dicks, "Prolegomena" in Scottish Urban History, eds., George Gordon and Brian Dicks (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), p. 8.

trades rank, i.e. mechanics." The provost's duties were to be "lord of the police of the city, president of the community, and justice of the peace for both the burgh and the county." "The baillies are possessed of very considerable powers within the burgh: crimes, misdemeanours, and contempt, they punish by stripes, imprisonment, fines, and banishment from the liberties of the city; disorderly persons they endeavour to reform by committing them to the house of correction: in civil matters, within their jurisdiction, they are competent to any extent." The dean of guild's powers as the head of the merchants lay in the examination of the condition of buildings and neighbourhoods, and the inspection of weights and measures. Finally, the magistrates and town-council were patrons of the parish church within their bounds.<sup>10</sup>

The political activities of the merchants and most specifically the merchant elite were second only to their trading activities in North America and the West Indies. This dominance in government as protectors of the city and of their trade can easily be seen in the Minutes of the Town Council which exhibit the interest of the merchants involved towards the events and circumstances that were happening at the time and will be examined in Chapter 3.

The other activity of the time which was carried out by this elite, was the creation and disposal of wealth.

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<sup>10</sup>.- John Gibson, The History of Glasgow from the earliest Accounts to the Present Time (Glasgow, 1777), pp. 127,128.

Through the examination of wills, testaments, inventories, registered deeds, and estate records, it is possible to paint a picture of the material mentality of these merchants. Much work has already been done on the investments of these merchants in industrial concerns which has been deemed responsible for their success<sup>11</sup>, but very little information is available as to what material goods these merchants actually spent their money on. Were they as thrifty as has been described in nineteenth-century histories, or did they indulge in a sort of conspicuous consumption pertinent to the time period? This examination of the merchant elite's disposal of wealth is carried out in Chapter 5.

In determining the character of the merchants and their ideological framework through letters, town council records, and secondary histories of the time period, it is useful to pinpoint controversial issues throughout the time in which the individual voice of the merchant may have been raised. Some of the contemporary changes which were relevant to the broader aspects of the protection of his trade and commercial interests were the Union of 1707, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, and the American Revolution of 1776 (a great area for source material as related by factors letters and merchant responses to the

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<sup>11</sup>. - See for example T.M. Devine, The Tobacco Lords (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1975), pp. 34-51; T.M. Devine, "The Merchant Class of the Larger Scottish Towns in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries" in Scottish Urban History, eds., George Gordon and Brian Dicks, pp. 106,107.



problems in the colonies). But, other points of interest more directly related to the city of Glasgow itself were religious matters, such as the patronage debates of 1763 concerning the appointment of a minister to the Wynd Church, or the transactions of eighty-five private societies to oppose a repeal of the penal statutes against papists in Scotland; opinions towards the theatre; the development of the arts in the Foulis Academy set up in 1764, and societal life, as exemplified by the many clubs and societies that flourished in the eighteenth century. The merchant elite was involved with all of these aspects, and by examining the source material relating to such topics and the interaction of the merchants in clubs and societies with the intellectual elite of Glasgow, one can discover a thriving society in which the merchant aristocracy were both leading participants and part of the directing influence.

As stated above, what this thesis hopes to discover and define is the ideological framework of the Glasgow merchant elite in the period before industrialisation and to this end Chapter 1 will first attempt to define the merchant elite of the tobacco traders and pinpoint which merchants were most active in terms of wealth, trading interests, company interests, membership on the town council, activity in clubs, patronage of the arts including the theatre, and land purchases. The next five chapters will then examine the particular qualities and characteristics of the merchant elite in their eighteenth-

century context as members and protagonists in that environment. In Chapter 2, through merchants letters and factors notebooks, the business practices and qualities of the merchant elite are examined, and in particular their own philosophies towards business and the accumulation of profit and the risks of loss. Chapter 3 takes into consideration their role as magistrates in the Town Council, and what their role as Provosts, Deans of Guild, and Baillies shows about their concerns with not only civic affairs, but also with matters related to their role as merchants and their concern in laws favourable to their monopoly of the tobacco trade with the American colonies. In Chapter 4, the relationship between the merchant elite and the Scottish Enlightenment will be examined in the context of the relationship between wealth, economic progress, and the growth of ideas. Chapter 5 examines the particular patterns of wealth disposal of the merchant elite as gleaned from the surviving wills and testaments and registered deeds of this group. Finally, in Chapter 6 there is an examination of the peculiar problem of the supposed relationship between religion and modern capitalism, through an analysis of merchants' papers the content of which provides information concerning religious interests.

The innovations in business and the success of the merchant aristocracy encompassing the years 1700-1780 as made evident by their creation of wealth opens up lucrative areas of examination whose questions deal not

with the tangible, but the intangible. As the mercantile pioneers of their time, as innovators in business banking, commerce, and trade, they deserve to be examined. Their importance as a merchant elite, however, reaches further than the fact that they were merchant-adventurers involved in a lucrative colonial market. The "tobacco lords" of Glasgow were representatives of society as a whole in eighteenth-century Glasgow. They had their role as businessmen certainly, but more importantly they were also politicians, members of clubs, acquaintances of Adam Smith, purchasers of great estates which they furnished with the finest mahogany and japanned tables, where they ate off of silver plates and drank the finest coffee in coffee-cans made of delft-ware, and where they drank out of silver chalices filled with the best Madeira wine or French brandy, patrons of the arts and of the theatre, and builders of beautiful churches whose extravagance bespoke of their wealth. Most of all, they were the "tobacco lords" whose presence on the "plainstones" of Glasgow Cross with their scarlet cloaks and golden-handled walking canes equalled the glorious days of the merchants of Venice and Florence in the Italian Renaissance. The industrial revolution that would follow would drastically alter the face of Glasgow. Very few buildings remain today dating from before the nineteenth century, and the many city mansions that were built by these merchants met the destruction of the wrecking ball long ago. The historical memory of these merchants has remained only in

the verbal mythology of Glasgow through their description as the "tobacco lords". But their enterprise, and the outlook and attitudes which lay behind that enterprise, was what was making Glasgow (and Scottish society) "tick" at this time. And it is that quality, not merely the actual wealth they made, which this thesis seeks to examine and explore.

## Chapter 1

### The Tobacco Lords: A Definition of the Merchant Elite

"...Pray have you seen Messrs James and Steer since they returned to London. They seemed to like this place and the Entertainment they got, they were cheerfully merry. They gave a great dinner to above 30 *principal merchants* in Graham<sup>1</sup> of which number I made one..." - George Bogle senior of Daldowie writing to his son George junior in London, 11 October, 1765, Bo 119/1, folder 1765-1769, box 1756-1771, Bogle MS, Mitchell Library.

In any work dealing with a group of people as its subject, the difficulty arises in how to define that group. One could say, "This study will examine the lives, thoughts, and ideas of ABCDE." More often than not this is highly unpractical, unless of course, the work is to be a sort of multiple biography strongly supported by a great mass of evidence and informative material.

The group known as the "tobacco lords" presents similar problems. Estimated to be around 163 in number between 1740 and 1780,<sup>2</sup> it is obvious that a study of them as a group could not possibly take account of every

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<sup>1</sup>.- Graham would have referred to the village of Grahamston to the west of the old city of Glasgow where dinners were often given at the tavern there.

<sup>2</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 4.

individual merchant. As R.G. Wilson has stated, however, in his study of the merchants of Leeds in the eighteenth century, one can achieve a framework if one takes account of merchants A, B, and C, doing X, Y, and Z.<sup>3</sup> This seems to offer a plausible approach, as remaining historical records of many of the tobacco merchants are often few and far between. To have a complete documentation of any group in the past is almost impossible. Nevertheless, something can be constructed from the evidence that does survive.

The merchant class of Glasgow in the eighteenth century, although a fairly unified, inter-related, and interdependent merchant class, was not, it should be pointed out, a consistently uniform merchant class. In other words, while one merchant may have displayed great religious fervour and devotion in his daily activities, another merchant would have scoffed at such obsessions and devoted his leisure time to more secular activities, such as horse-racing, gambling, or drinking coffee in the city coffee-house. While one merchant may have been entrenched in civic affairs, devoting himself to his role as baillie or provost, another merchant may have been more preoccupied with purchasing books for his library or making shrewd investments in estate purchases in both Scotland and the American colonies. Therefore, the methodological approach to be used in examining the

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<sup>3</sup>.- R.G. Wilson, Gentlemen merchants. The merchant community in Leeds 1700-1830 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. vii.

merchant elite of Glasgow in the eighteenth century must take into account that while one merchant may display certain qualities such as shrewd business policies, massive material purchases, savoir-faire in the political machinery of the time period, interest in the arts and clubs, or religious devotion, those qualities in no way can be said to represent the whole of the group known as the "tobacco lords". However, as each individual merchant made up the greater entity and trading power of the merchant elite, enough characteristics can be gleaned from a reasonable spread of such individual merchants to construct a more holistic profile of the merchant in eighteenth-century society and, thus, the particular aspects of the inner elite of tobacco merchants trading to the American colonies between the years 1700 and 1780.

The task at hand is, thus, to identify the inner merchant elite of the tobacco lords of Glasgow from 1700 to 1780, and to isolate certain outstanding merchants (usually outstanding for their achievements in trade, local politics, and civic culture) of this inner elite who can be more closely examined because of existing source material.

The merchant class of Glasgow had been in existence since the medieval origins of the city. In the modern period it had been granted certain rights and privileges by the town constitution and more specifically the Letter of Guildry of 1605. As trade to the American colonies grew and especially once Scotland came under the

protective umbrella of the Navigation Acts of 1660 through the Union of 1707, so commensurately the growth of the overseas merchant class and the wealth and opulence in Glasgow was exhibited in the group known so familiarly as the "tobacco lords".

It is not the purpose of this research to describe the background and history of the tobacco trade in Glasgow, but it is important to note that this trade was not confined to the eighteenth century. There is evidence of regular trade to and from the New World as far back as 1660.<sup>4</sup> The growth of joint-stock companies started in the second half of the seventeenth century, and as early as 1667, such industries as the Glasgow Soaperies and sugar refining had already begun. Also, in 1667, the Town Council of Glasgow bought land at Newark and started the construction of a harbour which would become Port Glasgow, already anticipating the growth of trade that would occur in the eighteenth century. From 1660 to 1707, " `a spirit of commerce appears to have been raised among the inhabitants of Glasgow' ".<sup>5</sup> Glasgow was in effect a small town, but its experience with overseas trade was not new. Its limitations as a small town fell away in the eighteenth century with its growing importance as a major

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<sup>4</sup>.- The Dunlop MS, Mitchell Library contains evidence of John Dunlop, son of James Dunlop, 2nd of Garnkirk, who went to the West Indies to engage in trade and who died there of a fever in 1683.

<sup>5</sup>.- T.C. Smout, "The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707", *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 7 (November, 1960), pp. 201-203.



trading centre and its innovations with the new industries of a more mechanical age.

The size of the merchant class must be put into the context of the population of the city of Glasgow itself. Unfortunately, as T.C. Smout has stated, "...The early population figures, ... though freely repeated by historians are all unreliable..."<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the period which the scope of the present research covers, one population estimate showed the population as approximately 13,832 in 1712, rising to 17,043 in 1740. It later displayed the population to be 18,366 in 1743, 23,546 in 1755, and 25,546 in 1757.<sup>7</sup> Cleland writing in the early nineteenth century thought "...The population at this period {1707}, was reckoned to be about 14,000 souls."<sup>8</sup> James Denholm, an antiquarian of the late eighteenth century estimated the population by multiplying the number of inhabited houses by four. "...In the year 1712, the number of inhabited houses were 3,405, which, at four to a family, makes the number of inhabitants 13,620. In the year 1755, when Dr. Webster made his calculations for the widow's fund, the number supposed then in Glasgow was 23,546. In the year 1765, when a new division of the

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<sup>6</sup>.- Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>7</sup>.- Robert Renwick, ed., Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, 11 vols. (Glasgow: Printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1911), vol. 6: 1739-59, pp. vii, viii.

<sup>8</sup>.- James Cleland, Annals of Glasgow Comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities and the Rise and Progress of the City 2 volumes (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1816), vol. 1, p. 23.

parishes was made, the number was reckoned 28,100. In 1780, from a survey then made, the number of families in the eight parishes was found to be 8,144, which at four to a family makes the number of inhabitants, 32,576."<sup>9</sup> Through these varied figures, one can at least gain a rough idea of what size of population these merchants were operating in: around 13,000/14,000 at the time of the Union rising to around 18,000 by the mid-1740s, 23,546 when Webster wrote, and 32,000 by the 1780s.

The merchant community itself has not been estimated except by Devine and Smout. Smout approximated the merchant community in Glasgow at any one time in the seventeenth century to be somewhere between 400 and 500.<sup>10</sup> One must take into account however that the definition of merchant was expressed as anyone who "bought or sold" goods. What is more important is Smout's estimate of the elite "sea-adventures" which he stated as being 30 in number. Smout also noted the close connection between the merchant elite of the seventeenth century and a landed background and the two movements of traders to land and land to trading elite.

Entry to the status of merchant has received some attention in recent years because of its implications for class divisions and class relationships.<sup>11</sup> In Glasgow,

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<sup>9</sup>.- James Denholm, The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs (Glasgow: R. Chapman, 1804), p. 226.

<sup>10</sup>.- Smout, "The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century" , p. 61.

<sup>11</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 4-8.

one qualified for the status of burgess and/or guild brethren by paying the "freedom fine" to the Dean of Guild who was by this time was head of the Merchants' House. This fine varied according to the residential or familial status of the individual involved. For example, a "stranger" was required to pay £8..6s. 8d., whereas a citizen of the town paid considerably less. The eldest son of a burgess (his father alive) paid £1..9s.1/2d. (if his father was dead he paid £1..0s.9 1/2d) for the freedom to buy and sell. If one was the younger son of a burgess, one paid £1..10s. 8 1/2d. If one married the daughter of a burgess, one paid £1..13s.5d. And if one served an apprenticeship, one paid £1..13s.5d.<sup>12</sup>. The entry to the status of merchant therefore favoured familial ties. That is not to say, however, that newcomers were shut out, for many of the more successful merchants were not born in Glasgow,<sup>13</sup> but came from without the city limits. With the significant sums required to launch oneself into the highly speculative business of overseas trade, the difference of seven pounds was not an inhibiting factor.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>.- John Gibson, The History of Glasgow, p. 155.

<sup>13</sup>.- For example, Alexander Speirs was born in Edinburgh, John Glassford was born in Paisley, and Andrew Cochrane was born in Ayr, all of whom illustrate the opportunities provided by the dynamism of the trans-atlantic trade in attracting what can be described as "merchant talent".

<sup>14</sup>.- See below, Chapter 2 for a discussion of trading techniques and business acumen that allowed for these men to take part in such a lucrative and yet highly speculative trade.

On examining and analysing the records of entry into burghesship and guild-brethrenship at 20 year intervals between the years 1700 and 1770 for Glasgow, one can see clearly the general patterns of legal acquisition of the status of merchant.<sup>15</sup> The total number of merchants arrived at in this sample was 153. 63 received the status of burghess and guild brethren by right of their father, 40 by right of their wife, 13 by purchase, 22 by apprenticeship, and 15 gratis. One must take into account that these were merchants and not craftsmen, and that in the eighteenth century, many of the merchants in the city were involved in overseas trade. Also, these estimates are taken at 20-year intervals only and do not include the encompassing years. On average, therefore, there were 23 merchants entering per year, of which ten were given burghess tickets by paternal links, six by marital links, two by purchase, three by apprenticeship, and two gratis. It would appear then that the most common way of obtaining merchant status was through a father who also was a merchant.<sup>16</sup> This would not seem unusual as merchants were required (not legally, but traditionally) to leave a sum of money to the Merchants House upon their decease.<sup>17</sup>

T.M. Devine has done the most significant work on the

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<sup>15</sup>.- J.R. Anderson, The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow. 1573-1750 (Edinburgh: 1925).

<sup>16</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords pp. 5,6.

<sup>17</sup>.- Archibald Orr Ewing, View of the Merchants House of Glasgow; Containing Historical Notices of its Origin, Constitution and Property, And of the Charitable Foundations which it administers (Glasgow: 1866).

merchant community of Glasgow in the eighteenth century. As stated above, Devine estimated the merchant community involved in the tobacco trade with the American colonies as 163 between the years 1740 and 1790. The elite of this group was much smaller, and Devine has pointed out that the concentration of power of this trade was "in the hands of a few great mercantile families and their associates."<sup>18</sup> According to Devine, in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of war in the colonies when importation was at its height, the most important and powerful partnership groups of Alexander Speirs, William Cunninghame, James Ritchie, and John Glassford (all of whom were described as "the four young men", in a number of nineteenth-century histories of Glasgow, who established the success of the trade<sup>19</sup>) imported half of the tobacco coming into the Clyde.<sup>20</sup> Placed in the context of the tobacco trade in Britain, that means that these merchant groups were responsible for one-quarter of tobacco importation in the whole of Great Britain, as Glasgow was responsible for half of the tobacco importation from the American colonies in the years immediately prior to the American Revolution.

Devine's groundwork provides invaluable aid here as it has laid down the initial foundation for the

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<sup>18</sup>. - Devine, The Tobacco Lords p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>. - e.g. Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs, p. 36, quoting from Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland.

<sup>20</sup>. - Ibid.

identification of those merchants involved in the tobacco trade. With the biographical information supplied by Devine's work The Tobacco Lords which includes dates of birth, occupations of fathers, educational information, investment interests, land purchases, and partnership groupings, the chore of grouping merchants into various subgroups such as politics, cultural activities, and conspicuous consumption has been greatly eased.<sup>21</sup> What follows, therefore, is an attempt, in using this material to define the more outstanding tobacco merchants through their activities within the multi-layered economic, political, and cultural fabric of the city of Glasgow.

## I

The merchant elite of Glasgow can probably best be preliminarily defined by their achievements in trading and business interests. As there was no eighteenth century concept of industrialist, it must be taken into account that these merchants were both traders and "manufacturers" (for lack of a better word) whose sole profits did not mainly originate from the trade with the American colonies.

By a list of importers and amounts of tobacco imported dated 1774, one can derive a sense of the amplitude of the tobacco trade itself and the major companies involved. (See Table 1.1)

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<sup>21</sup>.-- See Appendix I in Devine's The Tobacco Lords.

The year 1774 is also significant as this was probably the peak of the tobacco trade, just before the outbreak of hostilities resulting in the American Revolution.

All of these importers were significant traders, though by far the first three were importing and re-exporting to France to the French Farmers General the greatest share of the tobacco trade. The price of tobacco between 1770 and 1775 averaged about just below 2d. per pound of tobacco.<sup>22</sup> As there were 240 pennies in one pound sterling, the value of tobacco that Alexander Speirs and Co. were importing in 1774 at, say, 2d. per pound of tobacco would therefore come to £50,291. By 1775, however, the price of tobacco rose sharply due to insufficient stocks of tobacco in France and the impending threat of war in the American colonies. By the end of 1775, better qualities of tobacco were selling as high as two shillings per pound<sup>23</sup> potentially producing for Speirs' company, as one shilling was equal to 1/20 of one pound sterling, the value of £603,500 pounds sterling worth of tobacco. This figure is just a fraction of the tobacco trade in only one company and in an isolated time period. One must take into account that the tobacco trade had been in existence for over 30 years and would continue even after the monopoly was broken. One must also remember that the sale and purchase of tobacco was done on a cash-credit basis with planters in America "selling"

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<sup>22</sup>.- Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 109.

<sup>23</sup>.- Ibid.

TABLE 1.1  
LIST OF IMPORTERS OF TOBACCO AND AMOUNTS OF TOBACCO  
IMPORTED  
INTO THE CITY OF GLASGOW IN 1774

Company	Amount of Tobacco <sup>24</sup>
1. Alexander Speirs & Co.	6,035,000 Pounds
2. John Glassford & Co.	4,506,000 Pounds
3. Wm. Cunninghame & Co.	3,881,000 Pounds
4. Dinwiddie, Crawford & Co.	2,141,000 Pounds
5. John Hamilton & Co.	1,967,000 Pounds
6. Oswald, Dennistoun & Co.	1,701,000 Pounds
7. Henderson, McCaul & Co.	1,587,000 Pounds
8. Colin Dunlop & Co.	1,455,000 Pounds
9. Cunninghame, Findlay & Co.	1,290,000 Pounds
10. Bogle, Somervill & Co.	1,270,000 Pounds
11. John Ballantine & Co.	1,245,000 Pounds
12. James Donald & Co.	1,264,000 Pounds
13. John McCall & Co.	1,233,000 Pounds
14. Buchanan, Hastie & Co.	1,085,000 Pounds
15. John Alston & Co.	1,013,000 Pounds
16. James Ritchie & Co.	903,000 Pounds

Source- James Pagan, Sketches of the History of Glasgow (Glasgow: Robert Stuart & Co., 1844), p. 80.

their tobacco to factors employed by Glasgow companies in exchange for goods such as shoes, clothing, sugar, and other necessary items which the conditions of frontier life did not allow these planters to produce themselves. In effect, these colonial traders were trading on a store system (goods were much easier to procure than hard cash) for the purchase of the tobacco and selling on a bill-of-exchange system resulting in a profit of real money.

Some of the above companies correspond with

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<sup>24</sup>.— The amount of tobacco imported was originally listed in hogsheads, but for clarification the amount imported is listed here in pounds. A hogshead in dry weight was equal to 1000 pounds English weight.



partnership groupings formulated by Devine<sup>25</sup> in his definitive work on the tobacco lords. According to Devine, there were six main partnership groups trading to the American colonies. These partnerships were; the Cunninghame group, the Speirs Group, the Glassford group, the Buchanan-Jamieson group, the Thomson-McCall group, and the Donald group. Devine also included a seventh category which covered other individual partnerships.<sup>26</sup>

The Cunninghame group consisted of three separate companies of William Cunninghame and Co., Cunninghame, Findlay and Co., and Cunninghame, Brown and Co. The main partners in these companies were William Cunninghame, Robert Bogle, and Robert Findlay, Cunninghame having shares in each three of the companies and Bogle and Findlay having shares in two of the companies. Merchants worthy of notice in this group were Andrew Cochrane, provost of Glasgow during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and founder of the Political Economy Club, and Peter and John Murdoch, representatives of a powerful merchant family in the city at the time.

The second group, the Speirs group, also included three companies; Speirs, Bowman and Co., Speirs, French and Co., and Patrick Colquhoun and Co. Again, there were three prominent merchants; Alexander Speirs, "the mercantile God of Glasgow", John Bowman, and William French. Included in this grouping was Patrick Colquhoun,

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<sup>25</sup>.- Devine, The Tobacco Lords, Appendix II.

<sup>26</sup>.- Ibid.

a very important figure as a spokesman for the merchant class, who will be more closely examined in Chapter Three for his involvement with the founding of the Chamber of Commerce in 1783 and the passage of certain laws in Parliament beneficial to the trading (and manufacturing) interest of Scotland.

The Glassford group, which contained the four companies of John Glassford and Co., Glassford, Gordon, Monteath and Co., Henderson, McCall and Co., and George Kippen and Co., consisted of eleven merchants with interrelated shareholding interests.<sup>27</sup>

Of these eleven, the most significant ones were John Glassford and Arthur Connell, the first because of his considerable wealth and the second because of his involvement with town administration as Provost in 1772 and 1773.

The fourth group, Buchanan-Jamieson, consisted of three companies; Buchanan, Hastie and Co., James Jamieson and Co., and Hastie, Corbett and Co. There were four primary merchants involved in this group. They were Andrew Buchanan, Robert Hastie, James Jamieson, and Walter Brock.

The last two groups, the Thomson-McCall group and the Donald group, were minor trading partnership groups with the principal merchants involved being Andrew Thomson,

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<sup>27</sup>. - These eleven merchants were: John Glassford, James Gordon, John Campbell jun., Henry Riddell, Alexander Law, William Ingram, Neil Jamieson, Alexander McCall, George Kippen, Arthur Connell, and William Shortridge.

George McCall, and Thomas Donald.

The above partnership groupings (as they were defined by T.M. Devine), however, are only those relating to trade with the American colonies. These merchants also had extensive interests in other companies, such as manufactures and banking. What is significant is the predominance of the first three groups as the major importers of tobacco, and their subsequent creation of vast quantities of wealth. Also worthy of notice is the partnership grouping of Speirs. The Speirs partnership included many of the directors of the English Chapel or Episcopalian congregation founded in 1750. Most of the other merchants, if not all, were subscribers to the Church of Scotland. Episcopalianism was still opposed and unpopular theologically in the eighteenth century in Glasgow as was made apparent by the dissent over the repeal of the Penal Statutes against Episcopalians in 1772, though there were not nearly as many religious disputes as had existed in the seventeenth century. This is significant in a limited sense in that at least the merchant class was not exclusive religiously (though the less educated inhabitants of the city might present a completely different picture), and in a broader sense for its implications on the discussion of the merchant class in relation to Weber's thesis concerning Calvinism and capitalism.<sup>28</sup>

Of the 163 tobacco merchants defined by Devine, 83

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<sup>28</sup>. - see Chapter 6, "The Pious Merchant".

were involved in manufacturing and "industrial ventures". Of these 83, 23 had shares in more than two companies, and many of the 23 had shares in four or more companies. Listed in Table 1.2 are these 23 merchants and their manufacturing concerns, exclusive of their interest in colonial commerce. These individual merchants are important as will be shown in their other activities in the city, and may be initially defined as the inner merchant elite of the tobacco lords. Also, these manufacturing concerns represent a wide variety of economic activity over a considerable span of years from the early to late eighteenth century, showing the Glasgow tobacco merchants' versatility in investment interest.

TABLE 1.2  
LIST OF TOBACCO MERCHANTS WITH SIGNIFICANT INTEREST  
IN MANUFACTURING CONCERNS

NAME	COMPANIES
Andrew Blackburn	Glasgow Ropework Co., 1766, James Hall Universal Warehouse Co., 1759, 1763
George Bogle II	Broomley Printfield Co. 1768 Easter Sugar House Glasgow Cudbear Works Smithfield Iron Co.
John Bowman	Bell's Tanyard Co. 1732-6 Islay Lead Mining Co. 1716; 1722 Glasgow Tanworks Co. 1743
Andrew Buchanan I	Bell's Tanyard Co. King Street Sugar House 1727 Greenland Fishing Co. 1728 Baltimore Co. 1739-42
George Buchanan	Glasgow Bottleworks Co. 1748 United Sugar House 1761
John Coats Campbell	Kilmarnock Worset Factory 1755 Glasgow Inkle Factory 1763 Bell's Tanyard Co. Greenock Sugarhouse Pollockshaws Printfield Co. Inkle Factory Duntocher Cotton Factory

NAME	COMPANIES
Andrew Cochran	A. and J. Newbigging, textile manufacturers New Glasgow Tanwork Co. 1758 Bell's Tanwork Co. 1732 Greenland Fishing Co. 1728 King Street Sugar House 1727-1761 New Glasgow Tanwork Co. 1758
Arthur Connell	Glasgow Ropework Co. 1766 Greenock Sugarhouse
James Corbett	Glasgow Ropework Co.
James Dennistoun	James Hall Universal Warehouse Co. 1759, 1763 Smithfield Co. 1763, 1780-2 Glasgow Ropework Co. Sandyhills Coal Co. Camlachie Coal Co. Dunmore Coal Co. Reynolds, Monteith and Co. (cotton spinners) John Monteath and Co. (cotton spinners)
Lawrence Dinwiddie	Old Tannery Co. 1730-8 Glasgow Tanworks Co. 1743 Delftfield Pottery Co. 1753 New Glasgow Tanworks Co. 1757 Bell's Tanyard Co.
Colin Dunlop	Glasgow Ropework Co. 1764 Little Govan Colliery 1764 Knightswood Coal Co.
John Glassford	Glasgow Inkle Factory 1743, 1763 Cudbear Works Pollokshaws Printfield Co. 1761 Stocking Manufactory 1749-63 Anderston Brewery Co. Graham, Liddell and Co., stocking weavers James McGregor and Co., linen dealers and bleachers Prestonpans Vitriol Co.
Alexander Houston	Port Glasgow Ropework Co. 1741 Little Govan Colliery Pollokshaws Printfield Co. Knightswood Coal Co.
Archibald Ingram	Glasgow Inkle Factory 1743, 1763, 1750, 1761 Pollokshaws Printfield Co. 1761 Stocking manufactory 1749-63
George Murdoch	Glasgow Bottleworks Co. 1748 North Woodside Barley Mills 1746 Glasgow Ropeworks Co. Murdochs & Co. (Ironworks) 1769 Dalnottar Iron Co.
John Murdoch	Smithfield Co. 1763 Argyllshire and Peebleshire Mineral Co. 1725

NAME	COMPANIES
Alexander Oswald I	South Sugar House Co. Glasgow Ropework Co. Linwood Cotton Co.
Richard Oswald	Glasgow Bottleworks Co. 1742 Port Glasgow Ropework Co. 1741 United Sugar House Co. 1761
James Ritchie	Smithfield Iron Co. 1780-2 Greenock Ropework Co.
John Robertson	Smithfield Iron Co. Muirkirk Iron Co. Spinningdale Cotton Co.
Alexander Speirs	Glasgow Cudbear Co. Glasgow Incle Factory 1763 Springfield Co. 1767, 1780-2 Smithfield Iron Co. Bell's Tannery Glasgow Tanwork Co. Wester Sugarhouse Port Glasgow Ropework Hat Manufactory Silk Shop Pollokshaw's Printfield Co.
Hugh Wylie	Glasgow Ropework Co. 1764 Francis Hamilton and Co., tanners in Glasgow

Source- Information taken from Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 177-184, and biographical information from card index, Strathclyde Regional Archives.

## II

Apart from their investment in "industry" and manufacture, many of the more successful merchants also purchased land. These land purchases are important in an eighteenth-century context, as these "self-made" men were not so much interested in retiring to a landed estate as they were concerned with establishing their families with a secure financial base and with improving their lands in the new enlightened fashion of the day.<sup>29</sup> According to

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<sup>29</sup>.- see T.M. Devine, "Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land, 1770-1815" in Land and Industry The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution: A Symposium, ed. J.T. Ward (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), pp. 205-235.

Devine, the personal profits of the tobacco merchants were spent mostly on land and the sums of money they spent were quite considerable for the time.<sup>30</sup> For example, the heritable property of Alexander Speirs was worth £50,000 in 1775. The extent of this is shown in Table 1.3. Alexander Speirs also owned houses in Kennedys Cross in Edinburgh worth £225 and houses in Virginia Street, Glasgow worth £3500. An entry in his account book entitled household furniture of January, 1773 shows the sum of £1257..18.<sup>31</sup> These sums are very impressive for

TABLE 1.3  
"HERITABLE PROPERTY VALUED AND COMPUTED EXCLUSIVE OF ALL  
IMPROVEMENTS ON THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY 1775"  
FROM THE ESTATE OF ALEXANDER SPEIRS OF ELDERSLIE

Lands of Neilstonside	£14,000
Lands of Elderslie	£9,000
Lands of Kings Inch	£7,600
Lands of Arkleton	£5,600
Lands of Deanside	£4,000
Lands of Deansfield	£2,750
Lands of Craigenfeoch	£2,100
Lands of Muirhead	£2,000
Lands of Bogside	£1,500
Lands of Haining Holymine	£1,050
Lands of Auchinlodmen	£400
	<u>£50,000</u>

Source- Ledger B, 1 January, 1773 - 30 May, 1780, TD 131/4, Speirs of Elderslie Papers, S.R.A.

the time period, as boarding comprising "lodgings, victuals, and washing" could be obtained in Glasgow during these same years at prices starting from ten pounds ten shillings up to fifty two pounds per annum for more

<sup>30</sup>.- see T.M. Devine, "Colonial Commerce and the Scottish Economy, c. 1730-1815", pp. 182-186 and Devine, The Tobacco Lords pp. 18-30.

<sup>31</sup>.- Ibid.

prestigious and luxurious dwellings.<sup>32</sup>

Speirs was also involved in improving his lands as a contents list of his Kings Inch lands (Renfrewshire) shows by its mention of such parts of his estate as "East Pleasure ground", "West Pleasure ground", "East Castle Park", and "West Castle Park".<sup>33</sup> A further mention of this idea of "Pleasure ground" on a different estate occurs after Mr. Speirs' decease. "Mr. Gourlay the Factor having represented to the meeting that the Defunct Mr. Speirs had about was [sic] half finished a piece of Pleasure ground at Culcreuch a plan whereof being produced and considered by the Trustees, and they considering that the said plan will be beneficial to the estate they authorise and empower Mr. Gourlay to cause carry the said plan into Execution in so far as already executed."<sup>34</sup>

The total number of tobacco merchants who owned land was approximately 69.<sup>35</sup> Not all of these merchants, however, obtained their land by purchase, showing that some of the merchants came to the trade with the American

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<sup>32</sup>.- Gibson, The History of Glasgow "cost of living in Glasgow", pp. 195-203.

<sup>33</sup>.- Alexander Speirs, Rent Ledger. 1766-78. HH1/3/2 Crichton Maitland Papers, held privately and made available to me by Glasgow University Archives.

<sup>34</sup>.- Meeting of Speirs' trustees, 24 December, 1782, Sederunt Book of the Trustees of Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, HH1/18/1, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>35</sup>.- Devine, The Tobacco Lords, Appendix I. Of these sixty-nine, thirty-eight were included in the Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, Illustrated by Permanent Photographs by Annan. Second Edition. (Glasgow: James Maclehose, Publisher to the University, 1878).



colonies with something more than their own initiative behind them. Nevertheless, of the total number of estates owned by tobacco merchants, 62% were acquired by purchase compared with 21% obtained through inheritance. The remaining 17% come under miscellaneous acquisitions usually not descriptive enough to entail further classification.

Those merchants who inherited their land commonly came from well-known established families in the Glasgow area. In the case of the Bogle family<sup>36</sup>, the ownership of land occurred before their involvement with the entrepot trade with the American colonies. For example, there is a reference to a piece of land owned by Robert Bogle I in the city of Glasgow dating back to 1712. "The opposite corner of the Saltmarket and Bridgagate was a villa and garden belonging to Robert Bogle, who was bailie of Glasgow in 1712 ... the south portion of this property still remaining as a garden, in which there stood a summer house, or fancy tea arbour, then considered an embellishment to a rural establishment."<sup>37</sup> Robert Bogle I also purchased the estate of Daldowie (on the Clyde, east of Glasgow) in the early eighteenth century which was inherited by his son George Bogle and his grandson Robert

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<sup>36</sup>. - see Bogle MS, Mitchell Library. The Bogle family did not originate from landed property but gradually bought their way into "the establishment", obtaining a coat-of-arms in the mid-eighteenth-century.

<sup>37</sup>. - Senex. Old Glasgow and its Environs. Historical and Topographical, (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1864), p. 263.

Bogle in 1782. Robert Bogle died in 1806 "without issue" when the estate was valued at £14,400 for 144 acres at £100 per acre plus £4000 for "a wood", £2000 for the house, and £650 for other buildings. The estate of Whiteinch which was also owned by the Bogle family was valued at the time (1806) at £16,157 and sold by the trustees of Robert Bogle to the Oswald family of Scotstoun and Archibald Smith of Jordanhill for £15,000. In addition to the estate, the furniture and plenishings, the contents of the library and the wine cellar were valued at £1350. Robert Bogle also invested in the Mountcraven Estate, Grenada at the cost of £10,000.<sup>38</sup>

Other important estates owned by major tobacco merchants can be seen in Table 1.4. Most of these estates were located in the immediate area around the city, and are now recognizable as parts of the city as housing estates and residential areas.

TABLE 1.4  
ESTATES AROUND THE GLASGOW AREA IN THE EIGHTEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND THEIR MERCHANT OWNERS

ESTATE	MERCHANT OWNER
Bedlay	James Dunlop
Belvidere	Samuel McCall
Craigton	James Ritchie
Dalbeth	Thomas Hopkirk
Daldowie	George Bogle
Drumpellier	Andrew Buchanan
Dougalston	John Glassford
Easterhill	Archibald Smellie
Elderslie	Alexander Speirs
Garnkirk	James Dunlop
Germiston	Laurence Dinwiddie

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<sup>38</sup>.- J.R. Kellet, "Private Incomes of Glasgow's Lord Provosts" *Accountants Magazine*, vol. 72, (November, 1968), p. 600.

ESTATE	MERCHANT OWNER
Gilmorehill	Robert Bogle
Househill	Andrew Blackburn
Jordanhill	Alexander Houston
Kelvingrove	Patrick Colquhoun
Kelvinside	Thomas and Robert Dunmore
Moore Park	Richard and Alexander Oswald
Mountblow	Robert, James, and Thomas Donald
Mount Vernon	George Buchanan
Plantation	John Robertson
Rosebank	John Dunlop
Ruchill	Allan and Robert Dreghorn
Scotstoun	Richard, Alexander, and George Oswald
Shieldhall	Alexander Oswald
Tollcross	James and Colin Dunlop

Source- Anon., The Old Country Houses of the Glasgow Gentry (Glasgow, 1870).

### III

The Glasgow merchant elite's activities were not, however, limited to business interests in trade, land, and manufacturing. Much more important, especially for an understanding of their ideological context, was their involvement in local politics. More specifically, most of the merchant elite controlled and participated in the major institutions of the city, such as the Town Council, the Merchants House, and the Chamber of Commerce, by virtue of their distinction and rank as merchant as enshrined in the Burgh's constitution. Their political activities will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3 and examples will be given of three individual merchants, Andrew Cochrane, Archibald Ingram, and Patrick Colquhoun (who were Lord Provosts in 1745, 1763, and 1782, respectively), whose remaining records allow for an understanding of the Glasgow merchants in their role as local politicians.

By the sett of the burgh of Glasgow of 1711<sup>39</sup>, the town council consisted of 13 merchants and 12 tradesmen, led by the Lord Provost and three baillies.<sup>40</sup> The election of the provost and baillies occurred on the first Tuesday after Michaelmas either in September or October. The form of the election of provost was as follows:

"...; the provost, baillies, and town-council convened, do proceed first to the election of the provost; and the haill council being removed from the table (except the provost and baillies) the said provost and baillies do leet the merchant rank in four leets, and the council being called to take their place at the table, each of the said four leets are severally voted, and one chosen out of each of them, and the said four persons, so chosen, being removed, and divided in two leets, and the said two leets being severally voted, there are two persons chosen out of the same, and which two persons are put in one leet, and the same put to the vote, which of them shall be chosen as provost, he who has plurality of votes is elected provost for the year ensuing, and he may be elected and continued, at the next year's election, for a second year; but he cannot be leeted or elected till two years expire after his going out of the office."<sup>41</sup>

After the election of the Provost, two baillies were in similar fashion chosen from the ranks of the merchants

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<sup>39</sup>. - The sett or "the accustomed way of election of town councillors" had been in existence previously, but in 1711 the Convention of Royal Burghs required Glasgow to send them their sett for evaluation. This is a more convenient date pertinent to this research than a seventeenth-century reference. See James Denholm, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (Glasgow: John Smith & Sons, 1829), pp. 50-53; George Eyre-Todd, History of Glasgow III From the Revolution to the Reform Acts (Glasgow: 1934), pp 78,79; J. McUre, History of Glasgow (Glasgow: 1830), pp. 160-164 for an account of the history of the sett of the burgh.

<sup>40</sup>. - Two of the baillies were of the merchant class and one was of the trades class.

<sup>41</sup>. - Gibson, The History of Glasgow, p. 319.

and one baillie from the trades. Then the provost and the three new baillies, plus the Provosts and baillies of the two previous years (12 persons in all) proceeded to choose the rest of the Town Council - 13 merchants and 12 craftsmen. The Provost, three baillies, 25 town councillors, all chose a Dean of Guild for the merchants, a Deacon Convener for the trades, a Treasurer and a Master of Works - coming to a grand total of 33 on the Town Council.

On 15 April, 1748, the sett of the burgh was amended with eight regulations to restrict the possible abuses of power in the town council through holding of office by a particular group of people. Smout has also commented on the implicitly corrupt nature of councils chosen thus. He stated, "...the Town Council, self-seeking and corrupt, was an oligarchy of merchants and tradesmen from old guilds."<sup>42</sup> The decision to alter the sett of the burgh of Glasgow in 1748 was described in the following reference:

"The which day the magistrates and town-council convened. The committee, nominate by a former act, dated the 8th April instant, for considering what alterations and amendments may be proper to be made in the sett of the town, reported, that the constitution of the town-council of Glasgow has been long complained of, as having a tendency to continue the government of the city in a particular set longer than may be for the public interest, there being sometimes difficulty to get the more creditable burgesses to accept of office {resulted in the fines for not taking office}; and time and experience having discovered sundry defects in the former constitution, the following alterations and amendments are humbly submitted

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<sup>42</sup>.- T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (Glasgow: William Collins & Co., 1969), p. 356.

and reported by the committee to whom this affair has been remitted, to take effect at Michaelmas 1748, and to be observed in all time coming, viz."<sup>43</sup>

The specific remedy on this occasion was to require the two senior town councillors who were merchants and the two senior town councillors who were from the trades to retire after their period of office and not stand again for office for three years (unless they had been made magistrates).

The Dean of Guild was a member of the Town Council, ex officio, as stated by the Letter of Guildry of 1605. His functions on the Town Council included acting as convener of such committees as the Books of the Town and the letting of Church seats.<sup>44</sup> The Dean of Guild's role in the Merchants House will be dealt with below.

The Town Council's composition is important for an understanding of the power of the merchant class outside the realm of business, as it was in the political control of the city of Glasgow that the real significance of the influence of the merchant elite becomes clear. During the eighteenth century the tobacco lords dominated and controlled local politics. Through the construction of a list compiled from the Burgh Records table 1.5 can be used to illustrate the composition of the town council from the years 1700 to 1780, and the dominance of certain merchants

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<sup>43</sup>.- Gibson, The History of Glasgow, p. 323.

<sup>44</sup>.- Anon., View of the History, Constitution & Funds of the Guildry and Merchants House of Glasgow (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1817).

in administrative positions designated for only those of the merchant rank. Although encompassing a large span of years, it is helpful in demonstrating the particular trends in the make-up of the town council and its main participants throughout the eighteenth century.

Before examining the merchant composition of the Town Council, it should be stated what merchants made up the inner circle or mercantile elite of Glasgow merchants up to this point. By sheer repetition, many of these merchants' names become broadly familiar. For instance, the four top merchants, described as the "four young men" were Alexander Speirs, William Cunninghame, James Ritchie, and John Glassford. From Table 1.1 listing the major importers of tobacco in the city of Glasgow in 1774, the names of Alexander Speirs, John Glassford, William Cunninghame, James Ritchie are again repeated, along with the names of Lawrence Dinwiddie, James Dennistoun, John Hamilton, Richard Oswald, Colin Dunlop, Robert Findlay, George Bogle, James Donald, John Ballantine, John McCall, Andrew Buchanan, John Alston, William Crawford, Robert Hastie, and James Somerville. Looking at the partnership groupings of these companies, such merchants names as Robert Bogle, William French, John Bowman, Patrick Colquhoun, and Arthur Connell are added to this list of recurring merchants' names. Table 1.2 listing tobacco merchants with significant manufacturing concerns again lists these same merchants with a few important additions - Andrew Blackburn, Andrew Cochrane, Alexander Houston,

Archibald Ingram, George Murdoch, John Murdoch, Alexander Oswald, John Robertson, and Hugh Wylie. Furthermore, Table 1.4 reinforces the recurring names of the merchant elite, listing James Dunlop, Samuel McCall, James Ritchie, Thomas Hopkirk, George Bogle, Andrew Buchanan, John Glassford, Archibald Smellie, Alexander Speirs, James Dunlop, Laurence Dinwiddie, Robert Bogle, Andrew Blackburn, Alexander Houston, Patrick Colquhoun, Thomas and Robert Dunmore, Richard and Alexander Oswald, Robert, James and Thomas Donald, George Buchanan, John Robertson, John Dunlop, and Allan and Robert Dreghorn, as the main merchant landowners in the Glasgow area.

As can be seen by Table 1.5, many of the merchants involved in the tobacco trade were also involved in the Town Council, especially from 1740 to 1780 when in almost every case, the Lord Provosts and merchant baillies were also easily identifiable with their interests in tobacco trading companies and local manufacturing interests. During the early years of the eighteenth century, it is important to notice the dominance of certain merchants in the office of Lord Provost. For example, John Aird, a leading merchant in the early part of the century, was elected provost on five separate occasions, holding office for a total of ten years. He was also Dean of Guild on six separate occasions. His importance as Dean of Guild is shown by the esteem that was placed upon him by later histories. "...To him there is attributed, when Dean of Guild, the composition of the famous Scriptural Rules, for



buying and selling with a safe conscience, which were inscribed on the walls of the old Merchants Hall in the Briggait."<sup>45</sup> He was repeatedly nominated commissioner

TABLE 1.5  
MERCHANT COMPOSITION OF THE TOWN COUNCIL OF GLASGOW  
1700-1780

<u>Year</u>	<u>Lord Provost</u>	<u>Baillie 1</u>	<u>Baillie 2</u> <sup>46</sup>
1700	John Anderson	John Aird, elder	Robert Yuill
1701	Hugh Montgomery	John Aird, younger	Thomas Peters
1702	Hugh Montgomery	Robert Rodgers	James Montgomery
1703	John Anderson	Robert Yuill	James Coulter
1704	John Anderson	James Slosse	John Bowman
1705	John Aird	Robert Rodgers	William Dickie
1706	John Aird	James Coulter	Henry Smith
1707	Robert Rodger	John Bowman	Thomas Smith
1708	Robert Rodger	William Dickie	Michael Coulter
1709	John Aird	Henry Smith	William Smith
1710	John Aird	John Bowman	William Donaldson
1711	Robert Rodger	William Dickie	Peter Murdoch
1712	Robert Rodger	Thomas Peters	Robert Bogle
1713	John Aird	John Bowman	William Anderson
1714	John Aird	Peter Murdoch	Robert Alexander
1715	John Bowman	William Dickie	Charles Miller
1716	John Bowman	Henry Smith	John Stirling
1717	John Aird	Robert Alexander	Robert Robertson
1718	John Aird	Charles Miller	James Whythill
1719	John Bowman	Peter Murdoch	John Orr
1720	John Bowman	Robert Alexander	Robert Tennent
1721	John Aird	Charles Miller	Robert Bogle
1722	John Aird	Peter Murdoch	Andrew Ramsay
1723	Charles Miller	Robert Tennent	Samuel McCall
1724	Charles Miller	John Stirling	James Johnson
1725	John Stark	Robert Bogle	Arthur Tran
1726	John Stark	Robert Alexander	William Craig
1727	James Peadie	Peter Murdoch	Walter Stirling
1728	John Stirling	Hugh Rodger	Walter Blair
1729	John Stirling	William Craig	William Gordon
1730	Peter Murdoch	Walter Stirling	John Coulter
1731	Peter Murdoch	George Hamilton	Andrew Aiton
1732	Hugh Rodger	William Craig	George Bogle
1733	Hugh Rodger	John Coulter	John Luke
1734	Andrew Ramsay	Andrew Aiton	Laurence Dinwiddie

<sup>45</sup>.- James Gourlay, ed., The Provosts of Glasgow 1609-1832 (Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Sons, N.D.), p. 47.

<sup>46</sup>.- Only the main merchant participants have been included, as there were craftsmen (the deacon convener and the third baillie) who also participated in the Town Council. There is also an omission of the Dean of Guild, as his main function was with the Merchants House.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Lord Provost</u>	<u>Baillie 1</u>	<u>Baillie 2</u>
1735	Andrew Ramsay	William Craig	Andrew Cathcart
1736	John Coulter	John Luke	Archibald Buchanan
1737	John Coulter	Andrew Aiton	Andrew Cochrane
1738	Andrew Aiton	Laurence Dinwiddie	Richard Allan
1739	Andrew Aiton	Archibald Buchanan	Robert Cross
1740	Andrew Buchanan	Andrew Cochrane	Archibald Hamilton
1741	Andrew Buchanan	Laurence Dinwiddie	George Murdoch
1742	Laurence Dinwiddie	Richard Allan	John Brown
1743	Laurence Dinwiddie	Archibald Hamilton	Alex. Stirling
1744	Andrew Cochrane	George Murdoch	John Murdoch
1745	Andrew Cochrane	Richard Allan	George Carmichael
1746	John Murdoch	John Murdoch	George Black
1747	John Murdoch	George Murdoch	Colin Dunlop
1748	Andrew Cochrane	John Brown	Robert Christie
1749	Andrew Cochrane	John Murdoch	James Donald
1750	John Murdoch	George Black	William Dunlop
1751	John Murdoch	Matthew Bogle	John Glassford
1752	John Brown	John Murdoch	Thomas Dunmore
1753	John Brown	James Donald	Archibald Ingram
1754	George Murdoch	George Carmichael	William Crawford
1755	George Murdoch	Robert Christie	James Spreull
1756	Robert Christie	Thomas Dunmore	Alexander Wilson
1757	Robert Christie	Alexander Speirs	Alexander Campbell
1758	John Murdoch	Archibald Ingram	Walter Brisbane
1759	John Murdoch	John Murdoch	John Jamieson
1760	Andrew Cochrane	Alexander Campbell	Walter Brock
1761	Andrew Cochrane	Colin Dunlop	James Baird
1762	Archibald Ingram	Alexander Speirs	John Alston
1763	Archibald Ingram	Walter Brock	Alexander Mackie
1764	John Bowman	John Jamieson	John Gray
1765	John Bowman	John Alston	Robert Donald
1766	George Murdoch	James Buchanan	Neil Bannatyne
1767	George Murdoch	John Gray	William Coats
1768	James Buchanan	George Brown	John Brown
1769	James Buchanan	John Campbell	John Brown
1770	Colin Dunlop	Arthur Connell	John Tulloch
1771	Colin Dunlop	Archibald Smellie	Hugh Wylie
1772	Arthur Connell	John Shortridge	Alexander Gordon
1773	Arthur Connell	Robert Donald	William French
1774	James Buchanan	Hugh Wylie	James Clark
1775	James Buchanan	Alexander Gordon	Alexander McCall
1776	Robert Donald	William French	George Crawford
1777	Robert Donald	James Murdoch	John Campbell
1778	William French	Andrew Buchanan	Richard Marshall
1779	William French	Alexander Donald	Alexander Brown
1780	Hugh Wylie	Patrick Colquhoun	Walter Stirling

Source- Robert Renwick, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, volumes 5-7, 1718-1738, 1739-1759, 1760-1780 (Glasgow: Printed for the Corporation of Glasgow, 1909).

to the General Assembly and in 1706 was appointed to

represent the city at the Convention of Royal Burghs. He was described as "...one of the great figures in Glasgow municipal history."<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps it was this apparent repetition of office by certain individuals which led Smout to comment on the "corruption" of the Town Council and for certain reforms to be deemed necessary in 1748. However, the incidence of "corruption" does not seem likely on closer examination of the minutes of the Town Council or in private papers of merchants who took the chair of Lord Provost.<sup>48</sup> What is important is that these merchants especially from the years 1740 through 1780 managed the political course of Glasgow in a way beneficial to the trading and commercial interest of the city alongside the more traditional functions of the Town Council such as enforcing "the keeping of the Sabbath". By 1783, the merchant and manufacturing interest was so well organised that Glasgow became the first city in Britain to found a chamber of commerce.<sup>49</sup>

On examination of Table 1.5 it is clear that between the years 1740 and 1780, every single Lord Provost was also involved in major companies importing tobacco, as

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<sup>47</sup>. - Gourlay, ed., The Provosts of Glasgow, pp. 47, 48.

<sup>48</sup>. - see below Chapter 3 and also The Cochrane Correspondence Regarding the Affairs of Glasgow 1745-46 (Glasgow: The Maitland Club, 1836) and Chamber of Commerce Papers, 1772-1783, M.L. which contain many of Patrick Colquhoun's administrative papers.

<sup>49</sup>. - see Minutes of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, 1783-1803, TD 76/1,2, Strathclyde Regional Archives.

well as with the leading companies in the trading and manufacturing interests of Glasgow, and was each concerned with the purchase of land. Also to be shown below, most of these merchants involved in the Town Council were also involved in many of the clubs and societies of the city, as well as other more political institutions.

One of these institutions was the Merchants House which was located in the area known as the Bridge Gate. The original steeple of the Merchants House still stands today, one of the very few seventeenth-century structures still standing in Glasgow. The official recorded foundation<sup>50</sup> of the Merchants House of Glasgow as an institution dates from 6 February, 1605 with the Letter of Guildry because of the necessity of ending disputes between the merchant class and the trades class.<sup>51</sup> The Merchants House as an institution had three main purposes; as an elective body (the election of the Dean of Guild); as a charitable association using its funds to relieve "decayed" members and their families; and as a deliberative assembly meeting to express its opinion on "public questions affecting the political, commercial, and

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<sup>50</sup>. - There is mention of an early voluntary association for merchants in 1569 with evidence of a President and funds of its own and in 1582 when George Elphinstone asked for an official writ of incorporation for this voluntary association as he was president. J.M. Reid, A History of the Merchants House of Glasgow (N.D.), p. 9.

<sup>51</sup>. - There were two classes of burgesses, merchants and craftsmen, and were distinguished thus: the craftsmen being allowed to prosecute their individual trades within the burgh; but the merchants alone having the freedom to buy and sell throughout the country and abroad.

civic interest of the community."<sup>52</sup>

The qualifications of entry to the Merchants House varied throughout the eighteenth century, mainly because of the problem of getting merchants to join. Prior to 1747, all merchants who were burgesses were qualified to become a member of the Merchants House. In 1747, any trader, either foreign or domestic, could join as long as they paid the sum of 5 shillings sterling yearly. In 1773, the sum for qualification went up to 4 pounds sterling. And in 1791, anyone who paid 10 guineas was allowed to become a member of the Merchants House. The Merchants House's history in the eighteenth century was not an illustrious or interesting one, its main function being its definition as a charitable institution, thus the opening of its doors to all traders (not just merchant-adventurers) who would pay the annual membership fee after 1747. One major point, however, is that in 1747, by an act of the Merchants House itself, all of the members were divided into two classes on the matriculation and subscription lists. These two classes were foreign and home traders. One can only conjecture on the reasons for this act, but it seems obvious that the merchants who were trading to the American colonies wished to be classed separately from the traders of home-produce for reasons of

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<sup>52</sup>.- Anon., View of the History, Constitution & Funds of the Guildry and Merchants House of Glasgow, p. 13 and Glasgow Past and Present, Senex, Aliquis, J.B. Etc., 3 vols., (Glasgow: David Robertson and Co., 1884), vol. 1, p.7.

distinction of wealth and rank.<sup>53</sup>

The Dean of Guild, as stated previously, was the head of the Merchants House, and according to the Letter of Guildry, Article I, was always to be a merchant, and as a merchant, always a merchant-sailor or merchant-venturer (a seventeenth century term for overseas merchant).<sup>54</sup> His functions in the eighteenth century (prior to 1780) outside his duties on the Town Council and his role in town planning as the overseer of building regulations in the Dean of Guild Court were; "by Act 32, Geo. II. 1754, for improving the navigation of the River Clyde, appointed to convene the Merchants of Glasgow, owners or part owners of ships, by public advertisement, to meet in the Merchants Hall,..., to be Commissioners for inspecting, auditing, and adjusting the accounts of the collections, receipts, and disbursements, of the River Trust,..."; as a Justice of the Peace for the County of Lanark, ex officio; "by Act 26, Geo. III, c. 109, Preses of the Clyde Marine Society, established in 1758, for relief of decayed Seamen and their Families, with power to levy duties out of the wages for that purpose"; and as a Director of the Town's Hospital and Hutcheson's Hospital.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>.- Anon., View of the History, Constitution & Funds, of the Guildry, and Merchants House of Glasgow, p. 18 and Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, Local Reports, Pt. II, PP. 1836, p. 37. See also Subscriptions of the matriculated members of the Merchants House of Glasgow. 1768-1838- D-TC 14/2/44/2 S.R.A.

<sup>54</sup>.- View of the History, Constitution & Funds, of the Guildry, and Merchants House of Glasgow, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 23,24.

Looking at a list of the Deans of Guilds of the Merchant House of Glasgow (see Table 1.6), again the same names are recurring as seen in the list of names of major tobacco importers, major merchant land purchasers, and members of the Town Council in the years encompassing 1741 to 1780.<sup>56</sup>

The incidence of membership of tobacco merchants on the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783, is significant in that its institution was at the end of the era of the tobacco trade. The Chamber of Commerce was officially founded on 1 January, 1783 at the Town's Hall.<sup>57</sup> Prior to this date, there is evidence of an ad hoc group of merchants functioning outside the official institutions of the Town Council and Merchants House dating back to

TABLE 1.6  
LIST OF DEANS OF GUILD OF THE MERCHANTS HOUSE OF GLASGOW  
1741-1780

YEAR	NAME
1741	George Bogle
1742	George Bogle
1743	Matthew Bogle
1744	Matthew Bogle
1745	George Bogle
1746	George Bogle
1747	John Brown
1748	John Brown
1749	George Bogle
1750	George Bogle
1751	George Murdoch

<sup>56</sup>.— The exception to this is John Brown, whose friendship with Andrew Cochrane provided him with a lucrative inheritance. See Chapter 5, pp. 341-342.

<sup>57</sup>.— Minutes of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, 1783-1803, TD 76 1/2, S.R.A.

YEAR	NAME
1752	George Murdoch
1753	Robert Christie
1754	Robert Christie
1755	John Bowman
1756	John Bowman
1757	Archibald Ingram
1758	Archibald Ingram
1759	Colin Dunlop
1760	Colin Dunlop
1761	Archibald Ingram
1762	Archibald Ingram
1763	George Brown
1764	George Brown
1765	Arthur Connell
1766	Arthur Connell
1767	John Coats Campbell
1768	John Coats Campbell
1769	Archibald Smellie
1770	Archibald Smellie
1771	George Brown
1772	George Brown
1773	James Buchanan
1774	James Buchanan
1775	John Coats Campbell
1776	John Coats Campbell
1777	Hugh Wylie
1778	Hugh Wylie
1779	Alexander McCaul
1780	Alexander McCaul

Source- J.M. Reid, A History of the Merchants House of Glasgow, p. 35.

1772.<sup>58</sup> This formation of merchants into a private interest group dealing with mercantile matters specific to the trade with the American colonies was probably a result of the nature of the inner elite of the tobacco merchants themselves, closely knit and interdependent. Glasgow's official institution of the Chamber of Commerce was a precursor for other similar foundations throughout the United Kingdom. In 1785, the Chamber of Commerce and

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<sup>58</sup>. - See Chapter 3, pp. 176-177 for a more lengthy discussion of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce.



Manufactures for Scotland was formed, becoming the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures in the City of Edinburgh in 1786 because of the inclusion of the Edinburgh merchants and manufactures as members.<sup>59</sup>

The fact that the Glasgow merchants were the first to organise themselves officially into an institution created to deal exclusively with the problems of trade and manufacture is important in itself. Its founder, Patrick Colquhoun<sup>60</sup> who later moved to London in 1787, was Provost at the time and involved in his own company of Patrick Colquhoun and Co. which also included Alexander Speirs. As stated above, Colquhoun's links with Speirs were more than economic as they were both directors of the English Chapel, the St. Andrew's by-the-Green Episcopal congregation. Speirs had confidence in him as a magistrate as he expressed in 1782 when he stated, "...Our friend Mr. C. is Elected Provost...{and}...has begun with applause which I have not the least doubt of will continue,..."<sup>61</sup>

As stated above, the Chamber of Commerce was founded at the end of the trading era that produced the tobacco

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<sup>59</sup>. - H. Hamilton, "The Founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783", *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol 1., (March, 1954), p. 43.

<sup>60</sup>. - see Chapter 3 below pp. 163-175 for his actions in promoting the interests of the merchants of Glasgow through his involvement with the passage of a more beneficial Bankruptcy Act for Scotland.

<sup>61</sup>. - Speirs to Robert Burton, 1 March, 1782, Letter Book of Alexander Speirs Esq. HH1/18/2, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

lords. Accordingly, the inclusion of tobacco merchants on the membership lists is not as extensive as one might expect.<sup>62</sup> No longer would these merchants control the city as they once did. This was as much a consequence of their own life-span as it was of the incipient coming of the industrial age. Similar occurrences happened in other parts of Great Britain. In Leeds, "when the woollen industry expanded more rapidly after 1783 a new impetus was given to a whole range of other industries, and the instigators of these changes emerged as a new class of self-made, newly-rich men largely outside the old merchant group that had managed the town and its trade since the sixteenth century."<sup>63</sup>

There were three categories of membership on the Chamber of Commerce; lifetime members due to their subscription of twenty guineas, general subscribers who paid the initial sum of five guineas and one guinea per annum afterwards, and the Chamber of Directors which consisted of thirty elected members by a majority of the subscribers.<sup>64</sup> Of the lifetime members, of which there were 12 on foundation of the Chamber, there were only two tobacco merchants, one being Patrick Colquhoun and the other being William French (also involved in the

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<sup>62</sup>.- One must take into account that by this time, many of the greater merchants were deceased, such as Alexander Speirs.

<sup>63</sup>.- Wilson, Gentlemen merchants, p. 215.

<sup>64</sup>.- Minutes of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, 1783-1803, TD 76/1,2, S.R.A.

partnership grouping of Speirs). However, the Directors of the Chamber included fourteen tobacco merchants out of a total of 30 men which was a pretty high proportion. These 14 merchants were part of the inner merchant elite consisting of; John Glassford, William Cunningham, James Dennistoun, William French, John Campbell Clathic, John Robertson, Patrick Colquhoun, William Coats, James Somervell, Robert Dunmore, Henry Riddell, George Bogle, Walter Stirling, John Brown, and John Wilson. Out of the general subscribers, the number of tobacco merchants consisted of just over half of the total membership, 55 out of a total of 106, again, pretty high. If this is taken in perspective of the total number of tobacco merchants between the years 1740 and 1780 being 163, allowing for natural decay because of death, it can be seen that the inner merchant elite of the tobacco lords though by all means no longer the majority of decision makers, was still a fairly predominant group even in 1783. The foundation of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce saw the rise of a new breed of "economic man", the "industrialist". The monopoly of the urban history of the city of Glasgow by the tobacco lords was to shift in subsequent years to manufacturing interests and the growth of the cotton and linen trade<sup>65</sup>, but the strength of the momentum given by the "tobacco lords" in the eighteenth century can still be realised by the evidence of the

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<sup>65</sup>.- See A.J. Durie, The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979).

figures given above.

#### IV

The tobacco merchants activities in civic culture are important in placing them in the social context of the eighteenth century. As shall be discussed further in Chapter 4, the time period that these traders were economically active in, was also one of great advances in the intellectual history of the eighteenth century, specifically, the Scottish Enlightenment and the new philosophy of "capitalism" as professed by Adam Smith.<sup>66</sup> The Glasgow merchants have been linked to the funding of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts and the opening of the first theatre in Glasgow.<sup>67</sup> Many of the merchants also

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<sup>66</sup>.- Adam Smith was professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1751 to 1764. Whether or not his ideas about commercial liberty were influenced by his contact with a city engulfed in transatlantic trade is a matter of great dispute. See John Cunningham Wood, ed., Adam Smith, Critical Assessments (London: Croom Helm, 1984) and Ernest Campbell, Mossner, Ian Simpson Ross, eds., The Correspondence of Adam Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). See also Chapter 4, pp. 196-207 for a fuller discussion. There is a balanced discussion of the point in R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner, Adam Smith (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 62-65.

<sup>67</sup>.- Anon., Notes and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow during the great part of last century (Glasgow: 1886), pp. 81,82, Glasgow Foulis Academy of Art - "A catalogue of pictures, drawings, prints, statues, and busts; in plaister of Paris, done at the Academy in the University of Glasgow" (Glasgow: R. and A. Foulis, n.d.) Mu 23-y.19 David Murray Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, and James Muir, Glasgow Streets and Places (Glasgow: 1892), p. 88. It is important to note that the foundation of the theatre in Glasgow in 1764 was met with great hostility by the inhabitants and was burned down. It was not until after 1780, that the religious fervour of the inhabitants was more conducive to such "enlightened" ideas.

had fine libraries including works such as Montesquieu's four volumes on the Laws of Nations.<sup>68</sup> It is the merchants' involvement in clubs, however, which allow them to be placed in their specific eighteenth century "cultural" context and their definition as a merchant elite. It is the blurring of all aspects of eighteenth century life that make the club an indicator of economic success, as "...in the eighteenth century the term 'club' was understood as a verb, rather than as a noun: to 'club together' to pool one's financial resources for almost any collective activity, automatically created a club."<sup>69</sup> It was the morality of these clubs as they hoped to promote culture and civilization that made them all the more effective as vehicles for the advancement of their own specific trading interests and the raising of their own members to a distinction identical to the concept of elitism.<sup>70</sup>

Of the various clubs active in the eighteenth century before the year 1780 which may have included merchant membership, the Anderston Club, the Hodge-Podge Club, My Lord Ross's Club, the Morning and Evening Club, the

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<sup>68</sup>.- Diary of Alexander Speirs, Books for library, 1781, Speirs Papers TD 131/10, S.R.A.

<sup>69</sup>.- Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, eds., The Birth of a Consumer Society - The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982)p. 217.

<sup>70</sup>.- See Davis Dunbar McElroy, Scotland's Age of Improvement a survey of eighteenth-century literary clubs and societies, (Washington: Washington State University Press, 1969).

Political Economy Club, the Glasgow Assembly, and the Tontine Society, information on membership is available for only the Glasgow Assembly, the Hodge-Podge Club, and the Glasgow Tontine Society.<sup>71</sup>

The Glasgow Assembly founded in 1758 was basically a club for the entertainment of its members as "entertainments, in Glasgow,..." were "...dancing and card assemblies, *per vices*, or week about, concerts of music, and sometimes the players from Edinburgh."<sup>72</sup> The original directors and trustees were John Murdoch (Lord Provost at the time), Archibald Ingram (Dean of Guild at the time), Robert Christie, Alexander Speirs, Colin Dunlop, Allan Dreghorn, Robert Bogle, Senior, James Ritchie, James Dunlop, James Simson, Michael Bogle, James Dougall, and John Barns.<sup>73</sup> The Glasgow Assembly was also known alternatively as the "Card Assembly", as each alternative assembly was devoted to the eighteenth century pastime of card playing.<sup>74</sup> A minute of one of the meetings dated 27 December, 1776 shows the main membership. It included James Dennistoun, Alexander Speirs, James Ritchie, John Campbell of Clathic, William French, Doctor Alexander Stevenson, Peter Murdoch, John Campbell of Succoth, James

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<sup>71</sup>. - It is known that the Political Economy Club was founded by Andrew Cochran, Lord Provost in 1745, and was attended by and addressed by Adam Smith.

<sup>72</sup>. - Gibson, The History of Glasgow, p. 131.

<sup>73</sup>. - The Regality Club, Second Series, 4 vols., (Printed for the Regality Club by James Maclehose and Sons, 1893) vol. 2, p. 68.

<sup>74</sup>. - Ibid., p. 69.

Dunlop, James Buchanan, Alexander Donald, James Dennistoun junior, Ronald Crawford, John Baird, Richard Marshall, Thomas Donald, James McDowall, Andrew Stirling, and Michael Bogle.<sup>75</sup>

The Hodge-Podge Club's main focus of activity was more or less "literary". An example of its "literary" exploits is contained in a poem composed for describing the various members of the club.

"A club of choice fellows, each fortnight, employ  
An evening in laughter, good humour, and joy;  
Like the national council, they often debate,  
And settle the army, the navy and state.

In this club there's a jumble of nonsense and sense,  
And the name of Hodge-Podge they have taken from  
thence;  
If, in jumbling verses, this ditty I frame  
Pray be not surprised if a Hodge-Podger I am.

If you choose to know more of this merry class,  
Like the Kings in Macbeth, they shall one by one  
pass;  
The man that can't bear with a good-humour'd rub,  
I am sure is not worthy a place in this club."<sup>76</sup>

A list of the members of the Hodge-Podge Club from 1752 to 1802 includes forty-eight individuals. *Of these forty-eight, twenty-seven were described occupationally as merchants.* Some prominent merchant names on this list included; John and Peter Blackburn, Andrew Buchanan, John Coats Campbell, William Coats, Thomas Donald, James Dunlop, John Dunlop, Henry Glassford (the son of John Glassford of Dougalston), James Luke, James McDowall,

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<sup>75</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>.- Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs, pp. 41-43.

James and Peter Murdoch, Henry Ritchie, and James Simson.<sup>77</sup>

The Glasgow Tontine Society, situated at the Cross, was opened on 15 February, 1781. It was opened as a Coffee-house, and the building in which it was contained was exemplary of the opulence of the "tobacco lords" who were the original subscribers. "...Mr. William Hamilton, architect, gave the design, and displayed great professional skill in throwing the arcade of the Town-Hall into an extensive piazza, retaining the upper part of the cross-walls of the superior structure."<sup>78</sup> The Coffee-Room itself was 74 feet long and was supplied with "...Scotch, English, Irish and Continental newspapers, magazines, reviews and other periodical publications..."<sup>79</sup> The number of original subscribers was 107. 90 of these subscribers were colonial merchants in the city. Also included in the list of original subscribers were Professors from the University of Glasgow; George Jardine, Professor of Logic, John Millar, Professor of Law, William Richardson, Professor of Humanity, John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy, and Dr. Thomas Reid,

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<sup>77</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 44,45 and Glasgow Hodge Podge Club 1752-1900, Compiled from the records of the club by T.F. Donald (Glasgow: Printed for private circulation, 1900) Mu 24-y.36 David Murray Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, pp. 20-28.

<sup>78</sup>.- Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 1, p. 74.

<sup>79</sup>.- Ibid., p. 75.



Professor of Moral Philosophy.<sup>80</sup> Merchants involved in the Tontine Scheme who may be said to have formed the elite of the colonial merchants were; Patrick Colquhoun, George Buchanan, George Bogle, Henry Riddell, James Oswald, William French, William Cunninghame, Robert Bogle, Peter Murdoch, James Dennistoun, James McDowall, James Finlay, James Hopkirk, James Dunlop, John Glassford, Alexander Speirs, William Coats, Alexander Oswald, Robert Findlay, James Ritchie, and John Bowman.<sup>81</sup>

It would appear then that at any one time in the eighteenth century during the years of the supremacy of the tobacco trade, there was an inner elite of merchants who both participated in and controlled many aspects of the city of Glasgow. As politicians they directed the day to day affairs of the management of the city. As "ordinary" citizens they participated in the rich urban culture that was developing in Glasgow as both a cause and effect of the Scottish Enlightenment. And as merchants, they banded together in clubs and in purpose for the promotion of their own particular trading interests which for them had proved to be their fortune.

Looking back at these merchants with the largest importation statistics, the most manufacturing investment, the most landed purchases, the greatest involvement in the

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<sup>80</sup>. - Copy of the Deed of Association of the Glasgow Tontine Society, David Murray Collection, Mu24-y.1, Glasgow University Special Collections.

<sup>81</sup>. - The Regality Club, volume 2, pp. 80-83.

Town Council, the Merchants House, and the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and significant interest in certain clubs in the city at the time, there can at any one time be pinpointed a merchant elite of about 30 individuals. Of these 30 men, there is information available whether it be in secondary sources or personal papers. It is possible then to define in a reasonably exact and comprehensive way who exactly these "tobacco lords" were. They were not the total number of 163 merchants trading to the American colonies between 1740 and 1780. They were an exclusive elite within that overall group who were both intertwined in economic interests and interconnected in familial and social ties. They were engrossed in the materialism that eighteenth-century culture was progressively creating, and at the same time products of an earlier seventeenth-century Calvinism that was giving way to this new secularisation of society. They were men of privilege and power whose inherent sense of the distinction of ranks allowed for more liberal ideas that an amoral economy could produce through the "laissez-faire" economics of a free market. Most of all, however, they were clever businessmen who saw an opportunity and exploited it to the best of their advantage. Their "death" as a group or social phenomenon can probably best be attributed to their own mortality, the end of the tobacco trade, and the end of their monopoly, as their reliance on one another was paramount to their power and superstructure as a unified social group. For instance, Alexander Speirs' personal

writings about his daily whereabouts consistently mention his social and business contacts with other merchants who made up this mercantile elite.<sup>82</sup> It is true that some of them went on to trade with the West Indies and became more interested in the production of cotton, but these were merchants who were never really part of that inner merchant elite. Their definition as a merchant elite is probably most clearly defined by the status that these men put upon themselves, as the Virginia Dons in cape and cloak with gold-tipped walking cane who walked upon the "Plainstones" and talked only amongst themselves and by their status as an elite as expressed by Provost Andrew Cochran who ascribed the success of the tobacco trade to "the Four Young Men".<sup>83</sup>

It is in this context as an exclusive social group that their significance becomes apparent as men who individually and corporately express in some way the "spirit of the age" and whose culture allows us to explore in some ways the reasons for their success and for the expansion and new horizons which marked that age.

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<sup>82</sup>. - see Diary of Alexander Speirs in 'Kearsley's Pocket Ledger', TD 131/11, Speirs of Elderslie Papers, S.R.A.

<sup>83</sup>. - e.g. Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs, p. 36 quoting Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland.

## Chapter 2

### The Industrious Merchant: Business Practices and Business Qualities of the Merchant Elite

"...Now my dear Jackie., Take great Care of your Health, beware of Drinking, Late riding, Eating too much fruit with which you will often be tempted, be sober and dilligent as well as accurate in Business. Keep your shop and your shop will keep you..." -

George Bogle of Daldowie to his son John Bogle in Falmouth, Virginia. 25 April, 1758, Bo 15a/6, Bo1756-1760, Box 1756-1760, Bogle MS, M.L.

R.H. Campbell once stated, "The removal of restrictions on trade with England and her colonies, especially through inclusion within the privileges of the Navigation Acts, was not completely responsible for the growth of Scottish trade as has sometimes been assumed."<sup>1</sup> This theory has been generally accepted since first put forth by Henry Hamilton in 1932 due to the evidence of licensed traders from Scotland in the seventeenth century, especially Glasgow, trading to the North American colonies, and further evidence of a thriving illicit trade to the same colonies. Also of importance, is the fact

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<sup>1</sup>.- R.H. Campbell, Scotland since 1707. The Rise of an Industrial Society, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd. 2nd edn., 1985), p. 37.

that it was not until 1730 that a noticeable upward trend in the Scottish economy occurred. In fact, the years immediately after the Union of 1707 were ones of economic decline.<sup>2</sup>

After 1730 the progress made by the merchants of Glasgow was remarkable resulting in one of the most illustriously recognized merchant groups in Scottish history. The success of these merchants necessitates explanation, first and foremost by focusing on their business practices and business qualities within their functions as international merchants importing tobacco and other commodities from the North American colonies, sending goods to these colonies in exchange for tobacco and other commodities, and the re-exportation of these commodities to the European market through the French Farmers General.

These concepts of business practices and business qualities lead to the more abstract concept of "entrepreneurial activity" which in Western Europe has often been linked to the rise of Protestantism after the Reformation, and the particular characteristics of individualism and high motivation to achieve. In the

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<sup>2</sup>.- See Henry Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932); T.C. Smout, Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963); and S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939, (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975). And more recently: T.M. Devine, "The Union of 1707 and Scottish Development", *Scottish Economic and Social History*, vol. 5 (1985); C.A. Whatley, "Salt, Coal and the Union of 1707. A revision article", *SHR*, vol. 66 (1987); and "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A survey", *SHR*, vol. 68 (1989).

discussion of incentives for producing economic successes, R.H. Campbell has stated;

"More positively, the possibility that the Scottish theological interests produced incentives which equipped the Scots for economic action can be derived from the suggestion, advanced particularly in recent years, that the qualities requisite for successful entrepreneurial action are more likely to be acquired in a society in which there is a strong motivation towards high achievement, and that they will be expressed in economic action wherever that motivation is directed towards economic ends. Scottish theology encouraged the individual to believe that, as one of the elect, he could find himself called to be a direct and active agent of God's will. In that way he was provided with a major incentive to the self-confidence and assurance in his actions which is necessary for a successful entrepreneur. The intellectual contribution of the eighteenth century was to take the qualities of mind, derived partly from the theological obsession of earlier years, and apply them to wholly secular affairs without loss of fervour."<sup>3</sup>

Other concepts used to explain the growth of merchant elites include the theory of middle-class value systems, with their emphasis on hard work, industry, and frugality. The social composition of the Glasgow merchant elite was from the middle class of the time, if such an anachronistic term could be employed to describe their class character. As the merchant elite was always being renewed from this same class, it can be safely said that they represented very particular value systems which subsequently were named by Marx as pertaining to the bourgeoisie. In the context of the eighteenth century, this merchant elite was among one of the many merchant elites throughout Britain whose progress and

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<sup>3</sup>.- Campbell, Scotland since 1707, p. 9.

entrepreneurial activity constituted the *nouveaux riches* of the time. Therefore, even though many of these merchants had themselves come from merchant families or encouraged their sons to become merchants as well, the main common denominator was not so much privilege as it was initiative. The motivation or initiative behind these successful businesses and their subsequent decline after 1780 can be related to the argument which seeks to find rules for the rise and decline of empires or business families. The sons who inherited these businesses had less drive than those who created them and therefore lacked the entrepreneurial characteristics that produced the initial success.<sup>4</sup> Upon the decease of the entrepreneur responsible for the originality in ideas of the firm, the continued success was dependant upon a replacement in the same types of practical approach favourable towards economic success. This leads to the question of what business methods and practical applications of originality and creativity, if any, towards economic ends were employed by this merchant elite to account for their success. But it also has to be used warily since it also assumes a continuation of the economic context in which eighteenth-century Glasgow flourished, i.e. under the umbrella of the Navigation Acts, a situation which ended completely once the colonists revolted.

Also of significance is the tobacco merchants' role

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<sup>4</sup>.- McClelland, The Achieving Society, p. 256.

in the opening up of the Atlantic commercial market which resulted in the further secularization of society and growing materialism which allowed such luxury products as tobacco, sugar, and coffee to be consumed by a much larger percentage of the population. In an eighteenth-century context, the tobacco merchants were both components and proponents of the widening of commercial markets and the beginnings of industrialisation both of which resulted in a higher propensity to consume.

It is within this background - the merchant elite generally coming from the middling ranks of society, originating from a society whose roots lay in a highly Calvinistic background, and the growing consumer market of the eighteenth century as stimulated by the influx of commodities such as tobacco, sugar, and coffee, for example - that the business activities of the merchant elite can preliminarily be placed. These factors, though necessary for an understanding of the forces of history, have often been neglected by economic historians, in the pursuit of more statistical explanations for the success of merchant elites and commercial economies. By examining these simpler and more humanistic qualities of historical phenomenon perhaps it will be easier to obtain a better understanding of this early modern era and of the activities of those merchants in the context of eighteenth-century Britain. Now remains the task of identifying what these qualities and practices might have been, and what the merchant elite's attitudes concerning



business were.

## I

First, it is necessary to backtrack and re-state very simply the basic workings of the Glasgow tobacco trade which have been clearly defined as providing the framework of their subsequent successes. Briefly and succinctly stated, the tobacco lords were manipulators of the Atlantic commercial market which though prosecuted in the seventeenth century to a limited degree by license and illegal means, was made available to them legally through the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 allowing Scotland to share in the privilege of the Navigation Acts of 1660.<sup>5</sup> The success of the Glasgow tobacco merchants in the North American colonies also has been attributed to their use of a store system with a resident factor as opposed to the English use of a consignment system.<sup>6</sup> The store systems's special advantages over the consignment system were that it allowed the companies involved to purchase tobacco (often in advance) through an extension of credit to the planter in the form of necessary goods, i.e. food and clothing: this efficiency in ensuring a guaranteed cargo allowed a quicker turn-around time for incoming vessels,

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<sup>5</sup>.- Oliver M. Dickerson, The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), pp. 7-10 and T.M. Devine, "The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 and Scottish Economic Development: The Case Re-opened", Scotia, vol. 8, (1984), pp. 1-13.

<sup>6</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 55-59, 66-67.

thus allowing the storekeepers to quote attractive prices to their planter-clients, many of the latter small men. It also allowed them to gain valuable market intelligence through the resident factor who was always Scottish born and who was picked for his unquestionable loyalty to the company for whom he was employed. Recent attention has shown that not all Glasgow firms trading to the American colonies were strictly using the store system, therefore shifting the attention from the great importance that has been placed on this small institutional structure, deemed responsible for the success of the Glasgow merchants.<sup>7</sup> As Professor Price has stated:

"...The knowledge that such businesses existed suggests that in place of the rather simple view of Glasgow firms running chains of essentially retail stores in the 'boondocks' catering primarily to small and middling planters, we shall henceforth have to allow for the parallel existence of large Glasgow firms dealing in the Chesapeake largely through independent, affiliated, or dependent local merchant houses, with which their dealings were predominantly wholesale..."<sup>8</sup>

But in this explanation there is only a change of emphasis. The essential importance of the store system, whether of resident factors or agents, is still acknowledged.<sup>9</sup>

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 illustrate the nature of the tobacco

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<sup>7</sup>.- see Jacob M. Price, "Buchanan & Simson, 1759-1763: A Different kind of Glasgow Firm Trading to the Chesapeake", *William and Mary Quarterly*, volume 40 (January 1983), pp. 4-41.

<sup>8</sup>.- Ibid, p. 41.

<sup>9</sup>.- Ibid.

trade with the American colonies. By supplying the

TABLE 2.1  
IMPORTS FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES OF MARYLAND AND  
VIRGINIA  
AND THE BRITISH WEST INDIAN ISLANDS OF JAMAICA AND ST.  
VINCENTS TO GLASGOW, PORT GLASGOW, AND GREENOCK  
5 January 1771 - 5 January 1772

<hr/>	
MARYLAND	
Cedar posts	84 feet
Iron, bar	71 6 1 25 pounds
Rum	539 gallons
Skins, India	87 pounds
Tobacco	11,313,278 pounds
VIRGINIA	
Copper-still	one
Ginsang	86 pounds
Iron, bar	227 tons
do., pig	508 tons
Lead, bar	1 ton
Mahogany	33 pairs
Rum	480 gallons
Skins, beaver	88 in number
do., deer	11,848 in number
do., India	726 pounds
do., elk	39 in number
do., otter	25 in number
do., wolf	3 in number
Sugar, brown	3 0 3 pounds
Tar	15 10 0 gallons
Tobacco	33,986,403 pounds
Treenails	1000 in number
Turpentine	98 2 16 pounds
Wine, Madeira	201 gallons
Wool, cotton	100 pounds
*****	
JAMAICA	
Canes, walking	72 pieces
Coffee, raw	12 3 pounds
Fustick	19 tons
Ginger	11 2 8 pounds
Indico	34040 pounds
Juice, lime	40 gallons
Mahogany	97 tons
Rum	120,802 1/2 gallons
Sarsaparilla	1792 pounds
Sugars, brown and muscavado	27,835 0 18 pounds
Wine, Madeira	214 gallons
Wool, cotton	30, 649 pounds

*****	
ST. VINCENTS	
Coffee, raw	10 3 16 pounds
Rum	6371 gallons
Sugars, brown and muscavado	2014 2 14 pounds

Source- Gibson, The History of Glasgow, pp. 213-234.

TABLE 2.2  
EXPORTS FROM GLASGOW TO  
THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONY OF VIRGINIA  
AND THE BRITISH WEST INDIAN ISLAND OF ANTIGUA  
5 January 1771- 5 January 1772

VIRGINIA	
Ale, strong	290 3 firkins
Anvils	3 in number
Brimstone	41 0 21 pounds
Bushes, cart	24 in number
Buckskins, dressed	29 pieces
Bandannoes	12 pieces
Cards, cotton	51 dozens
do., wool	3 dozens
Coals	173 7/9 chalders
Candles, tallow	17,683 pounds
Canvass, hessens	56 1 15 ells
do., spruce	1354 0 2 ells
Cordage	1135 3 21 pounds
Cordage, white	8 bolts
Corks	462 gross
Cutlary	9734 pounds
Cheese	1800 pounds
Diaper and sheeting	768 square yards
Faggots, steel	6 in number
Frying pans	84 in number
Glass, green and manufactured	173,798 pounds
do., flint	7 0 19 do.
do., crown	83 2 14 do.
Gun-powder	4850 do.
Ginger	4 3 0 do.
Grindstones	159 in number
Haberdashery	374, 795 pounds
Handkerchiefs, linen	1752 dozens

Hardware	17,420 pounds
Hats, mens	2,971 9/12 dozens
Hats and bonnets, silk	44 9/12 dozens
Herrings, white	42 1/2 barrels
Horses	one
Iron, wrought	1,095,914 pounds
Kettles, tea	18 in number
Linen, British	1,163,781 yards
do., Irish	530,828 yards
do., Russia	5 0 2 ells
do., Muscovia	2 1 27 ells
do., German narrow	2231 2 20 ells
Linen, checkered	108,548 yards
do., printed	45,312 1/2 sq. yards
Leather, tanned, wrought	162,540 pounds
do. unwrought	30 3 6 pounds
do., in hides	75 pounds
Lead, cast	105 2 1 pounds
Oil, lintseed	1075 gallons
do., lamp	54 gallons
Ovens, camp	70 in number
Paper writing	21 reams
Paint	5618 pounds
Pipes, tobacco	309 gross
Pots, iron	244 in number
Rum	1015 gallons
Sail cloth	19,767 1/2 ells
Sugar, refined	1573 3 9 pounds
Stuffs of silk	2094 10 1/2 oz.
Soap, hard	6189 pounds
Snuff, plain	817 pounds
Stones, hewn	14 in number
Saws	24 in number
Spades	2 dozens
Skins, sheep	0 1 0 pounds
Stockings, thread	28 dozens
Skillets	37 in number
Sieves	36 dozens
Stationary	1656 pounds
Thread	261 pounds
Tobacco, roll	1075 pounds
Twine	5549 pounds
Vices	3 in number
Ware, copper and tin	71,142 pounds
do., delf	12,828 pieces
do., earthen	37,526 pieces
do., stone	25,078 pieces
Wine, Portugal	3958 1/2 gallons
Woolens	405,257 pounds

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ANTIGUA	
Ale, strong	21 barrels
Candles, tallow	10,162 pounds
Coals	26 chalders
Cordage	64 3 4 pounds
Cutlary	1000 pounds
Chairs	100 in number
Glass, green	12,572 pounds
Haberdashery	2708 pounds
Hats, mens	55 dozens
Herrings, white	1221 barrels
Iron, wrought	3000 pounds
Leather, tanned, wrought	3849 pounds
do. do. unwrought	1 16 pounds
Linen, British	45,106 yards
do., Irish	4013 yards
Linen, checkered	24,241 yards
do., printed	395 square yards
Sail-cloth	2660 ells
Soap, hard	560 pounds
Sugar, refined	21 0 21 pounds
Ware, copper and tin	500 pounds
do., delf and stone	105 pieces
Wine, French	470 1/2 gallons
do., Portugal	598 do.
Woolens	5960 pounds

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Source- Gibson, The History of Glasgow, pp. 213, 234.

planters of tobacco in the colonies with ready made goods, they manipulated both ends of the market. They bought the goods cheap from local manufactories in which they were often partners <sup>10</sup>, and used these goods to purchase tobacco from the planters who, on the basis of the necessary energy output demanded by a plantation economy, were much more interested in goods that they did not have

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<sup>10</sup>.- For example George Buchanan (1728-1762) who purchased the estate of Mount Vernon in Glasgow (named after the estate of George Washington in Virginia which bordered a plantation of George Buchanan's in Virginia) and built "the Virginia Mansion" in Virginia Street was a partner in the Glasgow Bottleworks Co., 1748 and the United Sugar House, 1761, both of which exported goods to the American colonies.

time to produce themselves and which, in a country as young as North America was, did not yet have the manpower required to produce local industries in such number as to allow competition. An example of local manufactories in the Glasgow area producing goods for the American market, ultimately to be exchanged for tobacco, can be seen in the following advertisement which appeared in *the Glasgow Journal* in 1783. It read:

"Dumbarton Glass Work Company have on hand a quantity of Crown Glass, cut into squares of all Dimensions, and particularly into those sizes proper for the American Market, which they will sell upon more moderate terms than any other glass can be delivered here, and will warrant the quality equal to the best made in England..."<sup>11</sup>

Another factor in the success of the Glasgow merchants was the fast turn-around time of their ships because of the geographical location of Glasgow. Ships travelling from the Clyde to the North American colonies travelled around Ireland.<sup>12</sup> This trade route had two advantages over ships coming from the English ports: it was shorter and it was safer. During the eighteenth century, Britain was at war with France during the Seven

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<sup>11</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, Number 2238, Thursday April 24-May 1, 1783. James Dunlop owned 26 out of 40 shares in this company, "State of the Affairs of James Dunlop", James Dunlop 1741-1816, Papers, titles, T-MJ 327, S.R.A.

<sup>12</sup>. - As early as 1735, there were at least 26 ships travelling to North America and the West Indies. The prominent merchant-owners of these ships were James Corbet and Co., Robert Donald and Co., Robert Bogle and Co., Messrs. Oswalds and Co., Samuel McCall and Co., Robert Dreghorn, and Messrs. Buchanans and Co. This list was compiled by Gibson in his History of Glasgow, pp. 210, 211, a valuable source for such data.

Years' war, 1756-1763, and because of French colonialism in North America was continually threatened by the hostile presence of the French willing to give aid to Indians and American rebels against the British.<sup>13</sup> This led to privateering on both sides resulting in the loss of ships, especially around the dangerous waters of the English Channel. Glasgow ships through their safer route around Ireland had a greater chance of escaping being captured. However, this was not always true, Glasgow ships sometimes being captured in the Middle Atlantic negating the temporary advantage of travelling around the quieter seas of Ireland.

"The Polly of Glasgow, Captain Gemmel bound to Virginia, on the 14th November last, in latitude 39 10 and longitude 41 38 w. was taken by the le Bourbon privateer of 18 guns 6 pounders, with 200 men, commanded by Captain Pierre Maignille, who after taking out part of the cargo, ransomed her for 1100 pound the privateer had cruised between the latitudes of 39 and 42 about a month, and had taken four ships bound for Virginia from London and gave out that she was to continue on that station six weeks longer, The Polly's ransomers are now at Bayonne."<sup>14</sup>

The shorter turn-around time of the Glasgow ships was also facilitated by the advance purchases of tobacco made by

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<sup>13</sup>.- James C. Riley, The Seven Years War and the Old Regime in France, The Economic and Financial Toll, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), A. Wyatt Tilby, The English People Overseas, Volume I The American Colonies, 1583-1763, 5 Volumes, (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1910). pp. 259-280, and J. Holland Rose, A.P. Newton, and E.A. Benians (eds.), The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume I The Old Empire from the Beginnings to 1783, 8 volumes, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 460-483.

<sup>14</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, No. 1018, Thursday January 29-February 5, 1761.



the company factors in the colonies. As has been observed, "This resulted in a substantial gain in the productivity of merchant vessels."<sup>15</sup> Also important in this equation was the "productivity" of merchant time. Communication between the factors in Virginia and the merchants of Glasgow, as ships were the only form of transportation, was much faster than other merchants in Great Britain because of the quick turnover of Glasgow ships. This allowed the Glasgow merchants to make more intelligent market decisions and strategies and to implement them quicker. For example, William Cunninghame's factor, James Robinson in Falmouth, Virginia, writing to him on 31 March, 1775 informed Mr. Cunninghame that he had received his letters "of the 18th, 23rd, 24th and 29th December, and the 4th and 6th January" by the ship *Ocean*, and that he "was further favoured with Mr. Cunninghame's letters of the 18th and 19th and 20th January by the *Minerva*, forwarded by express from Williamsburg."<sup>16</sup> Considering that the journey from North America to Great Britain took at least one month and that on either side there would be time lost in delivering the mail from the ships in their respective harbours, the information James Robinson was receiving from his employer 3,000 miles away was only two months old. This rapidity of exchange of information, taken into the context of

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<sup>15</sup>.- Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 68.

<sup>16</sup>.- T.M. Devine. ed., A Scottish Firm in Virginia 1767-1777 W. Cunninghame and Co. (Edinburgh: SHS, 4th series, vol. 20. Clark Constable Ltd., 1984), p. 175.

eighteenth-century communications, can only have helped the shrewd business policies formulated by the Glasgow merchants.

Another point that deserves attention is the new concepts and ideas of society that were brought about by the opening up of the Atlantic commercial market. The importance of tobacco in the Virginia economy provided a monoculture and a cash-crop that greatly encouraged the export market. Other major exports from the North American colonies and the West Indies were coffee, furs, sugar, and rum. All of these were consumer luxury products in comparison with the imports of the colonies which were staple products necessary for survival. (See Tables 2.1 and 2.2) The implication for the eighteenth-century public was a changing attitude towards trade and consumption.

"...What seems to have occurred during the 'crisis of the seventeenth century' was a revolutionary cultural expansion wherein the energies of the littoral communities were increasingly diverted into economic fields. What seems to have emerged in both trans-atlantic and asatlantic lands was a common economic civilization wherein commerce became the great band of unity in societies otherwise divided. In that civilization the social function of 'consumption' by the 'consumer' became an increasingly autonomous and dynamic abrasive of the ascetic tradition. A heightened propensity to consume became a function of the increased demand for the sensory stimulus supplied by sugar, tobacco, and furs. The shop keeper's function became increasingly apostolic as he became the great retailer not only of new commodities but also of new values to all who spent more and more time in the new activity of 'shopping'. Among these values profit and trade assumed a dominant position while money became the mystic common denominator of all values, the universal repository of as yet undetermined

possibilities. In this view the 'Great tradition' of the emerging Atlantic civilization became a secular rather than a sacred tradition, and in particular an economic, a commercial, a 'sensible' tradition..."<sup>17</sup>

All of the above factors describe the basic workings of the tobacco trade of Glasgow. Summarized, these basic constructions necessary for providing a framework from which to work with were; the Union of 1707 which made the trade between Glasgow and North America legal and which provided a mercantilist advantage to the Glasgow merchants through the Navigation Acts of 1660; the institutional structure of the store system which allowed for credit facilities both to the planter and the merchant and provided valuable market information through the resident factor; and finally, the cost-saving of greater efficiency thus achieved in the quicker turn-around time of the Glasgow ships allowing more goods and produce to be shipped both ways, and for better communications between the merchant and his market. These "external" advantages have been discussed at great length by historians of Scottish economic history, but only provide a framework to which needs to be added the motivations and ideas of these merchants in their business endeavours to put the flesh on the skeleton. More importantly in the context of the time is what and how these merchants thought and acted within the framework of their economic activities. Happily

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<sup>17</sup>.- D.A. Farnie, "The Commercial Empire of the Atlantic, 1607-1783", *Economic History Review*, vol. 15, no. 2, (1962), pp. 212,213.

enough, there have survived various writings and sources from a few of these merchants which shed light on the workings of the eighteenth-century Glasgow mercantile mind towards business practices and qualities.

What then were the business practices and beliefs which allowed such economic successes to take place? These factors or explanations can be preliminarily stated as: the business relationships of the merchant elite which provided a strong network of information and credit assistance; the merchants' practical attitudes towards business which provided the ideology and main working background for innovation and economic success; and the merchant elite's practices within the Atlantic commercial market which formed the basic business policies that were responsible for the merchant elite's success in trade.

## II

The business relationships of the merchant elite were often cemented with familial ties, either through marriage or through descent. The freedom fine payable to the Merchant's House of Glasgow was considerably less for sons of merchant burgesses and husbands of the daughters of merchant burgesses.<sup>18</sup> Also, the dowry of the daughter of a merchant was often used as capital in the business of the merchant marrying into the already established family,

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<sup>18</sup>. - see Chapter 1, p. 4.

thus keeping family wealth maintained in family business. For instance when Alexander Speirs married his employer's daughter Mary Buchanan; "...The marriage, the lucrative dowry that would come his way, and the connections afforded in business life, as well as his own personal drive, were the major factors in Speirs' later success..."<sup>19</sup> Out of the 30 or so mercantile elite of the city of Glasgow, approximately seventeen were linked by marriage.<sup>20</sup> The descendants of many successful merchant families, therefore, had many connections with the ruling merchant elite of the time resulting in a tight-knit merchant community capable of exploiting nearly every aspect of commercial, institutional, and civic life in the city of Glasgow.

A good example of the importance of familial business relationships of the merchant elite can be found in the manuscript of the Bogle family. A very successful merchant family, the Bogles were involved in trade to the North American colonies and the West Indies from the beginning to the end of the eighteenth century. The most prominent member of this family was George Bogle of Daldowie (1701-1784) who was Dean of Guild in 1741, 1742, 1749, and 1750<sup>21</sup> and Lord Rector of Glasgow University in

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<sup>19</sup>.- T.M. Devine, "A Glasgow Tobacco Merchant during the American War of Independence: Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, 1775 to 1781", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 33 (July, 1976), p. 503.

<sup>20</sup>.- Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup>.- see Chapter 1, p. 50.

1737, 1743, 1747, and 1757. His commercial and manufacturing interests included: George Bogle and Co., the Easter Sugar House, Bell's Tanyard Co., and James Robertson and Co. From 1758 to 1763 his son John ("Jockie") was in Virginia working as an assistant storekeeper for the firm of Colin Dunlop and Co. At the same time that his son John Bogle was in Virginia, his other son Robert ("Robin") was in London engaging in a consignment trade for American tobacco, at the same time arranging for goods from both England and Glasgow to be shipped to Virginia.<sup>22</sup> The Bogles' connections with the trade to Virginia date back to the 1730s when Matthew Bogle, George Bogle of Daldowie's brother, was resident on the Rappahanock River in Virginia and when George Bogle's father, Robert, owned the ship *Albany* trading to Virginia.<sup>23</sup>

The family name of Bogle dates back very far in the local history of Glasgow. The earliest known example is that of a "Patrick Bogill, curate of the church of Caddir" in 1509, though there is mention of Bogles being rentallers on Church lands before then. A nineteenth-century poem acknowledging the antiquity of the Bogle family goes:

"Then I straightway did espy, with my slantly-  
sloping eye,  
A carved stone hard by, somewhat worn;  
And I read in letters old - Here lyes Launcelot

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<sup>22</sup>. - It is unclear as to who his employers were.

<sup>23</sup>. - Bo 15a/1, Folder marked 1731-32, Bogle MS, M.L., and Gibson, History of Glasgow, pp. 210, 211.

ye bolde,  
Off ye race off Bogile old Glasgow borne."<sup>24</sup>

The Bogles of Daldowie, from whom the Bogle Manuscript derives, were directly descended from these same Bogles, the connection coming into closer focus around the middle of the seventeenth century with the existence of George Bogle, a Glasgow merchant, of whom very little is known. He had four children, one of whom was Robert Bogle, afterwards of Daldowie, and father to the George Bogle of Daldowie who was born in 1701. George Bogle of Daldowie carried on the family's interest in trade, particularly with the American colonies which had been initiated by his father and in time became known as one of the "tobacco lords". He was sent to Holland in the 1730s by his father to receive his university education at Leyden and also to act as a business correspondent to his father concerning the resale of tobacco on the continent. He married Anne Sinclair who was the daughter of Sir John Sinclair and Martha Lockhart, daughter of Lord Castlehill, and by this propitious marriage ensured that his children would be directly descended from both James I and II of Scotland.<sup>25</sup>

George Bogle had nine children by Anne Sinclair and after her death in 1759 he remained unmarried. Of these

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<sup>24</sup>.- Anon, The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, p. 75.

<sup>25</sup>.- Sir John Sinclair was directly descended from James I and II of Scotland. Information taken from "the Bogle Family History", B881033, Rare Books and Manuscripts, M.L., p. 15.

nine children only two died in infancy, leaving Martha Bogle (1734-1820) who married the surgeon Dr. Thomas Brown of Langside and Waterhaugh, Robert Bogle (1735-1808), first in London in partnership with William Scott and later in Grenada as a West India merchant who inherited Daldowie, Mary Bogle (1736-?) who never married, Elizabeth Bogle (1737-?) who never married, John Bogle (1740-?) first a storekeeper in Virginia and later in Glasgow as a partner in a cloth shop and an insurance agent, Anne (Chuffles) Bogle (1745-1824) who never married, and George Bogle (1746-1781) of India and Tibet who had an illegitimate child by a Tibetan concubine.<sup>26</sup>

The letters of George Bogle of Daldowie to his sons, first John in Virginia and then George in India (both pursuing a mercantile life) give a very good example of the practical attitudes towards business and of the values to be sought after or avoided in one's life as one of the merchant elite. His letters to John predate his letters to his other son George. As stated above John would eventually come back to Glasgow to become a partner in a cloth shop and an insurance agent. Nevertheless, he started his mercantile education on a practical basis as an assistant storekeeper in Virginia working for the firm of Colin Dunlop & Sons. While he was resident there, he received many letters from his father advising him on religious matters, general conduct, and the mercantile life.

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<sup>26</sup>. - Ibid., p. 24.



These letters need to be examined more particularly because of their uniqueness; there is a lack of similar letters from other members of the merchant elite; and because they thus provide a rare glimpse into the mind of one of the "tobacco lords". Therefore, typical examples of what he wrote to his son John and George have been compiled in order to paint a clearer intellectual profile of one of the merchant elite and his thinking about business practices and qualities.

In his letters to John, as later in his letters to George, there is always a high degree of a sense of leading a virtuous life allied with strong religious sentiments. For example, in 1761, he wrote, "...I am convinced both from the Goods sent you since you left me and from the Good accounts Mr. Knox gives the Company of your Ability, Diligence, and Conduct abroad, that you are living frugally, soberly, and virtuously, an Evidence of which I learn from Mr. Knox's letters to your Employers, as well as from the Remittances made me."<sup>27</sup> He also mentioned in the same letter, the monetary value of experience in his education as a merchant, "...Messrs Speirs and Company would give you no more...for your being Round for five years and only would allow you £5 additional wages for the 5th year,...when you have more experience you must be more valuable to yourself and

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<sup>27</sup>.- George Bogle senior to John Bogle, Falmouth, Virginia, 21 December, 1761- Bo/5B/10, Bo MS, M.L.

others..."<sup>28</sup>

George Bogle of Daldowie's stress on education can be further noted when he mentions the necessity of book-learning as a pre-requisite for his other son George's mercantile education. He wrote, again in 1761, "...Your Brother George is Determined to follow the Merchandizing and talks of going for Virginia, but he has not got educated for that Business but is to sett about Improving his write, learning arithmetick and bookkeeping, and other Branches of Science necessary, at least Beneficial for the Trade he designs for..."<sup>29</sup>

The structure and framework of the merchant elite as a tight-knit inter-related and intertwined social group can also be inferred from these letters. In addition to the comment about John Bogle's employers Colin Dunlop & Co. being his "Natural Relations" not by blood but by purpose, George Bogle senior also advised his son, "...My dear child you have a very numerous relation the best people in Glasgow through whose friendship you may be employed in great and profitable Business..."<sup>30</sup> Again, the use of the word relation does not necessarily mean by blood or marriage, but rather implies the existence of mutual interest within the main merchant elite trading families of Glasgow. The advice of this letter was given

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<sup>28</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>.- George Bogle to John Bogle, Virginia, 6 July, 1761, Bo/5B/8, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>30</sup>.- George Bogle to John Bogle, Falmouth, Virginia, 14 April, 1761, Bo 15B/7, Bo MS, M.L.

in order to discourage John Bogle from entering into a business partnership with a Messrs. Greg and Lawson (London merchants), further reinforcing the idea of the unity of the merchant elite as a trading interest group and as monopolists.

Furthermore, the importance that George Bogle of Daldowie placed on the business relationships of his sons, John And Robert, during the 1760s (and later of George junior who was only in his early teenage years at the time) can also be seen in his letters of advice and business in his correspondences. Also significant is the connection with London which many other Glasgow merchants engaged in such as the Oswalds and Patrick Colquhoun. In a letter of 6 July, 1761, George Bogle related to his son John in Virginia the growing business potential of his brother Robin and the dependence of that potential on the city of Glasgow:

"Your Brother Robin paid us a most agreeable visit and stayed only about 14 Days here but was at least 4/5 of that time in Glasgow where he was mightily carried by every Merchant there and I am fully persuaded even that short visit will bring him a considerable additional Business from that Town, As the Trading people his former Employers are much pleased with his Transacting their Business..."<sup>31</sup>

George Bogle was very adamant that his two sons should engage in business together which he advised would be advantageous to them "...for both ... Honour and

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<sup>31</sup>. - Bo 15B/8, Folder marked 1761-1764, Box marked 1756-71, Bogle MS, M.L.

Credit..."<sup>32</sup> A letter from Robert Bogle to his brother John in Virginia confirms both the advantageousness and desirability of such a family-business relationship:

"...Another thing is that you must always have it in your Eye to come over some time or other and settle in Business with me which will take place sooner or later, tho in the meantime it may be more for our Advantage that you remain in Virginia as my Interest is not yet fully established there and you may be of great Service in assisting to make interest for me..."<sup>33</sup>

The strong web of merchant interdependence in Glasgow can further be seen by advice from George Bogle to his son John in Virginia. "... I can't help thinking when I consider your connections with the Town of Glasgow, and your Brother Robin but you have many advantages over numbers of young men in your way..."<sup>34</sup> The main importance, however, lies with *the use of family connections* in prosecuting successful trade, as Glasgow was small enough at the time to have so many familial links. The passage of valuable information and the mutual assistance in business led to a successful formula for the manipulation of trade. As George Bogle wrote to his son John in reference to his business relationship with his brother:

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<sup>32</sup>.- Bo 15B/7, Folder marked 1761-1764, Box marked 1756-71, Bogle MS, M.L.

<sup>33</sup>.- Robert Bogle to his brother John in Virginia, 17 March, 1761, Bo 15B,5, Folder marked 1761-1764, Box marked 1756-71, Bogle MS, M.L.

<sup>34</sup>.- George Bogle of Daldowie to his John in Virginia per the *Thistle*, 5 March, 1761, Bo 15a/34, Folder marked 1761-64, Box marked 1756-1771, Bogle MS, M.L.

"... I design to write Robin tomorrow, signifying as he has done to me often that you in Virginia may be of great use to him in the way of consignments, not only by increasing that valuable branch of his business to his house in London, but by acquainting him, whom he will be safest to deal with, in case he should be in advance for them..."<sup>35</sup>

The importance of family-business relationships can also be seen in the firm of Buchanan and Simson, Glasgow consignment traders to the Chesapeake region of Virginia. There were eleven companies in Glasgow from 1720 to 1775 and two companies in London from 1737 to 1752 with members of the Buchanan family of Glasgow involved.<sup>36</sup> These successful merchants were all descended from one Bailie George Buchanan, maltman of Glasgow, who died in 1710, and who "...By a bond of provision made in 1704 ..., left his daughter and younger sons only £1,000 Scots each, equivalent to only £83 6s. 8d. sterling... From these small beginnings, his sons launched the family on a remarkable career of mercantile enterprise by which they founded their fortunes."<sup>37</sup> The evidence here, then, shows that it was their relationships in business as connected with their familial ties which had helped them in their success.

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<sup>35</sup>.- George Bogle of Daldowie to his son John in Virginia per *the Brothers*, 21 January, 1762, Bo 15B/11, Folder marked 1761-64, Box marked 1756-1771, Bogle MS, M.L.

N.B. the evidence of yet another Glasgow merchant dealing in the consignment trade as opposed to the store system.

<sup>36</sup>.- Price, "Buchanan & Simson, 1759-1763", p. 7.

<sup>37</sup>.- Ibid, p. 8.

As the main merchants of Glasgow were often linked through family, many of their cash-books, ledgers, and personal papers are filled with examples of mutual credit assistance, one of the advantages possessed by Glasgow merchants. The importance of credit assistance was that it maintained a liquidity of cash-flow and supplied a capital-basis for many business ventures during times when "money" was often scarce. It could be said then that the tobacco merchants' successful manipulation of their 'working capital' as aided by their business and familial-business relationships was in part responsible for their accomplishments in the tobacco trade and the great increase in wealth of these merchants. The increase in this wealth is very noticeable towards the end of the century when the amount of credit assistance often involved very large sums of money. For example, James Dunlop (1741-1816) of Garnkirk owed a personal debt to Alexander Speirs for the amount of £3000.<sup>38</sup> Often this credit assistance was inter-partnership transactions as in the case of George Bogle whose "obligation for a credit of £300" in 1750 was with Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston and Company.<sup>39</sup> This shows that in spite of the relative fortunes that many of these merchants personally possessed, no merchant involved in the merchant elite was

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<sup>38</sup>.- "State of the Affairs of James Dunlop, 23 March, 1793", James Dunlop Papers, titles T-MJ 327, S.R.A.

<sup>39</sup>.- "Obligation (Discharge to Old Bank) George Bogle Junior to Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston and Company for a Credit of £300 Sterling", August 1, 1750, Bo 49, Bogle MS, M.L.

either financially or socially independent.

Credit assistance was not just for business use, as money was often lent to other members of the family not involved in business. Far from being superfluous, this fact shows the economic power of the merchant elite capable of giving out large sums of money outwith the business interest. A good example of family credit assistance is shown by a loan to Miss Jenny Oswald, of the Oswald family, who was given £500 by Richard Oswald of London in 1763.<sup>40</sup>

Not all credit transactions between merchants were good, however, and by a list of "dubious debts" of Alexander Speirs amounting to £5,371 10s. 3d.<sup>41</sup>, it is clear that room was made for non-payment of loans, due to bankruptcy or trading adversity allowable by the same system of credit that made capital liquidity possible. The greater part of such transactions, though, were between business acquaintances with an overlap between merchants with partnership interests. Alexander Speirs' credit transactions between 1773 and 1780, for example, show the same names consistently, his major loans and

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<sup>40</sup>. - "Miss Jenny Oswald to James Oswald £25 first years' Interest on the £500 given her by Mr. Oswald of London, viz. From 1st June 1762 to 1st June last", Entry no. 41, December, 1763, Oswald Account Book, TD 188, S.R.A.

<sup>41</sup>. - "List of dubious debts, vizt. By William Bogle £52 16s. 1d., By George Glasgow £35 6s., By Joseph Deas Greenock £22 14s., By John McKenzie & Co. £5260 14s. 2d.", Sederunt Book of the Trustees of Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, HH1/18/1, 1782-1785, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

debts being to: Richard Oswald, James Dunlop, Robert Christie, James Alston and Company, John Bowman, Archibald Bogle & Co., William French, and one curious transaction with the Duke of Montrose for £1000 sterling.<sup>42</sup> John Bowman and William French, for example, were Speirs' business partners in his firms of Speirs, Bowman and Co. and Speirs, French and Co.<sup>43</sup> The evidence of mutual credit assistance is nevertheless significant for its impact on the success of the merchants involved in the tobacco trade and for its illustration of the workings of the business relationships between these merchants.

Mutual credit assistance was just one of the ways in which the merchant elite maintained unification and solidarity. Within the context of companies and competition, another major source for the business relationships between these merchants were information networks, most commonly transacted through social clubs, coffee houses, and personal entertainment.

Clubs were important centres of information, often founded for the purposes of art, literature, politics, and entertainment. The significance of these clubs<sup>44</sup> lay in the provision that they provided for exchange of trading intelligence. "...It was the proud boast of many

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<sup>42</sup>.- "Ledger B", 1773-1780, HH1/18/3, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>43</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, Appendix II.

<sup>44</sup>.- There were many clubs in eighteenth century Glasgow of whom the mercantile elite formed the main membership. See Chapter One, pp. 32-35.



societies that the union that they encouraged helped commerce, industry and 'civilization'... Many of the clubs were, in effect, vehicles for the promotion of a morality and outlook conducive to successful trading."<sup>45</sup>

The tradition of the coffee house dates back to the late seventeenth century as a social and necessary means of doing business. For example, John Dunlop, son of James Dunlop of Garnkirk (?-1683), doing business in London in the 1680s, informed his father of the social necessity of the "tavern".

"... Sir I had the good fortune yesterday night to be in Companie with Mr. Foulis and Mr. Donaldson and upon the account that I had never been in a Tavern with anie of you... Mr. Foulis was soe fine as to tell me that there was one thing that he would have me to observe for the future which he thought was to my disadvantage that I had not done...was that I kept not ... the other nights of the week at a Certain Coffee House ... For the future I intend to observe it all in this place..."<sup>46</sup>

It was in the practice of personal entertainment, however, that clear evidence exists for patterns of information networks. Alexander Speirs' personal papers and cash books list amounts of alcohol, sugars and coffees consumed and in whose company they were consumed. Not only an example of meticulous bookkeeping illustrative of the business practices of one merchant, it also shows with whom he kept company and undoubtedly shared information.

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<sup>45</sup>.- McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society, p. 223.

<sup>46</sup>.- D12/27, 41 letters from John Dunlop to his father James of Garnkirk; in 1682 and 1683 Dunlop Papers, M.L.

An entry of 1779 lists the amount of sugars and coffee he consumed with Patrick Colquhoun, a partner in the company of Patrick Colquhoun and Co., and John Robertson, a partner in Speirs, Bowman and Co.<sup>47</sup> Many of the accounts are for Madeira Wine, Sherry, and Rum, popular drinks of the eighteenth century. For example, an entry of January 1776 details the fact that £37 3s. 5d. worth of Madeira Wine was consumed in company with Provost Bowman and Thomas Hopkirk.<sup>48</sup> In fact, alcohol was an important purchase for Alexander Speirs. Between August 1776 and May 1779, Alexander Speirs spent £180 7s. 5d. on "liquors purchased for family use", inclusive of Madeira wine and port wine.<sup>49</sup>

A major basis for establishing personal relationships, which were very important to the merchant elite in terms of business success can be found in the "Diary of Alexander Speirs", detailed notes of his daily whereabouts from 1781 until the sickness that brought on his death in 1782. Basically a pocket diary, the small booklet contains descriptions of the weather, evidence of church-going, and remarks about who he dined with. By this time in his life, after establishing himself on a landed estate, King's Inch (Renfrew), Alexander Speirs

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<sup>47</sup>. - Ledger B, 1 Jan. 1773- 30 May 1780, TD 131, Speirs of Elderslie Papers, S.R.A.

<sup>48</sup>. - Ledger B, 1 January 1773- 30 May 1780, entry no. 118, TD 131, Speirs of Elderslie Papers, S.R.A.

<sup>49</sup>. - Ledger B, 1 January 1773- 30 May 1780, entry no. 140, TD 131 Speirs of Elderslie Papers, S.R.A.

alternated his time between Glasgow and this Elderslie estate, actively involved in business until his decease. Most of the business he dealt with in the early 1780s was between the British West Indian colonies and the resale market in Europe, corresponding with factors both in Jamaica and Ostend.<sup>50</sup> The importance of the pocket book is that it illustrates the membership of the merchant elite by its own definition of business and social relationships. During the year 1781, Alexander Speirs' personal associations were, according to his own hand, with a small number of fellow merchants. The most prominent and repeated names included: John Coats Campbell, William French, Patrick Colquhoun, John Glassford, Andrew Buchanan, Peter Murdoch, John Crawford, John Robertson, James Hopkirk, George Buchanan, and George Bogle.<sup>51</sup> All of these men were merchants involved with the trade to North America and the West Indian colonies and members of the merchant elite as defined in Chapter 1.

What is evident then is that the merchant elite was socially as well as financially cohesive, interdependent and interlocked by both family and personal relationships, communicating and sharing commercial knowledge within this tight-knit circle. A small advertisement in the *Glasgow Journal* in 1782 perfectly illustrates the close-knit

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<sup>50</sup>. - Letters Book, Alexander Speirs, Esq. Commencing 12 October, 1781, HH1/18/2, Crichton Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>51</sup>. - "Diary of Alexander Speirs in 'Kearsley's' Pocket Ledger- 1781", TD 131/11, S.R.A.

nature of these business relationships almost automatically assumed, relative to the success that these merchants achieved in the tobacco trade:-

"Notice- The Merchants of this City and of the neighbouring Towns, who were traders to North America previous to the year 1776, are requested to meet at the Merchants Hall, on Tuesday the 23rd current, at 12 o'clock midday, when matters of great importance will be laid before them. Glasgow 16 April 1782. Signed, Alex. Speirs, John Glassford, James Ritchie, and James Dunlop."<sup>52</sup>

A second element of the Glasgow merchants' success was their productivity of time through work discipline in the counting-house and communications with their factors in Virginia. For example, the work discipline required in the counting-houses of Glasgow for a clerk could take up to 15 hours a day. William Scott writing to John Bogle in Virginia stated, "...As for myself I am now with Mr. Glassford and shall continue there for about Four years, I have been very close confined there from 6 o'clock in the morning till after 9 at Night..."<sup>53</sup>

The use of communications through letter-writing, as explained above partly responsible for the success of these merchants in Virginia through rapid exchange of information because of the quick turn-around time of Clyde ships, was also an indicator of the value placed on time. As George Bogle advised his son John in Virginia;

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<sup>52</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, No. 2126, Thursday April 11-18, 1782.

<sup>53</sup>.- William Scott of Glasgow to John Bogle in Falmouth, Virginia, 27 February, 1758, Bo 15a/5, Folder marked Bo 1756-1760, Bogle MS, M.L.

"...when ever you get notice of any ship's making ready for sailing home from your Neighbourhood, write your letters sometime before that you may never be in a hurry, but by writing deliberately you may take care of your hand of write, which is of great use to a merchant. Date your letters always opposite your subscriptions; and fix on the way of subscribing your name unalterably, with every letter in it as you do at present..."<sup>54</sup>

Another important element in the merchant elite's business practices is how they acquired their business education in both practical and formal ways.

The practical education of many merchants who engaged in the trades to the North American colonies was often gained acting as factors within the colonies themselves. Most of the merchant elite, such as Alexander Speirs, Patrick Colquhoun, and members of the Bogle family started their mercantile careers working for other companies more often than not as a factor or a supercargo in the colonies themselves.

"...Alexander Speirs, the only son of a small Edinburgh merchant, had gone out to Virginia in the early 1730s probably as a factor for the Buchanans or a similar Glasgow house. By the 1740s he was an independent merchant on the James River frequently acting for the Buchanans. He was probably a partner in Archibald Buchanan's concern from at least 1749, if not earlier... So strongly was Speirs' presence felt that Archibald's new firm, called Buchanan, Speirs and Co. in the early 1750s was called Alexander Speirs and Co. by the end of the decade..."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>. - George Bogle of Daldowie to his son John Bogle via the *Nisbett*, 31 may, 1758, Bo 15a/10, Folder marked Bo 1756-1760, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>55</sup>. - Price, "Buchanan and Simson, 1759-1768", pp. 12,13. See also "Alexander Speirs' plantation in Virginia", B10/15/6653, S.R.A.

George Bogle's son, John, also received his practical education as a merchant in Virginia. He was employed by the firm of Colin Dunlop and Sons. His main purpose of being an assistant in the storehouses in Falmouth was to prepare him for his later business adventures, particularly with his brother Robert in London. A letter from his uncle, Laurence Scott, advised him of the psychology of business and the importance of his "apprenticeship".

"...It gives me a particular pleasure to hear of your closs Application to Business, this will gradually grow into a natural habit which will prepare you, when you come to do for yourself, to follow out your own schemes with Application, Chearfulness, and Steadiness. In the mean time I doubt not you are laying in, as Opportunity offers, a stock of knowledge for life. You are no doubt making predictions, Observations on the Different Turns in Trade. You carefully observe the Cause which produces these Effects...The farther you should study men as well as things. You should endeavour to find out their Natural Temper of Mind, their prevailing Passions and above all the Secret Springs of their Actions..."<sup>56</sup>

George Bogle's other son George junior, who attended Edinburgh College at the age of 14 in 1760 and 1761<sup>57</sup> wrote to his brother John in Virginia informing him of his decision to enter the mercantile life and the practical education that this would require. "...I am now fixed and am resolved for a Merchant for which reason I am taken from the College and put to Mr. Dobsons where I am to stay

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<sup>56</sup>. - Laurence Scott to John Bogle in Virginia, 26 January, 1760, Bo29, Folder marked Bo1756-1760, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>57</sup>. - Folder marked George Bogle's Journal, 1760-1761, Box marked 1756-1760, Bo MS, M.L.

till fixed for to go to either you or to Rob whichsoever shall appear most convenient..."<sup>58</sup>

As far as formal mercantile education was concerned, there were various educational opportunities for learning book-keeping, mathematics, and French, all considered commercial skills in Glasgow during the eighteenth century. A book entitled "A Present for an Apprentice" of 1742 illustrates the mercantile and business values that were deemed important at the time for a formal book-learning education. These values included advice on the following topics: "Dishonesty, Fidelity, Temperance, Excess of all Kinds, Government of the Tongue, Affability, Frugality, Industry, *Value of Time* [my italics], Company, Friendship, Bonds and Securities, Gaming, Housekeeping, Proper persons to deal with, Complacency, Caution in setting up, Servants, Choice of a Wife, Politicks, and Religion".<sup>59</sup>

The learning of "merchant accompts" was often available through such institutions as Hutcheson's Hospital<sup>60</sup> in the early and middle eighteenth century and

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<sup>58</sup>. - George Bogle Junior to John Bogle in Virginia, January 3, 1762, Bo7/1, Folder marked Bo 1761-1764, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>59</sup>. - "A Present for an Apprentice By a late Lord mayor of London", advertised in *Glasgow Journal*, No. 51, July 12-19, 1742.

<sup>60</sup>. - Advertisement, "...Matthew Park, late Assistant to Martin Clare's Academy in Soho-Square London, is now established Schoolmaster of Hutchison's Hospital,...", *Glasgow Journal*, no. 56, August 16-23, 1742, and Advertisement, "James Scruton Writing-master and Accountant from London invited down here by the Provost and other Gentlemen of this City to qualify young

through various ad hoc institutions taught often<sup>61</sup> by teachers from England.<sup>62</sup> This may suggest that there was more by way of commercial education becoming generally available at this time than has hitherto been estimated. More importantly was the proliferation of the teaching of commercial skills which culminated in the establishment of a "Commercial Academy" in Glasgow in 1782.<sup>63</sup> The academy was called "Nichol's Commercial Academy" and offered three different branches of mercantile "science". These were "accounts in general", "the different branches of mathematics", and "geography and the use of globes". Along the lines of the increase in the interest in natural sciences in the later eighteenth century, this commercial academy offered a very pragmatic education.

It appears then that the practical education that many of these merchants obtained as serving "apprenticeships" as factors and factors' assistants in the colonies of North America went hand in hand with the acquisition of book-keeping and mathematical skills.

Another influential part of the merchant elite's philosophies towards business lay in the allusions towards religion that some of them expressed in relation to their day-to-day business affairs and success in trade. The

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Gentleman in Writing, Arithmetick, and Merchant Accounts...", *Glasgow Journal*, no. 185, April 17-24, 1749.

<sup>61</sup>.- Devine, *The Tobacco Lords*, pp. 8,9.

<sup>62</sup>.- See Chapter 4, pp. 220,221.

<sup>63</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, no. 2150, Thursday September 26-October 3, 1782.



importance of religion to the tobacco lords in relation to such theories as put forth by Weber, Troeltsch, and Marshall will be dealt with more directly in Chapter 6 when examining religion in eighteenth-century Glasgow and the role the merchant elite had in the religious ambience of the time period, but in this chapter in the context of business philosophies, it needs to be touched upon in order to clarify what religion meant to these merchants in their daily business activities relative to their success.

The most significant instance of the importance placed on religion by one of the merchant elite, as has been suggested above (p. 84), is evident in the writings of George Bogle of Daldowie. Though all of the merchants attended church and were involved in the religious practices of the day, the letters of George Bogle to his son John in Virginia, show clear evidence of how much stress was placed on both religion and business. For instance, he wrote to his son on his initial arrival in Virginia, "...I beg you will allow Religion to be your first principal care and then every thing else will go on with great composure and chearfullness."<sup>64</sup>

It was not just the stress on religion that is important in understanding the merchants' philosophies in business, but the way in which religious interests and business interests were equally intermingled. For example, George Bogle wrote to his son in the same letter;

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<sup>64</sup>.- George Bogle to John Bogle in Virginia, 26 January, 1758, Bo 15a/4, Folder marked Bo 1756-1760, Box marked 1756-71, Bo MS, M.L.

"... Happy would it be for me, if I had as strong a tendency to perform all the duties of Religion and virtue to my Great Creator and fellow men, as I am inclinable to promote the comfort and prosperity of my dear Children...I was disappointed my Dear Jockie to find you had no demand for Goods by the Brothers, and of Consequence sent me no Invoice by her, but when I began to reflect that my disappointment might either be owing to your Corresponding with and having goods from your brother at London, or to the value of Goods, and the High Prices of Tobacco in Virginia by both which there is very small profits to be made upon Goods..."<sup>65</sup>

He also advised his son to be diligent in reading the Scripture as a way of guarding himself from the bad example of other people engaged in a vicious life "...for which purpose read frequently the 139th Psalm, in which you have a lively and Beautiful description both of the omniscience and omnipresence of the infinitely perfect being, which you will keep constantly in your mind and be much in Prayer to God to Guide and Direct you,..."<sup>66</sup>

The tobacco merchant elite's success through business qualities and characteristics involving in the colonial market can also be seen directly since many of them not only travelled frequently to the American colonies (by eighteenth-century standards of transport), but had also served their apprenticeship there as factors, supercargoes, and even store assistants in the colonies themselves. For instance, Alexander Speirs was out in

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<sup>65</sup>.- George Bogle to John Bogle in Virginia, 21 December, 1761, Bo/5B/10, Folder marked Bo 1761-1764, Box marked 1756-71, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>66</sup>.- George Bogle to John Bogle in Virginia, 23 September, 1761, Bo 15B/15, Folder marked Bo 1761-1764, Box marked 1756-71, Bo MS, M.L.

Virginia in the late 1740s and early 1750s working for the Buchanan group of tobacco companies.<sup>67</sup> His experience in the colonies could only have helped his understanding of the colonial market, as it was first-hand, and was probably the main reason for his meteoric economic success which resulted in him being called "the Mercantile God of Glasgow".

The tobacco merchants of Glasgow were not well-liked people in the North American colonies. Thomas Jefferson, who in his early years as a lawyer often defended planters' debts against these merchants once said that "...the planters were a species of property annexed to certain mercantile houses in London and Glasgow..."<sup>68</sup> Through their use of the store system in securing purchases of tobacco in advance by supplying easy credit on necessary goods to the planters, the Glasgow merchants increased their business throughout the eighteenth century in tobacco purchases to a great degree. Inevitably, many of the planters would obtain credit which they could not afford, since the terms of credit often inflated the real prices of many of the goods. It has been stated that the large numbers of credit losses reported after the American Revolution, were the cause for many bankruptcies. But

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<sup>67</sup>.- Alexander Speirs "out in Virginia", B10/15/6653, S.R.A. For his marriage to Mary Buchanan, Buchanan's daughter, as another example of the familial links and inter-related superstructure of the merchant elite, see p. 80 above.

<sup>68</sup>.- P.F. Ford, ed., The Works of Thomas Jefferson (New York 1904), vol. 5, p. 28.

this has never sufficiently explained why the trade of Glasgow did not totally collapse. The simple reason is these debts were so inflated as to have no bearing on the liquidity of the Glasgow businesses. The real money was made on the purchase and re-sale of the very lucrative crops of tobacco.<sup>69</sup> The merchant elite's business relationships with the planters, their land purchases and investments in the colonies, the effect of the American Revolution on business as exhibited by problems with trade and the merchants' attitudes towards the war and the Americans, all these helped to make up their *savoir faire* in business. These qualities not only precipitated their original economic success, but helped to save them from a bankruptcy which would have been fatal to their commercial continuation once their monopoly over the American colonies had been broken.

Basically, there were three types of Glasgow firms trading in the North American colonies, mainly in Virginia and Maryland. These were; primary retail as practiced by William Cunninghame and Co.; mixed wholesale and retail transactions evident in the companies of Alexander Speirs; and wholesale, an example of which was the firm of Buchanan and Simson.<sup>70</sup> Though all of these firms traded their goods primarily for tobacco, the most profitable commodity at the time, this does not mean that their interests in the American colonies were solely confined to

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<sup>69</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 153-159.

<sup>70</sup>.- Price, "Buchanan & Simson, 1759-1763", p. 12.

the purchase and export of tobacco. For instance, most merchants dabbled in speculation in the currency market frequently, though not always successfully, as in 1766 when the following scheme was reported:

"Outright manipulation of the exchange market was sometimes proposed. William Allason reported in 1766 that a Scottish merchant, financed by a Glasgow bank to the extent of £150,000-£200,000, had devised a plan to purchase all the currency in Virginia with bills at a high exchange; he intended then to bring exchange down by withdrawing the money from circulation and to sell the currency at a lowered exchange to make a profit of £20,000. However, the exchange rate fell before the scheme could be undertaken..."<sup>71</sup>

The business relationships that the merchants' conducted with the planters, as has been explained, was mainly done through the store system. The major Glasgow traders in tobacco all had store settlements in Virginia and Maryland. In Virginia alone, Messrs. William Cunninghame and Co. had nine stores at Falmouth, Dumfries, Cabin Point, Brunswick, Granville, Petersburg, Halifax, Mecklenburg, and Rocky Ridge.<sup>72</sup> The main purpose of these stores was to secure the purchase of tobacco which was the only crop deemed worthy of commodity interest. As one factor reported to another factor who was newly instated in his position, "Tobacco as you well know is the chief

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<sup>71</sup>.- J.H. Soltow, "The Role of Williamsburg in the Virginia Economy, 1750-1775", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 15, (October, 1958), p. 478. The Scottish merchant in question was William Cunninghame.

<sup>72</sup>.- Devine, ed., A Scottish Firm in Virginia, James Robinson to Messrs. W. Cunninghame and Co., Falmouth, 19 February, 1774, p. 133.

aim of this concern. All other commodities such as wheat, corn, flour, hemp are but secondary and subservient objects to that article. To it therefore your endeavors are to be chiefly directed..."<sup>73</sup> The securing of customers was achieved through the provision of goods which were exchanged for tobacco or the promise of tobacco, as money was scarce in the colonies and not as valuable as the cash-crop itself. For instance, James Robinson, head factor for the firm of William Cunninghame and Co., advised another factor working for the same company that in order to secure purchases of tobacco he should "...furnish them [the planters] liberally with goods, and what money any good people want. For which purpose engage them slaves, or you may have what supply of money you order, always bearing in mind that this is in order to extend your purchase."<sup>74</sup>

The siting of the store itself was very carefully planned, located in the "back-woods" where a reasonable purchase of tobacco could be expected. Directions for finding the ideal place to build a store were as follows:

"... In pitching a place for a Back Store much regard should be paid to the soil of the land in the neighbourhood and the circumstance of the people in a circle of twelve or fourteen miles as the influence of such a store seldom reaches farther and note that it would be improper to fix any store where a purchase of 300 hogheads would not be made annually in a few years. When you make such a settlement

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<sup>73</sup>.- Ibid., James Robinson to John Turner, Falmouth, 6 October, 1771, p. 48.

<sup>74</sup>.- Ibid., James Robinson to Bennett Price, Fauquier, 18 October, 1767, p. 4.

keep it regularly fully supplied with goods and money and keep a strict eye over the management remembering you are the person immediately accountable to your constituents for the Good or Bad result thereof."<sup>75</sup>

The goods the store supplied were represented by "store-schemes" which were sent to the company in Glasgow who then filled out the order. Without the supply of ready-made goods, the store system would not have worked. They gave the planter articles which were necessary for survival, and which were not yet supplied through small industries in the colonies, on such credit terms as the "store" allowed for. A scheme of goods ordered by Archibald Henderson, factor for the firm of John Glassford and Co., for the year 1763 illustrates the nature of this exchange. (See Table 2.3)

Table 2.3  
Scheme of Goods for the store at Colchester for the year 1763

2 Dozen gun docks	1 Gross Perch hooks
4 Dozen bottles mustard	1/2 Dozen Coloured black Satin hats
12 Good Indigo	2 Dozen Drum lines
6 Dozen Perch lines	1/2 Dozen Coloured black Satin hats
1/2 Dozen Worsted black Satin hats	
1 Dozen Brass cocks	6 dozen bonnetts
1 Dozen Guns at 10/ per gun	1/2 Dozen Coloured fashionable satin bonnets
1/2 Dozen Guns at 15/ per gun	6 Worsted velvet run capas
12 Gross Playing Cards	12 yards silk gauze such as at Quantico
12 Walnut frame looking glasses at 4/	
6 Walnut frame looking glasses at 5/	

Source- Archibald Henderson to John Glassford and Co., October 20, 1762. Letterbook of Alexander Henderson, 1760-1764, TD 168, S.R.A.

<sup>75</sup>.- Ibid., James Robinson to Mr. John Turner, Falmouth, 6 October, 1771, p. 47.

By supplying the planters with goods in exchange for tobacco through credit mechanisms, and because of the manpower required to run a plantation economy based on the mono-culture of tobacco, the tobacco merchants of Glasgow created a buyer's and seller's market for themselves. The merchant was protected from international competition by the Navigation Acts. Through his understanding of the powers of supply and demand, as the demand for goods was high and the supply of tobacco was high, he sold his goods at a high price (often through credit in the form of contracts for tobacco) buying tobacco at a low price, since planters were often more in need of goods and store credit than cash. Together with the almost near monopoly of the entire tobacco trade selling to Europe it is no wonder that such men as John Glassford were noted at the time as being one of the richest merchants in Europe nor that their grip on the lives of the colonists should be so resented.

The prices of tobacco being sold by the planters were not always as low as the factors acting for the tobacco companies might have liked, as the pricing policies of the merchants for the purchase of tobacco in terms of real money often illustrated the business relationship between planter and merchant as one of conflict. The factors and merchants working for Glasgow companies were constantly complaining of the high prices that they were often forced to buy tobacco for. For example, James Robinson writing to his employer William Cunninghame in 1772, said, "So



great is the demand for tobacco all over the colony arising from the number of ships employed in the trade, that the planter has been able to establish his own terms and to procure what part money he chooses, the merchants who have a quick succession of shipping being glad to get the tobacco in their hands at almost any terms."<sup>76</sup> An earlier letter from William Cunninghame to Robinson, in the same year, explained the necessity for not going above a certain price in the purchase of tobacco. He wrote, "We are sorry to find at our meeting with you about the 1st of October for fixing a store price for the ensuing Mercatt,...On that head when we notice the zest of the trade determined on allowing 18 s. per hogshead till Christmas without engaging any rise or Mercatt which price we fain flatter ourselves no person has exceeded. It being as it is a most extravagant price in Competition with those here..."<sup>77</sup> In reality, however, it was the merchant that decided on the prices of purchase through "... variations of price to different people..."<sup>78</sup> An illustration of the average price of tobacco paid to the planters by the companies proves that it was not the planter that set the price but the merchant. As James Robinson stated to his employer, "...In the three account

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<sup>76</sup>.- Ibid., James Robinson to Messrs W. Cunninghame and Co., Falmouth, 1 June, 1772, p. 79.

<sup>77</sup>.- William Cunninghame to James Robinson, 9 January 1772, GD 247/ Box 58/ Bundle P.2, John C. Brodie Collection, S.R.O.

<sup>78</sup>.- Devine, ed., A Scottish Firm in Virginia, James Robinson to John Turner, Fauquier, 4 October, 1768, p. 9.

currents you are charged with 1,124,783 lbs. the average price of which is 9s. 2 1/10 d., makes £5,159 13s. 2d. stg..."<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the General Courts held in Williamsburg in April and October and the Oyer and Terminer Courts held in June and December, respectively, helped to place the pricing of tobacco into the control of the merchants. As Soltow has stated, "Although much of the actual purchase of Virginia tobacco was made at stores located in small urban centres throughout the colony and at county courts, and although tobacco was shipped directly from public warehouses, the meetings of merchants in Williamsburg provided the nearest approach to a central market in the province... a focal point for pricing decisions..."<sup>80</sup> This unity of the merchant's involved in the purchase of tobacco in setting prices at the courts in Williamsburg is further drawn out by a comment from William Cunninghame to James Robinson. He stated;

"We have this minute received yours of 1 & 3 Ultimo. What you say in regard to the management that should be pursued at the General Courts we much approve of being quite consistant with our own sentiments, and which you will observe we have given positive orders for carrying into Execution so far as regards Ourselves, and which we can easily get Mr. Speirs to comply with in same manner. But can by no means answer for the conduct of many others in Trade, as they may through the grossest ignorance and jealousy take it in their heads we are driving on something, which they cannot tell what for our own advantage and

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<sup>79</sup>.- Ibid., James Robinson to Messrs. W. Cunninghame and Co., Falmouth, 24 January 1775, p. 174.

<sup>80</sup>.- Soltow, "The Role of Williamsburg in the Virginia Economy", pp. 469-472.

which may prejudice them."<sup>81</sup>

Not only does this statement show the extent of the reliance of pricing policies for tobacco on the courts at Williamsburg, but it also gives an example of the unity of the merchant elite, as Cunninghame mentions Alexander Speirs as a business ally, even though they were in effect competitors.

It was the factor, however, and the way he acted as a representative of the Glasgow tobacco companies that more specifically illustrates the business relationship with the planter which was considered most favourable by these merchants. Basically, the merchants did not consider any close relationships by the factors with the planters desirable as, "...too great an intimacy with any of them may be attended with bad consequences. Secrecy in all our transactions of business, even to the most simple, is what I would strongly recommend..."<sup>82</sup> Absolute loyalty was required of the factors as is evident by an observation by John Bogle of the factor of the firm of Colin Dunlop and Co.

"...I am sorry to find that tho Mr. Knox be a very good Factor and Studys the Company Interest yet he is not too communicative in Business to those under his care as he ought to be and is in Duty Bound, which as you justly observe is a loss to those Gentlemen under his inspection; I have a strong inclination to give

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<sup>81</sup>.- William Cunninghame to James Robinson, 31 July, 1772, GD247/ Box 58/ Bundle P.2, John C. Brodie Collection, S.R.O.

<sup>82</sup>.- Devine, ed., A Scottish Firm in Virginia, James Robinson to John Turner, Falmouth, 6 October, 1771, pp. 47, 48.

Mr. Dunlop a hint of your Observation, which may prove to your benefit, and give it in such a way as you shall never be heard of in the most distant manner..."<sup>83</sup>

The merchants even supplied their factors with a list of instructions prescribing their conduct.<sup>84</sup>

Another means of ensuring the loyalty of the factors to the mother company was by supplying them with shares in the business, in addition to their annual salary. William Cunninghame and Co. on the commencement of the opening up of new stores in the colony of Virginia in 1772, gave to the factors involved a considerable quantity of shares of the company. James Robinson and Andrew Chalmers were made shareholders of five shares each, each share being worth £300. The other three factors, William Reid, John Neilson, and William Henderson were given three shares, thus giving them a shareholding value of £900 each. This policy ensured the loyalty of the factors who were thus given positive incentives to make sure the business of the mother company increased, since they now not merely received annual salaries, but a share of the company's profits. As William Cunninghame stated concerning this policy, "Which shares are given you on the view of each remaining in our business a further term of years after the expiration of the present sundry engagements now

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<sup>83</sup>.— George Bogle of Daldowie to John Bogle in Virginia, 20 January, 1761, Bo 15a/32, Folder marked Bo 1761-1764, Bo 1756-71, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>84</sup>.— Devine, ed., A Scottish Firm in Virginia, James Robinson to Messrs. W. Cunninghame and Co., Falmouth, 26 February, 1773, p. 107.

subsisting and to continue in the persons of each both as to Profit and Loss during the time each remains in our service..."<sup>85</sup>

The importance of the merchants' business relationships with the planters as evident in the store schemes, pricing policies, and factors' role, is that it illustrates the business philosophy or mentality that these merchants applied and resulted in their successes. Basically, they used the store system to its full use as an exchange market keeping prices for tobacco low and employing their factor as a source of information and as an absolute representative of the company in the colonies at the same time maintaining good business relationships with the planters. As James Robinson advised another factor;

"... Be apparently open in your carriage, free and affable in your behavior, pointed and exact in fulfilling your contracts and promises, avoiding any pinching, squeezing and disputing with the planters as inconsistent with your plan of business. Merchants who practice these arts with that of studying their engagements or promises where they find their interest is affected can never in the smallest degree conciliate the affections or esteem of the people or gain their confidence."<sup>86</sup>

According to company policy, the type of planter who was considered good to do business with was of the middling

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<sup>85</sup>.- William Cunninghame to James Robinson, 20 January, 1772, GD 247/ Box 58/ Bundle P.2, John C. Brodie Collection, S.R.O.

<sup>86</sup>.- Devine, A Scottish Firm in Virginia, James Robinson to William Cunninghame (factor), Falmouth, 8 October, 1772, p. 51.

ranks, being frugal and industrious in their habits, and not having any great need for large amounts of credit. In this sense, the merchants desired those customers who reflected their own ideologies and belief-systems. William Cunninghame writing to James Robinson stated, "...let us obtain it with deliberation, care, frugality and great attention, which will be the most beneficial and last longest, being particularly careful to obtain as customers planters of middling station who tho they may not want a deal of money and goods yet are seldom greatly in debt, which keeps a concern much easier than that of dealing with a few of the first crops masters who are continually so much in debt..."<sup>87</sup> Although this seems to contradict to some extent the monopoly power over the planters by these merchants, it shows the delicate balance to be achieved in transactions with these planters. These companies wanted to keep a hold over their supplies, but at the same time did not want to let the planters become profligate in running up large amounts of credit, and thus spending what they did not yet have.

Another important element in the success of the Glasgow merchants in the colonial market was their use of joint-stock companies as their major institutional company structure. The joint-stock company was superior to the English systems of partnership since under the Scottish law of partnership it was recognised as "...a separate

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<sup>87</sup>.- William Cunninghame to James Robinson, 6 March, 1772, GD 247/ Box 58/ Bundle P.2, John C. Brodie Collection, S.R.O.

legal entity able to sue, be sued and draw up regulations governing the conduct of members which found acceptance at law."<sup>88</sup> Also of significance is that the joint-stock companies of Scotland had limited liability, so that the bankruptcy of one individual concerned in the company would not affect the whole of the company. Also, limitations were put on the risk of the company as shareholders only received an annual dividend of five per cent interest on their shares, keeping the capital base intact.

An example of such companies can be seen in a contract of copartnery entered into on 9 May, 1770 between Alexander Houstoun, Robert Bogle, James Dougall, William Cunninghame, and Alexander Cunninghame for a tobacco trading concern in Maryland. The contract stated, "...all Merchants in Glasgow Witness, That whereas the said Persons have agreed to be interested in a joint company for carrying on a trade to and in the Province of Maryland, by the Exportation and Sale of Goods, purchase of Tobacco and other commoditys, and in any other way or manner that may hereafter be judged expedient by the company..."<sup>89</sup> The shares of the company were divided up in the following order: Alexander Cunninghame 12/60 shares; William Cunninghame 10/60 shares; Alexander Houston 8/60 shares; Robert Bogle 8/60 shares; and James

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<sup>88</sup>. - Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 76.

<sup>89</sup>. - Copy Maryland Contract of Copartnery Executed 9 May, 1770, GD 247/ Box 58, Bundle P.1., John C. Brodie Collection, S.R.O.

Dougal 8/60 shares. The remaining 14 shares were left "...to be hereafter disposed of to the Companys Factors or in any other manner the Partners shall think proper..."<sup>90</sup>

There were 14 rules for the government of this company which illustrate the benefits of this form of business partnership. For instance, rule number four stated that each partner was to "stock in" the sum of £250 sterling for every share, making the total capital of the company £15,000. Voting of the shareholders was allocated on the basis of one share one vote. Rule number seven, indicated the restriction on borrowing from the stock of the company, and the payment of only the interest on the stock put in. It read, "It is hereby agreed that none of the said partners shall have power to withdraw any part of their stock or of the profit thereon during the currency of this copartnery, but shall be only intitlled to receive the interest of their capital annually, any overplus profit, which may then remain being to be incorporated with the common stock..."<sup>91</sup> Another important point made was that in case of death, the shares of the merchant involved would not pass to their heirs or creditors "...but shall fall and pertain to the surviving and standing partners to be disposed of by them..."<sup>92</sup> Rules number nine and 14 concerned disciplinary action if the other rules were not adhered to. For example, rule number

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<sup>90</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>.- Ibid.



nine stated that a breach of contract would result in the loss of the right to vote in shareholders' meetings, and rule number 14 indicated that a fine of £100 for each article and regulation not followed would be paid to each of the partners abiding by the rules and regulations.<sup>93</sup> Each of these rules ensured that the company functioned only under voting by the shareholders, that the stock of the company remained intact even in case of profit, that the death of a shareholder did not result in the shares falling into the hands of heirs or creditors, and that those shareholders that did not follow the list of rules would be punished by fines and the loss of their right to vote in matters concerning the company. The management of these companies, therefore, benefitted from the special provisions of Scottish Law as opposed to English Law, and the successful construction of business partnerships based on these joint-stock companies.

Table 2.4  
Schedule of Losses of the Company of  
John Glassford and Co.  
in Property

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No. 1-	2 half lots of ground and buildings in Port Glasgow and Charlestown, Maryland, Charles County-	£600
No. 2-	2 lots of ground and buildings in town of Benedict, Charles County-	£500
No. 3-	Lands of Hickory Plains £70 and Marburys Meadows £32 in Georges County-	£102
No. 4-	Lands called Tradesmens Value in Montgomery County, Maryland, 35 acres-	£21
No. 5-	Lands called Longlooked For in Washington County, Maryland, 46 acres-	£15
No. 6-	Leased lands called Vincent Ramble in Charles County, Maryland, 188 acres-	£35..8
No. 7-	Household Furniture	£20.. .. 3
	Warehouse Furniture	£ 6.. .. 9

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<sup>93</sup>.- Ibid.

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	Counting House Furniture	£.. 16 .
	Stable Furniture	£.. 8 9
	Books	£4.. .. .
No. 8-	2 Lots or 3/4ths of an Acre and Houses in the Town of Colchester Fairfax County Virginia- £400	
No. 9-	2 Lots of Land containing 342 3/4 Acres in Prince William County, Virginia- £224	

Source- Copy of entries among claims of American loyalists to British government after American Revolution, c. 1783-TD88, S.R.A. (photocopied from Audit Office Papers no. 12 in the Public Record Office in London)

Besides the tobacco merchants of Glasgow's commercial interests in the purchase of tobacco in the colonies, there were also extensive land purchases and investments apart from their land purchases in Britain, illustrative of the purchasing power available to them and of their relationships to the planters and the North American market. This development of the property market in Virginia and Maryland shows the merchants' interests in other areas of investment and their ability to exploit the opportunities present in the colonies. Also by becoming landholders in these areas they were affiliated to these areas for other reasons than just through the purchase of tobacco. (See Table 2.4)

After the American War of Independence, all British property in the North American colonies was sequestered and sold off. This resulted in the loss of valuable property and the ability to utilize the store scheme for the purposes of trade. All of the factors were sent home to Britain and the merchants of Glasgow were forced to wait for the questionable continuance of trade with

Virginia and Maryland. After independence was gained by the newly formed United States of America, claims were made by these merchants to the British government for the compensation of their property holdings in what was once British colonial America. This resulted in the "Claims of American loyalists" which provides a detailed view of just how extensive their property interests were in the colonies. For example, the company of Speirs, French and Company owned houses and lands in Baltimore, Queenstown, Princes Ann County, and Oxford in Maryland to the value of £3950..8s. sterling.<sup>94</sup>

Also evident in the "Claims of American loyalists" is that it was not only the merchants of Glasgow who owned property to a considerable value in the colonies, but also their factors. For example, Neil Jamieson, a factor for the company of Glassford, Gordon, Monteath and Company, "...was possessed of very Considerable Property in Houses and land in the Town [Norfolk] which was his own private Property, all which were burnt and destroyed, together with the Furniture and everything therein,..., since that period the remaining property had been seized, confiscated and sold by the order and for the use of the States of Virginia..."<sup>95</sup> Through the claims of Neil Jamieson, there is also evidence of manufacturing investment in the

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<sup>94</sup>.- "State of the property confiscated by the state of Maryland", Memorials by Speirs French and Company, late merchants in Glasgow, Copy of entries among claims of American loyalists, TD 88, S.R.A.

<sup>95</sup>.- "Memorial of Neil Jamieson, late of Norfolk, Virginia", Claims of American loyalists, TD 88, S.R.A.

colonies as the company of Glassford, Gordon, Monteath and Company also owned a distillery which "together with the Merchandize therein were worth Nine Thousand Pounds Sterling...".<sup>96</sup>

The "Claims of American loyalists" also became a vehicle for politics and demonstrated the views that the British merchants had towards the colonial rebels. According to the claims of Neil Jamieson, he was approached by the rebels to join their party for which he would in return recover his property "...but ... declared to them that no Earthly consideration should induce him to become an Enemy to his King and Country."<sup>97</sup>

The highest value of claims for compensation from the British government were submitted by William Cunninghame and Co. The reason for the higher value of claims was because of the nature of the firm's business transactions. As stated above, William Cunninghame and Co. were involved in the primary retail of goods which resulted in the heavy use of stores throughout the Chesapeake area. In addition to the stores mentioned above, there were also stores at Port Tobacco, Chaptico, Leonard Town, George Town, and Bladensburg which were owned by the company of Cunninghame, Findlay and Co.<sup>98</sup> The total value of the

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<sup>96</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>.- Ibid. N.B. Mr. Jamieson eventually became an established underwriter at Lloyd's coffee house in London.

<sup>98</sup>.- "Property of Cuninghame, Findlay and Co., April 24, 1787", Claims of American loyalists, TD 88, S.R.A. This firm was much smaller than the firm of William Cunninghame and Co. with only 44 shares divided among

claims for William Cunninghame and Co. amounted to £11,450. Also significant is the evidence of the use of slaves as "goods" lost in these stores which were often more valuable than the stores themselves. The average price for a "negroe" was £150, and at the Falmouth store, William Cunninghame claimed the loss of "negroes" to the value of £1000.<sup>99</sup>

The heavy investment in property in the colonies and the evidence of industrial interest displays the tobacco merchants' role as one of greater involvement in the economics of the tobacco colonies than previously thought. Not only were these merchants investing in property and estates in the Strathclyde region of Scotland<sup>100</sup>, they were also through their close connections with the colonies in practical experience, as many of them often made the journey from Britain to Virginia and Maryland as factors themselves, laying the foundations for capital exploitation in what they thought would always be known as British North America. What remains to be seen is their attitudes towards the Americans in the light of the imminent revolution in the 1770s and their reaction to the problems of trade in the early 1780s when it was apparent that the loss of their former markets was inevitable.

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seven partners as opposed to 229 shares divided among nine partners.

<sup>99</sup>.- "General Inventory of Slaves and other Personal Estate belonging to William Cunninghame and Co.", Claims of American Loyalists, TD 88, S.R.A.

<sup>100</sup>.- See Devine, "Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land" in Land and Industry and The Tobacco Lords, pp. 18-30.

During the American War of Independence and after, general opinion amongst the merchant elite was that the Americans were brutal rebels and "...great Scoundrels in the very worst sense, being all low Bred which they can't get over,..."<sup>101</sup> Judith Bell, a sister-in-law of Alexander Speirs by his marriage to Sarah Cary when he was in Virginia, wrote to her brother-in-law in 1776 concerning the war. She stated, "I hope you are not among the herd that think us all rebels (and so will not design to write any such) because we have been obliged to take up arms in our own defence; believe me my dear brother the King has not better subjects in Britain than the Americans, tho' they will not be made slaves they would still be dutiful subjects. O how horrid is a civil war."<sup>102</sup>

The effects of the Revolution on the solvency of major tobacco companies although described at the time as ruining the trade<sup>103</sup> and subsequently by nineteenth-century historians as responsible for the collapse of the tobacco trade in the American colonies (although they acknowledged that trade to the West Indies in tobacco continued), have, however, in recent times been proven to

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<sup>101</sup>.- Alexander Speirs to Thomas Edin Esq. & Co., Glasgow, 17 February, 1782, Letter Book Alexander Speirs Esq., HH1/18/2, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>102</sup>.- Judith Bell to Alexander Speirs, Belmont, 1776, Bundle 8, Box 25 1673-1865, Crichton-Maitland Papers. G.U.A.

<sup>103</sup>.- Alexander Speirs to Mr. F.L. Braumburg, Glasgow, 25 October, 1781, Letter Book-Alexander Speirs, HH1/18/2, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

be not as detrimental to the economic status of the major tobacco trading companies as was previously imagined by nineteenth-century historians.<sup>104</sup>

Taking into account that most of the merchant elite who had produced the greatest amounts of wealth and experienced the most success in the tobacco trade were deceased by 1783, the business methods that helped to sustain the liquidity of these firms still trading in the war crises sheds light on the very nature of the tobacco trade as it progressed towards the end of the eighteenth century as becoming less and less entrenched in the protection of the Navigation Acts and mercantilist doctrines. As Devine has explained, it was the very nature of the merchant elite that protected them from bankruptcy.

"...The merchant group was so small, power within it was so concentrated, and companies were so interlinked by family and partnership bonds that firms were unlikely to indulge in a *sauf qui peut* as pressure on credit developed from the later months of 1777. Merchants were so involved in one another's affairs as insurers, as fellow partners, as creditors, cautioners, as co-obligants and as members of the same social and political elite, that salvation lay in mutual restraint..."<sup>105</sup>

The business activities of Alexander Speirs who died before the end of hostilities between Britain and America by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, show what business qualities and methods allowed for the continuance of solvency, at least amongst his firms, aided by the

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<sup>104</sup>. - Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 103-120.

<sup>105</sup>. - Ibid., p. 119.

beneficial social and economic superstructure of the merchant elite which also prevented bankruptcies. His business letters show that apart from divesting himself of his trading interests and retiring to his estate, he managed to continue in business, in spite of his age, until his death. As he wrote, "...I am old and will do everything to keep well with my found Connections."<sup>106</sup> He maintained his business relationships and status not by diverting his capital to industrial and landed investment in which he was involved in from the 1750s, but by changing and diversifying his commodity interests from being exclusively tobacco to other commodities such as sugar, cotton, rice, tea and rum. Because of the loss of the tobacco market to the French Farmers General, he also sought to enlarge other markets, one of which was Ireland. He wrote to one of his business associates, "...The price of Tobacco, Coffee, and Cotton have lately advanced higher than could be expected. We thought Prudent to sell as Prices offered left a handsome Profit, Our Tobacco shipt to Sundry Ports in Ireland..."<sup>107</sup>

The diversifying of commodity interests is the most significant fact in the business practices of Speirs in reaction to the loss of trade with the tobacco colonies, for it shows the tobacco merchants not simply as

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<sup>106</sup>.- Alexander Speirs to Robert Burton, Glasgow, 14 February, 1782, Letterbook-Alexander Speirs, Esq., HH1/18/1, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>107</sup>.- Alexander Speirs to Robert Burton, Glasgow, 29 October, 1781, Letterbook - Alexander Speirs, Esq., HH1/18/1, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.



monopolists in terms of favourable trade protection, but rather as entrepreneurs in being able to diversify economic interests for profit gain, and by being able to continue to apply commercial knowledge in the speculative commodities market, which their success in the tobacco trade had already so amply proved. For example, in a letter to his business correspondent in Ostend, Speirs stated;

"...I did not Choose to Buy on those terms when Good Coffee by your limits was only 5. The Sales of Sugars Pleased Mr. Houston, is Expected early at Ostend when he arrives shall advise you. We have no letters from Mr. Burton since July we expect him early, shall advise you...We must wait sale of our Rice till a demand comes..."<sup>108</sup>

Ever since the 1950s, it has been argued that the gap between 1707 and the subsequent success in the tobacco trade by the Glasgow merchants is too long to directly explain the latter's growth as coming from the Union. Even Henry Hamilton as early as 1932 in his work the Industrial Revolution did not claim 1707 was immediately and directly the cause of economic growth, and, going further back, Hume Brown spoke of 1707 as providing an "opportunity", not as an inevitable cause of progress. What then were the business qualities and characteristics of the merchant elite that can be seen as being responsible for their economic successes, which allowed

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<sup>108</sup>.- Ibid., Alexander Speirs to John Godard Martens, Glasgow 28 November, 1781, Letterbook - Alexander Speirs, Esq., HH1/18/1, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

them to seize this "opportunity"? What did the merchant elite themselves, call for in their day-to-day business activities and dealings with the tobacco trade with the American colonies?

What seems to stand forth is the relatively small size of the business community in eighteenth-century Glasgow, and the subsequent inter-relatedness and interdependence of the tobacco merchants. Many merchants were linked by familial ties, either being the sons of established merchants or marrying the daughters of established merchants. Also, due to the relatively small population of the city of Glasgow during the eighteenth century, it seems natural that a great degree of nepotism would exist in the inner circle of the merchant elite. What also stands out is the importance placed on what today would be called good business practices - the rational allocation of time, a sense of purpose, underpinned by a moral and religious outlook that formed a sense of personal responsibility, as well as the practical training in writing, clarity of expression, bookkeeping, navigation, and general practical knowledge that were the essential tools of the merchant. Basically, too, the merchant elite not only depended on each other for social and familial relationships, but in the eighteenth-century traditions of cohesiveness, also depended on each other for business relationships which provided assistance in credit, information, and most of all solvency.

Apart from mutual support in business, the merchant elite also seemed to have a fairly unified market strategy towards its main business of trading tobacco in the American colonies. Such issues as customer relations, pricing policies, company policy, and insider information may seem pedestrian in a modern context, but as made evident by direct instructions from the major firms as William Cunninghame and Co. and John Glassford and Co., in written directives, they show a certain sophistication in their business practices, and in the unity of purpose of the merchant elite in not only voicing these business philosophies as significant measures in securing increased profits, but also in providing themselves and their companies with a business creed.

### Chapter 3

#### The Political Merchant:

#### Civic Duty, Civic Problems, And Civic Control

"Sacred to the Memory of Andrew Cochrane, a Citizen of Glasgow who, though Born of an honourable Family, and trained to the liberal Arts, entered into Business in this City, and not without success. Being more than once elevated to the Chief Magistracy in the City, even in evil times, and during the Heat of the Civil War, he furnished a Pattern of a just and Shrewd Provost. Prosecuting the claims of the City in the House of Lords, with his usual dexterity and prudence, he procured the restitution of the Taxes, on which the Enemies of his country and Liberty had seized, being remarkably conversant in the Laws and History of his Country, and moreover, taught by long experience. Among Friends he was eloquent and learned; at Banquets, even when advanced in years, he was agreeable and jovial. At last, in the 85th year of his age, he ended a long and honourable life on the 9th July, 1777." - Memorial to Andrew Cochrane in Glasgow Cathedral, also printed in W.M. Wade, The History of Glasgow, Ancient and Modern (Paisley, 1821), p. 702.

As many of the merchant elite prosecuting the tobacco trade with the American colonies were closely involved with the Town Council of Glasgow during the eighteenth century, we need now to examine this aspect of that merchant community. As was shown in Chapter 1, the portion of the Glasgow Town Council drawn from the merchant ranks was almost entirely made up, especially

during the years 1740 to 1780, of those who either headed companies or belonged to companies with the greatest trade in tobacco, as well as being involved in various other manufacturing concerns.<sup>1</sup> It is important to examine their activities as magistrates, baillies, and provosts, therefore, for the insights it gives concerning their civic attitudes. The political aspect of the merchant community thus used sheds further light on the overall nature of the Glasgow tobacco merchant elite.

During the eighteenth century, three different events can be singled out as providing enough primary information on the nature and concerns of the merchant elite as local politicians. These three events were: the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 when the city was temporarily occupied by the young Pretender who demanded the sum of £5,500 from them for the cause of the rebellion; the patronage debates of 1763 concerning the settlement of a minister for the new parish which had been created in the west of the city to meet the needs of the increasing population; and the need for a new Scottish bankruptcy bill and the setting up of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783. Out of the many merchants who were involved in the Town Council, these three aspects of eighteenth-century Glasgow feature three prominent members of the merchant elite who were holders of the highest office in the city, that of Lord Provost, at the times. These were:- Andrew Cochran, Archibald Ingram, and Patrick Colquhoun. Despite the fact

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<sup>1</sup>.- See Chapter 1, pp. 31-33.

that these three merchants will be the main focus of an examination of these particular events because of their leading role as chief magistrate, the greater role of the merchants involved in the Town Council will also be illustrated through their responsibilities as magistrates and baillies whose interests formed a natural concern of the greater merchant community and more specifically the merchant elite.

Finally, a confidential report on county voters in Scotland in 1788 will be looked at.<sup>2</sup> Although a little outside the time period of 1700 to 1780, this confidential report is invaluable for understanding the political interests of members of the merchant elite. Originally in manuscript, it was intended to assist William Adam and Henry Erskine in managing the interests of the Whig Opposition in Scotland to the Administration of William Pitt and Henry Dundas. More or less an "intelligence" report, it provides detailed information on voters in each district of Scotland, who by this time included a great number of Glasgow merchants who had bought themselves into the landed aristocracy in the Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Stirlingshire area, thus giving descriptive accounts of their political power, interests, influence, and connections.

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<sup>2</sup>.- View of the Political State of Scotland in the Last Century. A confidential report on the political opinions, family connections or personal circumstances of the 2662 county voters in 1788 (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887). For the background see D.G. Henry, "The Political State of Scotland in the Last Century", *SHR* vol. 46 (1967), pp. 87-89.

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Andrew Cochrane (1693-1777) was born in Ayr, and came to Glasgow in 1723, receiving his burgess ticket in 1726 due to his propitious marriage to Janet Murdoch, daughter of Peter Murdoch, an established merchant of Glasgow. Immortalized by Tobias Smollett in the novel Humphrey Clinker as one of the principal merchants of Glasgow<sup>3</sup>, Cochrane's business interests included; Andrew Cochrane and Co., Andrew Buchanan and Co., Buchanan, Anderson and Co., Bell's Tanwork Co., Greenland Fishing Co., King Street Sugar House, Cochrane, Murdoch and Co., William Cunninghame and Co., James Hall and Co., and the New Glasgow Tanwork Co.<sup>4</sup> He was one of the founding members of the Glasgow Arms Bank in 1750 and also owned three ships, the *Cochrane*, the *Murdoch*, and the *Prince William*. In the year of his decease, 1777, he made up dispositions and settlements, leaving most of his wealth in addition to his shares in various business concerns to John Brown, a merchant who was also involved in the Town Council and who was Dean of Guild in 1747 and 1748.<sup>5</sup> Cochrane's most significant role was as the Lord Provost of Glasgow during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and the subsequent occupation of the city. He was elected to the office of Lord Provost on three separate occasions, in 1744, 1748,

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<sup>3</sup>.- The Novels of Tobias Smollett, M.D. Viz. Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Humphrey Clinker (London: Hurst, Robinson and Co., 1821), p. 637.

<sup>4</sup>.- Information obtained from card index, S.R.A.

<sup>5</sup>.- See Chapter 5, pp. 341-342.

and 1760, each time serving the usual two years. Cochrane was also preceptor of Hutcheson's Hospital for 40 years which, through a commission of ten pounds, had his portrait painted.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to all his other activities, Cochrane was the founder of the Political Economy Club, to which Adam Smith belonged and gave lectures.<sup>7</sup> A newspaper article from 1895, waxed lyrical over Cochrane's supposed association with the said Mr. Smith. Cochrane was apparently "...a great lover of books,..." and "...delighted also in the society of learned men. He was on intimate terms with Adam Smith when that distinguished thinker was a professor in the old college on High Street, and it is said that the author of 'the Wealth of Nations' derived both pleasure and profit from his intercourse with the Glasgow merchant, whose views as to political economy and on questions of trade were unusually advanced for that period."<sup>8</sup>

It is in the Cochrane Correspondence regarding the Affairs of Glasgow, 1745-46 that a clearer picture of Cochrane's role as both magistrate and merchant can be seen. This also gives an insight into the greater merchants' reaction to the rebellion of the '45, and their

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<sup>6</sup>.- A photograph of his portrait can be seen in the Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of Portraits on Loan in the New Galleries of Art, Corporation Buildings (Glasgow, 1848).

<sup>7</sup>.- Campbell and Skinner, Adam Smith, pp. 64,65.

<sup>8</sup>.- "Glasgow and the '45", *Glasgow Herald*, 9 February, 1895.



loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty.

An example of the apparent faithfulness of the Glasgow merchants to the Hanoverian cause can be seen in a poem found in a journal of George Bogle, junior, when he was 14 in the year 1760. Although much later than the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, it was not necessarily written at the later date, and also illustrates the Whig nature of the majority of the merchant elite. The poem consisted of the following lines:

"Have with all my Heart  
The Hanoverian Part  
And for their Settlement  
My conscience give Consent  
Most righteous is the Cause  
To fight for Geordie's laws  
It is my mind and heart  
Tho none will take my part  
The Tory party here  
Most hateful doth appear  
I ever have denied  
To be on James' Side  
To fight for such a king  
Will Britain's ruin bring  
In this Opinion I  
Resolve to live and die."<sup>9</sup>

The Jacobite Rebellion did not meet with much support in Glasgow. For instance, Pagan writing in 1844 stated, "...So odious was the cause of the Pretender to the Presbyterians of Glasgow, that the great majority of them suspended business, by closing their shops and counting-houses; and a heated enthusiast had nearly put an end to the rebellion by attempting to pistol him as he rode along the Saltmarket."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>.- George Bogle's Journal, 1760,1761, Edinburgh College, Age 14, Box marked 1756-71, Bogle MS, M.L.

<sup>10</sup>.- Pagan, Sketches of the History of Glasgow, p. 57.

The Cochrane Correspondence, a compilation of letters concerning the administration of Cochrane as Lord Provost in dealing with the Jacobite rebellion, is significant for what it shows both about Cochrane and about the nature of a Town Council such as Glasgow's, composed of merchants whose natural interest was with their own economic concerns. It also illustrates the patronage system of Scotland in which these merchants as members of the Town Council had to operate. The importance of the patronage system to the eighteenth-century political and economic machinery of Britain has often been emphasized: "traders and merchants saw independence not as freedom conferred by landed property but, as comments in the press show, as freedom from the economic political control of the patricians."<sup>11</sup> Writers also contend that it was a characteristic of the commercial middle classes that they desired to rid themselves of the patronage system and client economy, and that they achieved this end by combining interest and allowing for mutual credit assistance.<sup>12</sup> In the case of "the tobacco lords" of Glasgow, this combining of interest is very apparent, as the whole nature of the merchant elite was its interdependence and inter-relatedness. By 1783, the combining of interest on the Town Council of Glasgow by the merchant elite would eventually lead to the formation

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<sup>11</sup>.- McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, eds., The Birth of a Consumer Society, p. 199.

<sup>12</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 200, 201.

of the first Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain.

The great trepidation with which the Jacobite rebellion was viewed can be seen in both letters to and from Cochrane. For instance, Cochrane wrote, "...I have had great care and fatigue, and would not go through such another scene for a great deal of money: God grant it were well over."<sup>13</sup> More interesting, however, are two letters written to the Provost which indicate his state of mind and the need for him to be more positive. Merchant baillie Richard Allan wrote, "...I wish your Lordship would forbear writing in your letters so much of your fears and jelusies, our men being so desirous to know what you writ, and I can have no liberty to show them when they carie in them many discouraging in them..."<sup>14</sup> The second letter written by William Crosse advised Cochrane, "...I only beg you would pull up your spirits; the worst it can come to is breaking your looking-glasses and china: for plundering or burning you need be in no pain. When I receive any letter from you everybody calls to see it; and as you express your fears and diffidence so strongly, I am forced to shift shewing them. If you have any thing of that kind, pray write it on a slip of paper and inclose it in your letter."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>.- The Cochrane Correspondence, November 1745, Provost Cochrane to Patrick Crawford, p. 31.

<sup>14</sup>.- Ibid., no date, Baillie Allan to Provost Cochrane, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup>.- Ibid., no date, William Crosse to Provost Cochrane, p. 57.

Another of Cochrane's main concerns was the harm that was being done to business and manufacturing in the town. He mentions that payments were being halted on bills and that tobacco was lying waiting to be shipped. This point is perhaps one of the more important ones, as it shows not only the extent of the business interest in the town and the influence of the tobacco merchants, but also because it shows how important the credit structure was which was essential for the success of the trade. In a letter to the 3rd Duke of Argyle, then consolidating his position as political manager of Scotland, Cochrane states, "...there is an absolute interruption of business; our manufactures at a stand, for want of sales and cash to pay their servants, and an entire stop to payments; the rebels harassing the burrows, distressing the collectors of the publick revenues, and endeavouring forcibly to get all the money they can, without regard to the merchant's drawbacks or laws of the revenue..."<sup>16</sup>

Cochrane also mentions often in his letters the "principal inhabitants" of the city. For instance, he wrote, "We have not made one step without the unanimous concurrence of our principal inhabitants."<sup>17</sup> It is fairly obvious that these "principal inhabitants" were the merchants involved in overseas commerce, or the merchant elite, as the topic of business interests and trade

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<sup>16</sup>.- Ibid., 4 October, 1745, Provost Cochrane to the Duke of Argyle, p. 23.

<sup>17</sup>.- Ibid., 14 September, 1745, Provost Cochrane to Patrick Crawford, p. 31.

protection is a primary concern in a majority of Cochrane's letters. A letter from General John Campbell to Provost Cochrane illustrates how important it was for Cochrane to protect and promote the business interests of the city. General Campbell stated:

"...it is extremely against my inclinations to refuse you, or any of the good town of Glasgow concerned in trade, what they may think for their advantage, or necessary in carrying on their trade. I have no power of granting protections, or can it be supposed that, as I know a little of the world, I should presume to offer at anything from me that could have greater weight, or carry more respect with it than the protection already given by the Lords of the Admiralty, from whose indulgence and confidence in my conduct upon this critical juncture, I am by them honoured with a very uncommon command for a land man."<sup>18</sup>

The other salient features of the Cochrane Correspondence, besides the evidence of a strong business interest in the Town Council and the need to protect their interests, are Glasgow's loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty and how much political patronage was intrinsic to eighteenth-century local administration. Cochrane's letters to the Duke of Argyle illustrate the fact that the patronage system and the political interest of Glasgow must be necessarily manipulated by him in a delicate balance. For instance, in a letter to the Duke of Argyle on 31 October, 1745, Cochrane assured the patron of the city of the undying loyalty that the town and the "principal inhabitants" had towards King George. He

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<sup>18</sup>. - Ibid., 19 January, 1746, General John Campbell to Provost Cochrane, p. 74.

stated:

"Yesterday being the anniversary for the auspicious birth of our most gracious Sovereign, the Magistrates at this critical time, advised with some of the capital burgesses, how far it would be prudent to celebrate it in the manner we formerly used to do... Notwithstanding all of which, we agreed to make our rejoycings in much the same way as formerly. In the forenoon the musick bells played a considerable space; in the evening they played again, and the whole bells of the city were rung. Several bonfires were lighted and the Magistrates, accompanied by the Earl of Selkirk, several persons of distinction, the principal inhabitants and gentlemen of the colledge, went to the Town-hall, where they drank the health of our most gracious Sovereign King George, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke and Royal Family, success to his arms against all his enemys, and a great many other royal healths, whereof your Grace's was deservedly one. What the consequence of this may be, I know not: we judged it our duty to give this *publick acknowledgement of our loyalty to our Sovereign, however dangerous at present it may be...*"<sup>19</sup> (*italics mine*).

Even although the main Jacobite force lay in Edinburgh and was preparing to set out for England such defiance, only 40 or so miles away from the rebel army, does signify some courage and principle.

Cochrane's letters to the Duke of Argyle, were always written in a tone of deference, further proof of the workings of the patronage system at the time. For instance he wrote on 25 June, 1746:

"...I hope it will be esteemed no presumption in me to assure your Grace of my faithfull and inviolable attachment to your interest and family, and of endeavouring, in my low sphere, to promote the continuance of the friendship that has long subsisted between your

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<sup>19</sup>.- Ibid., 31 October, 1745, Provost Cochrane to the Duke of Argyle, pp. 25,26.

illustrious house and this corporation, which I hope my conduct during my Magistracy has not lessened...Thus we have the pleasure of observing to be the object of your Grace's attention. We esteem it our great felicity that you are pleased to honour us with your patronage, and interest yourself in our concerns on all occasions. I am persuaded we will express a gratefull sense of our obligations in the most real and respectful manner. May we hope to be directed by your Grace, when it may be proper for us to apply to the ministry, and in what manner. I shall never cease to pray for your Grace's long life as a blessing to our unhappy country..."<sup>20</sup>

Finally, a letter from Cochrane to a Mister Maule<sup>21</sup> of 15 October, 1746, illustrates perfectly the delicate position of the Provost as a local politician, and the workings of the client economy in the eighteenth century. He wrote:

"...I thank God my magistracy is ended without reproach. That my conduct is approved by a gentleman of your character must give me unspeakable pleasure, and may have a tendency to make vain. One thing I hope to be allowed to say, that the friendship and interest of the illustrious family who have long been deservedly our patrons, is stronger at the end than the beginning of my magistracy, and I am certain my successor will pursue the same measure. I am not in a private station to presume to continue a correspondence, though, should I take the liberty of writing at the Magistrate's desire, I hope you will forgive me. I beg you may do me the justice to believe that in every station, I shall be proud of being..."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>.- Ibid., 25 June, 1746, Provost Cochrane to the Duke of Argyle, pp. 100, 101.

<sup>21</sup>.- Maule was apparently secretary to the Duke of Argyle so this is obviously "the illustrious family...long deservedly our patrons" mentioned in this letter. Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>22</sup>.- Ibid., 25 October, 1746, Provost Cochrane to Mr. Maule, pp. 101, 102.

Although Cochrane's writings in his correspondences dealing with the Jacobite Rebellion of the '45 may seem pedestrian, they do help to illustrate the main point of the workings of the "client economy" and the patronage system of eighteenth-century Britain. The merchant elite as a majority on the Town Council of Glasgow necessarily operated in this patronage system.<sup>23</sup> Cochrane's letters to the Duke of Argyle, the political manager for Scotland, especially show how necessary it was to promote the interests of Glasgow in a balanced way with a man whose patronage was invaluable for the city. At this point in time, 1745, the merchant elite's strength as a unified group was not yet powerful enough to promote their own interests unconditionally. As will be seen, later, in 1783, after 75 years of successful trading in the tobacco market with the American colonies, the power of the merchant elite had grown to such an extent that to a limited degree they could promote their own interests in the founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce.

## II

Patronage, however, as it existed in the eighteenth century was not only a political phenomenon. It was present in other spheres of life - in economics and religion - and just as his role as local politician and

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<sup>23</sup>. - The merchant elite, themselves, were examples of a privileged self-propagating group, although as an upwardly-mobile middle class they necessarily depended on dynamism and "new blood".



merchant were intertwined so too were these other aspects. J. B. Morrell, for example, has shown this "blurring" between religion and politics in his examination of the Leslie affair of 1805 in which an important position in Edinburgh University became the occasion for a trial of strength between moderate and evangelical factions in the *Church of Scotland*. Morrell has shown that the metaphysical arguments in this affair was a cover-up for the real issues of personal and group power politics in the universities of Scotland.<sup>24</sup> So too, in the commercial sphere, in spite of the great wealth of many of the merchant elite, involvement in the patronage system was unavoidable.<sup>25</sup> As Ronald M. Sunter has stated, "...In any branch of government, civil or military, promotion always came easier to a man who could add political interest to ability, and on occasion the active support of a great man could more than compensate for very limited abilities. Independence, in so far as this entailed freedom from obligation to a politician, was thus restricted to men with independent wealth and few dependents, but for most

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<sup>24</sup>.- J.B. Morrell, "The Leslie affair: careers, Kirk and politics in Edinburgh in 1805", *SHR*, vol. 54, (1975), p. 67.

<sup>25</sup>.- Furthermore, many of the merchant elite bought great estates, not only for the status of being a landed gentlemen, but to gain the ability to vote for the election of commissioners to parliament. According to the Act of 1681 (cap. 21) which was valid for most of the eighteenth-century, the right to vote in the election of commissioners to parliament was only held by a freeholder, a proprietor of land (to the value of 40s. of old extent or land to the sum of £400 valued rent (Scots)) held directly of the Crown.

freeholders the friendship of a politician was a necessity at some point in their lives..."<sup>26</sup> John Simpson widens the picture further in his writings showing how the patronage system was, in fact, responsible for the political unity of Great Britain. He writes, "...What was for ambitious Scots the period of initial adjustment to the Westminster spoils system was, at the same time, for many politicians throughout Britain the era par excellence of the naked and unashamed pursuit of patronage. Not only was patronage the political cement that helped make governments out of disparate factions; it also served to bind Scotland into the novel political construction called Great Britain."<sup>27</sup>

In Glasgow, in 1763, the question of religious patronage became a matter of heated debate causing conflict within the Town Council. Abolished in 1690, after the Revolution Settlement, ecclesiastical patronage had been revived by an Act of Parliament in 1712. Between 1690 and 1712, the choice of a minister had generally been in the hands of the elders and heritors and was subject to the consent of the congregation.<sup>28</sup> Now, individual

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<sup>26</sup>.- Ronald M. Sunter, Patronage and Politics in Scotland, 1707-1832 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1986), p. 7.

<sup>27</sup>.- John M. Simpson, "Who Steered the Gravy Train, 1707-1766?" in Scotland in the Age of Improvement. Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century, eds. N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), p. 47.

<sup>28</sup>.- Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church, 1688-1843 - The Age of the Moderates (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1973), p. 18.

proprietors or corporations could thus, in theory, "impose" a minister on a parish. The restoration of patronage was severely criticized in Scotland, especially happening so soon after the Treaty of Union of 1707 which had promised to protect and uphold the Presbyterian form of Church government in Scotland. The General Assembly even went so far as to issue a formal complaint to the Queen. They wrote:

"We cannot but with all humble duty and submission take notice of another bill presented in the Parliament of Great Britain for restoring of patronages, which we conceive is contrary to our Church constitution, so well secured by the treaty of union, and solemnly ratified by the Acts of Parliament and both kingdoms, and will inevitably obstruct the work of the Gospel, and create great disorder and disquiet in this Church and nation. For the further clearing whereof, we beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that from our first reformation from Popery, patronages have been reckoned a yoke and burden upon the Church of Scotland, as is declared by the First and Second Books of Discipline, published soon after the said Reformation; since which time they were still judged a grievance, till at length they came to be by law abolished."<sup>29</sup>

In 1732, an attempt was made to clarify the issue of patronage by "the Overture of 1732" which explicitly stated that if the patron failed to present a minister within six months of the position falling vacant, the right to 'elect and call' a minister lay with the Protestant heritors and elders, or in royal burghs, with

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<sup>29</sup>. - Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842 (Edinburgh: 1843), Sess. 11, May 13, 1712 "Act approving of the Representations and Address made by the Commission of the late General Assembly to the Queen, concerning the Toleration and Patronages", p. 467.

the magistrates, town council, and kirk session.<sup>30</sup> The rights of congregations to "call" ministers seemed thus to be reduced to a formality. Various secessions from the National Church, in time, ensued and the whole issue became a matter which continued to cause deep division within the Church between the "Moderate" element who accepted the law and increasingly sought to make it a standard of behaviour and conformity, and an "Evangelical" or "high-flying" group who saw it as a threat to the fundamental liberties and constitution of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment.

In 1763, a seventh parish in the city called the Wynd Church located in the west portion of the city, was created because of increasing population, and the need for newer buildings. The issue this raised on the patronage of the new parish evolved into a debate involving the Town Council headed by Provost Archibald Ingram. Simply stated, the issue revolved around a decision taken by the majority of the Town Council (with the exception of Provost Ingram and a few others who dissented from this decision) to exercise its role in deciding on the new minister of the new parish to the exclusion of the General Session.<sup>31</sup> This action resulted in several pamphlets being written on both sides concerning the issue of religious patronage and a scathing publication in *the*

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<sup>30</sup>.- J.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 277.

<sup>31</sup>.- See Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church, p. 73.

*Glasgow Journal* by the General Session rebuking those members of the Town Council for this apparent usurpation of the authority of the General Session. The actions of the majority of the Town Council in wishing to be the sole patron in this new appointment were also important in the sense that they demonstrate the increasing confidence and desire of the merchant community in the Town Council to make decisions for the city of Glasgow to the exclusion of outside influence. It is perhaps no coincidence that in the same year St. Andrew's Parish Church was completed, a very ostentatious display of architectural extravagance exemplary of the wealth of the merchant elite.<sup>32</sup>

The Provost, Archibald Ingram, the main dissenter during these debates from the rest of the Town Council over their right to exercise the sole patronage of the Wynd Church to the exclusion of the General Session, had been born in 1699 in Dalserf. He married Rebecca Glassford, sister of John Glassford of Dougalston on 7 March, 1743. His business interests included Cochrane, Murdoch and Co. (the Glasgow Arms Bank), the Glasgow Inkle Factory, Pollokshaws Printfield Co., Archibald Ingram and Co., Ingram, Kippen and Co., the Stocking Manufactory, and Kippen, Glassford and Co. He was also a subscriber to the Foulis Academy of the Arts. His main contribution in business was the development of inkle manufacture, or linen tape, by which he introduced linen printing along with his brother-in-law John Glassford, setting up

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<sup>32</sup>. - See Chapter 6, pp. 404-406.

printworks and bleachfields at Pollokshaws on the main road between the Gant and Auldhouse Burn. Ingram also purchased the estate of Cloberhill in the parish of East Kilpatrick.

The first clear moves in the business of settling a seventh minister in Glasgow appear in the Town Council minutes for 25 March, 1762. "The magistrates and town council assembled, considering that the Old Wynd church haveing been condemned as insufficient, and the town haveing build a new church near to the Saltmercat called St. Andrews church, Mr. William Craig, the minister of the said Old Wynd church, with his congregation removed into the said St. Andrews church,...and..., on account of the increase of inhabitants, haveing thought proper to build another new church, the said church is now finished, whereby there are now seven churches,..."<sup>33</sup> They further added "...that the magistrates and council, as representing the community, by building saids new churches and endowing the said seventh minister with a competent stipend are thereby the said undoubted patrons of the said seventh minister..." and that "...it is necessary the town's right to said patronage be reserved, secured and declared..."<sup>34</sup> The important statement here is the Town Council's insistence that they are "the undoubted patrons" because of the fact that they built the new churches and

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<sup>33</sup>.- Renwick, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, volume 7: 1760-1780, p. 89.

<sup>34</sup>.- Ibid., p. 90.

endowed the seventh minister with a "competent" stipend. The Town Council also declared that in addition to their "...sole right of patronage and presenting a qualified person to be the said seventh minister..." they would also have "...the right and property of the said new built churches, with the absolute power of setting and disposing of the seats thereof and of the vacant stipends, and nameing the precentors thereto;..."<sup>35</sup> Finally, they stated "...And the council recommend to and empower the magistrates, dean of gild and deacon conveyer to take all proper steps for declaring and ascertaining the towns right of patronage of the said seventh minister and church to which he shall be called, and of any other church which shall be built at the towns expense and the minister provided in a stipend out of the revenues thereof."<sup>36</sup> The merchant councillors at this time were John Murdoch, Alexander Campbell, Walter Brock, John Murdoch, senior, John Jamieson, Alexander Speirs, John Bowman, Robert Donald, James Mitchell, Archibald Ingram, George Murdoch, John Alstoun, and John Pagan,<sup>37</sup> all with important connections with the Virginia trade.

The issue is clear. The town had built the new

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<sup>35</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>.- Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>37</sup>.- Minutes of the Town Council of Glasgow, September 1755 - January 1763, C1/1/32, S.R.A.

church of St. Andrew's<sup>38</sup> and the New Wynd at the "town's expense", and therefore claimed the right to decide on the minister of the latter in addition to the disposing of the seats and the naming of the precentors. St. Andrew's Parish Church was already an attestation to the new wealth being created by the "tobacco lords" who controlled the Town's affairs. It seems logical to assume, therefore, that this insistence by the Town Council on its right as sole patron in the new seventh parish was a further declaration of the power and control they were attempting to exercise over the affairs of the city. This claim to the patronage of the new parish was merely a further extension of their economic power into all aspects of the town's life.

On 30 November, 1762, a committee was appointed for "considering upon a proper plan for calling ministers"<sup>39</sup> which consisted of the present magistrates, the Dean of Guild, George Brown, the Deacon Convener, Duncan Nivien, Andrew Cochrane, late provost, Colin Dunlop, James Baird, and John Robertson, late baillies. The merchant councillors during this year consisted of Andrew Cochrane, Colin Dunlop, James Baird, Walter Brock, John Murdoch, senior, John Jamieson, John Bowman, Robert Donald, James Mitchell, George Murdoch, John Pagan, William Lang, and

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<sup>38</sup>. - St. Andrew's, started in 1739, had formed the sixth parish for the growing city: its patronage had not been a matter of contention given the time and circumstances of its foundation.

<sup>39</sup>. - Renwick, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, volume 7: 1760-1780, p. 111.



Alexander Mackie.<sup>40</sup> Their plan was reported to the council on 27 January, 1763 and was entitled "Proposal for calling and electing ministers for vacant parishes in Glasgow". It stated:

"...1st, That when a vacancy happens of any of the ministers whose stipends are paid out of the towns funds the chief magistrate shall be obliged to convene the town council within four months of such vacancy, for nominating a proper person to be a candidate for supplying the vacant parish. 2nd, That the eldest minister of the city shall, in same space, convene the session of the vacant parish, who are to nominate another person for a candidate to the vacant charge. 3rd, That after the nomination of the candidates by the town council and vacant session, and previous to the general meeting for the election aftermentioned, the parishioners in the vacant parish shall be sounded and their inclinations anent the candidates reported to the said general meeting. 4th, That the chief magistrate of the city for the time, being within ten days after expiry of the four months aforesaid, shall convene the whole members of the town council, twelve members from the vacant session and three members from each of the other sessions to be chosen by themselves (blank) days preceding this general meeting, who shall in a collective body determine which of the two candidates shall be minister of the vacant parish. 5th, That the magistrates, dean of guild and conveener, on the part of the town council, and a committee to be named by the above electors, in name of the eldership, shall apply to the presbytery at their first meeting to appoint the moderation of a call to the person elected as above to the person elected as above to be minister of said vacant parish, and shall thereafter prosecute the said settlement according to the rules of the church..."<sup>41</sup>

Despite the fact that it made some concession, albeit

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<sup>40</sup>. - Minutes of the Town Council of Glasgow, September 1755 - January 1763, C1/1/32, S.R.A.

<sup>41</sup>. - Renwick, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, volume 7: 1760-1780, pp. 118,119.

vague, to sounding out popular opinion, this report by the committee from the Town Council was not taken lightly by other members of the community, especially the General Session which published a scathing article in *the Glasgow Journal* on 10 February of the same year. The article read:

"The following two votes were carried by a special meeting of the Town Council.  
1st, That they approved of the aforesaid plan which entirely excludes the General Session from any share in the election and calling of Ministers to this city, and ordered it to be inserted in their books, as the rule for calling ministers, in room of the modell 1721 years, 2d They ordered the process to be insisted in for obtaining a declarator of patronage for the seventh kirk, and that the clerk should write the towns agent at Edinburgh first post to that effect, even before any plan for settling it is agreed upon, and we have further to report, That a prevailing party in the council urged the above precipitate and arbitrary steps, in opposition to the chief Magistrate who protested against them and was adhered to by another of the present Magistrates and five more of the Town Council."<sup>42</sup>

They further stated that this committee of the Town Council was usurping the laws of Scotland since presbytery was "by law" established in Scotland and that "...the religious liberties of the inhabitants, have been trampled upon, their antient modell for settling ministers abolished, and an utter contempt, shown to their judgement in this whole matter of calling their Ministers."<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the disagreement with the Town

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<sup>42</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, February 10-17, 1763, no. 1124.

<sup>43</sup>.- *Ibid.* See also Chapter 6, p. 406.

Council's actions by the General Session, the Provost, Archibald Ingram, also made a public statement dissenting from the Town Council's process petitioning for a declarator of the right of patronage. His reasons for dissent were inserted in the Town Council minutes on 10 February, 1763, and were adhered to by James Buchanan, baillie, John Pagan, Thomas Napier, James Robertson, John Wilson, and John Jamieson, skinner. Ingram divided his reasons for dissent into six parts, and prefaced them with a statement as to his unhappiness at being with odds with the majority of the Town Council, especially because for, "...the several members who compose this majority I have the highest personal regard,..."<sup>44</sup>

Ingram's first reason was his opinion that the Town Council's actions in prosecuting for a declarator of the right of patronage would "...expose the dignity of the town council..." and that it was "...indecent...to break through this agreement by an act of their own, in opposition to the other body concerned..."<sup>45</sup> His second reason for dissent expressed the concern that the Town Council's actions would be unsuccessful because they were illegal. He stated, "...the attempt, therefore, with all deference to those who are of another opinion, I believe is not only inexpedient and dangerous, but will be found

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<sup>44</sup>.- Renwick, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, volume 7: 1760-1780, p. 120.

<sup>45</sup>.- Ibid.

upon tryall to be illegal and unjust..."<sup>46</sup> In his third point, Ingram stated that the decision was not only disagreeable to the General Session, but also to the inhabitants of the city. He felt that the Town Council was trying to claim too much power in the affairs of the city: "...but when I consider this desire of power as incroaching upon the religious privileges of our fellow citizens and posterity, I cannot but judge it to be shewing itself in a case in which an increase of influence to magistrates in their personal capacity is of all others least needful, and the consequences of which may be most hurtfull..."<sup>47</sup> His fourth point was his fear that the decision of the Town Council to undertake such power would at the very least result in the Crown receiving the right of patronage of all the other churches in the city at present and in the future. In his fifth point he expressed his concern that this decision would result in the introduction of "very improper" ministers into the city as it was a well known fact that the settlement of ministers was more or less a form of "political traffick". This would result in "injury" to those inhabitants of the lower ranks as "...impiety and immorality in the common labouring people are inseparable from sloth and poverty..."<sup>48</sup> Finally, Ingram stated that the decision of the majority of the Town Council would

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<sup>46</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>.- Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>48</sup>.- Ibid., p. 43.

result in "...a very heavy expense upon the town's funds..."<sup>49</sup> John Pagan, a member of the Town Council, also lodged a protest against the town's declarator for right of patronage on 18 February, 1763.<sup>50</sup>

The majority of the Town Council who were in favour of the committee's decision did not remain silent, however, as answers to Archibald Ingram's reasons for dissent were inserted in the Council minute's by "a committee of their number for settling vacant churches within the city" on 22 March, 1763. The committee started out by stating:

"It is with great reluctance and deference that the respondents offer these remarks, but as some material facts are omitted in the provost's reasons of protest and others are exaggerated, and as they contain some strong expressions with respect to the conduct of the council, not consistant with the provost's usual candour and temper, the respondents, for their own vindication, judge themselves obliged to state the facts,...and this is become the more necessary as the leaders of the general session have thought fit to print the provost's reasons and put copies into the lords' boxes, with a view to retard the intended settlement of a seventh minister, and to distribute copies thereof through Glasgow and other places."<sup>51</sup>

One of the major points in the committee's reply was that five of the six members of the Town Council who dissented from the proposals of the committee, including Ingram, were elders<sup>52</sup> who therefore had a vested interest

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<sup>49</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>.- Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>51</sup>.- Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>52</sup>.- Ibid., p. 133.

in deciding upon the settlement of ministers. They also contended that "...a few leaders in the general session, who aim at having the settling of all the ministers, have struck out and been at unwearied pains to mislead the inhabitants."<sup>53</sup> They concluded their arguments by stating that members of the Town Council were threatened "...in their persons and business...", and that the whole affair had produced "scurilous" pamphlets which rendered the office of both "magistracy and ministry contemptible".<sup>54</sup>

On 20 December, 1763, the Town Council decided to choose as minister for the New Wynd Church a Mr. George Bannatyne, who entered into his new charge on 6 January, 1764.

The majority of the Town Council opposed to Archibald Ingram thus upheld their decision and were successful in procuring for themselves the right of presenting ministers to the churches in Glasgow. This was confirmed on 8 April, 1766 when it was announced that a decret of certification had been obtained from the Lords of Council and Session by the town's agent in Edinburgh, of the town's right for presenting ministers. This stated:

"...whereby the lords of council and session aforesaid reduce, rescind, retreat, cass and annull the articles and regulations therein mentioned, commonly called the modell for settling ministers in the said city, and also all other articles and regulations made contrary to and in prejudice of the magistrates and town council their right of presenting ministers to the whole kirks in Glasgow,

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<sup>53</sup>.- Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>54</sup>.- Ibid., p. 139.

excepting the Inner High Church, and decern and declare the same to have been from the beginning, to be then and in all time coming null and of none avall, force, strength, or effect, and to bear no faith in judgement or outwith the same, and thereby find and declare that the said provost, magistrates and town councill of Glasgow have the sole and undoubted right of presenting ministers to all the churches built or to be built within the said city of Glasgow, excepting the Inner High Church or Cathedrall, as often as a vacancy shall happen or occasion shall require..."<sup>55</sup>

What then does this action indicate about the nature of the merchant elite's involvement with local politics? Firstly, the whole question of patronage was a dividing line between the "Moderate Party" and the "Popular Party" or the "Evangelicals" in eighteenth-century Scotland. As most of the Town Council of Glasgow was in favour of obtaining for themselves this right of patronage, it appears then that most of these merchants were probably of the "Moderate" persuasion. It follows, therefore, that Archibald Ingram's outspoken arguments against this decision by the Town Council, must place him in the "Evangelical" camp. As it happened, the disputed presentation of the Wynd Church resulted in an almost entire walk-out by the congregation and the elders, some of whom went on to form a Relief Church and others a chapel-of-ease.<sup>56</sup> Also of importance concerning these debates is it appears that by 1760, a substantial merchant community trading successfully in tobacco with the

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<sup>55</sup>.- Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>56</sup>.- Callum G. Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 37.

American colonies was becoming more interested in obtaining for themselves a larger share of power in making decisions for their city. In comparison with Andrew Cochrane whose pleadings as Lord Provost in 1745 for help in restoring trade from both the Duke of Argyle and General John Campbell were necessarily delicately put forth, due to the workings of political patronage, the incidents surrounding the patronage debates of 1763 concerning the settlement of a minister in the New Wynd Church showed a far more outspoken and aggressive stance being taken by the Town Council in petitioning for a declarator of the right of patronage. In effect, the Town Council's reasonings for obtaining the right of presenting a minister were initially based on the fact that it was the town's funds in building the new churches of St. Andrew's Parish Church and the New Wynd Church, and in providing a suitable stipend for the new minister that gave the right of presenting a minister to the Town Council. The building of St. Andrew's had taken approximately twelve years to complete due to the ornate, opulent design of the building. The money for constructing such a building most likely came from the coffers of the profits of the tobacco lords themselves - they certainly could not have justified such an extravagant building by mere taxation alone - so it can therefore be assumed that the Town Council's interest in obtaining the patronage of these new churches simply reflected their increasing power in the community.



Although still required to work within the "client economy" or patronage system of eighteenth-century politics, the merchant elite of Glasgow was gradually gaining for themselves more power, at least concerning their own civic affairs.

### III

By 1783 the merchant elite had become important enough in local political life to establish a formal interest group - the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. This was the first chamber of commerce to be formed in Great Britain, and was specifically set up to provide a more effective political interest group to petition parliament for measures such as a new law on bankruptcy which would meet the needs of merchants in Scotland.

The Lord Provost at this time was Patrick Colquhoun. Born in Dumbarton in 1745, Colquhoun was the son of Adam Colquhoun, sheriff substitute of Dumbartonshire, descendant of the ancient family of the Colquhouns of Luss. Left an orphan while still young, he was sent by relatives to America, "...where he acquired such a ripe experience of the Virginia trade, then in the heyday of its prosperity, that he came back to Glasgow in 1766, when he was only twenty-one years of age, and began business as a merchant of his own account..."<sup>57</sup>

Commercially, he headed his own company of Patrick

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<sup>57</sup>. - George Stewart, Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship (Glasgow, 1881), p. 189.

Colquhoun and Co. whose other shareholders included Alexander Speirs, Alexander Ritchie, Joseph Scott and William Carmichael.<sup>58</sup> Although little is known about his business activities, he must have been successful, since in 1782 he was able to purchase the estate of Woodcroft, formerly known as Nether Newton, which he renamed Kelvingrove.<sup>59</sup> Colquhoun's other activities included instituting the Royal Exchange at Glasgow Cross, being treasurer and chairman of the English Chapel, and a chairman of the Committee of Management of the Forth and Clyde canal.<sup>60</sup>

Colquhoun's major activities were in politics in which field he was particularly successful. For instance from 1779 to 1782 he visited London trying to procure favourable legislation for the industries of Glasgow and Scotland. He was elected to the office of Lord Provost in 1782 and 1783, in 1783 using his influence as such to form the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. He furthered the industrial interests of Glasgow and the West of Scotland visiting Flanders and Brabant on the Continent to make known the quality of Lanarkshire and other British muslins. Due to his efforts, he was affectionately known as the "father of Glasgow".<sup>61</sup> Colquhoun moved to London

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<sup>58</sup>. - Speirs Papers, TD 131/19/54, S.R.A.

<sup>59</sup>. - Anon., The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, p. 61.

<sup>60</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>. - Dictionary of National Biography, 63 vols., (London: 1887), vol. 11, pp. 403-405.

permanently in 1789 and became important there for his social writings and promotion of the good government of cities.

In addition to his political activities, Colquhoun also published twenty-seven treatises on a variety of subjects. One of these subjects and an important concern for Colquhoun was the topic of police. Colquhoun's writings and concerns about the policing of London would lead to the formation of the modern police services in Great Britain in 1829. An earlier example of his concern for the treatment of criminals came in 1770 when he entered into a correspondence with John Davidson, the crown agent at Edinburgh, concerning making a contract for transporting felons to the colonies. Colquhoun wrote:

"My absence in the Country prevented my answering your favour in Course of Post. I did inform Mr. Grant that I was willing to undertake the Business of transporting Felons that might occasionally be cast for transportation in Scotland, but till an agreement was concluded or the terms properly explained, it did not occur to me as necessary to prepare a vessel for the purpose of carrying them to the plantations. On this account I am not altogether prepared for an immediate transportation of the 6 or 8 Felons you mention; but they shall be sent by the first vessel offering for any of the Southern provinces..."<sup>62</sup>

Colquhoun is best known for the way his treatises also focused on the nature of eighteenth-century

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<sup>62</sup>.- Patrick Colquhoun to John Davidson, 30 November, 1770, Hannay Papers, GD214/726/2, S.R.O.

society.<sup>63</sup> It has been written that "Patrick Colquhoun writing in the early nineteenth century, produced a similar map {reference is to the discussion of pre-industrial hierarchical society} of civil society, whilst at the same time unconsciously forecasting its dissolution by depicting the basis of wealth and income upon which each group rested. This intricate structure was kept together by the strings of patronage held by those higher in the social scale and by the ropes of dependence which bound those lower down to those above them, the tenant farmer to his landlord or the labourer to his employees..."<sup>64</sup>

Two of his treatises in particular show his concern for the nature of society: *A treatise on indigence; exhibiting a general view of the national resources for productive labour; with propositions for ameliorating the condition of the poor*, written in 1806, and *A treatise on the police of the metropolis, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanours which at present are felt as a pressure upon the community; and suggesting remedies for their prevention*, written in 1796.

The first treatise is particularly interesting for

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<sup>63</sup>.- For a recent evaluation of Colquhoun's contributions to the field of social reform, see the article "A Glaswegian Criminologist: Patrick Colquhoun, 1745-1820" in Norman Gash, Pillars of Government and Other Essays on State and Society, c. 1770-1880, (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1986), pp. 139-152.

<sup>64</sup>.- Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., The Economic History of Britain since 1700, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), vol. 1, p. 255.

its statements about the causes and nature of wealth creation, the social position of the "labouring poor", and the role of the "capitalist" in providing employment for those less fortunate members of society. Colquhoun's attitudes concerning the poor were typically eighteenth-century, comparable to the writings of such men as Stevenson MacGill, Professor of Theology at the University of Glasgow in the early nineteenth-century.<sup>65</sup> The "dark satanic mills" with which the poor had to contend were seen as the "lot of man" and necessary if society was to progress. On the other hand, the position of the wealthy and successful merchant or manufacturer was due to sober "piety" and industriousness, and it was their responsibility to ensure that the necessarily hard lot of the poor was ameliorated. In this sense, each position in the structured layer of society had its role and purpose, with the additional emphasis on the dynamic character of the successful merchant in producing wealth. For instance, Colquhoun wrote:

"Poverty is therefore a most necessary and indispensable ingredient in society, without which notions communities could not exist in a state of civilization. It is the lot of man - it is the source of wealth -, since without poverty there would be no labour, and without labour there could be no riches, no refinement, no comfort, and no benefit to those who may be possessed of wealth - inasmuch as without a large proportion of poverty surplus labour could never be rendered productive in procuring

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<sup>65</sup>. - See Stevenson MacGill, Discourses and Essays on Subjects of Public Interest (Edinburgh: 1819), pp. 406-475.

either the conveniences or luxuries of life."<sup>66</sup>

Colquhoun continued:

"Indigence therefore, and not poverty is the evil. It is that condition in society which implies want, misery, and distress. It is the state of any one who is destitute of the means of subsistence, and is unable to procure it to the extent nature requires. The natural source of subsistence is the labour of the individual: while that remains with him he is denominated poor, when it fails in whole or in part he becomes indigent."<sup>67</sup>

Colquhoun's writings on the causes of indigence included three categories. These were: innocent causes of indigence such as blindness, old age, and insanity which were irremediable; remediable indigence requiring props to raise it to a state of poverty caused by situations such as temporary sickness, unemployment factors, or loss by fire of property; and culpable causes of indigence. This last category is particularly interesting for its emphasis on the factors producing those members of society whose antithesis was found in the moral work-ethic qualities of the middling ranks. Among the twenty-six culpable causes of indigence which should be avoided were: idleness, laziness, carelessness, improvidence, prodigality, want of frugal habits, want of economy and management, habitual drunkenness, abandoning a helpless family, wasting earnings in alehouses, servants losing character and place

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<sup>66</sup>.- Patrick Colquhoun, *A treatise on indigence; exhibiting a general view of the material resources for productive labour, with propositions for ameliorating the condition of the poor* (London: J. Matchard, 1806), pp. 4,5.

<sup>67</sup>.- Ibid., p. 8.

for fraudulent and pilfering practices, female prostitution, contracting debts without the ability to pay, systematic idleness, leading the lives of gypsies, and systematic criminality.<sup>68</sup>

In his *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, Colquhoun also displayed his views on what caused the lower ranks to fall into criminal activities; again it is behaviour which was essentially the antithesis of that of the moral middling ranks. He stated, "The improvident and even the luxurious mode of living which prevails too generally among various classes of the lower ranks of the people in the metropolis, leads to much misery and to many crimes..."<sup>69</sup>

According to Colquhoun, they were "accustomed from their earliest infancy to indulge themselves in eating many articles of expensive food in its season and possessing little or no knowledge of that kind of frugality and care which enables well regulated families to make every thing go as far as possible, by a diversified mode of cookery and good management..."<sup>70</sup> He added, "The chief consumption of oysters, crabs, lobster, pickled salmon, & c., when first in season, and when prices are high, is by the lowest classes of the people - The middle ranks, and those immediately under them,

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<sup>68</sup>. - Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>69</sup>. - Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis Explaining the Various Crimes and Misdemeanours which at Present are felt as a Pressure upon the Community, and Suggesting Remedies for their Prevention* (London: Printed by H. Fry, 1796), p. 38.

<sup>70</sup>. - Ibid.

abstain generally from such indulgences until the prices are moderate."<sup>71</sup> Like many eighteenth-century thinkers, Colquhoun contracted a theory of behaviour and then looked round for evidence to support it. However shot through with chopped logic and complacency, they do give an insight into the chief hierarchical values of one of the leading members of Glasgow's commercial elite of that time.

Patrick Colquhoun's concerns with promoting the trade and industry of Glasgow were most noticeable during his years as Lord Provost in 1782 and 1783 when he successfully initiated the foundation of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and petitioned Parliament for a more favourable Scottish Bankruptcy bill. His activities and concerns as Lord Provost have been preserved in a little series of papers entitled "Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Papers, 1777-1782" which provide a detailed insight into not only the concerns of Colquhoun, but also those of his fellow elite as well as the greater merchant community of Glasgow at this time.<sup>72</sup>

The main concern of the Chamber of Commerce papers from 1777 to 1782 was the "Scotch Bankrupt Act 1772" as it was referred to at the time.<sup>73</sup> Previous to this Act of

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<sup>71</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>.- These papers are located in the Mitchell Library. They are not catalogued, and are referred to as "Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Papers, 1777-1782". Most of the papers were the personal property of Patrick Colquhoun during his years as Lord Provost.

<sup>73</sup>.- Chamber of Commerce Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, M.L.



1772, whenever a bankruptcy occurred, the first creditor to "lay an arrestment of his debtor secured to himself his portion of the property to the exclusion of others." Therefore, a person who knew he was going bankrupt could favour one creditor by "intimating his condition". The law of 1772 abolished this practice, and allowed for equal distribution of the bankrupt's property among his creditors.<sup>74</sup> Two interesting points about the emphasis placed on the Scottish Bankruptcy Act during the years 1772 to 1783 in the Chamber of Commerce papers are that this was the time when the boom in land purchase was greatest by colonial merchants, and also that this was the time when the colonial merchants were interested in resolving the problem of turning landed estates into hard cash because of the various credit crises brought about by collapses such as that of the Ayr Bank in 1772 or the American Revolution in 1776.<sup>75</sup>

The major point about the mercantile concern for a favourable bankruptcy bill and the eventual founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783 is that the merchant community, especially in Glasgow, was combining in interest (as it had done throughout the eighteenth century) as a political group which hoped to be effective enough to promote their own interests through the petitioning of Parliament. For instance, there was an

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<sup>74</sup>. - S.G. Checkland, Scottish Banking A History, 1695-1973 (Glasgow: Collins, 1975), p. 132.

<sup>75</sup>. - See Devine, "Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land, 1770-1815" in Land and Industry, pp. 205-235.

interest in forming a General Chamber of Manufactures of Great Britain (which would eventually materialize in 1785) as early as 1777 in Glasgow. The advocates of such a scheme declared that:

"...the manufacturers of Great Britain, by their ingenuity, industry, and wealth, contribute no small part of the power of the Kingdom, and constitute a very large, if not a principal part of the community. Their importance to the state appears to have considered by the legislature only as a source of revenue. Their importance to each other seems not to have been addressed to, nor understood, till very lately, and they have remained in as many detached unconnected parts as the various articles of their manufactures (and even the existence of some) have by a variety of unwise regulations been repeatedly sacrificed."<sup>76</sup>

The final impetus to the foundation of a General Chamber of Manufactures of Great Britain were the economic policies immediately after the American Revolution, in particular Pitt's excise scheme which included a tax on fustian. This apparently led to "...special committees of the textile manufactories being formed in such towns as Manchester and Glasgow, and the sending of delegations to London..."<sup>77</sup>

Besides the Bankruptcy Bill, another main topic of the Chamber of Commerce papers was the Corn Bill. Evidence of merchant activity over this bill can be seen by documents such as a receipt for travelling expenses written out by Mr. Peter Murdoch on 14 May, 1777, for £13

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<sup>76</sup>.- Chamber of Commerce Papers, 1777, Folder 18, M.L.

<sup>77</sup>.- Arthur Redford, The Economic History of England, 1760-1860 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1960), pp. 56, 57.

4s.<sup>78</sup> The concerns of the merchants at this time were contrary to the landed interests. For example, in "A Memorial for the Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers of Glasgow, dated 2d May 1777, respecting the new Corn Bill...", they stated; "The intention of the landed interest in the proposed new bill is, to render the importation of oat-meal into Scotland as difficult as possible,"<sup>79</sup> the effect of which would be the raising of the price of oatmeal for the benefit of the landed interest, but extremely detrimental to the state of the poor. They continued:

"...It has been remarked, I believe, with truth that the labouring poor in Scotland are virtually mere slaves, than the real slaves in our American colonies, before the peace of that country was infringed by the present rebellion. These slaves, ..., live easily and comfortably. Our poor have to labour from morning to night; and after all, to sit down contented with the most scanty fare, both as to food and raiment. I have often wondered to see the wealthy, who sit at their ease, perfectly callous as to the state of the poor labourers; grudging at the smallest relief which they obtain..."<sup>80</sup>

A resolution on the Corn Bill of the Merchants House on 25 November, 1777, led by Hugh Wylie, Dean of Guild and later Lord Provost in 1780, also called for the Corn Bill to be

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<sup>78</sup>. - "Account of Messrs. Ritchie and Murdoch's travelling expenses of going and returning from Edinburgh on the Corn Bill", Chamber of Commerce papers, 1777-1779, folder 18, M.L.

<sup>79</sup>. - "Thoughts respecting the proposed new Corn Bill presently depending in Parliament", Chamber of Commerce papers, 1777-1779, folder 18, M.L.

<sup>80</sup>. - Ibid.

opposed "most vigorously".<sup>81</sup>

The main issue of the Chamber of Commerce papers, however, was the passage of a new bankruptcy bill which would be more beneficial to Scotland's merchant classes.

"The 1772 Act was a temporary measure, lasting initially seven years but subsequently extended to ten years. It applied only to a debtor's moveable estate. It extended the provisions in the 1696 Act relating to the categories of persons who could be rendered notour bankrupt, and provided for the equalisation of preference obtained by arrestment or poinding within the thirty days prior to sequestration. This Payment of Creditors (Scotland) Act 1783 (c18) re-enacted the 1772 Act with two important alterations. It extended it to a debtor's heritable estate as well as to the moveable estate, but it restricted its application to debtors who were in trade. In this last respect it introduced a feature which remains common among continental bankruptcy codes."<sup>82</sup>

The importance of the bill here is that the correspondents of Patrick Colquhoun on this subject and the people referred to in the proceedings concerning it were mainly all members of the merchant elite as defined in Chapter One. For example, in a document entitled "Proceedings under the English Statute of Bankruptcy", in 1781, there was a note at the bottom which stated:

"Mr. Ritchie declares his intention of trying his strength on this point with the Trade. Several of the most opulent and oldest traders who have bestowed much attention to the subject are averse to the measure and have strongly urged Mr. Ritchie to give it up as impolitic and as tending rather to lessen the dignity of

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<sup>81</sup>. - "Resolution of the Merchants House of Glasgow, 25 November 1777, concerning the Corn Bill", Chamber of Commerce Papers, 1777-1779, folder 18, M.L.

<sup>82</sup>. - The Laws of Scotland Stair Memorial Encyclopaedia, 22 vols., (Edinburgh: The Law Society of Scotland, Butterworths, 1988), vol. 2, para. 1302.

the meeting."<sup>83</sup>

In his correspondence concerning the Bankruptcy Act, Patrick Colquhoun exchanged information and asked opinions of members of the merchant elite. Five of the more prominent merchants whom he corresponded with were James Coulter, Alexander Speirs, John Robertson, William Coats, and James Ritchie. These letters are important in understanding the merchant elite's attitudes towards the political issues of the time. For example, James Coulter writing to Patrick Colquhoun in 1781, stated:

"The great grievance of our Bankruptcies at present is the shamefull waste of time and expence in converting heritable subjects into money, so that it may be computed from 20 to 30 percent of the value which lands in the pockets of the men of law. I have heard attempts were made by the late Lord Advocate and others to procure some remedy, by approaching nearer to the practise of England. But our country has not then attained sufficient liberal and commercial views to counter ballance the weight of the law interest. Whether that period be yet arrived, I will not be sure, but it is certainly the interest of the publick and particularly of the burrows to attend to it, as far as may be now practical. The discussion of this point is only for a disinterested Lawyer, who prefers the prosperity of his country to the emoluments of his craft."<sup>84</sup>

John Robertson also criticized the law interest of the country in a letter dated 16 December, 1781. He wrote:

"I cannot say that I have paid much attention to the Bankrupt Law - only I have always thought that it is deficient in two points...that it is

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<sup>83</sup>.- "Proceedings under the English Statute of Bankruptcy", December 1781, Chamber of Commerce Papers, folder 18, M.L.

<sup>84</sup>.- James Coulter to Patrick Colquhoun, 16 December, 1781, Folder 19, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

not in the power of any number of creditors be their value never so considerable to discharge an unfortunate debtor tho he may have made a fair surrender...The other point I am afraid the most difficult because tho whole hosts of lawyers will be against it and that is to adopt some play of converting the real estates of bankruptcy into money in the simplest and shortest way..."<sup>85</sup>

A further observation on the Bankruptcy Act by William Coats is particularly interesting, as it shows evidence for the existence of an ad hoc Chamber of Commerce prior to the official foundation in 1783. He stated:

"Some Gentlemen last night talked at times of the Grand Scale- to neglect the minutiae at other times the same people seemed to mind the most trifling matters. For my part as a practical man I wish a great number of minutiae in the Statue as a rule for plain honest people to go by and assist them to defeat the intention of interested relations or of designating attornies..."<sup>86</sup>

Finally, a letter from James Ritchie on 17 December, 1781, shows that Colquhoun was not always well received in his intentions, especially by some of the older and more established merchants, such as Mr. Ritchie. He wrote:

"I received your letter dated Sunday night this day as I was sitting at dinner and I do assure you it vexed me exceedingly to find that Mr. Veitch had not been able to find the pamphlet in the Bankrupt Bill wrote in 1771 because you seemed to entertain a suspicion that I wished to withhold it from you...in short it is impossible I can be wise on a subject which I have not thought on for these ten years and it cannot be expected I am to give myself much trouble, where I have been treated in the way

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<sup>85</sup>. - John Robertson to Patrick Colquhoun, 16 December, 1781, Folder 19, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>86</sup>. - William Coats to Patrick Colquhoun, 16 December, 1781, Folder 19, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

I have represented."<sup>87</sup>

Patrick Colquhoun's involvement with the passage of the Bankruptcy Act for Scotland was not merely that of a coordinator in the sense that he just asked the opinions of his many colleagues; it was also actively aggressive in the sense that the processes of political patronage required positive action in applying through official channels in order to obtain passage of the said act. Colquhoun and others closely involved in this act often travelled to Edinburgh and London to petition and represent their case to the administrative bodies and dignitaries who had the power to effect such changes. For instance, there is evidence of Colquhoun going to Edinburgh on 25 January, 1782 to petition the Convention of Royal Burghs as well as the Lord President and Judges of the Court of Session concerning the passage of the new Bankruptcy Bill.<sup>88</sup> Also of importance was Colquhoun's correspondence with such people as Sir William Forbes, a financial authority often consulted by Pitt.<sup>89</sup>

Colquhoun was not only corresponding with major politicians in Scotland, but also with politicians in

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<sup>87</sup>. - James Ritchie to Patrick Colquhoun, 17 December, 1781, Folder 19, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>88</sup>. - "Letter from the Magistrates to Messrs. Graham and Colquhoun on their going to Edinburgh on the business of the new Bankrupt Law", 25 January, 1782, Folder 35, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>89</sup>. - Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 19, p. 412.

London.<sup>90</sup> For instance, in 1782, John Seton wrote to Colquhoun:

"Agreeable to your desire I now send you in this and other five covers an Abstract of the several Acts of Parliament passed in England relative to Bankrupts from the days of Henry the Eighth to the present hour, an attentive perusal of which will mark the improvements gradually made and will enable you and the other gentlemen of Glasgow (who are so much interested) to frame a New Law for Scotland."<sup>91</sup>

An indication of the extent of the administrative work put in by Colquhoun in promoting the passage of the new Bankruptcy Bill in Scotland is given in a document entitled, "At a very numerous meeting of the merchants, traders, and manufacturers of the city of Glasgow". It stated:

"That the Thanks of this meeting is due to the said committee, to Sir William Forbes and the Lord Provost of Glasgow for their zeal, labour and attention in collecting the sense of the whole mercantile people of the Kingdom on the subject and in digesting such observations on the new law as appeared to meet the views of the mercantile interest."<sup>92</sup>

This meeting produced a circular letter that was to be distributed amongst the cities of England. Addressed to "the Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers in England" it requested them "to give immediate instructions to their respective Members of Parliament, to aid the

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<sup>90</sup>. - Perhaps it was his experience as Lord Provost and the duties of office in 1782 which inspired him to remove to London in 1789, where eventually he became an M.P.

<sup>91</sup>. - John Seton to Patrick Colquhoun, 7 February, 1782, Folder 35, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>92</sup>. - "Minutes of the Meeting of the Trade", 1 March, 1782, Glasgow, Folder 36, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.



Representatives for the Cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, in supporting the Bill proposed by the Royal Burghs of Scotland...that the powerful influence of the Scots lawyers may not frustrate the just and equitable views of the trading part of the community, either by throwing out the bill, or omitting the real estates of Merchants and Traders, who may become insolvent."<sup>93</sup>

It seems, therefore, that it was in the interest of the commercial classes of Britain to come together in order to make changes in existing legislation which would benefit their economic interests. It is not surprising then that in the later eighteenth century many cities in Britain began to found chambers of commerce whose main purpose would be to lobby Parliament in the interests of the commercial classes. What is significant, is that Glasgow led the way in this respect, being the first city in the United Kingdom to do so. The Glasgow merchants were undoubtedly one of the most dynamic merchant groups in Britain at the time in terms of wealth creation through the tobacco trade and the development of manufacturing concerns, so it is not surprising their merchant elite would be the first in Britain to successfully unite the merchant community in a political organization whose precedents can be found in the mercantile membership in the Town Council earlier in the century. As Henry

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<sup>93</sup>.- "Meeting of the Magistrates and Common Council of the city of Glasgow, upon the 5th March, 1782, Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. Lord Provost in the Chair", Folder 36, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

Hamilton has said, "...running through its deliberations one can detect the formulation of a new approach to economic affairs, an approach which emphasized a faith in freedom from restraint and a desire to seek independence rather than the protection of the state."<sup>94</sup>

The workings of the political patronage system were still strong, however, and communicating through the proper channels was not always easy. For instance, a letter from John Crawford in London in 1782, warned Colquhoun to "keep quiet" this year on the matter of the Bankruptcy Bill as the Prime Minister was in a bad way due to the problems caused by the American Wars of Independence.<sup>95</sup> A letter from John Seton in 1782 also advised Colquhoun on how to go about promoting the passage of the Scottish Bankruptcy Act. He wrote:

"...They would have acted much more wisely if they had applied to Mr. Crawford alone and privately to himself or thro' me. We could have then done and said many things that cannot be done when acting with five or six different numbers little acquainted and perhaps not only in opposite interests but of different nations - I hint this to you as many applications must now be made to you. I am sure you will always find Mr. Crawford very attentive to your recommendation but do not couple *him with* others, leave him to act by himself and let him have the Merit when he succeeds. This mode will be more successful and relieve him from great embarrassment and me from much trouble. I have known the Advocate long and intimately and I never saw him more hurt than he was at the idea of members of parliament using their influence in a matter of this nature. I know

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<sup>94</sup>. - Hamilton, "The Founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce", p. 48.

<sup>95</sup>. - John Crawford, Esq., to Patrick Colquhoun, 6 March, 1782, Folder 36, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

your friendship both for Mr. Crawford and me,  
and at his desire I give you this hint which  
will save you time and much trouble and enable  
us all to be more useful. It is a truth  
Provost, many cooks spoil the Broth..."<sup>96</sup>

Furthermore, in a letter on 18 March, 1782, John Crawford wrote to Colquhoun, "...I am clearly of opinion that all circumstances considered, it would be prudent not to agitate this business during the present session..."<sup>97</sup>

By May, 1782, the Bankruptcy Bill was starting to be pushed through parliament. Merchants from Glasgow were travelling to London on this account. For instance, John Campbell, a member of the merchant elite, and later a director and chairman of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce wrote from London to Sir William Forbes in Edinburgh concerning the state of the bill in parliament. He stated, "upon the whole, delays are dangerous, and I have given it as my humble opinion that we should proceed as far as we can trust to the wisdom and independence of a British Parliament. Mr. Glassford desires his best compliments to you and I have the honor to be with great esteem."<sup>98</sup> At this time William French was acting Lord Provost as Colquhoun was in London trying to push the Bill through parliament. By a copy of a letter written to the

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<sup>96</sup>.- John Seton to Patrick Colquhoun, 7 March, 1782, Folder 36, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>97</sup>.- John Crawford to Patrick Colquhoun, 18 March, 1782, Folder 36, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>98</sup>.- John Campbell to Sir William Forbes, 7 May, 1782, Folder 31, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L. It is interesting also that John Glassford was in London promoting the passage of this bill.

magistrates of Glasgow from London, French was advised by the Scottish and English M.P.s to cultivate the friendship of the Lord Advocate.<sup>99</sup>

One of the most illustrative examples of the necessity for the passage of a new Bankruptcy Act in Scotland, and the necessity for hurrying it through parliament, can be seen in a letter dated 20 May, 1782, from John Campbell to Patrick Colquhoun in London. Campbell stated:

"The advantage likely to arise from carrying it into a law this Session are very great. There are for example two Bankruptcies just now - the Sinclairs and Archibald Torrence & Co. Each of which is for above £20,000...The state of the country is much more uncertain than in time of peace, and more failures likely to happen in one year at present than in two or three afterwards. It is therefore important to carry it, but if it cannot be done there is no help for it."<sup>100</sup>

It seems logical, therefore, to assume, as stated previously, that the main causes for this interest in the passage of a new Bankruptcy Act were the credit crises of 1772, and the American Wars of Independence.

By the end of 1782, the new Bankruptcy Act for Scotland was nearly passed through parliament. The processes of political patronage had been successfully manipulated by the merchants of Glasgow as led by Patrick Colquhoun. A letter from the Lord Advocate, Henry Dundas,

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<sup>99</sup>. - "Copy of a letter written to the magistrates of Glasgow from London", 13 May, 1782, Folder 31, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>100</sup>. - John Campbell to Patrick Colquhoun, 20 May, 1782, Folder 31, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

showed a favourable attitude to the Glasgow merchants. Dundas wrote to Colquhoun, "I have the honour of your letter by last Post. I have received the Bill with a letter from Mr. Campbell; The Mercantile interest may be assured of my attention to their wishes, and I propose to bring it into parliament at first meeting..."<sup>101</sup>

One of the last subjects dealt with in Colquhoun's correspondence was the proceedings towards the official foundation of the Chamber of Commerce. The first mention of the actual institution itself, apart from the committees that had existed before, was in a letter to Patrick Colquhoun from John Kippen of Greenock.<sup>102</sup>

As with the Bankruptcy Act, Colquhoun had also asked for advice from his mercantile colleagues on this subject. As can be imagined, the response was unanimously favourable to such an institution. For instance, James Dennistoun wrote, "The publick in generall will be much oblidge to the Gentlemen who can bring so desirable an object to maturity, Mr. D. will with pleasure contribute his mite to further such a plan as the body of people can be brought to approve of..."<sup>103</sup> William Cunninghame, one of the wealthiest merchants in the city, also agreed and

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<sup>101</sup>. - The Lord Advocate, Henry Dundas to Patrick Colquhoun, 11 November, 1782, Folder 22, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>102</sup>. - John Kippen to Patrick Colquhoun, 7 November, 1782, Folder 22, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>103</sup>. - James Dennistoun to Patrick Colquhoun, 3 November, 1782, Folder 22, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

was "...of opinion that such a system was much wanted in Glasgow: and the establishment of it now will give Provost Colquhoun much merit..."<sup>104</sup> Finally, James Oswald writing from his residence in Virginia Street, offered his thoughts on the subject. He stated:

"Mr. J. Oswald offers respectful compliments to the Lord Provost, sends enclosed some observations on the plan of the Chamber of Commerce, that have occurred to him and some of his friends- and which may perhaps be laid before the meeting tomorrow- but thinks that such of them (if any) as are approved of by the Lord Provost will come best from his Lordship."<sup>105</sup>

The importance of the passage of the new Scottish Bankruptcy Act and the founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783 under the leadership of Patrick Colquhoun, is that it showed a new and more powerful unity of the merchant elite in Glasgow. Throughout the eighteenth century, the political machinery of Great Britain was run by patronage and connections. The Glasgow merchants, during administrations like that of Andrew Cochrane, Lord Provost during the '45, and Archibald Ingram, Lord Provost during the patronage debates of 1763, had, despite their wealth, to operate within a system in which they played second-fiddle to centuries of established land-owners. By 1783, however, the merchant elite and the new generation of merchants who were

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<sup>104</sup>.- William Cunninghame, Esq., of Lainshaw, 2 November, 1782, Folder 22, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

<sup>105</sup>.- James Oswald to Patrick Colquhoun, 31 December, 1782, Folder 11, Chamber of Commerce Papers, M.L.

founding fortunes in the West Indies then later India, could generate enough unity, through corresponding with other merchant groups in Great Britain, to unite themselves successfully politically so as to procure legislation favourable to their needs as merchants; and to form an institution whose sole purpose was to promote the interests of the merchants and manufacturers of the city of Glasgow at the highest national levels.

#### IV

Although it would be impossible to establish the political attitudes of every member of the merchant elite, evidence does exist which helps to give a general idea of the outlook of the members of that elite towards the political state of Great Britain around the 1780s. This information can be obtained from the work (cited on p. 129 above) a View of the Political State of Scotland in the Last Century - A Confidential Report on the Political Opinions, Family Connections, or Personal Circumstances of the 2662 County Voters in 1788.<sup>106</sup> Although, as has been pointed out, it is a little after the time period covered in this thesis, the information it gives does go back to at least the year 1783 when most of the members of the merchant elite were still alive.

Another important point to be made concerning this document is that it only contained information on those

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<sup>106</sup>. - View of the Political State of Scotland in the Last Century.

men who had the right to vote in the election of commissioners to parliament. Since this was restricted to those holding land directly of the crown it does not comprise all Glasgow merchants holding land in the counties but only those in the exclusive group who thus enjoyed not only all the status that went with possession of a country estate (social prestige, involvement in agricultural improvement and exploitation of mineral rights, financial stability for one's family and position) but also the added cachet of being part of the exclusive (if restricted) county electorate of Scotland. By the year 1780, all of the Glasgow merchants who composed the membership of the inner merchant elite had purchased major estates in either Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire, or Lanarkshire.<sup>107</sup> In this sense, the creation of wealth by the merchant classes was a means to political "freedom" at a time when universal suffrage was not yet known.

The Glasgow Burghs, consisting of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Rutherglen, Glasgow, and Lanark in the election of their one M.P., were controlled throughout the eighteenth century by the Dukes of Argyll. After 1760, however, the power and influence of the Glasgow merchants were sufficient to keep Lord Frederick Campbell, the M.P. for the Glasgow Burghs from 1761 to 1774, busy in trying to control them since they wanted the repeal of the Stamp Act, and disliked Campbell's American policy. As has been stated, "Glasgow, already in the eighteenth century a

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<sup>107</sup>.-- See Chapter 1, pp. 33-38.



great trading and manufacturing city,...had a long and close connexion with Argyll, but the council was sufficiently independent to require that their representatives should be cognisant of the city's business affairs and capable of managing their parliamentary concerns."<sup>108</sup>

The purpose of the report of 1788, as stated earlier, was to assist William Adam and Henry Erskine in managing the Whig Opposition in Scotland to the Administration of Pitt and Henry Dundas. Its secrecy was paramount, and it was arranged that in the event of Adam's death, it would either be destroyed or put into proper keeping. Fortunately, it has survived and provides one of the best views of the merchant elite of Glasgow concerning their political attitudes, opinions, and connections.

In the Lanarkshire area, according to the report, there were eight leading interests, an interest being defined as a man who could influence other voters to follow his political lead or grouping. The controlling interest was the Duke of Hamilton who was supported the Administration. Another leading interest was that of James Dunlop of Garnkirk who was described as having a "good estate" and being able to make eight or nine votes. He was, according to the report connected with the Duke of

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<sup>108</sup>. - Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, The House of Commons 1754-1790, 3 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), vol. 1, "Introductory Survey, Constituencies, Appendices", p. 505.

Hamilton and "a very pushing man".<sup>109</sup> Other Glasgow merchants mentioned in the Lanarkshire area were: Robert Bogle of Shettleston who was described as "not rich" and whose son-in-law William Clark was Collector of the Customs in Glasgow; John Corbet of Tollcross who was described as having a small estate and who was under some obligations to Lord Elphinstone; Robert Dreghorn of Ruchill who was noted as being "very independent" and "of no party" but who may be influenced by his relation Sir John Maxwell or Mr. Shaw-Stewart (the M.P. for Renfrewshire); Andrew Buchanan of Mount Vernon who was reported as being "a batchelor" and having "a pretty good estate", and who would vote with his brother-in-law James Dunlop of Garnkirk; Andrew Houston (primarily a West Indian merchant) who was described as having "a large family whom he must provide for" and who was "at present much connected with the Duke"; Andrew Stirling of Drumpellier who was noted as being "a very extensive manufacturer", "under great obligations to Mr. Ramsay the Banker in Edinburgh", and who "will,...,go in opposition to the Duke", therefore in opposition to the Administration; and Robert Bogle of Daldowie who was described as having a "moderate estate", "suffered by mercantile losses", and who "may be influenced by Mr. Lockhart of Castlehill",<sup>110</sup> another leading interest in

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<sup>109</sup>. - View of the Political State of Scotland, p. 213.

<sup>110</sup>. - Note also that George Bogle of Daldowie was connected to this family by his marriage to Anne Sinclair.

the county who although quite independent was under obligations to Dundas who had made his brother Robert Sinclair a Clerk of Session.<sup>111</sup>

In the Renfrewshire area, there were 13 leading interests headed by Sir Michael Stewart of Blackhall whose interests were attached to the Duke of Portland and in favour of the Administration. Stewart could, according to the report make up to 23 votes. Included under Stewart's influence in making votes were such Glasgow merchants as Michael Bogle, George Bogle, Peter Murdoch, Robert Scott, and John Campbell. Other merchants mentioned in the report were Thomas Donald, James McDowall, and Robert Houston who were listed as making votes for William McDowall of Garthland who was in support of the Administration, William Cunninghame of Lainshaw who was listed as making a vote for the Earl of Glencairn, also in favour of the Administration, and Allan Scott, under the influence of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok who was a steady voter for the Opposition.<sup>112</sup>

Also among the leading 13 political interests in the county of Renfrew was Alexander Speirs of Elderslie. He was ranked fifth by the writers of the document according to how many votes he could make, and was described as owning the largest property estate in the county. He could make 15 votes, and was a "steady" member of the

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<sup>111</sup>. - View of the Political State of Scotland, pp. 220-225.

<sup>112</sup>. - Ibid., pp. 281-283.

Opposition against the administration of Pitt and Dundas.

The votes of Speirs were listed as Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, his eldest son, Peter Speirs of Culcreuch, his second eldest son, William French, merchant (and his business partner), Robert McIndoe, merchant, and Alexander McIndoe, merchant. Also listed amongst the votes of Speirs but pending derollment by the Court of Session was Archibald Ingram, who was deceased.<sup>113</sup> Finally, Speirs' interest in politics could be found in the county of Stirlingshire, where his son Peter was the owner (through the efforts of his father) of the estate of Culcreuch. There were two registered votes in this county of the Speirs' interest. They were Peter Speirs' vote and his brother Archibald.

Although, the purpose of the report of 1788 was to identify voters according to their influences and interests in either the Opposition or the Administration (hence the reason for the details on their personal circumstances and how they might, thus, be influenced by the granting of favours), its use now is significant for the analysis of the political influence of those Glasgow merchants who through success in trade had purchased estates which allowed them the right to vote. In particular, it is not surprising, due to the extensive land purchases by many members of the merchant elite, that in the counties of Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire, two

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<sup>113</sup>.- Ingram died in 1770 which shows that Speirs' political influence dates back to at least that year.

members of the merchant elite, James Dunlop of Garnkirk and Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, and one West Indian merchant associated with the merchant elite, William McDowall of Garthland, held considerable political influence. In addition, the political influence to be gained by massive purchases of land, may perhaps explain why merchants who held large estates did not totally abandon trade and live the life of a country gentleman. The initial benefit to be acquired from land investment was suffrage, and the limited ability to enter and determine the political environment of Scotland, Great Britain, and their own mercantile interests. But this was only part of a package of such interests - social, economic, political - which determined their status and influence as a mercantile elite.

The three events in the eighteenth century which allow for a discussion of the political interests of the merchant elite, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, the patronage debates of 1763 concerning the Town Council's right as sole patron of the New Wynd Church, and the founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783 as preceded by the passage of a new Scottish Bankruptcy Act, in addition to the information on the political interests and influences of those Glasgow merchants who through the purchase of land held the right to vote, gives a picture of the merchant elite of Glasgow as a group which not only grew in wealth during the eighteenth century, but also in

unity, purpose, and political power. Although wealth was a powerful precursor to influence, it did not substitute those processes of political patronage which were embedded in the traditions of Great Britain, and which were held by men whose history predated the growth of the tobacco trade in Glasgow. The ability of the merchant elite, by the year 1780, however, to join the ranks of those men whose political influence held great sway in their respective counties, such as Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire, is testimony not only to the wealth created by this trade and its subsequent deployment in the purchase of landed estates, but also to the dynamic nature of the merchant elite. In particular, Alexander Speirs, who was not even born in Glasgow, but came from Edinburgh (and who was also an Episcopalian), who went to Virginia first and worked his way up the proverbial ladder in the Buchanan firm, who married Mary Buchanan, his employer's daughter, and became one of the leading political interests in the county of Renfrewshire, as well as owning enough land in the county of Stirlingshire to secure for his sons one of the leading interests in that county, is a prime example of the dynamic nature of the merchant elite in securing for themselves a portion of that power and influence through their creation of wealth in the tobacco trade, which their rank as merchants alone would never have been sufficient enough to provide.

## Chapter 4

### The Enlightened Merchant: The Tobacco Lords and the Scottish Enlightenment

"Another advantage of industry and of refinements in the mechanical arts, is, that they commonly produce some refinement in the liberal; nor can one be carried to perfection, without being accompanied, in some degree, with the other. The same age, which produces great philosophers and politicians, renowned generals and poets, usually abounds with skilful weavers, and ship-carpenters. We cannot reasonably expect, that a piece of woollen cloth will be brought to perfection in a nation, which is ignorant of astronomy, or where ethics are neglected. The spirit of the age affects all the arts; and the minds of men, being once roused from their lethargy, and put into a fermentation, turn themselves on all sides, and carry improvements into every art and science. Profound ignorance is totally banished, and men enjoy the privilege of rational creatures, to think as well as to act, to cultivate the pleasures of the mind as well as those of the body." - David Hume in "Of Refinement in the Arts" first published in Political Discourses (Edinburgh: 1752) and reprinted in Jane Rendall, The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1978), p. 186.

The Scottish Enlightenment was one of the major transformers of eighteenth-century society. The "Enlightenment" though is an abstract term for what may better be described as an ideological shift in society from that of God being the centre of creation to that of man being the centre of its change and improvement. Reason came to replace revelation, the secular came to

replace the religious, and the nature of society came to be expressed not in terms of God, but in terms of man. Nevertheless, its use as an encapsulating term has received wide attention from scholars of all disciplines and occupies an important place in the history of early modern Europe. The Scottish Enlightenment has tended to be concentrated on as an urban phenomenon; through time, it has been associated primarily with the city of Edinburgh, though in recent years much has been done to widen the context beyond there.<sup>1</sup> No systematic study, however, exists for the links between the Scottish Enlightenment and the city of Glasgow, despite its importance as an urban centre for learning, commerce, and the arts.

The merchant elite of Glasgow were undoubtedly part of this growing sophistication in ideas of the eighteenth century, not only as participators in the many aspects of Glasgow life at the time but as promoters of a different sort of growth, viz. economic, which has been linked to ideological change.<sup>2</sup> The merchant elite were the most

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<sup>1</sup>.- See, for example, D. Carter and J. Pittock, eds., Aberdeen and the Enlightenment (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), and Roy Campbell, "Scotland's Neglected Enlightenment" in *History Today*, volume 40, (May 1990), pp. 22-28, for a discussion of the Enlightenment in Glasgow.

<sup>2</sup>.- See Devine, "The Scottish Merchant Community, 1680-1740" in The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment, pp. 26-37 and T.C. Smout, "Where had the Scottish economy got to by the third quarter of the eighteenth century?" in Wealth and Virtue, The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, eds., Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 45-72.



influential group in the city at the time because of their success in trade. Their wealth had given them considerable power not only in controlling the economic progress of the city, but also as provosts, baillies, and magistrates on the Town Council. Now, as patrons and financiers of projects such as the Foulis Academy of Arts and the theatre, it is undoubtedly true that they also influenced, and were influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment and the form it took in the city of Glasgow. The diffuseness of the Scottish Enlightenment throughout the cities of Scotland, and an example of the merchant elite being interested in its developments can be seen in a letter from William Richardson, a merchant in Glasgow to George Bogle, junior in 1771 who was at the time working in Calcutta for the East India Company. He wrote:

"Dr. Robertson at Edinburgh is I'm told advancing fast in his history of America - Mr. Beatty a Professor at Aberdeen has published a very philosophical, elegant, eloquent treatise on the nature of truth - he has struck several mortal strokes at David Hume's principle so successfully that Mr. Hume and his Friends are fairly in a passion, the same writer has published a very pretty poem called the Minstrel. Goldsmith has also wrote a poem called the deserted village - very eminent for fine description and correct versification. Mr. Millar the Professor at Glasgow has published Considerations on the Distinction of Ranks in Society - it is a very clever work being part of lectures that I have heard him read on government - how it has succeeded in England I cannot tell."<sup>3</sup>

Within the city of Glasgow, the Enlightenment

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<sup>3</sup>. - William Richardson to George Bogle, junior, in India at Calcutta, August 26, 1771, Bo 20/5, Folder 1770-1773, Bo MS, M.L.

expressed itself in various ways. Foremost among these were the writings of savants like Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, whose two books the Theory of Moral Sentiments and the Wealth of Nations formed the basis (especially the latter) of modern political economy and modern capitalist thought. Second, there was the growth of Moderatism and the diminution of the religious fervour and theological zeal which had characterised the seventeenth century. That is not to imply, however, that the seventeenth century was a entirely a time of theological obscurantism which prevented the Enlightenment from occurring; or that the eighteenth century was a clean break from religious concerns. As Roy Campbell has shown, the seventeenth-century religious background was important in establishing the roots of the Enlightenment, since religious cultural values can stimulate economic and secular development. Also, the various religious revivals in the eighteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic, such as in Cambuslang<sup>4</sup>, did not extinguish or affect the Enlightenment in any real way. The growth of Moderatism in the eighteenth century had evolved from the religious concerns of the seventeenth century, and allowed for discussions about the nature of God and creation in terms which were characteristic of Enlightenment rationalism. The third arena of change the Enlightenment affected was

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<sup>4</sup>.- See A. Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century (London: Billing and Sons, Ltd., 1971).

education, not only at the university level with the introduction of new subjects and methods but also at the more "grass-roots" level with the growth and proliferation of academies with their emphasis on practical, modern learning, teaching everything from navigation to dancing and in increased educational opportunities for girls. Many of the merchants involved in colonial trade attended these schools (some were also educated on the continent) and were matriculated students at the University of Glasgow. Fourthly, there is the growth of creative arts and "cultured" activities which included; the theatre and its beginnings in the city of Glasgow; printing and literature, led by the brothers Robert and Andrew Foulis; painting, art, and sculpture, again led by the brothers Foulis with their Academy of Fine Arts; popular entertainment with "natural science" demonstrations and exhibitions; and the ubiquitous eighteenth-century club, a centre for dancing, card-playing, music, eating, and, of course, drinking. Finally, there was the Enlightenment's effect on improvement in landed estates. The improvers in Scotland were not just wealthy landlords of the aristocracy, as evidence exists that the colonial merchants of Glasgow also engaged in improving their newly-acquired estates in ways which reflected the new-found interest of natural science.<sup>5</sup>

The nature of the Scottish Enlightenment in Scotland has been recognised as being more complex than originally

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<sup>5</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 28-30.

imagined, especially in relation to such merchant groups responsible for the growing wealth of the country as the Glasgow "tobacco lords", since the Enlightenment as a national phenomenon also runs parallel to the increase in the economic growth of Scotland.

The history of the debate about the nature of the Scottish Enlightenment has taken many forms. In the last 25 years especially, the whole debate about the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment has forced scholars to reassess Scottish history and to develop it.

One school of thought is that initiated by Hugh Trevor-Roper in 1967 who implied that the Scottish Enlightenment was more or less necessarily imported since it was not possible that "backward-looking" Scotland could have produced such great thinkers. This line of thought led to the overrated and overstated theory that the Enlightenment was brought about by Jacobites and Episcopalians and that "the history of the Scottish Enlightenment is the history of Edinburgh."<sup>6</sup> Trevor-Roper also stressed the importance of the Union of 1707 in the development of the Scottish Enlightenment, almost exactly in parallel to what was once thought to be the reasons for Scotland's economic development in the eighteenth century. According to Trevor-Roper, the Union of 1707 caused the Scots to redefine themselves as a nation.

"...The Scots themselves, by their error of provincialism, aided the confusion. They tried

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<sup>6</sup>.- Carter and Pittock, eds., Aberdeen and the Enlightenment, p. 11.

hard to bury their identity. This was the time when they invented for their country the new name of 'North Britain', and when the great Scotch writers took such pains to 'purify' - i.e. to Anglicise - their vocabulary..."<sup>7</sup>

It is the redefinition and coming to terms with their own country in connection with their renewed contact with Europe and England compared with the European Renaissance as a result of the discovery of the Americas and the Indians and the introspective necessity of Europeans to redefine their identity and relationship to these "new found" people, that is at the crux of the developing Enlightenment in Scotland according to Trevor-Roper.

"...It is when a society finds itself faced, whether from outside or within itself, at the same time, by two distinct and strongly contrasting worlds, a world of antique custom inherited from the past and a world of rapid involvement inspired by new ideas from abroad, that thinking men are forced to speculate on the social ambience of man and the mechanism of its change..."<sup>8</sup>

Trevor-Roper's theory about the nature of the Scottish Enlightenment has come under considerable criticism in recent years, for its failure to allow the Scots a uniqueness or inventiveness of their own.

"Trevor-Roper views the intellectual activities of some of these groups as a stimulus to the Enlightenment, and it certainly is the case that they sometimes operated as channels through which novel foreign ideas reached Scotland...however,... there were numerous other channels of this sort and...the infiltration of foreign ideas-themselves not of

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<sup>7</sup>.- Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Scottish Enlightenment" in Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, ed. Theodore Besterman, 175 vols. (Geneve: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1967), vol. 58, p. 1635.

<sup>8</sup>.- Ibid, p. 1658.

the Enlightenment-did not the Enlightenment  
make..."<sup>9</sup>

Further extensions of the debate have defined the Enlightenment in Scotland as the Enlightenment of the upper-classes who formed themselves into polite-clubs and who were an urban group who favoured Edinburgh, most commonly referred to as "literati".<sup>10</sup> Again, there is the description of the Enlightenment as exclusive, if not at first to foreigners channeling their ideas into Scotland through wayward Scots but then to only the upper-crust of society and one particular city. What these theories fail to take into account is the possibility that the Scottish nation or people possessed any individuality or creativity totally of themselves, deriving from their own past and its evolving place in Europe. The main neglected fact about the Scottish Enlightenment inherent in these theories, is that like the enlightenments in different countries of Europe it was unique, individual, and distinct. As stated in recent years, "...There is much more to it than some faint imitation of someone else's Enlightenment."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>.- Charles Camic, Experience and Enlightenment: Socialization for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 31 f.n.

<sup>10</sup>.- See for example Richard B. Sher, Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985) and Anand C. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment, A Social History, (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

<sup>11</sup>.- Carter and Pittock, eds., Aberdeen and the Enlightenment, p. 15.

Other theories also fail to imbue the Scots with a sense of national identity and more importantly historical continuity, insisting that for the Scottish Enlightenment to have occurred it had to break with tradition sharply in an almost "Great Divide" fashion or historical watershed. For instance, Camie in an historical sociological approach theorises that the Scottish Enlightenment could be explained by the way in which the leading intellectuals of the Enlightenment or "the Enlighteners", namely Ferguson, Hume, Millar, Robertson, and Smith, were transformed by their social experiences from the dependency and particularism of Scottish Calvinism, (dependency meaning "...wholly and absolutely dependant upon the will and Grace of God..." and particularism defined as "...erecting barriers within the human community and then awarding priority to the resulting subcommunities insofar as they resembled the preferred Scottish Calvinist subcommunity..."), to a commitment to independence and universalism. Camie states, "A quiet, perhaps ephemeral, but revolutionary cultural change took place in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland. The Scottish Enlightenment displaced the dependency and particularism that were at the root of Scottish Calvinist culture with the distinctively modern attitudes of independence and universalism..."<sup>12</sup> The early social experiences of the five intellectuals who are described by Camie as representing the Scottish Enlightenment include; their

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<sup>12</sup>.- Camie, Experience and Enlightenment, p. 45.

"Calvinist" upbringing; their education in "simple" primary schools; their education in universities; and "the patronage-dominated job market" in which they entered as professionals.<sup>13</sup> This theory closely related to what might better be termed reactionary psychology again fails to take into account the most simple and obvious fact that the Scottish Enlightenment was by its very name and nature "Scottish" and therefore peculiar to Scotland, not dependent on outside forces or a subconscious desire to extricate themselves from such abstract terms as dependency and particularism (assuming that the men of the Enlightenment were all Calvinists) supposedly inherent in Scottish Calvinism. Even if all this were true, when did the breaking point occur when dependency and particularism were transformed, as if by magic, into the convenient qualities of independence and universalism?

The Scottish Enlightenment thus was an Enlightenment of the whole of Scotland not just the city of Edinburgh, and though owing much to *outside sources* was equally represented by the originality and creativity of the Scots themselves, much of it traceable to the seventeenth century. Whatever the nature and causes of the Enlightenment, the indisputable fact is that it occurred, and the significance of its existence is that it accompanied the modernisation and industrialisation of Scotland. It filtered its way into all aspects of society, its most notable contribution being that of an

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<sup>13</sup>.- Ibid., p. 8.



ideological shift in the intellectual understanding of man and society.<sup>14</sup>

## I

In Glasgow, the Enlightenment is said to have begun with the publication of Francis Hutcheson's Inquiry into the Originals of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue.<sup>15</sup> Other contributors in the university were Leechman and Simson. The most well known and famous of the Glasgow professors, however, was Adam Smith, a pupil of Hutcheson's during his time at the university and to whom he attributed much credit, whose work the Wealth of Nations (first published in 1776), has contributed most significantly to the prestige and status of the Scottish Enlightenment, as well as to modern economic thought.

There is much controversy surrounding the hypothesis that Adam Smith while in Glasgow not only associated with the Glasgow tobacco aristocracy but formulated his theories on much of their economic activities. He has

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<sup>14</sup>. - See Gladys Bryson, Man and Society, the Scottish Inquiry of the eighteenth century (Princeton, 1945).

<sup>15</sup>. - David Daiches, Jean Jones and Peter Jones, eds. A Hotbed of Genius. The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790, (Edinburgh: University Press, 1986), p. 1. Hutcheson was apparently influenced by the first professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, Gershom Carmichael, whose edition of Puffendorf's De Officio Hominis et Civis showed a bias towards ethics. Carmichael's influence on the Scottish Enlightenment has been overshadowed by his pupil Hutcheson's works. Information taken from Campbell "Scotland's Neglected Enlightenment", p. 24.

been linked to men of business both in Glasgow and Edinburgh. This group included Andrew Cochran, John Glassford, Colin Dunlop, Archibald Ingram, Patrick Lindsay, David Loch, and John Gibson. The importance of this link is that the Edinburgh merchants are seen as having been generally conservative, whereas the Glasgow merchants are seen as having been generally more innovative, influenced by and influencing upon Smithian economics. Some biographers of Adam Smith, however, have stressed the fact that if Smith was influenced by the Glasgow merchants, it was in a contradictory way, as Smith wrote about the benefits of free trade, whereas the economic successes of the "tobacco lords" were based on mercantilism due to the Navigation Acts.<sup>16</sup> This theory seems too limited in its scope as the Navigation Acts (as established in Scotland by the Union of 1707) were not the sole responsibility of the success of the Glasgow merchants. If the mercantilist Navigation Acts were responsible for the Glasgow merchants' successes than why had not the English cities which had these privileges from 1660 achieved the same rate of economic success as Glasgow? It is true that the Glasgow merchants were trading in a mercantilist framework, but that in itself was not the reason for their success, and their role as monopolists was merely in the sense that they successfully achieved that role in competition with other British merchants. It should not be wholly assumed that due to

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<sup>16</sup>.- Campbell and Skinner, Adam Smith, pp. 63,64.

the mercantilist structures of eighteenth-century Britain, that free trade was an alien form of economic thought and practice, as freedom of trade developed from the earlier system of mercantilism. The Glasgow merchants, in fact, by their own comments stated that Smith's ideas were taken in essence from their own thoughts and experiences. For instance;

"There is some tendency,...., to regard the Glasgow men of business as having a 'Smithian' outlook. There has been a good deal of retrospective gloss put on this. Certainly they looked westwards to the Americas where there was freedom of trade (within the closed Navigation System). We are told of the Glasgow merchants that at the time of the appearance of the *Wealth of Nations*, 'Some of them said that it was no wonder that Adam Smith had written such a book, as he had the advantage of their society in which the same doctrines were circulated with the punch every day.'"<sup>17</sup>

The activities of the merchant elite in ideas and outlooks towards trade pre-dated Smith, but his presence in the University of Glasgow allowed him to nurture these ideas. However, the influence of the Glasgow trade on Smith's writing was more likely general rather than specific as Smith himself expressed his dislike for political arithmetic and interested himself more in deductive reasoning. As has been noted, "...It would have been wholly alien to Smith's mind to walk the Glasgow plainstones where the great (and apparently arrogant) merchants gathered, or to frequent the quays of Port Glasgow, or to seek out the Collector of Customs, or to

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<sup>17</sup>.- S.G. Checkland, "Adam Smith and the Biographer" in *Adam Smith, Critical Assessments*, ed. John Cunningham Wood (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 106,107.

investigate the parish registers."<sup>18</sup>

The connection between Adam Smith and the Glasgow merchants must be speculated on with caution, therefore, as no direct proof exists that Smith took his information directly from the merchants of Glasgow. Nevertheless, there is the important correlation that Adam Smith was a professor at the University of Glasgow during the ascendancy and economic success of the tobacco trade and that because of the relatively small population of the city of Glasgow undoubtedly interacted with these merchants on some level. It has been stated:

"...Cochrane, the founder of the Political Economy Club presented by Rae as Smith's most important business connection, agreed with Steuart rather than with Smith on this issue [natural liberty vs. monopoly]. As Viner points out it has 'become standard in Smithian literature' to impute the re-publication by the Foulis press in Glasgow of mercantilist writings, to the suggestion of Smith: Viner shows how unlikely this really is; if one is to indulge in conjecture it would seem much more likely that the reprinting of Child, Gee, Mun, Law and Petty was inspired by Glasgow merchants who were unregenerated by Smith's presence. Dugald Stewart in his Memoir of 1793, is very cautious about Smith's influence in Glasgow; he tells us (carefully giving as his source John Ritchie of Glasgow) that Smith, 'before he quitted his situation in the University', was able 'to rank some very eminent merchants among his proselytes.'<sup>19</sup>

And the environment in which Smith operated in both the university and city was one which, at the very least, gave him an opportunity to develop and discuss and refine such ideas with their linkages between questions of national

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<sup>18</sup>.- Ibid, p. 107.

<sup>19</sup>.- Ibid.

and individual freedom, national and individual economic traits and characteristics.

In looking at the surviving personal papers of the Glasgow merchants, the same impression comes through, that Smith's presence and writings were of no major influence, as no mention of Dr. Smith is ever made. Perhaps Smith's contacts with the merchant elite are more noteworthy in the clubs and societies that were being founded in Glasgow by the middle of the century. Of primary significance is the Cochrane Club, or Political Economy Club, reportedly founded in 1743, whose leader Andrew Cochrane was one of the merchant elite. The club was founded for the purposes of inquiring into trade and other related matters, and could be said to have been a sort of precursor to the later foundation of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783. Although, Smith was a member, the important point is that it was the merchants of Glasgow who founded *such* a club. Such a membership of this club could only have helped to enhance Smith's ideas concerning trade.<sup>20</sup> For instance;

"...It was before this Club that Smith read one of his first papers known as the 'Lecture of 1755.' Since the paper has not been found, the exact contents are unknown; however, it is likely that it dealt with a favourite topic of the Club which concerned questions of principles affecting trade far beyond its members. The membership embraced, in general, free trade views, the responsibility for which is largely attributed to Smith. The 'Cochrane Club,' which met weekly kept him in continual touch with the business men of Glasgow and

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<sup>20</sup>. - See D.D. Raphael, Adam Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 18,19.

taught him much that he could never have learned otherwise. This is probably the first political economy club."<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the Cochrane Club, Smith also belonged to the Literary Society of Glasgow founded in 1752, whose membership was made up mostly of university Professors and more notably Robert and Andrew Foulis, perhaps giving more credence to the idea that the reprinting and republishing of various economic works in Glasgow after 1750, was not so much directly influenced by Dr. Smith, but rather a symptom of the intellectual concerns of the ruling elite in both mercantile and academic areas.<sup>22</sup> It is clear from this evidence that, "...There is no doubt that the expanding trade and commerce occupied men's thoughts as well as practices."<sup>23</sup>

The Wealth of Nations as a literary work provides further example of Smith's supposed link with the city of Glasgow. In Chapter IV of Book III entitled "How the Commerce of the Towns Contributed to the Improvement of the Country", Smith gives a description of how the commerce of a town, not unlike Glasgow, helps to improve the surrounding countryside. He divides his argument into three parts, all of which put the merchant as the main protagonist in economic development, not just by his wealth but by his "practice". The first point that Smith

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<sup>21</sup>.- I.F. Bell, "Adam Smith Clubman", *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 7, (June, 1960), p. 109.

<sup>22</sup>.- "Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College. 1764-1779", David Murray Papers, MS 505, GUL, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup>.- Bell, "Adam Smith Clubman", p. 109.

makes is that by providing a market for the produce of the countryside in the city, the merchants provide incentives for the further development and cultivation of agriculture. His second point shows the wealth that the merchants have accumulated being employed in buying country estates and improving these estates themselves. He states, "...Merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen, and when they do, they are generally the best of all improvers..."<sup>24</sup> He further augments this argument by implying that the merchant is a better improver not only because of his wealth, but also because of his character, which necessarily commercial, as opposed to aristocratic, is more conducive towards "improvement". He stated;

"...Whoever has had the fortune to live in a mercantile town situated in an unimproved country must have frequently observed how much more spirited the operations of merchants were in this way than those of mere country gentlemen. The habits, besides, of order, economy, and attention, to which mercantile business naturally forms a merchant, render him much fitter to execute, with profit and success, any project of improvement."<sup>25</sup>

Finally, Smith stated that "...commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them, the liberty and security of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbours, and of

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<sup>24</sup>.- Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations. Books I-III (London: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 507.

<sup>25</sup>.- Ibid., p. 508.

servile dependency upon their superiors..."<sup>26</sup>

This section in Smith's book, in historical stages shows the efforts any thriving mercantile city such as Glasgow would have. Although the first and last points are obvious in economic development, it is Smith's analysis in the second point that merits closer attention. As discussed in Chapter 1 in defining the merchant elite, approximately 69 merchants out of a total of 163 international merchants involved in colonial trade owned land. Of these 69 merchants, 62% had acquired their estates by purchase due to their involvement in colonial trade.<sup>27</sup> Smith in his reference to "...a mercantile town situated in an unimproved country..." could hardly have meant the south of England with its sprawling London metropolis. The implication, however, of the above observation is more important for its description of a vigorous mercantile class interested in improving their estates and able to do this with more efficacy because of their mercantile habits of efficiency, order, and a higher sensitivity to the ideas of "profit and success". As Smith was resident in Glasgow for 13 years, it seems logical to infer that the merchant elite of Glasgow, though not initially or directly a subject of his researches, was in his mind as it was his longest contact with any such similarly vigorous merchant group as the one he describes above.

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<sup>26</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>.- See Chapter 1, pp. 33-38.



Adam Smith was also related to the merchant elite of Glasgow and the city itself through his position there as professor at the University of Glasgow. Smith was initially appointed to the Chair of Logic in 1750 which included the topics of rhetoric and belles-lettres, though the majority of his time was spent in the chair of Moral Philosophy to which he was appointed in 1752. There he covered such topics as jurisprudence and politics. Smith was very popular in both the university and the town, as has been noted:

"Smith's popularity as a lecturer grew year by year. It was felt that another and perhaps greater Hutcheson had risen in the college. Reid, when he came to Glasgow to succeed him in 1764, wrote his friend Dr. Skene in Aberdeen that there was a great spirit of inquiry abroad among the young people in Glasgow- the best testimony that could be rendered of the effect of Smith's teaching. It had taught the young people to think. His opinions became the subjects of general discussion, the branches he lectured on became fashionable in the town, the sons of the wealthier citizens used to go to college to take his class though they had no intention of completing a university course, stucco busts of him appeared in the booksellers' windows, and the very peculiarities of his voice and pronunciation received the homage of imitation..."<sup>28</sup>

Adam Smith's time at Glasgow is not only significant for this reported relationship between him and his students, many of whom were of the merchant elite or sons of the merchant elite, but also for the fact that it was during his time at the university that he formulated his ideas for his later masterpiece the Wealth of Nations.

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<sup>28</sup>.- John Rae, Life of Adam Smith (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895), pp. 59,60.

Indeed, Adam Smith's ideas of laissez-faire as approached through Grotius, Puffendorf, Cumberland, Gershom Carmichael, and Hutcheson were being formulated by 1749 at the latest.<sup>29</sup> Smith's intellectual progress while at Glasgow University can be divided into 3 stages. The first stage was from 1751 to 1755 culminating in the "lecture of 1755" given to the Cochrane Club and various contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* during which he developed the theory that state intervention in commerce slows down economic progress. It is during this stage that much can be made of the influence of the situation of the city of Glasgow and more importantly the success of the colonial trade on Smith's thinking. Even W.R. Scott who normally laid aside such conjectures at this point of analysis gave in to the temptation of a connection. He stated, "...His residence at Glasgow and his close intercourse with many of the leading merchants there opened up a further striking verification and at the same time laid the foundation of the critique of mercantilism in the fourth book of the Wealth of Nations..."<sup>30</sup> The second stage of Smith's intellectual progress was from 1755 to 1759 during which much of his time was devoted to the writing of the Theory of Moral Sentiments. Finally, from the years 1759 to 1763, Smith spent most of his time revising his Lectures on Jurisprudence culminating in the

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<sup>29</sup>.- W.R. Scott, Adam Smith as Student and Professor (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1937), p. 111.

<sup>30</sup>.- Ibid., p. 114.

draft of the Wealth of Nations which was completed in the second half of 1763.<sup>31</sup> In fact, John Glassford mentions this early draft of the Wealth of Nations which had its roots in his days in Glasgow in a letter of 5 November, 1764, not only sharing Smith's early formulation of free-trade ideas but also providing a direct link between one of the wealthiest merchants of Europe and the "father of modern capitalism". Glassford wrote:

"I have at different Times had the pleasure of hearing of your welfare since you left Glasgow, altho' not favoured with any Letter from yourself. I hope that your Time passes agreeably and that you are bringing forward at your leisure Hours the useful work that was so well advanced here..."<sup>32</sup>

It is evident then that Adam Smith's residence in the city of Glasgow as professor of Moral Philosophy can in some ways be seen in the light of influencing and being influenced by the colonial merchants within the context of historical circumstances in the environment of improvement in the eighteenth century. This idea is worth more weight when it is considered that Smith had probably finished the bulk of his thesis, which was later published in 1776, by 1763, or the end of his residency in Glasgow. Although, there are no direct links between the "tobacco lords" and Smith, there is enough evidence to suggest that through their mutual habitation within the higher social circles of eighteenth-century Glasgow, they must necessarily both

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<sup>31</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 115-126.

<sup>32</sup>.- John Glassford to Dr. Adam Smith at Toulouse, 5 November, 1764, Bannerman MS, Special Collections Department, GUL.

be linked as promoters of the growth of the city in both economic and intellectual spheres.

## II

The Enlightenment in Glasgow showed itself in a new religious outlook, which was characterised by a diminution in religious extremism, and a shift from a view of God as being the centre of the universe to one in which man is the centre of action and the proponent of progress. The religious extremism that had characterized the seventeenth century was replaced by religious rationalism. As R.H. Campbell has stated:

"...The acceptance of a divinely ordained natural order led to a resigned acceptance of existing practices, in economic as in other aspects of life. Most notably in a community still heavily dependent on agriculture for its livelihood, as Scotland was until the eighteenth century, the consequences of climatic fluctuations were only the most evidently uncontrollable determinant of prosperity, attempts to offset which could even be deemed acts of impiety. The acceptance of conditions which were divinely ordained, applied in the first instance and most obviously to the natural order, was easily extended to what were only the works of men. Even when there was not religious disputation, a religious cast of mind could impede any change..."<sup>33</sup>

It was necessary that there should have been a change in outlook whereby faith was determined by reason and not vice versa. For example, Robert Wodrow writing at the

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<sup>33</sup>.- R.H. Campbell, "The Enlightenment and the Economy" in The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment, eds., R.H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982), p. 13.

beginning of the eighteenth century describes in his Analecta: or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences of an "act of God":

"...In the time of the plague's breaking [out], a person came to him with a letter from Edinburgh, (or some place where the plague was) and gave it to him. He took the person by the hand. The person dyed of the plague within ane hour after he had been seen with the said Mr. Fergison. This put him in a great amazement; he shutt up himself in his chamber, and under deep thoughts of approaching death, as he supposed, he cast himself over on his bed, and whither in a dream, or by ane audible voice, or by a strong impression, he knew not, but he had that discovered, 'Thou shall not dye at this time,' but the year, day and hour of his death were told him; which he discovered to his wife, as he told my relater. And though he lived many years after that, yet he dyed precisely at that day and hour..."<sup>34</sup>

Here is a perfect example of a belief in divine will. Later in the century, less and less weight was put on such outlooks than had once been the case, especially by those men involved in colonial commerce. It was the common people who rallied more to the camps of popular religion as in the "Cambuslang Revival"; and the inability to establish a theatre in Glasgow in 1750 was also due to the rioting of these common people.

One example of the loosening of religious strictures was the end of compurgators by the middle of the century. Compurgators had the job of enforcing the strict keeping of the Sabbath. Pagan, writing in the nineteenth century,

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<sup>34</sup>.— Reverend Robert Wodrow, Analecta: or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians, 4 vols., (Edinburgh: Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842), vol. 1, entry dated November 7, 1705.

described the dissolution of this practice due to the actions of a colonial merchant:

"Influenced by a regard for the Sabbath, the magistrates employed persons termed 'compurgators' to perambulate the city on the Saturday nights; and when at the approach of twelve o'clock, these inquisitors happened to hear any noisy conviviality going on, even in a private dwelling house, they entered it and dismissed the company. Another office of the compurgators was to perambulate the streets and public walks during the time of divine service on Sunday, and to order every person they met abroad not on necessary duty, to go home, and if they refused to obey, to take them into custody. The employment of these compurgators was continued till about the middle of the century, when, taking Mr. Peter Blackburn father of Mr. Blackburn of Killearn into custody, for walking on Sunday in the Green, he prosecuted the magistrates for an unwarranted exercise of authority, and prevailing in his suit in the Court of Session, the attempt to compel this observance was abandoned."<sup>35</sup>

The lessening of theological zeal, however, as stated previously, was most likely limited to the middle and upper classes. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the popular opposition to the establishment of a theatre in Glasgow in 1750; or in 1752, when a temporary theatre in the north area of the town was equally unpopular. Cleland writing at the beginning of the nineteenth-century stated; "...At this period, the prejudice of popular opinion in Glasgow, ran so strong against amusements of this nature, that ladies and dress parties from the lower parts of the Town, were regularly escorted to the Theatre by a military

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<sup>35</sup>. - Pagan, Sketches of the History of Glasgow, p. 198.

guard."<sup>36</sup> This discontent of the town people led to members of the university, one of whom was Adam Smith, taking action to try to discourage the theatre for fear of riots.<sup>37</sup> It appears that this fear of riots was not unfounded especially during periods of religious revival as in 1754 when "the celebrated Mr. George Whitefield, Chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, had occasion to preach from a tent in the High-Church Yard, to a numerous congregation; in the fervour of his zeal, he cast his eyes on the Theatrical Booth, and quickly denounced it to be the Devil's House; no sooner did he articulate the words, than the outskirts of the congregation ran to the Booth, and instantly leveled it with the ground."<sup>38</sup>

In 1762 when a certain Mr. Jackson, a comedian, asked the magistrates for their patronage in establishing a theatre in Glasgow, most of them declined, again for fear of riots. The men who did subscribe their patronage to this institution came, noticeably, from the merchant elite. They were William McDowall of Castle Semple, William Bogle of Hamilton Farm, John Baird of Craigton, Robert Bogle of Shettleston, and James Dunlop of Garnkirk.<sup>39</sup> In fact, it remained peculiarly difficult to

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<sup>36</sup>. - Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 2, p. 139.

<sup>37</sup>. - Scott, Adam Smith as Student and Professor, pp. 163, 164, (reference is to University MSS, volume 28).

<sup>38</sup>. - Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 2, p. 139.

<sup>39</sup>. - Ibid., p. 140.

establish a theatre in Glasgow up to the end of the century. In 1780, the theatre burned down, and in 1782 when a new theatre did finally open up on Dunlop Street it did poorly due to lack of interest. The reasons for this are unknown, though Cleland suggested that;

"...; among others, the following may be adduced: a very considerable proportion of the respectable part of the community view theatrical amusements as tending to weaken the moral and religious principles of those whose minds have not been sufficiently fortified against romantic speculations; others, who view these matters very differently, have their time so completely taken up with mercantile or other pursuits through the day, that they prefer to spend their leisure hours in the evening with their friends at home, or with their companions at some favourite club, or such other entertainment.<sup>40</sup>

By the year 1782, however, the theatre though not popular was at least established and Cleland's judgements, influenced perhaps by the more serious tone of public life appearing in the early nineteenth century, may have been too simplistic. This can be seen in the number of increased advertisements for performances in the local newspapers in the later eighteenth century. For example, on 24 October, 1782, it was announced that, "by his Majesty's Servants, on Friday Evening November 1st will be presented a Comedy called the Suspicious Husband to which will be added, a New Farce, never performed here, called Retaliation."<sup>41</sup> Also, there is evidence of the local magistrates giving the theatre public support through

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<sup>40</sup>.- Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>41</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, October 24-31, 1782, no. 2154.



their patronage of the theatre in aid of a benefit night for the poor. An article of local news stated, "We hear that Mr. Jackson, manager of the theatre in this city, generally proposed to the Lord Provost to give a Benefit Night to help to raise a fund for alleviating the distress of the poor; and that the profit of the play to be performed this Evening, is to be applied for these humane purposes..."<sup>42</sup> In addition, there is direct evidence of members of the merchant elite attending these plays, since Alexander Speirs notes in his pocket diary on various occasions that he had attended a play at night.<sup>43</sup>

A further example of theological zeal at the traditional level among the people of Glasgow can be seen in the action taken in 1779 with the "Transactions of the eighty-five private societies in and about Glasgow: united to oppose a repeal of the penal statutes against papists in Scotland".<sup>44</sup> This action taken so late in the century shows that religious zeal as it was known in the seventeenth-century, had not necessarily been entirely

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<sup>42</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, December 27-January 2, 1783, no. 2221.

<sup>43</sup>.- Daily whereabouts of Alexander Speirs, as noted in the *Universal Cash-Book* and *Newcastle Pocket Diary*, 1782, TD 131/12, S.R.A.

<sup>44</sup>.- *Glasgow Private Societies. Transactions of the eighty-five private societies, in and about Glasgow; united to oppose a repeal of the penal statutes against papists in Scotland*, Mu25-d.14, David Murray Collection, Special Collections., GUL.

"wiped out" by the Enlightenment.<sup>45</sup> Nor is it to be necessarily assumed that a reliance on God to the extent of complete dependence on the divine-will as to one's fate was an obstacle in the way of economic progress, since at least one of the "tobacco lords", namely George Bogle, showed precisely these characteristics in his writings. What perhaps is more important is the rationalization of religion and the use of reason as opposed to revelation, so that the old pattern of religion being faith-and God-centred had shifted to religion being reason-and man-centred, and therefore justified under these conditions. Also important was the changing attitudes towards worldly wealth by a Christianity which had once condemned it. As Buckle wrote in the nineteenth-century: "...it was wrong for a man to wish to advance himself in life, or in any way to better his condition. Either to make money, or to save it, was unsuited to Christians; and even to possess much of it was objectionable, because it not only ministered to human pleasures, but encouraged those habits of foresight and of provision for the future, which are incompatible with complete resignation to the Divine will."<sup>46</sup> At least in the case of the Glasgow "tobacco lords" wealth could be reconciled with religion in the eighteenth-century context of religious practices.

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<sup>45</sup>.- R.K. Donovan, "Voices of Distrust: The Expression of Anti-Catholic Feeling in Scotland, 1778-1781", *Innes Review* vol. 30 (1979), pp. 62-76.

<sup>46</sup>.- H.T. Buckle, On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970), pp. 223-224.

Religious zeal did not necessarily prevent improvement since religious zeal could also be seen as a means of improvement.

### III

Education during the eighteenth century in Glasgow was a very important part of civic life. As far as the merchant elite was concerned, apart from their role in promoting education as magistrates on the Town Council, their attendance at various schools and academies both in and outside of Glasgow provides some context in which to examine the spread of the Enlightenment at an educational level. Most significant in these links is the number of tobacco merchants who attended the University of Glasgow from the years 1728 to approximately 1762, the cutting off point for merchants who would have been able to participate in the American trade. Of Devine's 163 merchants involved in the tobacco trade, 37 were matriculated students at *Glasgow University*.<sup>47</sup> Of these 37, 19 were members of what has been defined in Chapter 1 as the merchant elite, forming a proportion of approximately two-thirds. These included; John Glassford (1728)<sup>48</sup>, Thomas Hopkirk (1728), John McCall of Belvidere (1729), Allan Dreghorn of Ruchill (1730), George Brown

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<sup>47</sup>.— See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, Appendix I.

<sup>48</sup>.— The year in parentheses notes the year of matriculation.

(1730), James Coulter (1733), John Coats Campbell (1734), James Ritchie (1735), James Dunlop of Garnkirk (1736), James Buchanan of Drumpellier (1737), Andrew Buchanan (1738), Peter Murdoch (1746), Henry Ritchie (1748), Robert Dinwiddie (1750), Robert Bogle (1751), John Bogle (1754), Laurence Dinwiddie (1757), Robert Dreghorn (1761), and James Hopkirk (1762).<sup>49</sup> According to W.M. Mathew in his article "The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students", the sons of merchants in Glasgow accounted for 26.2 per cent of matriculated students at Glasgow University from 1740-49, rising to 34.8 per cent from 1765-74. This relatively high incidence of merchants' sons being matriculated university students is explained by Mathew as resulting from the fashion set by the "tobacco lords": themselves interested in intellectual, as well as economic pursuits, through their activities in clubs. Mathew notes that educated entrepreneurs were rarer in England, and even the merchants of Edinburgh, where the Enlightenment was supposedly at its strongest, were not of the same intellectual calibre as the Glasgow merchants. He states;

"...As late as 1827 Robert Chambers noted how 'among the active manufactures of Glasgow are to be found men of prodigious wealth, and at the same time highly elevated and enlightened minds, who form a sort of nobility'. The affairs of Edinburgh, he observed, were managed by a set of magistrates 'destitute of liberal learning and of public spirit', while those of Glasgow were in the hands of 'an association of enlightened men' who had carried 'the art of civic rule and management to a pitch of

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<sup>49</sup>.- W. Innes Addison, ed., The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow From 1728 to 1858 (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), pp. 1-68.

matchless perfection'. One is tempted to suggest that the existence of such social virtues in Glasgow was in some measure the product of contacts between business community and university, contacts which, while often insubstantial and always confined to a minority, were probably greater in Glasgow than in any other British university town."<sup>50</sup>

The University of Glasgow in the eighteenth century was considered to be far more progressive intellectually than its English counterparts, since professors were paid by their students as opposed to the English system of giving set salaries. Also, the influence of Enlightenment ideas on Glasgow University were just as strong as the deference given to Edinburgh University with its neatly categorized "literati". The contribution of Hutcheson, Smith, Millar, or Black was no small change even in comparison with Hume, Robertson, Ferguson, and Home of Edinburgh. In relation to the previous hypothesis concerning merchant interaction with Adam Smith, it can be stated that in Smith's years as a student at the university, during the year 1737 in which he matriculated in the third class under John Loudon, there were 66 matriculated students, one of whom was James Buchanan of Drumpellier who was matriculated in the fifth class under George Ross. Also, during the years of Smith's activities at the university as a professor, there were six merchants matriculated, one of whom, viz. Robert Bogle of Daldowie ("Robin" son of George Bogle of Daldowie who traded in

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<sup>50</sup>.- W.M. Mathew, "The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students, 1740-1839", *Past and Present*, vol. 33 (April, 1966), pp. 91,92.

consignments with Virginia for a while from London) was registered in the "Classis Logicae qui hoc Anno Academiam Intrarunt sub Praesidio Magistri Adami Smith."<sup>51</sup>

The progress of the University of Glasgow through the eighteenth century in enlightenment and improvement can be seen in the establishment of new chairs. For instance, in 1713, the Chair of Medicine was founded, as was the Chair of Law. In 1720, the Chair of Anatomy was established. The year 1747 saw the establishment of a lectureship in Chemistry which was immediately filled by Joseph Black. In 1760 and 1765, there was established the Chair of Practical Anatomy and a lectureship in Materia Medica, respectively.<sup>52</sup>

Although the achievements of Glasgow University did not compare with the great activity and advances in Edinburgh in establishing new chairs and lectureships, Glasgow still contributed significantly to the Scottish Enlightenment. Other professors at the university, besides Adam Smith, and their contributions to their subjects illustrate this claim. For example, there was Joseph Black who held the Chair of Medicine from 1756 to 1766 while also holding the lectureship in Chemistry, until he moved to Edinburgh in 1766 where he held the Chair of Physics and Chemistry. It was in Glasgow,

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<sup>51</sup>.- Addison, ed., The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, pp. 40-68.

<sup>52</sup>.- Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment, p. 135.

however, that he discovered the theory of latent heat.<sup>53</sup> Other professors of notability were Gershom Carmichael who taught moral philosophy until his death in 1729 when Francis Hutcheson took over, and already was using the texts of Grotius, Puffendorf, Leibniz, Descartes, and Locke<sup>54</sup>; Hutcheson himself, Smith's teacher, who revolutionized teaching, by lecturing in English, who pioneered the extension of teaching to the public at large (extra-mural classes), and who changed the whole direction of philosophy in the university; William Cullen who introduced the subject of Chemistry into the University of Glasgow, and who made contributions to the chemistry of bleaching and "...showed that the fertility of various soils could be improved by giving them one nourishment appropriate to the chemical composition of each..."<sup>55</sup>; and John Millar who took up the Chair of Law at Glasgow in 1761.<sup>56</sup> All of these professors would have taught at the university during the time many of the above named merchants would have been matriculated. Most of them would thus have been exposed in some degree to the intellectual advances being made in the university which were making Glasgow just as much a centre of Enlightenment as Edinburgh.

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<sup>53</sup>.- J.D. Mackie, The University of Glasgow 1451-1951, (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1954), p. 229.

<sup>54</sup>.- Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>55</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 228,229.

<sup>56</sup>.- Ibid., p. 233.

In addition to the university, there were numerous schools in Glasgow offering to teach a variety of subjects, those of a medical nature often offering free treatment to those of the poorer classes. For example, in 1741, "the physician of the Infirmary gives, that at the operation-room in the infirmary, on the 3d of November next, the theory and practice of Medicine, according to the plan of the celebrated H. Boerhaeve will be delivered in a course of lectures. In which place also, Attendance will be given each Wednesday, at 4 o'clock Afternoon, for the Benefit of any poor Persons, who may have Advice gratis."<sup>57</sup> Also worthy of notice is the increased educational opportunities for girls, as in 1742, when a Mr. Thomas Harvie, a Latin teacher, offered to teach "young Gentlewomen" English grammar between the hours of 12 and 1 or 1 and 2 in the afternoon.<sup>58</sup> Also, in March of the same year;

"... Mr. Baranger, a Native of France, who has, for many years past, taught the French Language with good success at Edinburgh, is come to this Place with a design to instruct any Gentlemen or Ladies who incline to learn the said language: Which he does at very reasonable rates. He is to be spoken at his room in the House of John Borland Painter in the Gallowgate..."<sup>59</sup>

Contemporary newspapers of the eighteenth century are a worthwhile source for evidence of schools and academies

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<sup>57</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, October 26-November 2, 1741, no. 14.

<sup>58</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, January 4-11, 1742, no. 24.

<sup>59</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, March 15-22, 1742, no. 34.



outside the established parish and grammar schools broadening the list of education available in the eighteenth century. The parish or grammar schools with the basic curriculum of reading, arithmetic, Latin, church music, and writing were augmented by these schools which show the growing extent of the Enlightenment throughout all layers of society.<sup>60</sup> For example, there was a dancing school taught by Joseph Longhorn, a dancing-master from England to teach gentlemen and ladies at the new land at the Gallowgate Bridge from 12 to 4 in the afternoon.<sup>61</sup> Also of interest is the institution of a cooking school;

"That James Lochhead has begun again to teach Cookery in all its parts at his school above the cross, opposite to Bell's Wynd, at the usual price. Any family that *inclines to have* a dinner or supper dressed, may have it done at his trouble, or at their own house, at a crown, tho' the entertainment shall consist of several dishes of meat...N.B. He is making ready a cover'd table of 30 dishes of meat, consisting of flesh, fish, fowls, roots and herbs, pastry, confectionary, jellies, sylabubs, creams and pickles of all kinds, the dishes placed in a regular manner, and the linen folded in a genteel fashion, which may be seen at Hutcheson's Hall on Tuesday the eight day of February next, and for some days thereafter from Nine in the Morning to Nine at Night, each person is to pay sixpence for the sight."<sup>62</sup>

Other schools were more serious and directed towards what may be described as a merchant education. For

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<sup>60</sup>. - Donald J. Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society" in People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830, eds., T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988), pp. 163-187.

<sup>61</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, November 1-8, 1742, no. 67.

<sup>62</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, January 31-February 7, 1743, no. 80.

instance, in 1749, the Provost and magistrates invited James Scruton, a writing-master and accountant from London to Glasgow to teach young gentlemen "writing, arithmetick, and merchant accounts, and an expeditious running hand fit for Business..."<sup>63</sup> The existence of these schools is especially significant since they show the increasingly modern education needed by the merchant classes in cities like Glasgow, where the successful trading atmosphere inspired young boys to take up this potentially lucrative trade. As has been stated, "...it was at these groups that the new school subjects, and the adventurously modern courses at the new academies, were mainly aimed..."<sup>64</sup>

The eighteenth-century interest in music was also promoted through the establishment of schools, as in 1755 when Thomas Moore advertised the opening of his school of psalmody;

"Thomas Moore begs leave to inform the public, that by the authority, and with the approbation of the honourable the Magistrates of the city of Glasgow, he is to teach psalmody, and open a public school for that purpose at the Merchants-hall in the Bridgegate, on Thursday the 26th instant, at six o'clock in the evening, where all persons who desire to be instructed in the various branches of psalmody, viz. Psalms, hymns, anthems, &c. will be carefully taught after a new and expeditious method, at 7s. 6d. per quarter..."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, April 17-24, 1749, no. 185.

<sup>64</sup>.- Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society", in *People and Society*, p. 164.

<sup>65</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, June 16-23, 1755, no. 724.

Later in the century, a Mr. Parsons opened a school for the teaching of the harpsichord<sup>66</sup>, and on a more controversial note Mr. Sutherland, of the theatre of Glasgow, was offering classes "...for ten young gentlemen with whom he would go thro' the cause of reading English for three months..." for the cost of half a guinea per month.<sup>67</sup>

#### IV

The Enlightenment was not just limited to education in the city of Glasgow but also affected society as a whole in its effect on the growth of creative arts and culture. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the growth of printing and literature which introduced progressive ideas not only to the middle and upper classes who could afford to buy books but also to the lower classes through the proliferation of cheaper books. It is a matter of some dispute as to the general literacy patterns of eighteenth-century society, but some estimates have suggested 100% literacy for professional men, such as merchants, and men of the nobility or gentry, 80% for craftsmen and tradesmen, 65% for tenant farmers, and 35% for labourers and male servants. For women the literacy

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<sup>66</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, September 26-October 3, 1782, no. 2150.

<sup>67</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, October 3-10, 1782, no. 2151.

rate was much lower.<sup>68</sup> T.C. Smout went even further and suggested on the basis of an eighteenth-century manuscript describing the religious experiences of 110 people at the Cambuslang revivals in 1745, that out of all the people interviewed which included mostly "small tenants" and "low-status craftsmen", all of them had the ability to read, although writing skills did not always accompany this. He stated, "...The overall impression given by the 'examination' is, indeed, of a society where it was normal to have reading skills, and quite exceptional and socially degrading not to have them. To achieve these skills it was normally regarded as necessary to go to school, but it was not always sufficient and parents and employers appear to have been more than willing to help plug the gaps."<sup>69</sup>

Another feature of literature being made available to the public through the printing presses of Glasgow is the diminishing prevalence of religious material (though by no means its abolition or disappearance) and the increasing number of what may loosely be termed secular works. A short list of popular books printed prior to 1700 may help to set up the comparison which will be discussed below: 1683- Sir David Lindsay's Works, 12 mo.; 1684- Ross' Sermon before the Commissioners at Glasgow, 4 to.; 1685-

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<sup>68</sup>.- R.A. Houston, "Scottish Education and Literacy, 1600-1800: an International Perspective" in Improvement and Enlightenment , ed., T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1989), pp. 52,53.

<sup>69</sup>.- T.C. Smout, "Born Again at Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" in *Past and Present*, no. 97, (November 1982), pp. 114-127.

Dialogorum Sacrorum, 12 mo.: 1686- William Saunders, Elementa Geometricae, 8 vo.; 1688- Gray's Spiritual Warfare, 12 mo.; 1689- The Votes and Proceedings of Parliament indicated, 4 to.; 1690- Wallace, black letter, 12 mo.; 1698- The conflict in conscience of a dear Christian woman Bessie Clarkson, 12 mo.; 1700- Dickson's True Christian Love, 12 mo.<sup>70</sup>

Table 4.1

Catalogue of Books Belonging to George Bogle, 1725

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	Price
Boyers Royall Dictionary att Large	£1.. 2..0
Boyers Royall Dictionary Abridged	£0..10..0
Boyers French Grammar	£0.. 3..4
Avantures de Telemagne	£0.. 3..4
Amusemens Francois et anglais	£0.. 1..6
Avantures de Gil Blas 3 volumes	£0.. 3..4
Reflexions sur le ridicule 2 volumes	£0.. 2..0
Traite de paix entre Louis 14 et les etats Holland	£0.. 0..6
Explanation of the Glaswork of Gouda	£0.. 0..6
A Catalogue of the Baileys of the Colledge of Leden	£0.. 0..6
A Travelling Book from R. Grahame	
The Holy Bible	£0.. 0..0
Mr. Guthrie's Treatise	£0.. 0..0
A Vast Book for wryting several affairs upon	£0.. 4..0

Source- Letterbook of George Bogle, "A Catalogue of Books belonging to George Bogle, 1725", Bogle MS, M.L.

Among the literary remains concerning merchant purchases of literature, there are two illustrative examples of two different merchants at two different periods of the eighteenth century. A "Catalogue of Books belonging to George Bogle junior of Daldowie in

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<sup>70</sup>. - John McUre, The History of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1830), pp. 367-372.

1725" during his continental education at Leyden can be seen in Table 4.1, and are already remarkably modern for the year 1734. Later, in 1764, Bogle was to recommend to his son George Bogle junior in London that he read often and carefully the works of Montesquieu. He wrote, "...Montesquieu whose spirit of Laws you are probably reading will require Close attention, and deserves to be read over even oftener than twice,...by reading it carefully and understanding it you will be plentifully rewarded..."<sup>71</sup>

A list of books purchased for the library of Alexander Speirs in 1781 presents a surprising similarity to those books in the possession of George Bogle in 1734. Included among the list were: History of the Legal Policy of the Roman State; Theatre of Education from French Countess Gentes in 4 volumes; Montesquieu's 4 volumes on the Law of Nations published in 1780; A Short History of the Reformation in Scotland ; and Goldsmith's the Story of Greece.<sup>72</sup> Also in 1760, there is evidence of Speirs purchasing Smollett's History in 11 volumes for £2..15s. and 3 volumes of an unknown play for 9s. in addition to his existing library valued at £62..1s..6d.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>.- George Bogle, senior of Daldowie, to George Bogle, junior near Endfield, by London, September 17, 1764, Bo 16/1, Folder 1761-1764, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>72</sup>.- "Books for Library", October 23, 1781, Memorandum Book from 1781, TD 131/10, Speirs Papers, S.R.A.

<sup>73</sup>.- Entries of 26 July, 1760 and 15 December 1760, Cash Book, business and private accounts of Alexander Speirs, partly in his own hand, 1760-1778, HH18/12,

Glasgow in the eighteenth century was well supplied with booksellers in comparison to its relatively small population of between 13 to 30 thousand between the years 1713 and 1780. From the years 1713 to 1781, there were approximately 24 individual printers in Glasgow, either working alone or in small companies.<sup>74</sup> In the *Glasgow Journal* and the *Glasgow Courant*, the two major circulating newspapers during the ascendancy of the tobacco trade, eight can be readily identified through their advertisements from the years 1742 to 1783. These booksellers included; Andrew Stalker (behind King William's statue), Alexander Miller, Alexander Carlile (opposite Bell's Wynd), Robert Smith "at the sign of the Gilt Bible" (opposite Gibson's Land), John Gilmour (opposite Gibson's Land at the Saltmarket), Dunlop and Wilson, J. Smith bookseller and stationer, and Robert and Andrew Foulis printers to the University.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, between the years 1740 and 1760, there is a notable quantity of religious material being sold by booksellers. For example, Andrew Stalker and Alexander Miller in 1741 were selling a book entitled "Warning and Caution to all the Lovers of Truth, and of the Covenanted Work of Reformation in Scotland" at the price of 2d.<sup>75</sup> Also

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Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>74</sup>.- "Provisional Lists of Printers in Glasgow, 1638-1800", The Glasgow Bibliographical Society, no. 62, (1940), pp. 5-7.

<sup>75</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, August 3-10, 1741, No. 2.

popular at this time was the publication and sale of sermons. Robert Smith "at the sign of the Gilt Bible" in 1741 published and bound at the price of 14d. "...Eight Sermons, lately preached in the High-Church-yard of Glasgow, by the very Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, on the Subjects following,..." These subjects included: "The Lord our righteousness, on Jer. 33.6"; "The Prodigal Son, on Luke 15 from verse 11th to the end"; "The Duty of a Gospel Minister, on Luke 4, 18"; "Saul's Conversion, on Acts 9"; "The Method of Grace, on Jer.6.14"; "The Kingdom of God, on Rom. 14.17"; "Persecution, every Christian's Lot on 2 Tim. 3.12"; and "The Believer's golden Chain on 1 Cor. 1.30".<sup>76</sup>

Religious works, however, were not the only publishing material at this time as is evident by an advertisement of 1742 notifying the public of an auction of books at the shop of Andrew Stalker. Among this "Collection of curious and valuable books" were folios of the Universal History (6 volumes), London Criticks (7 volumes), Chamber's Dictionary (2 volumes), Harris's Collection of Voyages, Rapin's History (2 volumes), Poli Synopsis Criticorum (5 volumes), Originis Opera, Temple's Works (2 volumes), and the works of Plato, Xenophon, Herodot, Pausanias, Aristophanes, Athenus, Themistius, Aristides, Plutarch, Josephus, Thucidydes, and Hudsoni.<sup>77</sup>

As the publishing of religious material suggests an

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<sup>76</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, November 16-23, 1741, No. 17.

<sup>77</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, November 8-15, 1742, No. 68.



eighteenth-century context of religious interest, so too is there evidence of the influence of the Enlightenment on published material. One effect of the Enlightenment on ideas was the increased interest in science or what was then termed "natural science". Subscriptions were taken in for the following work which was published by Andrew Stalker.

"... A short and general account of the most necessary principles of statics, mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics and astronomy, with copper-plates to illustrate the most difficult passages. Particularly adapted to a course of experiments now performing in Glasgow by Mr. Booth. To which are added several useful tables, particularly of the dimensions and motions of the planets, of the eclipses of the sun and moon, with the appearances of comets."<sup>78</sup>

Also available at Mr. Stalker's bookshop at this time were: "Rowning's mathematical lectures in 6 parts, Defaugilier's Experiments, Graveland's Experiments in 2 volumes, Hawksby's Experiments, Smith's Hydrostatics, Clare on Fluids, and Baker on the Microscope."<sup>79</sup>

Further evidence of an interest in subjects related to the Enlightenment through the booksellers is in an advertisement of 1749 for books and published works available at John Gilmour, bookseller. These included; the Adventures of Roderick Random by Tobias Smollet in 2 volumes, Harris's Treatises on Happiness, Musick & c., A

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<sup>78</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, February 14-21, 1743, No. 82.

<sup>79</sup>.- *Ibid*.

Tour thro' the Animal World, Simson's Geometry<sup>80</sup>, the Primitives of the Greek Tongue, Philosophical Transactions abridged in 12 volumes, Hutcheson's Introduction to Moral Philosophy<sup>81</sup>, Roscommon's works of Pamela, Female Spectator, Arabian Night's Entertainments, Turkish Spy, and Jewish Spy, Shakespeare's Plays, Hume's Essays, and works by Puffendorf.<sup>82</sup> This same advertisement also holds an example of the influence of the tobacco trade and merchants in the area of publishing as a *note bene* at the bottom states, "Where may be had most of the Things that answer the Virginia Market in the Book Way".<sup>83</sup>

An example of the type of books that were being sent to America by the Glasgow merchants to be sold in their stores in exchange for tobacco can be seen in a list of books consigned to Mr. James Woodburn in Falmouth, Virginia by William Cunninghame and Co. in the year 1769. These books included: 1 Abernethy's Sermons in 2 volumes at 5 s.; 1 Seneca's Morals at 2s. 6d.; 1 Paradise Lost at 3s.; 2 Oeconomy of Human Life at 6d. each; and 1 Locke On Natural Philosophy at 8d.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>. - This is a reference to Robert Simson, the Glasgow Professor of Mathematics.

<sup>81</sup>. - Hutcheson's Introduction to Moral Philosophy shows that the Enlightenment was not just a phenomenon centred around the University of Glasgow, as this is a list of books being sold to the general public.

<sup>82</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, August 14-21, 1749, no. 202.

<sup>83</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>. - William Cunninghame and Co. to James Woodburn, Falmouth, Virginia, July 13, 1769, William Cunninghame and Co. Papers, Box 59, Bundle Q1, GD247, John C. Brodie

Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers to the University, appear to have been the first to establish a formal bookshop when they returned from their visit to the continent in 1741. They also advertised in the local Glasgow papers, often books dealing in subjects related to current activities at the University, thus showing a more direct link between the Enlightenment activities of the University intellectuals and the broader population, as most of the books advertised in the papers were affordable, most selling for under one shilling. For example, in 1755 there was published by the brothers Foulis, "the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid's Elements by Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow."<sup>85</sup>

The career of Robert Urie, bookseller, finally, is very revealing as to the developing changes in reading by the Glasgow public as its tastes moved from the religious to the secular. Urie began his publishing business in 1740, printing at first the theological works contained in Andrew Gray and James Durham's On Scandal. During the 1740s, he started to build up his business, publishing such works as the popular French Télémaque and a translation of Fontenelle's Pluralité des mondes. In the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s, Urie increasingly published works of an Enlightenment nature. His output shows the rapidly increasing market for such material. For instance, in

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Collection, S.R.O.

<sup>85</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, April 21-28, 1755, no. 716.

1751, he published a translation of Voltaire's The Temple of Taste, and Montesquieu's Reflections and Persian Letters. In addition, he published works of the English Enlightenment such as Pope, Locke, Swift, and Addison. By the 1760s, he was publishing 16 volumes of Voltaire, including such works as The Philosophy of history and Elements of Newtonian philosophy, and other works of the French Enlightenment, such as Formey's Philosophy and Philosophers and Rousseau's Thoughts. Urie's output illustrates the widespread knowledge of the French Enlightenment in the Glasgow area.<sup>86</sup>

One notable feature of the book trade in Glasgow relating to the literacy of the lower ranks of society who could not afford to purchase books on a grand scale was the "Glasgow Circulating Library". The first regular circulating library in Britain was established by Allan Ramsay, the poet, in Edinburgh in 1735 which was followed by a second institution in London.<sup>87</sup> According to Cleland, the institution of a circulating library in Glasgow happened in 1753, by a certain John Smith<sup>88</sup>, senior, who had returned from England where he had been

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<sup>86</sup>.- J.H. Brumfitt, "Scotland and the French Enlightenment" in Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, ed. Besterman, vol. 58, pp. 327, 328, quoting H.A. McLean, "Robert Urie, Printer in Glasgow", Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society (1913-14), iii.

<sup>87</sup>.- Senex, Aliquis, J.B., etc., Glasgow Past and Present, 3 vols., (Glasgow: David Robertson and Co., 1884), vol. 3, p. 251.

<sup>88</sup>.- This man eventually went on to establish the company of John Smith and Sons, still in existence in the city today.

improving his business. The initial rates for borrowing were one halfpenny per night.<sup>89</sup> An advertisement for this circulating library made in *the Glasgow Journal* in June, 1763 stated:

"John Smith, Bookseller, Glasgow, has removed his circulating library from the head of the New Street [King Street] to a commodious shop in Mr. Donaldson's land in Trongate, opposite to the Tron Church, where he continues his circulating library as formerly, and at the usual terms: viz. ten shillings per year, five and sixpence per half-year, three shillings per quarter, one shilling and sixpence per month, and one penny per night. Catalogues, consisting of near 1500 volumes, to be had at the library, price fourpence. Every new performance on amusing or instructive subjects will be added to the library immediately upon its publication."<sup>90</sup>

An example of the type of reading material available through the "Glasgow Circulating Library" which was kept by John Smith, bookseller and stationer, can be seen in an advertisement of 1782. The list of books included; "An Interesting Sketch of Genteel Life" in 3 volumes, "Anna, a Sentimental Novel" in 2 volumes, "Wilmot, on the Pupil of Folly" in 4 volumes, "An Address to the Interior Cabinet-Speech which was spoken in the House of Assembly of St. Christopher's on the proceedings of Rodney and Vaughan", "George Bateman, a Novel" in 3 volumes, "Letters and Poems of the late Lord Lyttleton", "Young Philosopher, or the Natural Son, a Dramatic Novel" in 2 volumes, "Eldred, or the British Freeholder", "Sibbald's collection of Songs, chiefly such as are eminent for political merit"

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<sup>89</sup>. - Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 2, p. 433.

<sup>90</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, June 23-30, 1763, no. 1141.

in 2 volumes, "Dean of Gloucester's Political Pamphlet", and "Debt of the Nation compared with its Revenue".<sup>91</sup>

Examples of increased publishing of political pamphlets can be seen in two separate advertisements shortly after 1780, one for two pamphlets on "Reasons against Militia for Scotland" at 4d. and "Remarks upon the Scots Bankrupt Bill by James Chalmer of Leicesterfield" at 6d. and the other for the publication of a pamphlet of the United States constitution "containing the form of government, laws and regulations, concerning their Election of office-bearers, courts and assemblies, in the provincial and continental Congress, together with the treaty of general and united confederacy..."<sup>92</sup>

Another example of the spread of the Enlightenment through the city of Glasgow is in the field of art with the institution of the Foulis Academy of Arts. Founded in 1754, the academy was open to all young men of the city who took an interest in it. It was patronized by the tobacco merchants and other distinguished citizens of the city. What is interesting is its liberal attitude towards the arts and humanistic qualities of education. An advertisement of 1755 declaring the school open for the academic year stated:

"With the approbation of the university, and under the auspice of some persons of the first distinction, the public school for the art of design or drawing in all its branches, will be

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<sup>91</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, February 14-21, 1782, No. 2118.

<sup>92</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, January 16-23, 1783, no. 2225 and March 6-13, 1783, no. 2232.

opened in the college as formerly, on the 20th of November next, at six in the evening. Besides the usual academical course, young gentlemen are instructed in drawing of landscapes, and whatever regards architecture and ornaments of every kind, *with a view to render this accomplishment useful in the future businesses of their lives, whether they chance to be brought up in the army, navy, or apply themselves to the study of manufactures, or arts.* As this kind of knowledge is deservedly esteemed a part of liberal education, drawings, pictures, and prints of the principal masters in all the schools, will be regularly exhibited in order to form a true taste, and to give them a perfect idea of the rise, progress, and perfection of the fine arts, and the peculiar excellencies that distinguish each school."<sup>93</sup>

The academy was funded by subscription, a popular form of public financing in the eighteenth century, and was designed to be innovative in its form for the encouragement of artistic skills deemed necessary for the good of society. A proposal published for the use of subscribers outlined the use and purpose of this academy. It stated;

"Mr. Robert Foulis of Glasgow, printer to the University, conceived a design, some years ago, of erecting a school for Sculpture and Painting and he flattered himself, that such an institution hitherto wanting in every part of this kingdom, might favour the early propensities of such as are endowed with talents for those arts, and bring to view some examples of a happy genius which are frequently concealed under the pressure of indigence and obscurity. The talents indeed which qualify men for attaining great eminence in those arts, are very uncommon; and we must, on this account, the more regret their being frustrated by a want of those occasions which

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<sup>93</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, October 6-13, 1755, no. 740.

discover them, and excite their application."<sup>94</sup>

What is interesting about the Academy is its idea of providing a liberal education, being open to men who may pursue more practical employments, such as being a merchant or manufacturer. It is this almost "Renaissance man" quality that suggests that the Enlightenment was not confined to the upper classes of Edinburgh. The patronage of the Academy by members of the merchant elite enabled it to buy pictures (as listed in Table 4.2) which were among

Table 4.2  
List of Pictures Belonging to the Foulis Academy of Art,  
c. 1755

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<u>Sizes</u>		<u>Prices</u>
6 feet 10 inches by 8 feet 10 inches	Copy of the Convention at Somerset-house between England, Spain, and Holland, from the famous original in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton...	<del>£</del> 70..00
7 feet 4 inches by 10 feet 10 inches	Daniel in the den of lions, after the famous original of Rubens in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton	<del>£</del> 52..10
4 feet 11 inches by 7 feet 10 inches	The Supper of Emaues, after a picture of Titian's in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton	<del>£</del> 10..00
7 feet 1 inch by 4 feet 8 1-half inches	St. Cecilia, after Raphael	<del>£</del> 30..00
5 feet 10 inches by 4 feet 5 inches	Galatea, after Raphael	<del>£</del> 22..00

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<sup>94</sup>.- "Glasgow Foulis Academy of Art, A Catalogue of pictures, drawings, prints, statues, and busts in plaister of Paris, done at the Academy in the University of Glasgow." Printed in Glasgow by R. and A. Foulis. Mu23 - y.19, David Murray Collection, Special Collections Department, GUL.



<u>Sizes</u>		<u>Prices</u>
5 feet 8 inches by 7 feet 4 1-half inches	The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria, from a fine original	£15..00
4 feet 6 inches  by 5 feet 1-half inch	The four Stages of Life,  after Titian	£12..00
5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 1-half inch	Magdalen with Two Angels, after Guido; the same design with that in the Barbarini Palace at Rome	£6..00
5 feet 1 inch by 4 feet 3 inches	The Judgement of Paris, after de la Hire	£6..06
3 feet 1 inch by feet 9 3-4 inches	A view of Glasgow, and of Lord George Sackville's dragoons reviewed in the Green	£8..08
3 feet 2 1-half inches by 2 feet 8 inches	David and Goliath's Lead, after Guido Cangiaccio	£8..00
3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 7 1-half inches	Acis and Galatea	£3..03
3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 8 inches	A Sybil, after a copy by Boulogne from Guido	£8..08
4 feet 1-half inch by 3 feet 2 inches	Descent from the Cross, after an original by Rubens. The large picture is at Antwerp, and justly admired by all connoisseurs	£12..12
2 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 4 1-half inches	The Judgement of Hercules according to the Earl of Shaftebury's invention	£5..05
2 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 7 inches	Three children representing Infancy, after Titian	£2..02
3 feet 5 1-half inches by 4 feet 5 inches	Mutius Scaevola, after Valentini	£5..00
3 feet 9 inches by 5 feet 4 1-half inches	The Adoration of the Shepherds (all the light reflected from the infant Jesus) after a capital picture by Valentine	£7..07

Source- Glasgow Foulis Academy of Art- "A catalogue of pictures, drawings, prints, statues, and busts in plaister of Paris, done at the Academy in the University of Glasgow". Printed by R. and A. Foulis, Mu23-y.19- David Murray Collection, Special Collections Department, GUL.

350 canvasses purchased in the Low Countries and Paris, arriving in Glasgow in 1753.<sup>95</sup> A sense of the ambience of the Enlightenment in Glasgow can be seen in the famous illustration of an exhibition of the Academy in the University of Glasgow in 1750 in which the college courtyard is filled to overflowing with pictures and paintings, some of them placed on the tower for lack of space, and all obviously attended to by the wealthier section of the city.<sup>96</sup>

The main emphasis of the Foulis Academy was on history-painting, as illustrated in one engraving entitled *the Choice of Hercules, after the plan of Lord Shaftesbury*. Hired to teach at the Academy were a French engraver, Francois Aveline, a French painter called 'Payien', and an Italian called 'Medici'. Some notable students included David Allan, James Tassie, the 'eccentric' 11th Earl of Buchan, and Charles Cordiner, who became minister at Banff. One of the students at the Academy, Archibald McLauchlan, in 1770 painted the picture of John Glassford and his family which now resides in the

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<sup>95</sup>.- David and Francina Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900 (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 85.

<sup>96</sup>.- Often used to illustrate Glasgow during the eighteenth century. See, for example, *History Today*, (May, 1990), p. 25.

People's Palace in Glasgow.<sup>97</sup>

The combination of the Foulis brothers art and printing interests included the publication of Charles Coypel's Dialogue sur la connaissance de la Peinture in 1754, Dufresney's Judgement on Painters in 1755, and an original art book composed of 3 papers on art by James Moore, Professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow. More importantly, another Glasgow printer Robert Urie published a variety of books dealing with art subjects such as Joseph Addison's Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals in 1751, Winckelmann's essay Reflections concerning the Imitation of the Grecian Artists in Painting and Sculpture in 1766, Algarotti's Essay on Painting in 1764, and Dolce's Dialogue on Painting in 1770.<sup>98</sup>

The Academy can also be specifically linked to two tobacco merchants, Archibald Ingram and John Glassford, who gave money directly to the brothers Foulis for the purchase of pictures. Robert Foulis explaining his financial difficulties in establishing this institution stated;

"...To serve my country by propagating a relish for the finer Arts there, I projected a little Academy for painting, engraving, and in process

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<sup>97</sup>. - Irwin, Scottish Painters, pp. 86-88. Note also that many merchants could afford to have their portraits painted, a sign of their considerable wealth and upward mobility. For instance, George Murdoch's portrait was painted by David Martin, "Painter to the Prince of Wales" and Allan Ramsay's principal assistant, and can now be seen in the Kelvingrove Art Museum, Glasgow.

<sup>98</sup>. - Ibid., pp. 86, 87.

of time for the Chief Arts that depend on Design, together with another for promoting the knowledge of Ancient Greek and Roman learning. Reflecting on the various means by which this might be effected, I was soon convinced that I had not any Title to propose it to great men, with any hopes of success, my own stock being already very well employed in the printing of the Greek, Latin and modern Authors; The only remaining expedient that occurred to me, was to consider how these Arts might be made sufficiently profitable to engage some Merchants of Spirit in Glasgow, whose names are Ingram and Glassford..., they have supplied me with money to purchase a Collection of pictures of all the Schools..."<sup>99</sup>

Further evidence for the increasing influence of the Enlightenment in Glasgow can also be seen in the subjects of popular entertainment, "popular" meaning open to all members of society for a small sum of money. Popular entertainment in Glasgow in the eighteenth century was often in the form of demonstrations and exhibitions, many of which were focused around topics or ideas of "natural science". For example, a Mr. Pinchbeck from London was exhibiting experiments in electricity in 1747.<sup>100</sup> In the same year, a Mr. John Jarvis was also exhibiting experiments in electricity at his house above Bailie Armour's in the Trongate opposite the Laigh Church before ten in the morning or after four in the afternoon for the sum of 6d. for adults, 3d. for children. His advertisement in the *Glasgow Journal* stated:

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<sup>99</sup>. - David Murray, Robert & Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press with some Account of the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), pp. 60, 61.

<sup>100</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, March 9-16, 1747, no. 294.

"The learned world is now more sensibly convinced that instead of vain Notions, little better than romances nothing tends so much to the evidencing Philosophy, as Conclusions drawn from Experiments clearly and accurately made. This is therefore to inform the Curious, that John Jarvis has compleated a Machine (not improperly called a Fire Pump, from its Property of drawing Fire from almost all Substances) and Apparatus, for exhibiting those wonderful Phenomena and most astonishing Experiments in Electricity, a proper Detail of which cannot be expected in a publick Notice of this Kind: But the Universal Shock, firing of Spirits by the Touch, making bells ring by Fire produced from themselves & c. shall be the smallest part of the Entertainment..."<sup>101</sup>

Also included in the price was the sight of "twelve dozen of silver spoons contain'd in a common Cherry Stone".<sup>102</sup>

Another example of interest in natural science through popular entertainment can be seen in a travelling zoo which was to be seen "...at the Sign of the Bear..." and included "...the Noble Rhinoceros or real Unicorn, a Work of Nature not to be paralleled, being upwards of Seventy hundred weight, taken from the great Mogul by the noted Koubli Khan, all in a Coat of metal or Armour, and allowed to be the grandest sight ever exhibited to publick view in Europe..."<sup>103</sup>

In 1749, there is a particularly interesting reference to the first magician to be noted in the newspapers as performing his "art" in the city of Glasgow. The performance given by a "High German Artist" was described as "the Art of Dexterity" or "Slight of Hand".

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<sup>101</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, April 20-27, 1747, no. 300.

<sup>102</sup>.- *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup>.- *Glasgow Courant*, March 21-28, 1748, no. 129.

It is interesting that the theatre in Glasgow received such popular disapproval as compared with this magician, especially when to a religious mind, so relatively soon after the seventeenth-century witch trials<sup>104</sup>, such a man might have been seen as a "conjurer". The magician's schedule of entertainment included: conveying "live Birds into any Gentleman's Hand in an Instant"; causing "a Fountain run and stop at the Word of Command"; performing "several Actions with money, and Variety of new Inventions with Cards"; and producing "real Fruit upon the Table, without the Help of Springs or Screws".<sup>105</sup> This tolerance of a magician is one example of how popular entertainment can exist side by side with the theological zeal existing in part of the population of the city at that time. Whether or not the more serious religious community of Glasgow approved of the magician is unclear, but the fact that it met with little resistance in being publicly advertised in the papers, shows that for some unknown reason, a conjurer was not as threatening as the theatre, perhaps because the theatre was an established institution whereas a magician could only perform on the odd occasion and did not require the establishment of a building for the purpose of his act.

The major influence, however, on popular entertainment was parallel to what was going on in the

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<sup>104</sup>.- Christina Larner, Enemies of God, The Witch-hunt in Scotland (London: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p. 80.

<sup>105</sup>.- *Glasgow Courant*, April 3-10, 1749, no. 183.

universities. Indeed, with so many different schools in Glasgow offering such a wide variety of subjects at the time, available to a larger proportion of the population than might seem possible, it is hardly a wonder that so many exhibitions and demonstrations should have taken place. The emphasis was on science, especially natural science, and the prevalence of Enlightenment ideas was not exclusive to only the upper classes. The advertisements in the local newspapers give evidence of a more pervasive Enlightenment atmosphere than might have been associated with Glasgow in the past. For example, an advertisement of 1755 states:

"Those gentlemen, ladies, &c. that are lovers of natural curiosities, or rational amusement, it is hoped will take this opportunity to see the amazing exhibition of that curious apparatus, the double reflecting microscope, which is exhibited at John Sharp's Vintner, opposite to the Laigh-church closs in the Tronegate, Glasgow, where it will continue during the present week, and positively no longer. The use of this apparatus being too extensive to mention here, the proprietor begs leave to confine himself to the following hint.- The great variety of objects which are daily exhibited by this apparatus, especially the wonderful phenomenon of the circulation of the blood in several land and water animals, have gained high applause from great numbers of the gentlemen of the faculty, and others, who have honoured him with their company."<sup>106</sup>

It can be assumed from this that many merchants frequented these exhibitions. As magistrates of the city, they must at least have given permission for these performances to take place. As noted in the same advertisement; "The proprietor humbly begs leave to return his sincere thanks

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<sup>106</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, April 14-21, no. 715.

to the honourable the Lord Provost and Magistrates of this city, and the great number of gentlemen and ladies, who have honoured him with their company."<sup>107</sup>

Clubs in the eighteenth century were another important indicator of the spread of the Enlightenment.<sup>108</sup> In Glasgow, there was a wide variety of clubs covering every interest from literature, poetry, dancing, card-playing, political economy, music, eating, and drinking. The merchant elite naturally formed a large majority of the membership of these clubs.<sup>109</sup> The major clubs in Glasgow during the eighteenth century up to the year 1780 were the Political Economy Club (whose significance has already been discussed above), the Anderston Club (basically an eating club), My Lord Ross's Club (a literature and fine arts club), The Morning and Evening Club (a club that met to discuss the Edinburgh papers before breakfast and the local news and gossip after dinner), the Hodge-Podge Club, and the Literary Society.<sup>110</sup>

What was discussed in these clubs to a large extent must be left to conjecture, although in two cases, the Literary Society and the Hodge-Podge Club, there does

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<sup>107</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>.- For a description of Scottish clubs in the eighteenth-century, see McElroy, Scotland's Age of Improvement, and McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society, pp. 217-244.

<sup>109</sup>.- see Chapter 1, pp. 56-60, and Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs, p. 43.

<sup>110</sup>.- Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs, pp. 109-122.



exist evidence for discussion material.

The Literary Society which met on the first Friday of November each year to the second Friday of May inclusive included a prestigious membership of university professors, printers and publishers, and merchants of the city. A publication of the laws of this society which was copied from the original minute books provides a glimpse of what interested the minds of these men. Though the topics of discussion are mainly copied from the discourses of Robert and Andrew Foulis, they still provide an insight into the influence of the Enlightenment on ideas and on improvement and progress. For example, as early as 1766 the Literary Society was discussing the establishment of a police force in Britain "consistent with Liberty".<sup>111</sup> Questions relating to other topics characteristic of the time period such as natural science, commerce, improvement, and the question of the theatre were also common. The discussions on commerce were particularly apt for their relation to the growing prosperity of the city of Glasgow. For instance, in 1767, Dr. Leechman of the University proposed the question "Do the Improvements which have taken place in society arise from the gradual progress of Things or from extraordinary Circumstances" and in the same year Dr. Reid of the University proposed the topic of "Whether Paper Credit is beneficial or

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<sup>111</sup>.- "Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College. 1764-1779", MS Murray 505, GUL.

hurtful to a trading Nation."<sup>112</sup>

The Hodge-Podge Club to which a larger number of tobacco merchants belonged met every fortnight from 5 May to 5 November on Wednesdays at dinner and from 5 November to 5 May at dinner on Wednesday and supper on Tuesdays. The attitude of the club was more relaxed than the Literary Society with bets being taken on other members of the club and a set of rules whose intention was more or less meant to be humorous. For instance, rule number seven stated that "Playing at cards having been no part of the original institution of this now venerable Club, that amusement is only to be considered as a bell to call the members together, and therefore no single game, far less a rubber at whist, shall be begun after nine o'clock at night."<sup>113</sup> Another sense of the amusement quality of this club can be seen in various characterizations in verse of some of the more prominent merchant members written by Dr. Moore of Glasgow, most likely before 1766. For instance, the satirization of James Dunlop of Garnkirk was as follows:

"With feelings too keen to be ever at ease,  
A lover of satire, but afraid to displease;  
When applauded a wit, but when censured a  
dunce-  
Retort on Dunlop, and you gag him at once."<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 20 and 23.

<sup>113</sup>.- "The Hodge-Podge Club. 1752-1900", Compiled from the Records of the Club by T.F. Donald (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1900), Mu24-y.36, David Murray Collection, GUL, pp. 14,15.

<sup>114</sup>.- Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs, p. 49.

In a later period of the club, after 1780, another set of characterizations was written by James Murdoch, son of Peter Murdoch, one of which included that of Henry Glassford of Dougalston, son of John Glassford, and is worth repeating for its representation of him as being a squire, lawyer, and merchant, an indication of the increased status of the mercantile elite in land, education, and trade. It stated:

"Squire, lawyer, and merchant, and soldier comes next,  
Not fictitious in song, but true as the text;  
In Glassford, these characters mix and agree,  
And surely no better Hodge-Podger than he."<sup>115</sup>

Topics of discussion of the club were a bit more serious as entries under the date of 5 May, 1782 show. The six topics of discussion included: "What is Taste? Is it natural or acquired?"; "Is it the possession of silver or gold that occasions pride in the wealthy? Or is it the mean-spiritedness of those who cringe to them on that account? And then, whether is a man to be blamed for this pride, or his flatterers?"; "Man is distinguished from brutes by his soul and reason. Brutes have no souls, therefore their actions should not seem dependant of direction, and never in consequence of a train of reasoning."; "Whether the public misfortunes which the practice of duelling occasions are not overbalanced by the tranquility which it may promote to society in general."; "Is not vice as laborious as Virtue?"; and "Men run into danger to get out of the apprehension. We are apprehensive

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<sup>115</sup>.-- Ibid., pp. 63,64.

of being damn'd. Therefore we should destroy ourselves."<sup>116</sup>

Glasgow was in fact vigorously active in club activities throughout the eighteenth century, and much of this activity was either initiated (as in the case of the Cochrane or Political Economy Club) by merchants or participated in by merchants. For example, an advertisement for the Glasgow Assemblies in 1755 stated that the Assembly was to take place at "the Merchants Hall" tickets for which would cost half a crown per person.<sup>117</sup>

In the same year, there is also evidence of a Musical Society whose concerts took place at Hutcheson's Hospital in the Trongate. An advertisement of 1755 for the society states that a concert is to take place "Where the two Charles' eminent players on the French Horn, are to perform. To begin precisely at 5 o'clock in the evening. Tickets to be had at the exchange coffee-house at 2s. and 6d. each."<sup>118</sup> Further example of musical performances can be seen later in the century with concerts being given at the newly-built Assembly-Hall. For example in 1782, there was a concert being given of A. Reinagle's vocal and instrumental Music, tickets for which at 2s. and 6d. could

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<sup>116</sup>. - "The Hodge-Podge Club, 1752-1900", Compiled from the Records of the Club by T.F. Donald (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1900), Mu 24-y.36, David Murray Collection, GUL, p. 21.

<sup>117</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, April 7-14, 1755, no. 714.

<sup>118</sup>. - *Ibid.*

be obtained from the Music Shop of a Mr. Aird and from Mr. Reinagle himself who appears to have been a resident of Glasgow in Craig's Land in the Trongate.<sup>119</sup> Also, in March of the same year, there was a concert of musical and vocal music at the Assembly-Hall followed by a ball. The concert consisted of three acts of the following:

"Act I- Overture of Stamnitz  
- Song, Let not age, Mr. Wilson  
- Harpsichord Lesson, Mr. Reinagle  
Act II- Hautby Quartet of Vanhall, W. Goold  
- Song, Mr. Cranmer  
- The 5th Miscellaneous Quartet on the  
Psaltery, by Mr. Napier  
Act III- Solo on the German Flute  
- Song  
- Solo Concerto of Barghi on the Violin,  
Mr. Napier"<sup>120</sup>

All clublike activities, however, were not centred on such refined topics. One common entertainment of the eighteenth century, and which was in existence in Glasgow, allegedly practised frequently by one of the richest tobacco merchants, John Glassford, was gambling. For example, in 1755 the installation of a "French billiard table" was announced in the New-Inn at the Gallowgate, available from 9 in the morning until 8 at night.<sup>121</sup> William Richardson, a Glasgow merchant, writing to his friend George Bogle, junior, in India, in 1773 described how after an absence of six years from the city, during which he was living in St. Petersburg as a merchant, he

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<sup>119</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, January 24-31, 1782, no. 2115.

<sup>120</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, March 7-14, 1782, no. 2121.

<sup>121</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, June 30-July 7, 1755, no. 726.

noticed the growth of gambling as a leisure activity. He stated, "...At the same time there are many things in Glasgow that I do not entirely approve. The young men are too much addicted to the pleasures of the bottle and the gaming table..."<sup>122</sup> A more illustrative example of the existence of gambling is an advertisement of 1783. It states that a horse race is to take place "to be run for a prize of two guineas on the sands of Dumglass, on Friday the 11th of July, by any Horse, Mare, or Gelding that never won Fifty Pounds."<sup>123</sup> It is interesting to note that no notice of gambling among what were probably the wealthier citizens of Glasgow has ever been taken by even the social writers of Glasgow in the nineteenth century who preferred to attribute the rise and progress of their city to a frugality and business prudence tantamount to miserliness. What this evidence of gambling does show is the relative wealth of a city where money could be spent in such a way as a mere diversion at a time when such clubs would have been frequented by only the wealthier and more prestigious members of society.

## V

The Enlightenment has also been seen as the age of improvement on the land. The merchant elite of Glasgow

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<sup>122</sup>.- William Richardson to George Bogle, junior, in Calcutta, 24 February, 1773, Bo 20/14, Folder 1770-1773, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>123</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, June 19-26, 1783, no. 2246.

were great improvers. They bought estates and used these estates for industrial reasons such as coal-mining and mineral-mining and for agricultural improvement in the planting of trees and the diversification of crops.<sup>124</sup> The "new agriculture" was characterized by the introduction of enclosures, plantations, artificial grasses, root crops, and improved implements.<sup>125</sup>

As Adam Smith stated had noted, "...Merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen, and when they do, they are generally the best of all improvers...The habits, besides, of order, economy, and attention, to which mercantile business naturally forms a merchant, render him much fitter to execute, with profit and success, any project of improvement."<sup>126</sup> This comment seems to fit in perfectly with the merchant elite of Glasgow, as those merchants who were in the financial position of buying estates were noted by their contemporaries as being great improvers.

For example, John Glassford was noted for making various improvements on his estate in Dumbartonshire. "...His country mansion had a facade of 100 feet in length, streams were diverted to form a lake thirty acres in extent and a separate building was constructed, known

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<sup>124</sup>.- See Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 18-33 on mercantile investment in land.

<sup>125</sup>.- Devine, "Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land" in Land and Industry, p. 205.

<sup>126</sup>.- Smith, The Wealth of Nations, pp. 507,508.

as the 'Banqueting Hall'."<sup>127</sup> Also, Henry Ritchie's efforts at improvement in the parish of Kirkmichael in Ayrshire caused the parish minister to remark, "'...his experience unites with that of other enlightened landowners in establishing the fact that no outlay of capital yields so high and certain a return as what is judiciously applied to the purposes of agricultural improvement.'"<sup>128</sup> Another contemporary noticed the improving efforts of William McDowall of Garthland<sup>129</sup> in building "pleasure grounds" at his estate of Castlesemple which contained 470 Scotch acres of wood and 430 acres of water.<sup>130</sup>

George Bogle of Daldowie was also involved in improving his estate of Daldowie. A letter to his son George, junior in India, in 1777 described these activities, along with his apprehensions that his family should not suffer by the temporary setback of the war in America, and continue to live in the style that they had become accustomed to. He stated:

"...There is no doubt my dear George there have been considerable sums expended on my estate here on building, planting and policy which has encreased its value immensely, I am fully

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<sup>127</sup>.- Devine, The Tobacco Lords, pp. 27,28 taken from James Gourlay, A Glasgow Miscellany (Privately Printed, N.D.), pp. 45,46.

<sup>128</sup>.- Ibid., p. 29, quoting from the New Statistical Account, vol. 5, p. 502.

<sup>129</sup>.- See Chapter 5, pp. 352,353.

<sup>130</sup>.- Alexander Martin, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Renfrew with Observations on the Means of its Improvement (London: C. Clarke, 1794), p. 16.



persuaded I have planted near to 300,000 trees which will encrease its worth some years hence to a very great height and when we include the natural and innate beautys with which it is everywhere and luxuriously adorned. The Pretium Affections must greatly inhance the value. I am in great hopes notwithstanding the present disastrous appearance of the Circumstances of my family that Daldowie and its Environs shall be preserved and Continued in it, after, long after I have left this world and all its fleeting enjoyments."<sup>131</sup>

By far receiving the most contemporary comment was Alexander Speirs of Elderslie who purchased the lands of Neilstonside, Elderslie, Kings Inch, Arkleton, Deanside, Deansfield, Craigenfeoch, Muirhead, Bogside, Haining Holymine, Auchinlodmen, and many other smaller, estates in the Strathclyde and Stirlingshire area, and who had owing to his estate at the time of his death the sum of £65,798..11..7.<sup>132</sup> The contents of his lands at Kings Inch (as shown in Table 4.3), his major residence, illustrate the extent of his improving activities on his estate. A contemporary observation of his activities on his estate at King's Inch stated, "Mr. Speirs of Elderslie, is increasing his beautiful pleasure grounds at Inch, by taking in a large field which though consisting of a very wet and thin soil, he is improving, by alternate crops of

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<sup>131</sup>.- George Bogle, senior, of Daldowie to George Bogle, junior in Calcutta, 23 November, 1777, Bo 19/29, Folder 1776 January - December, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>132</sup>.- "Estate of Alexander Speirs as appeared from his Books and Papers on the 18th December, 1782", HH1/18/1-1782-1785, Sederunt Book of the Trustees of Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A. and Chapter 1, pp. 34,35.

turnips, oats, and grass seeds."<sup>133</sup>

A notice made of one of Speirs' smaller estates, the lands of Houston, also mentioned the improving activities of William Cunninghame of Craigends (not to be confused with William Cunninghame of Lainshaw, one of "the four young men"), a Virginia merchant. It was said that "the fine soft lands of Houston, the property also of Mr.

Table 4.3  
The Contents of Kings Inch Lands  
Belonging to Alexander Speirs

	A,	R,	F
Inch Lead Park	6..	-..	15
East Park	8..	3..	35
South Holme	2..	-..	--
Garden	1..	1..	16
Kitchen Garden	-..	1..	20
Bowling Green	-..	1..	7
East Pleasure Ground	1..	1..	6
West Pleasure Ground	2..	-..	11
Planting and Officehouses	1..	-..	38
House Avenue and Roads	1..	-..	20
South Park	8..	3..	10
North Park	10..	2..	3
Quarie Park	3..	-..	20
East Castle Park	4..	1..	6
West Castle Park	4..	-..	11
East Meadow	2..	2..	20
West Meadow	2..	-..	12
East Field	4..	3..	15
West Field	4..	3..	15
South Field	5..	1..	22
North Field	7..	-..	--
Croft	7..	1..	20
Bridge Field	4..	-..	30
Ferry Boat Field	8..	-..	20
Field Water Side	1..	-..	5
Wade Water Side	1..	2..	15
Water Side Ground	2..	1..	20
	106..	1..	12

Source- Rent Ledger, 1766-1778, HH1/3/2, Crichton-Maitland Papers

<sup>133</sup>.- Martin, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Renfrew, p. 8.

Speirs, appear to lie rather in an uncultivated state; though, on the other side of the Guyse, they have the example of Mr. Cunningham, of Craigends, managed by Mr. Baillie; which within these seventeen years, have risen near three rents, by good management."<sup>134</sup> Speirs' estates of Neilstonside were also mentioned, due to his use of enclosures for sheep pasture. It was stated "...though the lands of these parishes {Mearns, Egglesham, Nielston, Lochwinnoch, Kilburchan, Erskine, and Kilmalcolm} seem peculiarly well adopted for sheep pasture, none of them are so occupied, excepting some inclosures about gentlemen's seats, and two parks, in the parish of Neilston, the property of Mr. Speirs of Elderslie. These lands are mostly inclosed with thin hedges; a few with four feet stone dyke walls, and a small Galloway cape; which is formed by laying a few rough stones on the top."<sup>135</sup>

Most of the improvement done on Speirs' lands was in the field of agriculture, as opposed to industrial development. For instance, David Owen in 1782, informed the trustees of Alexander Speirs of his employment on the estate of Speirs in the carrying out of such activities as planting and putting up hedges and gates. An extract from the meeting stated that "David Owen reports to the meeting that he has been employed by Mr. Speirs for several years

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<sup>134</sup>.- Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>135</sup>.- Ibid., p. 13.

in superintending his workmen and carrying on various improvements on his Different estates..."<sup>136</sup>

Further evidence of Speirs' activities in improving his estate can be seen in his letterbooks which record the ordering of trees and mentions other merchants orders for such things as rye grass seed as in a letter of 4 February, 1782 making a request for John Glassford. Speirs stated in his letter to Alexander Faulds; "I received the Thorns. I see vessells daily from London to Carron and no Trees, or Invoices which is a very great hardship. I having begun to finish my House and Walls, the Season being so mild the Peaches and Nectarines are in Bud and Swelled. If the Invoices don't come to me this week I will not take them, I will try Edinburgh for them. I must say I'm ill used in these trees not being here..."<sup>137</sup>

The importance of these improving efforts by the Glasgow merchants lies in demonstrating their interest in this movement towards agricultural improvement, a major aspect of the Scottish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. In addition to landed estates providing a stable financial future for their descendants and allowing them suffrage in voting for the representative to Parliament, this aspect of estate improvement also illustrates the

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<sup>136</sup>. - Meeting of trustees, 24 December, 1782, Sederunt Book of the Trustees of Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, HH1/18/11, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

<sup>137</sup>. - Alexander Speirs to Alexander Faulds, Glasgow, 4 February, 1782, Letterbook of Alexander Speirs Commencing 12 October, 1781, HH1/18/2, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

merchant elite not merely as financial opportunists who might have exploited their land for industrial uses such as mining, but also as men who were interested in the beauty of their land, and the enjoyment of their estates as places of pleasure. The fact that they could find the time to plan such intricate estates with their pleasure parks, bowling greens, and man-made lakes and canals, in addition to their necessary duties in their businesses, and their role as magistrates on the Town Council, indicates a highly motivated and dynamic group whose concerns lay in many areas, cultural and aesthetic as well as commercial. Their activities as merchant improvers were not only noted in the writings of Smith, but also revealed them as progressive thinkers of the day involved in this aspect of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The Enlightenment in Glasgow in the eighteenth century was a major transformer of society, not just at the higher levels of academia with the opening up of ideas about the nature of society and the world, but also at the lower levels of popular involvement through the availability of literature, entertainment, music, and clubs. Somewhere in between these two levels, the "tobacco lords" also participated in the Enlightenment in Glasgow. As they were dominant on the Town Council, socially active in their own clubs and societies, and able to issue patronage for such academies as the Foulis Academy it is clear that they contributed significantly to

the spread and influence of the Enlightenment in Glasgow.

At the educational level, many of the merchant elite attended the University of Glasgow, as well as continental universities, and sent their sons there. Although, these merchants did not receive degrees, the importance of being educated at the university level for the Glasgow merchants was very different from other merchant groups in Great Britain. Educated entrepreneurs in England were rare, and even the Edinburgh merchants were described as being narrow-minded and uneducated. If the Scottish Enlightenment was supposedly centred in the city of Edinburgh, how was it that it spread more to the Glasgow merchants than to the Edinburgh merchants? Also of importance, is the intellectual contributions of members of the university, most significantly the works of Adam Smith, such as The Wealth of Nations, which was in fact completed during his residence in *Glasgow as a professor* at the university. Smith's ideas about economics could not have possibly escaped the influence of the thriving tobacco trade and the dynamism of the Glasgow merchants.

Glasgow's Enlightenment was also characterized by the growth of printing and literature, as made evident through the establishment of the Circulating Library and the many advertisements in the local newspapers announcing the publications of the latest reading material, of both an intellectual and entertaining nature. The publication of such works by Montesquieu, Hutcheson, Smollett, Puffendorf, Gershom Carmichael, and Professor Simson at

the university indicates a demand for such reading material, whose interest lay in the progressive ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment. Although it is always impossible to say if these books were read and digested by members of the merchant elite, there is much (indeed overwhelming) evidence of merchants owning substantial libraries and providing much of the custom for the rapidly growing number of book sellers in the city.

In addition to merchant interest in literature, the proof of merchants giving patronage to projects such as the Foulis Academy of Arts illustrates the ambience and sentiment of the Scottish Enlightenment, despite the Academy's untimely failure due to financial problems. Also, the merchants as magistrates, baillies, and Lord Provosts, gave permission to the many entertainers and demonstrators who came into the city during the eighteenth century to exhibit their experiments in electricity, their double-reflecting microscopes, their talent as magicians, and their travelling zoos, which for a small price were open to the whole community living in Glasgow at the time. In this sense, the Enlightenment took on many forms, but all of these forms were characterized by a search for knowledge, reason, beauty, and progress.

Discussion was actively encouraged on many topics of an intellectual nature through the plethora of clubs in eighteenth-century Glasgow which were invariably attended by many of the merchant elite. The most famous club, the Political Economy Club, was in fact initiated by Andrew

Cochrane, Lord Provost, as already noted, during the troubled times of the '45 and a wealthy merchant in his own right. The name of this club leaves little doubt as to what was discussed at their meetings, and is significant for the fact that Adam Smith was a member.

Finally, the Glasgow merchants as enlightened members of society is borne out by their own personal activities as improvers on their estates. Not only were they interested in the economic and political benefits of estate ownership, but they were also interested in making their estates places of beauty, by planting fruit trees, cultivating forests, building man-made lakes, and "pleasure parks".

It is the holistic sense of the Enlightenment as encapsulating many facets of life, always pointing to the idea of progress and reason, that typifies this participation of the merchant elite of Glasgow, leading to an almost "Renaissance man" quality. In Glasgow, the Scottish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century was in full force, evident in all aspects of life. Although, Edinburgh has often taken precedence over Glasgow as the centre of the Enlightenment, it no longer seems likely that this thesis can be upheld entirely. While it is true that the Scottish Enlightenment was an urban phenomenon, it did not only take place in Edinburgh. The Glasgow merchants provide sufficient proof that the Enlightenment was more diffuse and available than previously suggested, as well as giving evidence that they themselves, as



merchants and the main protagonists of economic progress in the city of Glasgow at the time, embodied the essence of the Scottish Enlightenment through their intellectual endeavours in clubs, literature, art, education, and estate improvement.

Perhaps the best explanation of the link between the tobacco aristocracy and the spread of Enlightenment ideas comes from the words of men of the eighteenth century, at the end of the monopoly of the tobacco trade in Glasgow in the year 1783. The dedication to Patrick Colquhoun, who was Lord Provost at the time, in the Glasgow Magazine stated:

"...The connection between commerce and the liberal arts is so well known, that such as cultivate the latter naturally seek the patronage of those who are the greatest friends to the former. To commerce we owe our present happy state of civilization, and our emerging from that profound ignorance and barbarism, which, like a thick cloud for many ages, overspread the western part of the world. *Had it not been for the revival of trade, the improvements in navigation, and the intercourse thus carried on between the different parts of the world, it is highly probable, that scarce an art or science would at present have had an existence among us. To you, therefore, Gentlemen, who have been the first in this kingdom to become the avowed Patrons of Commerce, I look for protection in the present work. Its design is to diffuse knowledge, excite the emulation of youth, and promote that liberality of sentiment and social intercourse, which ought to be the characteristics of a commercial people...*"<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>.- *The Glasgow Magazine and Review or Universal Miscellany of Arts, Sciences, Entertainment, Literature, History, Poetry, Biography, Amusements, Politics, Manners and Intelligence Foreign and Domestic, Volume I* (Glasgow: Printed for J. Mennons, Publisher of the Glasgow Advertiser, 1783).

## Chapter 5

### The Secular merchant: Wealth Disposal and Conspicuous Consumption Among the Merchant Elite

Glasgow in the early eighteenth century was generally favourably regarded by visitors. Daniel Defoe's description, writing in 1724, is well known: "...a very fine city;..." and "...the cleanest and beautifullest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted."<sup>1</sup> Also, Captain Burt who visited Glasgow in 1730, stated, "Glasgow is, to outward Appearance, the prettiest and most uniform Town that ever was; and I believe there is nothing like it in Britain."<sup>2</sup> The impression they gave was of a simple lifestyle, not spartan but not, either, one in which wealth oozed from all its social pores in great daily profusion. It seemed to have the range of goods one would

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<sup>1</sup>.- Daniel Defoe, A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, (London: 1724), pp. 604,605.

<sup>2</sup>.- Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London; Containing the Description of a Capital Town in that Northern Country; with an Account of some uncommon Customs of the Inhabitants, 2 vols. (London: Printed for S. Birt, in Ave-Maria-Lane, 1754), vol. 1, p. 25.

expect from a busy-like burgh beginning to expand in what was still the rather poor society of the Scotland of the time. Atlantic trading had been developing in it for some time so instances of exotic items available in it from time to time would not be surprising. But its level of consumption was probably more normally at that of ordinary necessary products. Glasgow had reputedly over 200 shops in it so it obviously catered for a variety of needs, expanding as its trading activity grew. But none of them was apparently of any great size or noted for unusual ranges of goods. Descriptions of the lists of goods available in 1712 suggest a limited range, one writer noting "...shallons (light twilled woollen cloth) and dried fish, yarn and candles and brocades..."<sup>3</sup> Socially, it must have been rather cramped since the wealthier citizens shared the tenements in the few main streets around the Cross and the Cathedral. There the better off would occupy flats above the shops and side by side with them on the same stairs and landings would be the tradesmen and their workmen. In 1700 water came, as it did for long into the eighteenth century, from common wells, and, as in the country, provisions were scarce from autumn to spring, meat having to be salted to preserve it so that it could be made available from November to May. Fish was readily available from the Clyde and would play a large part in the daily diet. A solid, decent lifestyle

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<sup>3</sup>.- Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901), p. 131.

seems to have been the norm, not one of great luxury and variety.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the availability of consumer goods had increased greatly, due to the trading activities of the "tobacco lords" in bringing wealth into the city and bringing goods from both the continents of Europe and America.<sup>4</sup> Listed among the goods for sale in one of the newly founded newspapers (itself an indication through its advertisements of a growing taste for and ability to pay for a widening range of items), there is a quite an exotic range. An advertisement of 1741 for the grocery-warehouse of Andrew Mitchellhill and Company listed almonds, currants, cinnamon, cloves, capers, chocolate, coriander, parmizan cheese, figs, ginger, lemons, limes, mustard, molasses, nutmegs, pistachio nuts, oranges, prunes, pepper, pimento, raisins, rice, rhubarb, saffron, sugars, rum, tobacco, tea, vermicelli, Hungary waters, orange flower water, honey water, piermont water, Bristol water, and five different kinds of wine among the large selection of items and goods available at this warehouse.<sup>5</sup> This description of goods available alters to some extent the impression of Glasgow as a cultural backwater. As has been stated by nineteenth century historians, "In the middle of the

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<sup>4</sup>.- Sir John Sinclair, ed., The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799, 20 vols., (Wakefield, England: EP Publishing Limited, 1973), vol. 7 Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, p. 295.

<sup>5</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, November 30-December 7, 1741, no. 19.

century there appeared distinct signs of social improvement, enterprise, and luxury...Soon thereafter the walls of the shops broke out into an eruption of signboards, and there dangled and creaked in the air from poles, red lions and blue swans, cross keys, golden breeches, golden gloves, till the magistrates, in course of time, ordered their removal, as obscuring the light of their new lamps at night..."<sup>6</sup>

It is always to some extent arbitrary to decide what is essential and what is less essential (and can thus be classified to some extent into extra, indispensable, or a luxury) in consumption patterns. But even if rough and ready comparisons between earlier and later periods are difficult to make because of a lack of suitable data, some general aspects should be kept in mind. In the time period of the eighteenth century dominated by the trading successes of the tobacco lords, there is a definite standard of luxury apparent amongst members of the merchant elite as made evident in such sources as wills and testaments, registered deeds, account books, and general contemporary comment. For example, there was a definite increase in the city of Glasgow of more refined and expensive food items such as coffee, tea, chocolate, etc. which not only suggest an increased standard of living, but an increased amount of leisure time, as

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<sup>6</sup>.- Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 141. See also, Cunnison and Gilfillan, eds., The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The City of Glasgow, p. 95.

effected by the increasing wealth of these merchants. Also, there was a notable increase in expensive housing, accompanied by evidence of servants (many of whom were slaves). In addition, the changing lifestyles of the merchant elite as the century progressed is evident in wills which give instances of leather chairs being owned as opposed to cane ones, or in the Glasgow newspapers which advertised shops selling wallpaper. It should also be pointed out that the somewhat ambiguous terms of consumption and luxury will be used in the text to describe certain aspects of the merchant elite's lifestyle. These terms will be used in their simplest form, the word consumption meaning anything which the merchants purchased including goods, land, and business shares which they deemed valuable enough to record in either wills and testaments, dispositions and settlements, or account books, and the word luxury meaning those purchases which could be deemed superfluous to eighteenth-century standards of living, in other words anything which was not necessary for a basic, simple lifestyle.

This chapter will attempt to show the lifestyles of the merchant elite of eighteenth-century Glasgow in the secular world of housing, consumption, style, and wealth disposal before and after their death, lifestyles made possible by their increasing wealth from successful trading. To be examined first is the contextual arrangement of the city of Glasgow itself, how people generally spent their money, and what goods were available

to spend money on. This analysis of the consumer history of Glasgow in the eighteenth century can only be constructed from a few secondary sources for general statements. However, through the examination of advertisements in local newspapers, a good idea of the types of goods in eighteenth century Glasgow can be obtained. After setting the contextual scene of Glasgow in the eighteenth century, the pattern of accommodation of the merchant elite throughout the city in respect to their status and lifestyle will be examined. Also to be looked at are the lifestyles of particular merchants as gleaned from wills and testaments, registered deeds, account books, and household account books, as a way of analysing what these merchants spent their money on and what was their major disposal of wealth. In addition, the microcosm of domestic life within one merchant household, viz. George Bogle of Daldowie, as recorded by his daughter Annie who kept the household accounts in a meticulous form for the period 1775-1780 will be examined. This will lead to a fuller discussion of the merchant elite of Glasgow not only as wealth creators but as wealth disposers.

## I

Life in eighteenth-century Glasgow was a very ordered affair. Social customs were carried out with precision and work and the tavern went hand in hand with normal everyday life. The usual pattern of the working day in Glasgow for the men in the eighteenth-century usually

started at 6:00 a.m. when, advertised by a gun, the post from Edinburgh arrived carrying with it correspondence and the Edinburgh papers. After that, the men usually proceeded to their work whether it be in a shop, a small factory, or the counting-house. At mid-day life usually continued in the local taverns or coffee houses where gossip and local information was exchanged. From 2:00 p.m. until the late hour of 8:00, work was continued to be followed by perhaps a trip to the tavern.<sup>7</sup> For the wealthier ladies of the town, the drinking of tea was the pretext for society and gossip. In the first part of the eighteenth century "the four-hours", 4:00 P.M., was the usual time in merchants' families for taking tea when guests were received in the main bedroom where the family did most of their living.<sup>8</sup> As the century progressed the time for taking tea and dinner gradually became later in fashion with the ability to end work with the final and more elaborate meal of the day. After 1770, the company of dinner parties usually met at 5:00 p.m. when they engaged in such activities as card-playing to be followed by the supper and the sexual segregation of the company with the ladies retiring to the drawing-room or bed, and the men continuing their drinking, most likely to the early hours of the morning.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>.- Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 132-133.

<sup>8</sup>.- Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>9</sup>.- Ibid., p. 145.



As far as accommodation was concerned for the tobacco merchants, the first half of the eighteenth century saw them living in tenements alongside other ranks and members of society, usually taking only a floor of the tenement as their complete residence. As has already been shown, by the end of the eighteenth century the accommodation of the merchant elite had grown not only into the building of self-contained mansions in the city centre, but also in the acquisition of landed estates in the Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire countryside as well as Stirlingshire and the American colonies. Robert Reid, alias Senex, writing in 1849 recalled the increasing superfluity of wealth in the later eighteenth century as displayed by William Cunninghame in the building of his mansion in Queen Street<sup>10</sup>:

"...I remember when the foundation of this house was laid in 1778, but it was not finished till 1780. The ground on which it was erected was at that time quite a swamp, and it cost Mr. Cunninghame much trouble and great expense to drain it... Although we have now splendid mansions in Glasgow in abundance, nevertheless not one of them can be compared to Mr. Cunninghame's house, which cost him £10,000 (equal now to £20,000); indeed, this house was universally allowed to have been the most splendid urban mansions in Scotland, and the only one which could at all be compared to it was the house in Edinburgh now occupied by the Royal Bank of Scotland. On the front of his house Mr. Cunninghame placed the very appropriate motto of 'Emergo';..."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>. - This mansion on Queen Street is one of the few tobacco mansions still surviving intact from the demolitions of an earlier era. It is now known as the Stirling Library.

<sup>11</sup>. - Senex, Aliquis, J.B., etc., Glasgow Past and Present, vol. 1, p. 281.

The contents of houses in the eighteenth century also provide a context in which to place the wealth disposal and consumption of the merchant elite of Glasgow. As far as furniture was concerned the eighteenth century saw a great interest in oriental furniture, the most common being the japanned-ware, black furniture ornamented with gilt, which is very common in inventories of wills of well-to-do people.<sup>12</sup> The inventory of a will and testament of George Clark, a merchant and burgess of Edinburgh in 1707, illustrates what could be expected to be the standard of living of a reasonably well-off merchant at the beginning of the century. For example, his parlour contained "...besides the chairs and the tea-table and china, a wainscot screen, a pendulum clock and a table clock, a hanging bell, a pair of brass sconces, a wainscot press, eight pictures and four 'standing pictures..."<sup>13</sup> The household accounts of the House of Monymusk belonging to Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, c. 1730, show that "the best bedroom has a 'shew'd' (sewed) bed in green, valued at £14, with its equipment of blankets, pillows and bolster; an Indian chest containing sheets and tablecloths; six mahogany chairs with stools to match; and one or two other things, including 'a counterfeit marble table with a leather cover, estimate at

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<sup>12</sup>.- Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952), p. 40.

<sup>13</sup>.- Marion Lochhead, The Scots Household in the Eighteenth Century of Scottish Domestic and Social Life, (Edinburgh: The Moray Press, 1948), pp. 30,31.

three and sixpence ster.'"14

Tableware in the early eighteenth century consisted mainly of wooden trenchers which shifted to clay and pottery tableware before 1750, and after 1750, the more prestigious "delft ware", white enamel decorated with blue. China and silver were the most expensive tableware and owned only by the rich.<sup>15</sup> "Silver was of yet, somewhat scarce; even in great houses it was being but gradually acquired..."<sup>16</sup> Fine Scottish china and pottery were made in the eighteenth century at the Delftfield Pottery Company near Glasgow which was owned by Lawrence and Robert Dinwiddie, members of the merchant elite. A majority of the clay for Delftfield china came from Virginia. One of their better known productions was "Queen's Ware", a sturdier china than "soft-fired" china.<sup>17</sup> Drinking glasses were few in the first part of the eighteenth century, with company often sharing a single glass. So too was cutlery, travellers often carrying their own cutlery in case they might not find any where they went. Eating with one's hands was still common.<sup>18</sup>

For most people in Scotland, however, household furnishing was much more modest, as Thomas Somerville

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<sup>14</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 28,29.

<sup>15</sup>.- Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland, p. 42.

<sup>16</sup>.- Lochhead, The Scots Household, p. 32.

<sup>17</sup>.- Ibid., p. 391.

<sup>18</sup>.- Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland, p. 44.

(1741-1830) described:

"...In some families as in the families of the country gentlemen, pewter vessels were also to be found; with a set of delft, or china, for the second course at table, in the case of such of them as could afford pretentious three o'clock dinners...Mahogany tables, except for tea, were rarely seen, even in houses richly furnished. The dinner tables were usually of oak, and, by constant rubbing, shone like a mirror..."<sup>19</sup>

As far as heating was concerned in Glasgow in the eighteenth century, households were well supplied with coal (this was not the case in all other areas of Scotland), the cost being 2 shillings 8 pence a cart of 9 cwt. prior to 1780.<sup>20</sup>

Food in eighteenth century Scotland, as in many areas of the world at this time, was a way of evaluating wealth, the contents of the table necessarily depicting the contents of the householder's pocket. With the growth of international trade, especially that of the trans-Atlantic colonial trade with America, the West Indies, and the barter of goods with the continent and various islands in the Atlantic, such as Madeira, the growth and availability of foodstuffs became prolific in the eighteenth century, at least for the wealthy merchant.

The most common food of most of the population was meal served as either pottage, brose, sowans, or bannocks.<sup>21</sup> White bread was apparently not a usual part

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<sup>19</sup>.- J.G. Fyfe, ed., Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, 1746-1843, (Stirling; Eneas Mackay, 1942), pp. 228,229.

<sup>20</sup>.- Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup>.- Ibid., p. 97.

of the Scottish diet.<sup>22</sup> In the beginning of the century most meat was in a salted form during the winter, though by 1750 Glasgow had two meat-markets.<sup>23</sup>

The wealthier classes obviously had better choice of foodstuffs and more variety. For example, Sir John Foulis of Ravelston at the beginning of the century often bought oranges, lemons, almonds, figs, sugar, and other spices.<sup>24</sup> Some examples of Scottish cooking for the wealthier classes in the eighteenth century included; roast pig, smothered rabbits, "chicken with tongues, colliflowers and greens", and the famous (or perhaps infamous) Scottish delicacy of boiled sheep's head. Tripe and venison were also common. The sauces that accompanied these meats included such ingredients as nutmeg, cinnamon, oysters, and gooseberries.<sup>25</sup> For example, "...there were many other varieties which have since gone out of fashion, such as the mixture of currants, vinegar, claret, butter and nutmeg which correctly accompanied roast pork, rabbits or turkey..."<sup>26</sup> Sweets mainly consisted of "...light, frothy

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<sup>22</sup>.- Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>23</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 108-109.

<sup>24</sup>.- Lochhead, The Scots Household, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup>.- Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland, pp. 86-88. See also, Hamish Whyte, ed., Lady Castlehill's Receipt Book - A Selection of 18th Century Scottish Fare, (Glasgow: The Molendinar Press, 1976) and F. Marian McNeill, The Scots Kitchen - Its Traditions and Lore with Old-Time Recipes, (Glasgow: Blackie & Son Limited, 1929) for eighteenth-century recipes.

<sup>26</sup>.- Plant, The Domestic of Scotland, p. 88.

dishes compounded mainly with eggs and cream,..."<sup>27</sup> A good example of a typical Scottish sweet of the time is Scots flummery which consisted of one pint of milk, one pint of cream, nine egg yolks, rosewater, and sugar and nutmeg to the taste. This mixture was heated and served with currants.<sup>28</sup> Common eighteenth-century cakes included; ginger cakes, shortbread, currant cakes, saffron cakes, lemon biscuits, and almond cakes.<sup>29</sup>

The availability of certain fruits such as oranges goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century as "in the towns, at least, it was easy to buy oranges, and it was not unusual when, in March 1714, Lady Grisell Baillie bought thirty dozen of them and twenty dozen lemons..."<sup>30</sup> By the end of the century these oranges and lemons were being used to flavor rum punch which by 1745 was beginning to replace ale as the common drink. Along with rum punch, Madeira wine and claret were also popular, especially among the merchant elite.<sup>31</sup>

In the advertisements of the local Glasgow newspapers, a sense of the material world in which the merchant elite lived can also be depicted. What was available in shops was to some extent the result of merchant purchases. The fact that certain items were sold

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<sup>27</sup>.- Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>28</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>.- Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>30</sup>.- Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>31</sup>.- Ibid., p. 120.

does lead to the conclusion, therefore, that there was a necessary relationship between the demand and the increasing wealth of the tobacco merchant elite.

An example of the early proliferation of "exotic" goods can be seen in Glasgow as far back as 1741 when Robert McNair and Company "...at their shop opposite to the main guard, and at their houses in the candlerigs of Glasgow..." were selling "...large raisins, olive oyl, prunes, figs, fresh lemons, and drest and undrest lint newly imported...".<sup>32</sup> Also available at this shop were "...a large parcel of bottles and hops, with all manner of lime, delph and stone ware of the newest fashions..."<sup>33</sup> Compared with the list of 1712 compiled by Henry Grey Graham (p. 262 above), this list of 1741 indicates that the availability of consumer goods was increasing.

The growth of luxury drinks was also fostered by the growth of trade in Glasgow. Richard and Alexander Oswald, members of the merchant elite involved in such companies as the South Sugar House, Glasgow Ropework Company, Glasgow Bottleworks Company, and tobacco trading partnerships such as Dennistoun, Buchanan and Company and Alexander Oswald and Company, also imported Madiera wine and Jamaica rum. An advertisement of 1743 stated:

"Richard and Alexander Oswald having lately imported to Glasgow from Madeira, round by the West Indies, some pipes of wine, the best growths in Madeira, which are now sufficiently ripe and mellow. They will soon begin to sell

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<sup>32</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, July 27- August 3, 1741, no. 1.

<sup>33</sup>. - *Ibid.*

the same by the pipe or dozens of bottles, at reasonable rates. At their cellars may also be had genuine old Canary, of good flavour, and great richness, rhenish, moselle, and most of other wines that are used in Scotland, and old Jamaica rum with permits."<sup>34</sup>

Grocery goods were also in great abundance by the middle of the century, c. 1743, with Christian Johnston "...at her shop at the sign of the Orange tree, above the cross, in Mr. Bowman's land, a little above the Bell's Wynd..." offering a virtual plethora of goods to customers. A selection of items included in her stock were; velvets, silk purses, watch and cane strings, cambricks, plain and flowered ribbons, worsted and thread stockings for men, dressing caps and fans, china, cloggs and patons, pins, patches, pommet and powder, cane and whale bone and hoops, cotton, silk and worsted garters, wash-balls, brimstone, straw hats, lime and stone ware, punch spoons or ladles, silk girdles, "all kinds of sugars at the sugar house prices", raisins, currants, figs, prunes, almonds, London ginger bread, coriander, cinnamon and ginger tablet, Jamaica pepper, rice, barley, saffron, liquorish, white soap, lemons, sweet and bitter oranges, tea, coffee-mills, writing paper, Claret, Sherry, Madeira, candy, lemon syrup, mustard, "...with a variety of other goods too tedious here to mention..."<sup>35</sup>

Archibald Ingram and John Glassford were also involved in the retail of "luxury" goods. In 1744, they

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<sup>34</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, February 14-21, 1743, no. 82.

<sup>35</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, July 18-25, 1743, no. 104.



were selling "...at their warehouse in Glasgow, Bohea, Congo, and Single Teas, which being brought from the East-India House in the same packages as imported by the company, are perfectly fresh..."<sup>36</sup> In addition to tea, these two merchants in the company of other merchants were also selling printed linen and cotton cloth under the auspices of the Pollokshaws Printfield Company.<sup>37</sup>

The iron industry was also helped by merchants trading with the American colonies, as a considerable amount of iron was imported from America.<sup>38</sup> James Donald and Company of the Smithfield Iron Factory were selling wholesale and retail "...barr iron of all sorts, at 2 shillings and 6d. per Dutch stone, rod iron of all sizes at 18 shillings and 8d. per c. or 112 olduttle if under a tun weight and at 18 shillings per tun..."<sup>39</sup>

Finally, the Wester Sugar House funded by merchant capital from the tobacco trade and made up of a partnership of the merchant elite, also sold "exotic" goods at its warehouse. An advertisement of 1743 stated:

"To be sold at the Western Sugar House in Glasgow, cinnamon, Brandy and very rich Shrub at 2 shillings and 4d. per pint, orange brandy, at 2 shillings and 1d. and good proof old brandy at 1 shilling and 10d. Fine proof aquavita, made by malt dried by pure heat, without steam or sulphur, which, in a great measure, removes the gout, and must make the spirits much more wholesome, at 1 shilling per

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<sup>36</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, November 5-12, 1744, no. 172.

<sup>37</sup>.- *Glasgow Courant*, March 20-27, 1749, no. 181.

<sup>38</sup>.- See Chapter 2, pp. 70,71.

<sup>39</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, July 4-11, 1743, no. 101.

pint; plain aquavita<sup>e</sup> at 10d. orange aquavita<sup>e</sup> at 1 shilling and 2d. Cinnamon and rich shrub at 1 shilling and 6 pence N.B. The above is ready money prices, the buyer furnishing cask, and paying carriage; or, upon three months credit, the company furnishing cask, and paying carriage, 2d. each pint on each different quality dearer, and reasonable allowance to be made for very large quantities."<sup>40</sup>

As the century progressed the variety of goods for sale naturally increased. Archibald McBriar in 1755 "...at his shop opposite to Gibson's Wynd, Salt-mercat..." advertised that he was selling wholesale "...Best new hops, Poland starch, dark smelt, light smelt, finest Prussia blues, slate blue, button blue, cork blue, best London soap, pearl ashes, grey ashes, Florence oil, sweet oil, floured brimstone, roll brimstone, writing paper, gun-powder, hail shot, gum araback, aleppo galls, black pepper, vinegar, drest lint at all prices, nails of all sorts, buckety flour, iron pots, sealing wax, wafers and quills, Spanish indigo, French indigo, crop madder, bright madder, miln'd galls, ground Brazil {presumably coffee}, allum, cochineal, winestone, aquafortis, rasped tin, logwood, yellow-wood, shomack, coperas, red-wood, arnetto, turmerick, verdegreese, wool cards, tow cards, vermillion, isinglass, black sugar, black rosin, carvie feed, coriander feed, cream tartar, lisbon, malaga, and Claret wines..."<sup>41</sup> Also, in the same year, an advertisement for toys, an indicator of a wealthy society and one which was beginning to see children as children and not just as

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<sup>40</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, July 18-25, 1743, no. 104.

<sup>41</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, May 19-26, 1755, no. 720.

miniature adults, appeared in the local newspapers, being sold by George Wardrop "...in the room adjoining to his warehouse, second story of the old Coffee-house land..."<sup>42</sup>

China was also being sold by shops in Glasgow. An advertisement by John Gibson in 1755 listed a great variety of china which included "...dishes and plates, punch bowls of several sizes, decanters and mugs, sets of jars and bakers tea pots, coloured, blue and white sauce boats of several kinds, large wash hand basons, candlesticks, mustard-pots, vineleaves for sweat meats and pickles, large pickle stands, butter pots and plates, petty-pans and salts, sugar dishes and covers, and milk pots of all kinds."<sup>43</sup> The average prices for these pieces of china were: "handle coffee-cans at 2 shillings per half dozen"; "blue and white chopin bowls at 10 d. a piece"; "blue and white quart mugs at 2 shillings a piece"; and "blue and white tea pots at 1 shillings and at 1 shilling and 6d."<sup>44</sup>

In addition to grocery goods, china, linens, haberdashery, and millinery, the new vogue for planting flowers, trees, orchards, and shrubbery to improve one's estate was also reflected in the stock of shops. For example in 1755 John Adam "...at his shop opposite to Bell's Wynd, above the Cross..." was selling parcels of

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<sup>42</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, 3 February -10 February, 1755, no. 705.

<sup>43</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, March 10-17, 1755, no. 710.

<sup>44</sup>.- *Ibid*.

"...fresh red and white clover-seed..."<sup>45</sup> and Robert Moodie was selling "...from the most proper places, great variety of new and fresh garden, grass, tree, and flower seed with most kinds of utensils used in gardening; with fruit and forest trees of the best kinds..." at Hutchison's Hospital.<sup>46</sup>

By 1780, the quality of goods being sold in specialty shops were obviously showing trends of increasing wealth. Wallpaper, for instance, a luxury item requiring well-built accommodation was being sold by Messrs. Bogle and Scott at retail prices at the warehouses of McKenzie and Company in the Trongate. This was in 1783 when it was stated that "...the stock of paper hangings of Messrs. Bogle and Scott, being a large and elegant assortment of the best reputed London manufacture. At the same place may be had most kinds of upholstery goods, at the lowest prices."<sup>47</sup>

What then could be said about the consumer goods available in Glasgow in the eighteenth century? From the above advertisements, it appears that as the century progressed, so too did the availability and range of goods available in shops. Although, it is simplistic to suggest that in 1712, there were only shalloons, dried fish, yarn, and candles, available, it is obvious that not a great

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<sup>45</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, March 17-24, 1755, no. 711.

<sup>46</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, January 27-February 3, 1755, no. 704.

<sup>47</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, June 12-19, 1783, no. 2245.

deal of choice of consumer purchases was available at the time. By 1740, however, most likely due to the growth of the tobacco trade in providing spending power and goods obtained on trading routes to North America, the West Indies, and France, there appears a wider range of goods, often exotic in their nature. For instance, such fruits as figs, lemons, oranges, prunes, and raisins were now available. In wine and spirits, one could obtain Jamaica rum, Madeira wine, and French brandy. Spices such as saffron, cinnamon, coriander, mustard, and ginger were available. Coffee and a great variety of teas were obtainable. All sorts of cloths and haberdashery were being sold. China, as described by Thomas Somerville as being bought only by the wealthier ranks, was being sold by John Gibson in 1755 in great variety. Seedlings and fruit trees were also being sold by 1755, important for the fact that these merchants involved in the tobacco trade were already involved in the new fashion of estate improvement. Even more interesting, is the fact that toys were being sold, showing that money could be spent on items, which in an earlier generation would have probably have been home-made. Finally, by 1780, there is evidence of specialist shops selling wallpaper, a great indicator of wealth, as this not only implied the superfluous wealth required to purchase such a luxury, but also that the standard of building, as exemplified by the extravagant mansions of these merchants, was improving greatly.

It appears then that the consumer history of Glasgow

in the eighteenth century was very rich, especially in its progression through the century as paralleled by the growth of trade. As the availability of these goods in the shops of Glasgow, and their steady advertisement in the local newspapers indicates that there must have been a demand for these products, it must to some degree signify that the merchants of Glasgow included many of these products amongst their purchases. Without the wealth created by the tobacco trade, it seems unlikely that such goods would have found a market in the Glasgow area.

## II

In the city of Glasgow, the successes of the tobacco trade and the subsequent increases in merchants' wealth led to a new expenditure in housing, almost always reflecting their *self-proclaimed status as "tobacco lords"*. As stated above, in the beginning of the century, merchants lived in tenements side by side with other orders of society. By the end of the century, however, a clear marker of who was and who wasn't a successful merchant, was the ability to set oneself apart from the rest of society, if not only by parading the "planestanes" at Glasgow Cross, then at least by residing in a singular residence disconnected from the other tenements of the city. By the nineteenth century, physical separation according to class resulted in whole areas of class isolation which are illustrative of the nineteenth-century

emphasis on "classes of society" as opposed to eighteenth-century "orders of society", Such categorizations are not appropriate to the eighteenth century. What was important in the eighteenth century was the status of living in a single house or mansion which as a sign of wealth was reserved only to those who could afford not only to purchase the land but also to fund the building of such mansions. In previous centuries and in the early eighteenth century it was only the landed classes, not the merchant classes who could afford such a luxury.

A good example of the sense of improvement and increased wealth in the eighteenth century can be seen in reflections of the nineteenth century. The writers of Glasgow Past and Present often reflected back to the eighteenth century as the birth of their present day wealth. Most important, though, was their fascination at the civic structures which displayed this wealth.<sup>48</sup> A description of the Dreghorn mansion in Clyde Street states:

"...It is situated at the corner of Rope Work Lane, and is a perfect representation of the style of buildings patronised by the tobacco and sugar lords, and other wealthy citizens of Glasgow, during the earlier part of the reign of George the Third. It is a fine specimen of the handsome self-contained mansions erected in Miller Street, Argyll Street, and Queen Street,

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<sup>48</sup>. - It is ironic that the Victorians of Glasgow as enamoured as they were with the past, almost singularly destroyed the entire fabric of pre-nineteenth-century Glasgow. In so doing they also destroyed the visual presence of a history whose older foundations have been erased by these demolitions and left a legacy of Victorian tenements that leads the visitor today to believe that Glasgow was founded in the nineteenth century.

about that period, and fairly casts the taste of the present day into the shade. It was erected by Allan Dreghorn, an extensive joiner (who, if we are not mistaken, built the first carriage or coach in Glasgow, by the hands of his own workmen, and for his own use), whose father began to work the Govan Colliery in 1714..."<sup>49</sup>

Another conspicuous example of wealth in the city of Glasgow in the eighteenth century as far as housing was concerned was the Shawfield Mansion, later to become the residence of John Glassford of Dougalston, which was considered to be the epitome of architectural fashion and the height of status. Built in 1711 by Daniel Campbell Esquire who was M.P. for Glasgow, it was sold in 1727 to Colonel William McDowall of Castlesemples whose son later became involved in the West India trade of Glasgow in the firm of Alexander Houston and Co. In 1760, the Shawfield Mansion was sold to its most famous owner, John Glassford of Dougalston. The price was one thousand six hundred and eighty pounds sterling.<sup>50</sup> Glassford lived in the mansion until his death in 1783 while at the same time carrying out various improving activities on his other estates, most notably Netherwood in Dumbartonshire. (These activities received great praise from Andrew Wight, an agricultural commentator of the day.<sup>51</sup>) The Shawfield Mansion was inherited by Glassford's son Henry Glassford

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<sup>49</sup>. - Senex, Glasgow Past and Present, vol. 1, p. 44.

<sup>50</sup>. - "Disposition William McDowall of Castlesemples Esq. to John Glassford 1760", 5 August, 1761, B10/15/6733, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

<sup>51</sup>. - Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 29.



and was sold in 1792 to William Horn at the price of £9850,<sup>52</sup> a considerable profit from a purchase of £1,680.

The Virginia Mansion was another symbol of merchant wealth in the eighteenth century. Almost adjacent to the Shawfield Mansion, located at the head of Virginia Street, and in the same style (some said a replica), the Virginia Mansion was built in 1752 by George Buchanan. As Robert Reid wrote in 1849, "This ancient 'Virginian', George Buchanan, soon after the Provost's succession opened to him, resolved to carry out what had been his father's design, in buying so much of this suburban croft-land, by creating thereon a mansion suitable to his wealth and importance..."<sup>53</sup> The house was acquired by Alexander Speirs in 1770 most likely through his wife Mary Buchanan (daughter of George Buchanan) and his business interests and partnerships with the Buchanan family. On Speirs' death, the house passed to his son Peter and in 1787 was sold to James Dunlop of Garnkirk. A vivid description of the Virginia Mansion from the nineteenth century states:

"...It was a very spacious edifice, much larger than those of Provost Murdoch or Dunlop, in Argyll Street, and finely proportioned. It faced south, and consisted of a half-sunk and two main floors, with pavillion-shaped roof, and chimney stalks in the centre, very much resembling in outline the Shawfield Mansion, but not quite so large... In front, a handsome balustrade ran along the eaves, screening the lower portion of the deep roof; a triangular entablature rose above the entrance hall; the exterior was divided into three compartments,

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<sup>52</sup>.- Senex, Glasgow Past and Present, vol. 1, pp. 461,462.

<sup>53</sup>.- Ibid., p. 518.

the centre one projecting a little-while upon sundry pinnacles, elegant stone vases, tapering inwards as they ascended, led up to the doorway, the whole structure having a remarkably grand and imposing appearance. On entering the mansion a very spacious square lobby, the floor of which was inlaid with mosaic, met the eye; the roofs and walls of the lofty apartments on either side of this elegant entrance were curiously ornamented with festoons of fruits and flowers, while the panellings exhibited beautifully painted landscapes, pastoral scenes, and other pleasing objects... A massive iron gate occupied the centre of the south walls, giving admission to carriages approaching the house along the wide avenue up from the Dumbarton Road; and thence, a broad oval drive conducted to the door of this splendid edifice."<sup>54</sup>

Another reference to the architectural fashion set by the Shawfield Mansion in depicting wealth was made in the building of a house in the Candleriggs around 1770 by a Mr. Dunlop who was a partner in the Dumbarton Glasswork Company, most probably James Dunlop of Garnkirk. The comment in the following extract at the proximity of a mansion of status to the more mundane and lower classes at the city shows it was usual enough in the eighteenth century for a mansion to be situated alongside the more common members of society.

"The most fashionable house in the Candleriggs was built by Mr. Dunlop, a partner of the Dumbarton Glasswork Company. It was a miniature copy of the 'Shawfield Mansion', with a double stair projecting into the street and occupying the footpath. It stood opposite the north end of the Bowling-Green, but its immediate neighbourhood was very bad, for on the south of it there was a common smith's shop fronting the street, daily at work, and on the north it had for its next neighbours old decayed tenements with wooden fronts and thatch

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<sup>54</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 518,519.

roofs."<sup>55</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century, the merchant elite had set itself apart from the other "orders" of the city, not so much through the segregation of occupations in different parts of the city, as in its ability through wealth to occupy more space than other members of society. As most of the merchant elite invested some of their money in the purchase of land and estates, it is only natural that by the end of the century a picture of the city of Glasgow should show a more skewed image of the space occupied by the merchant elite within the city itself. As stated above, however, merchants in the earlier eighteenth century did live side by side with other "orders" of society, and even at the end of the tobacco trade ascendancy, c. 1780, it was not impossible for a tobacco lord to live adjacent to someone with a "less important" trade and much less wealth.<sup>56</sup> The most significant factor in the residential structure of Glasgow in the eighteenth century was space and the importance of the purchase of land.

A clear picture of the residential structure of Glasgow at the end of the ascendancy of the tobacco trade can be compiled from *John Tait's Directory for the City of*

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<sup>55</sup>.- Ibid., vol. 3, p. 450.

<sup>56</sup>.- See J. Gilhooley, A Directory of Edinburgh in 1752, (Edinburgh University Press, 1988), for a similar discussion about the demography of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century.

Glasgow covering the dates 15 May 1783, to 15 May, 1784.<sup>57</sup> Listed in this directory were all the people in the city involved in business and trade, their occupation, and their address. The total number of people listed was 1,709.

By compiling a database based on the categories in the Directory, a street by street list of people living in the city and the occupations they were engaged in can be formed. This database provides a clear picture of where the merchant elite was living in comparison to other citizens of Glasgow.

The total number of men whose occupation was listed as merchant in the directory was 192. Considering that the elite involved in the tobacco trade was approximately 30<sup>58</sup>, a short list of those thus defined as being members of the merchant elite can be compiled. (See Table 5.1)

Table 5.1  
Addresses of Merchant Elite in Glasgow, c. 1783

NAME	ADDRESS
Alston, John, senior	Argyle Street
Bogle, John	Adam's Court
Bowman, John	Virginia Street
Buchanan, George	Jamaica Street
Buchanan, Andrew	Jamaica Street
Campbell, John Coats of Clathick	Virginia Street
Colquhoun, Patrick	Argyle Street
Cunningham, William	Queen Street
Dennistoun, James, senior	Queen Street
Dinwiddie, Robert	Germiston
Dreghorn, Robert of Ruchill	Clyde Street

<sup>57</sup>.- *John Tait's Directory for the City of Glasgow, Villages of Anderston, Calton, and Gorbals; also for the Towns of Paisley, Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and Kilmarnock, From the 15th May 1783 to 15th May 1784*, (Printed by John Tait, Stationer; Glasgow, 1783).

<sup>58</sup>.- See Chapter 1, pp. 60-62.

Name	Address
Dunmore, Thomas	Horn's Land, Argyle Street
Dunlop, James of Garnkirk	Argyle Street
Finlay, Robert and Co.	Miller Street
Finlay, James	Bell's Wynd
French, William	Queen Street
Glassford, John of Dougalston	Trongate
Hopkirk, James	Argyle Street
Hopkirk, Thomas	Argyle Street
Houstoun, Andrew of Jordanhill	Argyle Street
Kippen, George	Entry to St. Andrew's Church
	Salt Market
McDowall, John	Dunlop Street
McDowall, James	Argyle Street
Murdoch, Peter	Queen Street
Oswald, George and Co.	Virginia Street
Oswald, James	Virginia Street
Oswald, Alexander	Virginia Street
Ritchie, James and Co.	Queen Street
Ritchie, Alexander	Horn's Land, Argyle St.
Ritchie, Henry	Adam's Court, Argyle St.
Riddel, Henry	Argyle Street
Sommerville, James	Miller's Street
Speirs, Alexander	Virginia Street
Wardrop, James and John	High Street

Source- *John Tait's Directory for the City of Glasgow*, 1783

As can be seen from Table 5.1, the majority of the merchant elite lived on streets on the west side of the old city, Argyle Street, being opened up to the west in the 1750s<sup>59</sup>, Virginia Street, opened in 1756<sup>60</sup>, Jamaica Street opened in the year 1763,<sup>61</sup> and Queen Street

opened in 1777<sup>62</sup>, being the most common streets to be occupied by these merchants. The opening up of these new streets starting in 1750, are an indication of the growth

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<sup>59</sup>.- Benjamin Taylor, ed., Glasgow Streets and Places, (Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1899), p. 72.

<sup>60</sup>.- Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>61</sup>.- Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>62</sup>.- Ibid., p. 72.

of the city, not only in population, but also in the introduction of new standards of living, as paralleled by the introduction of clubs, public houses, newspapers, exhibitions, lectures, and entertainment.<sup>63</sup>

If these streets are examined more closely as to the other occupants, it becomes clear that this segregation was not on the basis of trade or calling, but more on the basis of space. For example on Queen Street, there were 22 families. Of these 22 families, 13 were headed by merchants, and of these 13 merchant families almost all of them were members of the merchant elite. The merchants living on Queen Street in 1783 included; William Clark, George Crawford, William Cunningham, James Dennistoun, William Dunlop, John Dunlop, William French, James Hutton, Hugh McLellan, John McNea, Peter Murdoch, James Ritchie, and James Scott. The other occupants of this street included two gardeners, a coach maker, a mason, a hammerman, proprietors of a marble manufactory, and a timber merchant.

An analysis of the occupational classification of Virginia Street presents a similar picture. There were 12 families living on Virginia Street in 1783. Six of these families were headed by merchants, this time without exception being composed entirely of the merchant elite. The six merchants occupying Virginia Street included; John Bowman, John Coats Campbell of Clathick, George Oswald,

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<sup>63</sup>. - See Chapter 4, pp. 239-242.

James Oswald, Alexander Oswald, and Alexander Speirs.<sup>64</sup> Composing the rest of the Virginia Street were James and William Anderson, manufacturers, John Barclay, a wright, John Hutton, a dyer, James Paterson, a cooper, and Archibald Grahame, cashier for the Thistle Bank.

Jamaica Street had 20 residences, 13 of which were owned by merchants. The composition of the merchants living on Jamaica Street included a much lower number of the merchant elite, the only significant merchants being Robert, George and Andrew Buchanan and Cunninghame Corbet. The other occupants of Jamaica Street included two wrights, a vintner, a rope maker, a post master and agents for the Sun Fire Insurance Office.

The composition of Argyle Street is more varied consisting of only 18 merchants out of a total street total of 64, ten of which can be said to be members of the merchant elite. These ten merchants were John Alston, senior, Patrick Colquhoun, James Dunlop of Garnkirk, James and Thomas Hopkirk, Andrew Houston of Jordanhill, James McDowall, Alexander and Henry Ritchie, and Henry Riddell. Apart from the merchant composition of Argyle Street, there were three vintners, a haberdasher, an accountant in the Merchant Bank, a teacher of dancing, a staymaker, seven wrights, three barbers, two dyers, four inn-keepers, a gardener, two plumbers, a maltman, a baker, a milliner,

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<sup>64</sup>.- John Bowman and Alexander Speirs were business partners together in the companies of Speirs, Bowman and Co. and Speirs, French and Co. Devine, The Tobacco Lords, p. 187.

two stablers, a saddler, two writers, a silk mercer and haberdasher, two coopers, a shoe shop, three hammermen, a shoemaker, an agent for the Great Canal Company, a grocer and spirit dealer, and a mason.

The real significance of the residential patterns of the merchant elite lies in the comparison with the rest of the city of Glasgow. Looking at the map of the city of Glasgow (see map 5.1 p. 292) by John McArthur, surveyor in Glasgow, from 1778, it is apparent that the main streets of the city included the High Street, in existence as early as 1124,<sup>65</sup> leading up to the High Church (Glasgow Cathedral), the Salt Market, dating to the same period as the High Street,<sup>66</sup> leading down to the Low Green (Glasgow Green), the Gallowgate<sup>67</sup> leading out to the south road to Edinburgh, and the Trongate, mentioned in 1454 as St. Thenaw's Gaite,<sup>68</sup> eventually becoming Argyle Street to the west. These four streets form a cross making up the main part of the city, with smaller streets leading off these main streets. The streets leading off these four primary streets that were used for residence: were the Bridgegate, dating back to 1124<sup>69</sup>; the Stockwell, in

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<sup>65</sup>.- Taylor, ed., Glasgow Streets and Places, p. 45.

<sup>66</sup>.- Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>67</sup>. - Again dating back to 1124 or earlier. Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>68</sup>.- Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>69</sup>.- Ibid., p. 16.





existence as early as 1345<sup>70</sup>, at the west end of the Trongate; Candleriggs, officially opened in 1724<sup>71</sup>, in the middle of the Trongate; King Street, opened also in 1724,<sup>72</sup> opposite to Candleriggs; and Bell's Wynd,<sup>73</sup> located off of both the High Street and Candleriggs.

The population in this area of the cross of these four primary streets, the Gallowgate, the High Street, the Salt Market, and the Trongate was very great in comparison to the relatively small population of such streets as Virginia Street, Queen Street, Jamaica Street, and Argyle Street which were of comparable size to the first four streets. The number of men listed as having occupations or trades in the Trongate in the directory of 1783 was 248. Taking into consideration that each of these men was most likely the head of a household and a family, by multiplying this number of 248 by 10 (a safe estimate for the extended families that were more common in the eighteenth century including children who would have averaged at approximately eight per family), on a modest assumption the population of the Trongate was approximately 2480. Similarly, the population size of the Salt Market with 141 families can be estimated as 1410. The High Street contained 276 (possible population of 2760) heads of household. And the Gallowgate contained 226 families

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<sup>70</sup>.- Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>71</sup>.- Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>72</sup>.- Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>73</sup>.- Ibid.

(approximately 2260 people). The total figure of trades reached for these four primary streets is 891 according to the directory of 1783, which number multiplied by an average family size equals an approximate population of 8910 people. This sum leads to the conclusion that the majority of the population of Glasgow lived on these four streets, forming the heart of eighteenth-century Glasgow.

The tributary streets of these four main streets present a similar picture of heavy population in comparison to living space, with the exception of the Candleriggs whose occupational residents totaled only 26. The rest of the streets came to a total of 259 heads of household, the Stockwell containing 56, the Bridgegate 88, Bell's Wynd 40 and King Street 75. Added to the number of residents on the four primary streets of the Gallowgate, the Trongate, the High Street, and the Salt Market, a total is reached of 1158 or 11,580, adjusted to probable family size. In comparison with the composition of the four main streets occupied by the merchant elite, Argyle Street containing 64 heads of household, Jamaica Street 20, Queen Street 22, and Virginia Street 12, the total number of occupation residents in this area comes to only 118 or 1180, for roughly the same amount of space.

The occupational composition of the four primary streets is very marked in the number of merchants resident in comparison to other trades. For example, in the Gallowgate Street, out of a total of 226, there were only 18 merchants listed. Similarly, for the Trongate total of

248 heads of household, only 19 merchants are included. The proportion of merchants living in the Salt Market was six in a total count of 141. And for the High Street total of 276, there were 18 merchants included as residents. Out of the four primary residential streets in Glasgow, the merchant population came to only 61, approximately one third of the total merchant population resident in Glasgow. These streets, therefore were primarily composed of tradesmen and craftsmen as opposed to the heavy merchant composition of the relatively sparsely populated streets in the west part of the city, namely Argyle Street, Jamaica Street, Virginia Street and Queen Street. For example, a detailed look at the composition of Jamaica Street illustrates the heavy proportion of merchants resident in comparison to the other trades resident on the street. (See Table 5.2)

Table 5.2  
Occupational Composition of Jamaica Street in 1783

NAME	Occupation
Allan, Richard, junior	Merchant
Brown, James	Merchant
Buchanan, Robert	Merchant
Buchanan, George	Merchant
Buchanan, Andrew	Merchant
Buchanan, William and John	Sun Fire Insur. Office
Campbell, John	Merchant
Campbell, Colin	Merchant
Corbett, Cunninghame and Co.	Merchants
Dallas, Alexander	Wright
Elliot, David	Merchant
Hamilton, James	Merchant
Hunter, William	Merchant
Jackson, James	Post Master
Laird, James	Merchant
Lawson, Andrew	Mason
Munn, Alexander	Merchant
McAulay, John	Wright
McFie, Duncan	Vintner
Neilson, William	Rope Maker

Source- John Tait's Directory for the city of Glasgow, 1783

The occupational composition of King Street (see Table 5.3) illustrates further the relative proportion of merchants to other trades on a street other than the main streets occupied by the merchant elite. Out of a total of 75 people listed in the directory of 1783 on King Street only two were classified as merchants. King Street was located opposite to the Candleriggs and adjoined the Bridgegate to the Trongate. It was originally opened in 1724 and in 1726 the King Street Sugar House was opened on the corner of King Street and Princes Street. The relatively high proportion of trades, however, did not mean that merchants, especially of the merchant elite would have felt it beneath them to occupy the same street, since Cunningham Corbett, a member of the merchant elite in the later eighteenth century and inheritor of the estate of Tollcross, built a house on this street in 1788. Also in 1782, there was a boarding school for "young ladies" run by a Miss Logan on this street.<sup>74</sup>

Table 5.3  
King Street, Glasgow, 1783  
Occupational Composition

1 Toy and Musick Shop	3 Tallow Chandlers
5 Taylors	1 Iron Monger
3 Fleshers	2 Copper and White Iron Smiths
1 Master of Works	1 Hammerman
1 Tobacconist	2 Shoe Makers
3 Shoe Shops	1 Teacher of Dancing
4 Hosiers	1 Inn-Keeper
1 Bellman	1 Grocer and Salt Office

<sup>74</sup>.- Ibid., p. 52.

2 Merchants	4 Gold Smiths and Jewellers
9 Woolen and Linen Drapers	1 Sugar Boiler
3 Bakers	5 Grocer & Spirit Dealer
5 Vintners	2 China and Stone Ware Dealers
1 Looking Glass Maker	1 Grocer and Tea Dealer
1 Milliner	2 Barber
1 Hard Ware Man	2 Women who Let lodgings
1 Glove Shop	

Source- John Tait's Directory of the City of Glasgow, 1783

The occupational composition of Miller Street (see Table 5.4), parallel to and located between Queen Street and Virginia Street, also serves to illustrate the high proportion of merchants on a street not so densely populated, therefore showing the ability of the merchant class to build single residences as opposed to being forced to live in tenements, as the rest of the population were, or as they themselves had used to do in the beginning of the

Table 5.4  
Occupational Composition of Miller Street, Glasgow, c. 1783

Name	Occupation
Douglas, John	Merchant
Dunmore, Robert and Co.	Merchants
Fleming, Mrs.	None
Govan, Archibald	Merchant
Robertson, John	Cashier to Cochran, Murdoch, and Company
Scott, Robert	Merchant
Stirling, Walter	Merchant

Source- John Tait's Directory for the City of Glasgow, 1783

century. All this was a result of their increasing wealth which lead to greater style in architecture and increased status of the merchant elite. Miller Street was opened in

1773, before then belonging to a Mr. Miller of Westerton whose occupation was a maltman. Also located on Miller Street besides merchant residences was the office of the Glasgow Arms Bank.<sup>75</sup>

From the above evidence, the conclusion can be drawn that there was no residential segregation according to occupation or status in the city of Glasgow in the eighteenth century. Bakers lived in the same street as writers who lived in the same street as merchants who lived in the same street as wrights and coopers.<sup>76</sup> The main significant point of the residential pattern of Glasgow in the eighteenth century as it relates to the merchant elite in wealth disposal and conspicuous consumption, is that the merchant elite valued the prestige and status (apart from the luxury) that came from owning a singular residence, i.e a mansion or townhouse, as opposed to living in a tenement, and the obvious privilege of owning land, *whose value in an urban context* (as well as in the countryside) was an important display of mercantile wealth. The ability to occupy more space than the average citizen whose residence was probably in the four crowded streets of the Gallowgate, the Trongate, the Salt Market, and the High Street, was a testimony to their fortunes and their wealth which enabled them to classify themselves not only as "tobacco lords", but also

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<sup>75</sup>.- Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>76</sup>.- See p. 295 for the occupational composition of King Street.

as landed gentlemen, and to set themselves apart from the other citizens of the town whose wealth only permitted residence in tenements.

Besides the townhouses and mansions of the merchant elite in the city of Glasgow itself were the country estates of the merchant elite. Located all throughout Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire, as well as estates in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, these estates showed the same sense of status and luxury that their city estates showed both in the sense of space and land and furnishings. A few detailed descriptions of the estates of merchants in advertisements for public rouns in the troubled economic times of the American Revolution serve to illustrate the mercantile elite's interest in landed estates. For example, the advertisement in 1783 for the public roun of the estate of Bedlay owned by James Dunlop listed: "...A great variety of articles of household furniture such as beds of all kinds, blankets, bolsters, pillows, tables, chairs, looking-glasses, silverplate, table and tea China, and a good assortment of bed and table linen, with a mangle, and large Carron boiler..."<sup>77</sup> Also to be sold was a four-wheeled chaise and "...two parks which were tilled last season, and laid down richly with clover and rye-grass seed. They measure 19 acres and 18 falls and are fenced with ditch and

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<sup>77</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, May 1-8, 1783, no. 2239.



hedge."<sup>78</sup>

Also sold by public roup in 1783 was the estate of Enoch Bank, owned by Arthur Connell (1717-1775) who was involved in the Glasgow Ropework Co. and Somervell, Connell and Co., and who was Provost of Glasgow from 1772-1774. The estate of Enoch Bank, which was described as a ten minute walk from Glasgow Cross, consisted of a mansion-house, offices, and a garden. The mansion-house consisted of "...13 fire-rooms, with light and dark closets. In the kitchen...a remarkably fine pump-well, the water greatly superior to any in the neighbourhood...a stable neatly fitted up; byre, laundry, gardner's room, and washing-house, completely finished: chaise house, house for poultry, and several other necessary conveniences, a little dove coat stocked..." The garden included "...an acre of ground well enclosed, and having brick walls on the west and east sides. The walls covered with fruit trees of the very best kinds, all in flourish and in the most complete order..." Also included in the garden were "...103 fruit-trees, besides a great number of grean and plumb trees, planted on the pleasure grounds, in which there is a canal well stocked with fish, the banks of which are covered with an hundred different kinds of shrub. The park to the north of the house is enclosed with double hedging and verges of various kinds of wood. The garden is sown with all kinds of vegetables for a

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<sup>78</sup>.- Ibid.

family,..."<sup>79</sup>

Craigiehall or Plantation was also sold in 1783 by public roup to John Robertson, a merchant who also had extensive possessions in the West Indies. In 1784 he purchased the Smith Field Ironworks. The estate was located in the parish of Govan, approximately one mile from the city of Glasgow and consisted of 55 acres. The mansion-house consisted of "... a kitchen and nine fire-rooms, with stables, barn cowhouse, and other conveniences..." The garden included "...about an acre of land..." and was "...well stocked with fruit-trees of various kinds..."<sup>80</sup>

As can be seen, the extent of the wealth of the merchant elite of Glasgow involved in the tobacco trade with the American colonies permitted great purchases of landed estates in and around the Glasgow area, as well as in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, and the building of singular residences in the city of Glasgow itself, resulting in the opening up of new streets to the west of the city, such as Virginia Street, Jamaica Street, Queen Street, and Miller Street where these mansions could be built. The increasing wealth of the merchant elite also resulted in the sense of status that went along with their economic success as they fashioned themselves into gentlemen improvers, and built their houses in the latest styles of the day. The ability to reside in a singular residence

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<sup>79</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, August 7-14, 1783, no. 2253.

was a novelty to the urban citizens of the eighteenth century where earlier generations of merchants were tenement dwellers themselves. This purchase of singular residences, however, was not an instance of physical class segregation, as it would become in the nineteenth century, but merely an exercise of the use of wealth as achieved by the mercantile elite's profits in trade.

### III

The next aspect of the wealth disposal and conspicuous consumption of the merchant elite of Glasgow to be examined is the merchant elite's lifestyle as depicted through wills and testaments, dispositions and assignations, sederunt books, account books, claims of American loyalists after 1783, and household account books.

Out of the approximately 30 merchants included in the merchant elite, only 11 wills and testaments were registered with the commissariat courts. These 11 merchants who registered their wills were Lawrence Dinwiddie in 1737, Andrew Ramsay in 1755, John Brown in 1757, Allan Dreghorn of Ruchill in 1766, Robert Dreghorn of Blochairn, in 1766, Robert Findlay in 1778, Richard and Alexander Oswald of Scotstoun in 1778, Archibald Buchanan, in 1779, Archibald Coates in 1781, and James Ritchie of Busby in 1800. Also to be added to this list is the last will and testament of Ann Buchanan, daughter of Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier. Her will was registered in 1796 and provides information as to the wealth of her father. Richard

Oswald also had a will registered with the probative writs in the Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds in 1766. The above wills and testaments provide a rare glimpse of the material culture of the merchant elite of Glasgow in the eighteenth century. When an inventory of a will is extensive enough to provide information on what moveable goods were left by the deceased merchant, it is possible to recreate the lifestyles of these merchants, their concerns for inheritance, the extent of their wealth, and how they disposed of it. This information allows us to understand the concerns of the merchants of Glasgow in consumption, domestic lifestyles, and status, augmenting previous information concerning goods available in Glasgow in the eighteenth century, and the importance and status of residence as exemplified by the inner mercantile elite. Unfortunately, the problem with wills and testaments in the eighteenth century is the inconsistency of the content of inventories, in addition to the greater problem of the inconsistency in the registration of wills with the commissariat courts. While one merchant may have listed in his inventory every possession and acquisition from gold watches to candlesticks, another merchant might have an inventory showing no account or valuation of his moveable estate. Because of this problem of content, the wills of Robert Findlay, James Ritchie, Richard, and Alexander Oswald cannot be used so specifically. Finally, for comparative purposes two extensive wills of lesser merchants, namely William Crawford who was involved in

Cochrane, Murdoch and Co. and the Shuttlefield Factory Co. whose will was registered in 1759, and James Donald who owned the estate of Geilston in Dumbartonshire and other various lands around the Glasgow area who died in 1760 and whose will was registered in 1761, will also be examined for their detailed inventories of moveable goods, providing a framework in which to place other members of the merchant elite whose inventories were not so well furnished with detailed accounts of their moveable estates.

The first will and testament to be examined is that of Lawrence Dinwiddie who died on 1 November 1736, and whose will was registered on 1 February 1737. This Lawrence Dinwiddie was probably the uncle of Lawrence Dinwiddie (1696-1764) and is not to be confused with the latter. Although not a merchant during the ascendancy of the tobacco trade, his will is valuable, nonetheless, for a chronological perspective in examining merchant wealth in Glasgow during the eighteenth century. Though little biographical material is available on this Lawrence Dinwiddie, it is known that he was a "merchant-adventurer" involved with international trade. For example one of the items in his inventory was "...the one just and equall half of the good ship the Butterfly of Glasgow. Burthened sixty tons or thereby with the one just and equall half of her haill most saills, anchors, cables, flat boats, ... and pertinents presently in a voyage from Greenock in Clyde to the Isles from China to any part of the Mediter-

ranean and Baltick..."<sup>81</sup> The value of the freight of the ship was set at two hundred pounds sterling.<sup>82</sup> There is also evidence of trading interests in the American Colonies. A list of debts owed to the deceased stated; "...In the next place there was adebted and owing to the defunct at the time of his decease ... by Messrs. Clarks and Kilby merchants and factors in Boston in New England, thirty pound sterling as the balance of certain merchant goods consigned to them by the defunct and the producers whereof to be remitted by them in oyl and tar..."<sup>83</sup>

The will of Lawrence Dinwiddie is also valuable for its evidence of material wealth and consumption as depicted by a list of household furnishings included in the inventory. A catalog of what was probably the furnishings of the bedroom or main living area included: "Box broath spoons and one dividing spoon of silver weighing one pound five ounces", of which the value was set at £5 12s. 8d. sterling; "A little server ale jug and two salts weighing one pound four drops", value £3 10s. 7d.; "A blew mounted bed of damask", value £2; "A feather bed with pillows weighing two stone ten pound", value 18s. 2 1/2d.; "One looking glass", value £1 5s.; "Ane easie chair", value 10s.; "Ane old cupboard", value 3s. 6d.; "Six chairs, two foot stools stuffed in the bottom", value 24s.; "A little

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<sup>81</sup>.- Last Will and Testament of Lawrence Dinwiddie, 1 February, 1737, CC9/7/55, Commissariat Court, S.R.O.

<sup>82</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>.- Ibid.

chimley", value 4s.; "Twenty pictures", value 6s. 8d.; "Ane ovall table", value 9s.; "A small ovall table", value 3s.; "One dozen chairs with leather bottoms", value ~~£~~1 17s.; "Nine pictures", value 2s. 3d.; and "A little torn map of the City of London", value 4d.<sup>84</sup>

Also included in the inventory were the contents of the kitchen which were listed as: "A small kitchen chimley with pertinents with tongs and fire shovel", value 14s.; "A frying pan, dreeping paper, and collop brander", value 2s. 4d.; "A copper pot", value 4s. 11d.; "A little copper pan", value 11d.; "A little grassspan", value 1s. 10d.; and "One pint, one chapine, one mulchkin soup, and one mustard dish and jug, all of pewter", value 5s. 3d.<sup>85</sup>

Linen was also listed in many wills and testaments as moveable estate. Dinwiddie's catalog of linen included: "One pair linen sheets", value 5s. 7d.; "Three pair linen sheets half worn", value 10s.; "One pair cotton blankets", value 12s.; and "Two dozen coarse damask naperie and a table cloath", value ~~£~~1, 16s.<sup>86</sup> In addition to the defunct's linen were also listed his clothes which consisted of "...wigs, waistcoats, vests, breeches, shirts, slacks, stockings, nightgowns, boots, ... estimate in haill to three pounds sterling..."<sup>87</sup>

Tea drinking also figured in this merchant's life as

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<sup>84</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>.- Ibid.

evident in a list of accoutrements descriptive of this luxurious practice of the eighteenth-century. For example, Dinwiddie who died in 1737 owned: "three china cups with flats, with a stone track, pott and milk pott", valued at 1s. 6d. sterling; along with "six tea spoons and six little breakfast knives", valued at 15s.; "one copper kettle weighing two pound", valued at 1s. 10d.; and "ane old fashioned tea table", valued at 2s. sterling.<sup>88</sup>

The final items in Lawrence Dinwiddie's inventory included "the defuncts books estimate at three pounds sterling" and "cash lying by the defunct the time of his death" to the sum of two pounds and one shilling sterling.<sup>89</sup>

The last will and testament of Andrew Ramsay (1688-1754) whose will was registered on 29 September, 1755, is an example of the great variety of wills and testaments registered with the commissariat courts, as his inventory is short and contains only a reference to Cochrane's share in the partnership of Cochrane, Murdoch and company, better known as the Glasgow Arms Bank, thus giving credence to the suggestion that wills and testaments were most probably registered with the commissariat courts for purposes of court proceedings involving disputed inheritance, thereby explaining the lack of registered wills of the mercantile elite in the court and their reliance on deeds as a means of conveying and maintaining their wealth

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<sup>88</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>.- Ibid.



within their family. Andrew Ramsay, who obtained his burgess-ship by serving apprenticeship, was Provost of Glasgow from 1734 to 1736. Along with his involvement in the Glasgow Arms Bank, he also formed the company of Andrew Ramsay and Co. The inventory of his will which only includes the detailed description of the contract of copartnery of the Glasgow Arms Bank, thereby showing the importance placed on shares in companies as part of mercantile wealth, stated:

"The said deceased Andrew Ramsay the time of his death being a thirty one part concerned in the company after mentioned conform to contract of copartnery dated the first and twenty ninth day of November 1750 entered into amongst Provost John Murdoch, Andrew Cochrane, George Murdoch, James Donald, the said defunct Andrew Ramsay, William Crawford, senior, William Crawford, junior, Robert Scott, senior, George Carmichael, Robert Christie, James Johnstone, Thomas Dunsmoor, Archibald Ingram, John Coats, John Jamieson, James Ritchie, John Murdoch, senior, John Bowman, Archibald Buchanan, Lawrence Dinwiddie, John Brown, James Smellie, John Hamilton, senior, John Glassford, James Spreull, Andrew Blackburn, Matthew Bogle, all merchants in Glasgow- John Blackstock, collector of his Majestys Excise at Glasgow, Robert Findlay, tanner there, Robert Barbour, weaver there, and John Wardrop, writer there whereby they agreed to unite and join in company for promoting and carrying on of fisheries of all kind and for putting out and circulating notes of hand payable on demand for lending money on cash accompts and bills for purchasing bills of exchange, discounting bills or notes...of which contract the said deceased Andrew Ramsay contributed and put in certain sums to the stock of the said company and his thirty one share thereof...supposed to be worth...four hundred and ninety pounds sterling or five thousand eight hundred and eight pounds Scots..."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of Andrew Ramsay, 29 September, 1755, CC9/7/62, S.R.O.

A further addition to the will was registered on 22 December, 1763 concerning Ramsay's trading activities to Jamaica in Claret wine. It included "...the sum of fifty pounds, seventeen shillings and six pence sterling on the said deceased Andrew Ramsay his one half of the price of one hundred one dozen wine bottles Claret sent by the deceased Andrew Ramsay and the also deceased Henry McCall all merchants in Glasgow to James Graham merchant in Jamaica..."<sup>91</sup> The reason for this late registration of sums belonging to Andrew Ramsay<sup>92</sup> is explained in the latter part of the addition as the information for this sum was "...found in a decreet arbitrall pronounced by Richard Oswald of Scotstoun Esquire upon the 27th of September last proceeding upon the submission entered into betwixt Doctor John Gordon, physician in Glasgow, the said Andrew Ramsay, Mrs. Lillian Graham, daughter of lawfull of the deceased James Graham of Kilarannan, and John Graham of Dougaldston..."<sup>93</sup>

An inventory of John Brown who was Provost from 1752-1754 and who died on 28 April, 1757 similarly lists his share in the banking company of Cochrane, Murdoch and Co., or the Glasgow Arms Bank, as the only content of his

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<sup>91</sup>.- Last Will and Testament of Andrew Ramsay, 22 December, 1763, CC9/7/65, S.R.O.

<sup>92</sup>.- The executor of Andrew Ramsay's will was his son Andrew Ramsay (1729-1775) who was Provost in 1755 and a trader in his own right, also holding partnership in the Glasgow Arms Bank, though not listed in the original contract of copartnery. CC9/7/62, S.R.O.

<sup>93</sup>.- Ibid.

inventory. Brown, however, held thirty shares in the bank - as compared to Ramsay's thirty one shares - which in the time period of two years were two hundred and sixty pounds more valuable than the thirty one shares owned by Ramsay at the time of the registration of his will in 1755. Brown's thirty shares were worth 750 pounds sterling money at the time of his death in 1757.<sup>94</sup>

The last will and testament of Allan Dreghorn, who died in October, 1765, also contains an inventory not of his moveable estate, but of his business interests and shares of company stock. Allan Dreghorn was the original builder of the Dreghorn mansion in Clyde Street and also owned the estate of Ruchill. Supposedly, Dreghorn also owned the first private carriage in Glasgow. He was involved in various companies trading in tobacco, such as Bogle and Scott, Allan Dreghorn and Co., Dunlop, Houston and Co., and Smithfield Co. The executor of his will was Robert Dreghorn (referred to in nineteenth-century histories as "Bob Dragon" for being the ugliest man in Glasgow) his nephew, son of Robert Dreghorn of Blochairn, who succeeded to both his uncle's estate and his father's estate and occupied the house on Clyde Street. A short list of his trading interests at the time of his death included in his inventory were: "...his sixth share of the capital stock belonging to Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston, and Company, bankers in Glasgow valued and ascer-

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<sup>94</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of John Brown (late Provost of Glasgow), 7 September, 1757, CC9/7/63, S.R.O.

tained in the company books on the sixth of July, 1764 at the sum of two thousand pounds sterling..." (otherwise known as the Ship Bank) and "...eleven/sixtieth shares of the capital stock in a trading concern from Clyde to Virginia in company with Andrew Cochrane, William Cunningham and others merchants in Glasgow valued at three thousand seven hundred and ninety three pounds twelve shillings and six pence sterling..."<sup>95</sup>

Robert Dreghorn of Blochairn, who was involved in the companies of Allan Dreghorn and Co., Matthew Bogle and Co., James Brown and Co., and Dunlop, Houston and Co., also left a will and testament whose inventory only contained a debt relating to a previous business partnership. Even though Robert Dreghorn was primarily a merchant trader involved in the Virginia tobacco trade, the inventory of his will lists a partnership in a company trading to Jamaica. It stated:

"...there was adebted and owing to the said deceased Robert Dreghorn the time forsaied of his death the sum of one hundred thirty nine pounds eleven shillings and eight pence one fifth of a penny sterling and interest thereof by William Cathcart merchant in Jamaica to the said deceased Robert Dreghorn as his one fifth part or share of six hundred and ninety seven pounds eighteen shillings and eight pence sterling being the ballance of an accompt of merchant goods consigned to the said William Cathcart by Thomas Dunmoor, Andrew and Hugh Blackburn, merchants in Glasgow and the said deceased Robert Dreghorn in which cargo each of them and the said William Cathcart himself were one fifth concerned and sold and disposed of by the said William Cathcart in the

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<sup>95</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of Allan Dreghorn of Ruchill, 27 May, 1766, CC9/7/65, S.R.O.

years 1756 and 1757..."<sup>96</sup>

The inventory of the last will and testament of Archibald Buchanan provides a detailed list of his moveable estate. Archibald Buchanan who married Martha Murdoch, daughter of Peter Murdoch, a former Lord Provost, was involved in various companies trading in tobacco. These companies included John Buchanan and Co., Cochrane, Murdoch and Co., Buchanan, Murdoch and Co., and Archibald Buchanan and Co. An article of copartnery of 1754 between Archibald Buchanan, Alexander Speirs, John Bowman, Hugh Brown and Thomas Hopkirk, merchants in Glasgow and Alexander Mackie and James Clark, merchants in Virginia stated that these merchants "...for some time past been concerned together in the Virginia trade on several ships and cargoes and have concerted and agreed to carry on further the said trade according to our proportions and shares as stated in our company's books, followed by rules and agreed..."<sup>97</sup> Buchanan whose will was registered on 15 January, 1779 is valuable because it not only lists a detailed account of Buchanan's moveable estate but also lists who the goods were sold to, as Buchanan's estate was sold by public roup in order to pay for certain sums of money advanced to Buchanan to pay for physician's and surgeon's fees, medicine, and funeral costs. Buchanan's

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<sup>96</sup>.- Last Will and Testament of Robert Dreghorn of Blochairn, 25 February, 1765, CC9/7/65, S.R.O.

<sup>97</sup>.- Archibald Buchanan and Co., Articles of Copartnery, B10/15/6653, S.R.A.

will and testament was "...faithfully made and given up by Margaret and Cecilia Buchanan, sisters german of the said defunct with consent of John Crawford merchant in Port-Glasgow husband of the said Margaret, and John Douglas merchant in Glasgow husband of the said Cecilia..."<sup>98</sup>

The contents of his inventory included: "one counter pan to Miss Stewart at fourteen shillings and 9 pence"; "four pair blankets to James Graham at ten shillings and 4 pence"; "one mattress to John Douglas at one pound eleven shillings"; "one feather bed and pillow weighing one stone and three pound at 42 shillings per stone to John Douglas", value £2 9 shillings and 10 pence half penny; "one carpet and 4 pieces to John Napier at two pound 18 shillings"; "one fly table to Mr. Falconer at 4 shillings and one penny"; "two pair servant's sheets to the Reverend Mr. Stewart at 5 shillings and 6 pence"; "two pair five sheets to Mrs. Ellis at 10 shillings and 3 pence"; "one pair sheets to John Douglas at 4 shillings and one penny"; "one pair sheets to William Taylor at six shillings"; "one pair sheets to Mr. Lawson at 4 shillings"; "two table cloaths to William Crawford at 8 shillings and one penny"; "one dozen towels and one table cloath at 13 shillings"; "two table cloaths to Mrs Crawford at 5 shillings"; "two table cloaths to James Grahame at 7 shillings and 10 pence"; "two table cloaths to Mrs. Lawson at 8 shillings and 2 pence"; "two table cloaths to

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<sup>98</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of Archibald Buchanan, 15 January, 1779, CC9/7/70, S.R.O.

Mrs. Hom at 2 shillings and 5 pence"; "one carpet cover of canvas to Mrs. Finlay at 7 shillings"; "a mattress to Mrs. Finlay at 2 pound 8 shillings"; "one bed head and bottom to Mrs. Finlay at 1 pound 9 shillings"; "two mahogany tables to Mrs. Finlay at 3 pound 6 shillings"; "one sett check curtains to Mrs. Finlay at four pounds five shillings"; "one drainer and dripping pan to Mrs. Finlay at 1 shillings and 9 pence"; "one fish pan spitt and racks at 8 shillings"; "six windsor chairs at 5 shillings and 9 pence each to Colonel Montgomerie", value £1 14 shillings and 6 pence"; and "three besoms at 6 pence and 17 pillow-cases at 12 shillings and 6 pence".<sup>99</sup>

Also included in the inventory is a detailed list of his clothing. Although this list does not list who the clothes were sold to, it is valuable for the information it presents about how a "tobacco lord" or merchant in Glasgow in the eighteenth century would have dressed. Archibald Buchanan's clothing or "body cloths and abrilzements" included: "3 very old suits of cloths gray at one pound 2 shillings and 6 pence"; "an old big coat and one pair skin breeches at 14 shillings"; "4 pair old silk breeches at 10 shillings"; "4 pair old worset breeches at 7 shillings"; "3 pair mankine breeches at 5 shillings"; "4 pair white cotton breeches at 8 shillings"; "5 pair old white cotton breeches at 5 shillings"; "7 old silk waistcoats at one pound"; "3 white linen waistcoats at 2 shillings"; "3 rags of waistcoats at 1 shillings"; "3

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<sup>99</sup>. - Ibid.

white woollen waistcoats at 6 shillings"; "3 quarter of red cloth at 5 shillings"; "3 yards and one quarter shalloon at two shillings"; "7 plain shirts at 2 pound 10 shillings"; "15 old ruffled plain shirts at one pound 15 shillings and 6 pence"; "6 plain shirts, very old, at 12 shillings"; "11 pocket napkins at 5 shillings"; "3 old night caps at 6 pence"; "13 stockings at 2 shillings"; "6 cravats at 3 shillings"; "3 old silk napkins at 4 shillings and 6 pence"; "one pillow slip and one towel very old at 8 pence"; "13 parcels of trimmings at 10 shillings"; "one belt and one leather apron for masonry at 1 shillings"; "4 pair old shoes, two pair coats and two pair half coats all valued at 16 shillings"; "one hatt at 2 shillings"; "32 and 1/2 pair silk stockings at one pound 12 shillings"; "8 pair worset stockings at 7 shillings"; "6 pair thread stockings very old at 3 shillings"; "3 brocken pieces of ribbon at 2 shillings"; "2 razors and 8 window rails at 1 shillings and 2 pence"; "2 stock buckles at 5 shillings"; "one pair knee buckles and one hatt buckle at 2 shillings"; "3 pair black shoe buckles at 1 shilling"; "and a gold watch makers name John Gibbs, London, no. 306, without a cap valued by John Jaffray watchmaker in Glasgow at £13 sterling..."<sup>100</sup>

The total amount of money received from the public roup of Buchanan's moveable estate was £60 2 shillings and 5 pence. As the court had advanced certain sums of money to Buchanan for necessaries (£10 17s. 6 1/2d.), physicians

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<sup>100</sup>. - Ibid.



surgeons fees and medicine (£12 3s.), and funeral expenses (£21 13s. 1d.), the balance left over after these debts had been paid was £8 10s. and 5 1/2d. which was to be taken by the executors of the will.<sup>101</sup>

Archibald Coates, the father of John Coates Campbell, whose wife was Mary Buchanan and whose brother-in-law was Andrew Buchanan, left a will with an inventory containing information relating only to his business interests. It is valuable, however, for the information it presents on the value of business shares at the time of the registration of the will on 12 November, 1781. It lists only two items in the inventory which were: "...Imprimis the sum of four thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds eight shillings sterling being the ballance of an account current due to the defuncts estate by Archibald and John Coats merchants in Glasgow co-partners, the surviving partner of which company are John Campbell of Clathick merchant in Glasgow and William Coats there,..."; and "...Item, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling being the amount of the said defuncts share of the stock in the trade the foresaid company of Archibald and John Coats in which company the said defunct was at the time of his decease interested and concerned 2/5 parts..."<sup>102</sup>

An example of mercantile wealth as passed down through inheritance can be seen in the testament testamen-

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<sup>101</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of Archibald Coates, 12 November, 1781, CC9/7/71, S.R.O.

tary of Ann Buchanan, daughter of Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier (1691-1759) who was Provost in 1740 to 1742 and who was involved in various mercantile concerns including the King Street Sugar House, Greenland Fishing Co., Andrew Buchanan and Co., Buchanan, Anderson and Co., John Coulton and Co., the Baltimore Co., Andrew Cochrane and Co., Dunlop, Houston and Co. (the Ship Bank), and Andrew and Archibald Buchanan and Co. The sole heir and executor of Ann Buchanan's will was Andrew Stirling of Drumpellier her nephew. Lacking an inventory of her moveable estate, the will does list various bequests to members of her family. These bequests included: the sum of £50 sterling to her elder sister Mary Stirling; a liferent of £10 sterling to her sister Elizabeth French; the sum of £25 sterling to her sister-in-law Mrs. James Buchanan; the sum of £25 sterling to her niece Elizabeth Buchanan, daughter of James Buchanan of Drumpellier; the sum of £100 sterling to her niece L. Home, spouse of Sir George Home; the sum of £100 sterling to her niece Margaret Buchanan, daughter of George Buchanan of Mount Vernon; the sum of £100 sterling to her niece Marion Stirling, spouse of Robert McKay, merchant in Glasgow; the sum of £25 sterling to her niece Elizabeth Hamilton, "...relict of the deceased William Hamilton late Professor of Anatomy in Glasgow..."; and the sum of £25 sterling to her niece Agnes Stirling, spouse of Dugald Bannatyne, merchant in

Glasgow.<sup>103</sup> The total sum of the bequests was £460, a considerable amount of money for the later eighteenth century.

Besides showing the extent of the wealth of a daughter of one of the "tobacco lords", the bequests of Ann Buchanan as stated in her will also provide an example of the familial ties of the merchant elite and the financial support that they provided for one another, as all of the bequests are to female relatives.

By far the most extensively detailed inventory of a merchant involved in the tobacco trade to the American colonies was that of William Crawford (deceased 1755) whose testament dative was registered on 13 February, 1759, and whose will was "...faithfully made and given up by Peter Crawford only son of the said deceased William Crawford and Executor aftermentioned, and by Mr. John Dalrymple, advocate, John Crawford, surgeon in Glasgow, John Murdoch, merchant and present provost of Glasgow, Andrew Cochrane, merchant and late provost of Glasgow, Archibald Buchanan, John Cross, David Cross and Peter Blackburn, merchants there for their interests tutors testamentors and as upgivers for the said Peter Crawford who is a pupil..."<sup>104</sup> The reason for the extensiveness of Crawford's inventory was that his moveable estate was sold at a public roup, and as his only son was not at the age

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<sup>103</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of Ann Buchanan, 28 June, 1796, CC9/7/76, S.R.O.

<sup>104</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of William Crawford, 13 February, 1759, CC9/7/63, S.R.O.

of majority, he could not properly inherit the moveable estate the value of which was estimated at £590 8s. 6 3/4d. sterling.<sup>105</sup>

One of the interesting points regarding Crawford's will is that Crawford was a lesser merchant, although the inventory of his moveable estate exhibits a lifestyle of a very wealthy man, indicating that even a lesser merchant involved in the tobacco trade could support such an extravagant lifestyle. Also of importance, is that Crawford's will registered in 1759, four years after his death, was made up when the tobacco trade was still in its ascendancy. In comparison with Laurence Dinwiddie who died in 1736, and who was involved with an earlier stage of the tobacco trade, Crawford's lifestyle appears much more extravagant. Years of successful trading by the Glasgow merchants not only dramatically altered the wealth of the city in providing a great variety of "luxury" consumer goods, but also improved the lifestyle of these merchants to such a degree that a relatively successful merchant, on a much lower scale than a Glassford or a Speirs, could maintain such a wealthy lifestyle.

The contents of the inventory of Crawford's will are very detailed and it is possible to look at the more salient contents of the inventory so as to provide a sketch of the material life of a Glasgow merchant in the eighteenth century. For example a short list of some of

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<sup>105</sup>. - As there is no mention of Crawford's wife, it is assumed that she was deceased.

his furniture which would have made up the living room and dining areas included: "one dozen stuffed leather chairs with brass naills", value, £5 14 shillings; "six rush bottomed chairs", value £1 7 shillings; "two windsor chairs", value 4 shillings; "one child's walking chair", value 1 shilling and 7 pence; "a mahogany dining table", value £1 18 shillings; "a large mahogany table", value £3 6 shillings and 6 pence; "a mahogany tea table", value £1 2 shillings and 6 pence; "a little folding wainscoat table", value 5 shillings and 6 pence; "a glass cover cupboard", value £1 8 shillings; "a large looking glass", value £2 17 shillings and 6 pence; "a fine large floor carpet", value £3 15 shillings; and "a wainscoat corner cupboard", value 4 shillings and 7 pence.<sup>106</sup> The amount of mahogany tables owned, both a dining table and a tea table, in addition to the carpet, suggest a very extravagant lifestyle. Not only do these items suggest a large house where guests could be received in a living room, as opposed to the bedroom, it shows the extent of Crawford's wealth in supporting such a lifestyle, obviously one of status. Thomas Somerville writing after 1760, suggested that in Scotland, "...mahogany tables, except for tea, were rarely seen, even in houses richly furnished..." and "...carpets were found only in the principal rooms-the drawing-room and dining-room; indeed, except in houses of

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<sup>106</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of William Crawford, 13 February, 1759, CC9/7/63, S.R.O.

some pretension, they were altogether unknown..."<sup>107</sup>

Next followed a list of items that might have made up the dining-room and kitchen area. Also, the large quantity of china and pieces of furniture and crockery relating to coffee and tea indicate a certain amount of leisure time devoted to this eighteenth-century indicator of wealth and status. Items listed in the inventory concerning kitchenware consisted of: "a japanned tea board", value 3 shillings and 8 pence; "one sett of china", value £1; "seven china cups, seven plates and a bowl", value 4 shillings; "four china cups", value 2 shillings; "seven china cups and one plate", value 1 shilling and 8 pence; "eight plates", value 2 shillings and 9 pence; "seven china cups, six plates and a bowl", 2 shillings and 6 pence; "one china tea pott and standard", value 1 shilling and 3 pence; and "one china tea pott cracked", value 3 pence half penny.<sup>108</sup>

Also listed in the inventory was a large quantity of delftware, yet another indicator of the relative wealth of a lesser merchant in indulge in the purchase of fine china. This list of delftware included: "two delf plates", value 1 shilling and 8 pence; "one delf tea pott and pourir", value 2 pence half penny; "four delf milk potts", value 4 pence half penny; "four delf pickle dishes", value 5 pence half penny; "two delf plates and

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<sup>107</sup>.— Fyfe, ed., Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, p. 229.

<sup>108</sup>.— Last Will and Testament of William Crawford, 13 February, 1759, CC9/7/63, S.R.O.

two ashels", value 3 shillings and one penny; "two dutch delf plates", value 2 shillings and 4 pence; "sixteen dutch delf trenchers", value 4 shillings and 11 pence; "ten dutch delf soup plates", value 5 shillings and 4 pence; "eleven dutch delf plates", value 4 shillings and 2 pence; "fourteen dutch delf plates", value 1 shilling and 11 pence; "ten dutch delf plates", value 1 shilling and 4 pence; and "five dutch delf plates", value 2 shillings.<sup>109</sup>

Crawfurd's inventory also lists a fair collection of silver, a clear indicator of the increase in mercantile wealth during the eighteenth century. He owned: "a silver teapot and flatt" worth £12 8 pence; "six silver table spoons" worth £8 13 shillings and 6 pence; "six silver table spoons" worth £8 12 shillings and 11 pence; "four silver salts and spoons" worth £2 17 shillings and 6 pence; "one silver dividing spoon" worth £1 19 shillings and 7 pence; "two pair silver candlesticks" worth £15 9 shillings; "a silver kettle and lamp" worth £23 7 shillings and 7 pence half penny; "one dozen silver knives and forks with the case" worth £2 13 shillings and 6 pence; "another dozen silver knives and forks with the case" worth £2 15 shillings; and "twelve silver tea spoons" worth £1 4 shillings and 10 pence half penny.<sup>110</sup>

Of more significant interest for an examination of wealth disposal is Crawfurd's ownership of various pic-

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<sup>109</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>.- Ibid.

tures, (see Table 5.5) some of which were portraits of

Table 5.5  
List of Pictures Owned by William Crawford, c. 1755

Pictures	Value
Nine pictures "Loves of the Gods"	£2 13s. -
A print of gladiator Moriens	£- 5s. -
Eight prints of cartoons	£1 14s. -
A map of Clyde	£- - 4d.
Four prints devotional	£1 - -
Four prints landscape Lesbas	£- 9s. -
A map	£- - 3d.
One print the Lady Boyd	£- 2s. 8d.
One print President Forbes	£- 2s. 6d.
One print Doctor Pitcairn	£- 3s. -
One print Marquess of Montrose	£- 3s. 1d.
The print Les Negotiant	£- 1s. -
One print Venus	£- 1s. -
One print Corelli	£- 1s. 4d.
Twelve prints for Lord Shaftebury's works	£- 10s. -
A print of President Dalrymple	£- 1s. 6d.
A print of Queen Mary	£- - 2 1/2d.
A print of a Miser	£- - 2d.
Ten prints Italian views	£- 1s. 6d.
One print Virgin Mary	£- 1s. 7d.
One print Constantine Arch	£- 1s. 1d.
One print Virgin Mary	£- 7s. 6d.
One print Joseph	£- 7s. 6d.
One old landscape with gilded frames	£- 4s. 1d.
One portrait of Rubens	£- 8s. 8d.
One portrait of Mr. Fletcher	£1 1s. -
Two portraits of Matthew Crawford and his wife	£3 3s. -
One small portrait Miss Jessie Crawford	£- 6s. -
Nine large and twenty-two small prints plants and tulips	£6 - -

Source- Last Will and Testament of William Crawford, 13 February, 1759, CC9/7/63, S.R.O.

members of his family. His possession of pictures also indicates an interest in art and possible patronage of the city's then developing interest in fine arts such as the Foulis Academy of 1754. Although Crawford died in 1755, it might be possible to suggest that some of the pictures



listed in his inventory were directly related to this Academy. Also, the fact that Crawford's inventory of pictures included portraits of family members indicates how even a lesser merchant could indulge in the luxury of having his family memorialised for posterity, and indeed, by then thought it important to do so.

Other items of interest contained in Crawford's inventory were spirits and food. The separate listing of food, liquor, and wine in the inventory of a will is itself an indicator of the importance and value of the possession of more expensive foodstuffs, spirits, and wine, as well as being a demonstration of the lifestyle of members of the merchant elite. A list of spirits included: 8 gallons rum sold for £3 17s. and 5 1/2d.; 16 bottles of claret sold for £1 6s. and 8d.; 4 dozen bottles of lemon wine sold for £1 4s.; 6 bottles strong ale sold for 2s. 6d.; 14 bottles Lisbon sold for £1 1s.; another 8 gallons rum sold for £3 17s. 4d.; 9 pints brandy sold for £1 1s. 9d.; 5 bottles peach brandy sold for 7s. and 3d.; and 5 bottles of cherry rum sold for 10s.<sup>111</sup>

A catalogue of food and perishable goods in Crawford's will displays a same standard of lifestyle commensurate with the other categories of belongings and goods in his will. The food listed show the extent to which the influence of the tobacco trade in bringing goods like coffee from the West Indies and corn meal from the colonies was permeating society. Also of interest, is the

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<sup>111</sup>. - Ibid.

variety and relative exotic quality of the food. For instance, there is recorded 21 pounds powdered sugar worth 11s. 4 1/2d., 4 pounds coffee beans worth 5s. 4d., 5 pounds of chocolate worth 11s. 6d., 20 pecks "Indian corn meall" worth 7s. 6d., "orange peill" worth 10 1/2d., one can marmalade worth 3s., two pots of cherries worth 1s. 6d., two cans pickles worth 2s. 1d., a can of lemon conserve worth 8d., and a parcel of bacon worth 5s. and 6d.<sup>112</sup>

Although there is no detailed list of books owned by Crawford, there is a reference in his will to the total value of his library which was sold by public roup and produced £67 10s.<sup>113</sup> Also sold by public roup were the contents of his gardens and nurseries. The practice of estate improvement and the interest in plants and trees was obviously not confined solely to the inner circle of the merchant elite who could afford to purchase large tracts of land; the wealth being produced at the beginning of the ascendancy of the tobacco trade was sufficient to allow one to spend money improving one's estate and property. This list of garden and nursery contents consisted of: "the whole ash nursery in the garden at Balshagray before the gardiner's house", value £1 10s.; "the whole thorns in the garden opposite the gardiner's house", value £2 3s.; "five rods of firs", value £1 12s.; "another five beds of firs including a row of pitch firs",

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<sup>112</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>.- Ibid.

value £1 8s.; "the whole oaks in the nursery garden", value £1 1s.; "a plott of elms in the nursery garden", value £1 5s.; "a bed of plain trees", value 6s.; "a bed of beeches", value 2s. 6d.; "a bed of chestnuts and walnuts", value 8s. 6d.; "five beds of 'exotics'", value 15s.; "three rows of 'crabs'", value 6s.; "six rows of Leburnams", value £1; "two rows of Thornbeam", value 4s.; "a plot of ash", value 7s.; "a parcel of Leburnams", value 7s. 3d.; and "two plots of thorn in nursery garden", value £2 5s.<sup>114</sup>

Also included in the inventory was a list of items of articles of furniture and other moveable goods that were not sold at public roup. The total of these items came to £26 17s. sterling and most notably included a gold watch "with a single case" worth £10 10s. sterling.<sup>115</sup>

The last part of Crawford's will contained a catalogue of business partnerships in which he possessed shares. These consisted of the Ropework Manufactory<sup>116</sup>, a one-fifth share in the ship Cochran and her cargoes coming from Rappahannock River in Virginia<sup>117</sup>, a two-ninths share in the ships Murdoch and Prince William and

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<sup>114</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>115</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>.- Ibid., Crawford was jointly and equally concerned with James Corbett in the Ropework Manufactory. The value of his share came to £1900 sterling.

<sup>117</sup>.- Ibid., The list of partners involved in the ship Cochran and her cargoes were Andrew Cochran, John Murdoch, Allan Dreghorn, and Robert Bogle. Crawford's dividend of this company as of November 1757 amounted to £286 4s. 2d.

her cargoes coming from York River in Virginia<sup>118</sup>, three quarters of an eleventh share in the Glasgow Warehouse Co.<sup>119</sup>, one-third share of the Old Green Weaving Manufactory<sup>120</sup>, and a thirtieth share of the stock of the Glasgow Arms Bank<sup>121</sup>.

In comparison, the will and testament dative of James Donald, registered in the commissariat books on 9 December, 1760, contains an inventory which is primarily composed of the defunct's shares in businesses and trading partnerships and debts owing to the defunct, thus demonstrating the variety of inventories of wills and testaments in the eighteenth-century (this will and testament excludes any list of moveable goods or estate). The executors of James Donald's will were Alexander, Elizabeth, and Janet Donald, his children, John Murdoch, Andrew Cochrane, Arthur Robertson, and Robert Donald, all mer-

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<sup>118</sup>.- Ibid., The partners involved in the cargoes and ownership of the ships Murdoch and Prince William included Andrew Cochrane, John Murdoch and James Donald. William Crawford's dividend as of 1 November, 1757 came to £878 16s. 8d. sterling.

<sup>119</sup>.- Ibid., William Crawford's share was valued at £50 sterling as of 1757.

<sup>120</sup>.- Ibid., John Crawford and Thomas Scott were the other partners in this concern.

<sup>121</sup>.- Ibid., The value of Crawford's share in the Glasgow Arms Bank was put at £520 sterling by the company's copartnery and the arbiters and valuers who were named as being Laurence Colquhoun, Alexander Speirs, Hugh Blackburn and David Cross, all merchants in Glasgow. The value of Crawford's shares in the Glasgow Arms Bank were retained by the company on account of Crawford's debts to the same company.

chants in Glasgow, and James Donald, merchant in Greenock-  
. <sup>122</sup> Donald's trading interest were primarily in the tobacco trade with the American colonies as listed in his inventory concerning debts owing to him regarding business interests in Virginia. For example, one item states that James Donald had owing to him "...one hundred and ten pounds value of goods which the said deceased James Donald shipt in the ship Corry for the said Stair Agnew in the month of January 1756 years and which goods were sold to Neilson in Yorktown in Virginia..." <sup>123</sup> Donald's business interests also lay in business and manufacturing concerns in Glasgow. For instance, he owned "...two twenty shares of the stock in the Glasgow Warehouse Company belonging to Andrew Cochran Esquire, Provost of Glasgow, and James Hall and Company there..." which was valued at the sum of £1,013 10s. 9d. in 1760. <sup>124</sup> He also owned a "twenty sixth share of the stock of the new banking company in Glasgow belonging to the said Andrew Cochran, John Murdoch and company bankers in Glasgow..." or the Glasgow Arms Bank, which shares were valued at £1,000 sterling. <sup>125</sup> Finally, also listed in James Donald's inventory was his share in the Smithfield Manufactory (a thirteenth share) which was

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<sup>122</sup>.- Last Will and Testament of James Donald, 9 December, 1760, CC9/7/63, S.R.O.

<sup>123</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>.- Ibid.

valued at £955 17s. 11 5/12d. sterling.<sup>126</sup>

On 11 May, 1761, an additional testament dative was registered on the commissariat books for James Donald. The inventory of the addition to Donald's primary will included valuations of Donald's previous shares in businesses involved in trade with the American colonies. The information provided shows not only the considerable value of shares in these businesses and valuable partnership information, but also the importance that was placed upon these business interests as not only generators of wealth but also as components of mercantile wealth. For instance, Donald was one-third involved in a trading partnership with Andrew Cochran, John Murdoch and William Crawford (the same William Crawford whose will was examined above) trading in tobacco with York River, Virginia. The value of Donald's one-third share was worth £200 sterling. Also owing to Donald's heirs after his decease was the sum of £8,800 sterling "...supposed to be the worth of the defunct's one-third of the copartnery...comprehending the defunct's shares and interest in the ships Prince William and Murdoch and Snow America, also his third share of the whole debts and effects belonging to the said company in Glasgow or elsewhere at home and the whole debts and effects belonging and owing to the said company in the colony of Virginia or anywhere in Ameri-

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<sup>126</sup>.- Ibid.

ca."<sup>127</sup> Donald was also involved in the tobacco trade with James River, Virginia along with Robert Donald, James Donald, and Andrew Geills, merchants in Greenock, and James Buchanan and Thomas Donald, merchants in Virginia, of which his shares came to the value of £1,200 sterling.<sup>128</sup> Also owing to Donald's heirs from the same business concern in James River, Virginia was the sum of £6,300 sterling "...comprehending the defuncts share of the ships Donald, Old Andrew, Peggy and Tebbie, also of the defuncts thirteen-fourty-eight parts of the whole debts and effects owing and belonging to the said company both at home and abroad."<sup>129</sup> Donald was also one-third involved in an insurance trade along with James Donald, merchant in Greenock and Robert Donald, merchant in Glasgow, which shares came to the value of £270 sterling.<sup>130</sup> The only item in the addition to the primary testament dative which gives any indication of the way he spent his wealth was the not invaluable listing of Donald's ownership of one "...negroe boy called Cadie..." whose value was set at £20 6s. 6d. sterling.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup>. - Last Will and Testament of James Donald, 11 May, 1761, CC9/7/64, S.R.O.

<sup>128</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>129</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>130</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>131</sup>. - Ibid. Slave ownership was not uncommon among the merchant elite. For example, as early as 1748 Colonel McDowall of Castlesemple advertised in the *Glasgow Courant* that his personal slave named Cato, alias John, had run away on 30 January. John Glassford also owned a slave who was depicted standing behind his family in the portrait on

#### IV

The primary means of transferring wealth to one's children and relatives by the merchant elite was not in wills and testaments registered with the commissariat courts but rather in trust dispositions and settlements which were registered with the Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds where the primary purpose was invariably concerned with the disposal of land. Of the 30 or so merchants who comprised the merchant elite of the tobacco lords of Glasgow, 11 trust deeds, dispositions and settlements were located in the Register of Deeds in the Scottish Record Office and in the Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds involving inheritance. All of the dispositions and trust settlements that were found were all of merchants comprised in the merchant elite, and were major merchants involved in all facets of civic life, trading partnerships, and manufacturing concerns. These merchants were Peter Murdoch who registered a disposition in 1762 and 1768, John Murdoch, 1763<sup>132</sup>, Allan Dreghorn, 1764, Laurence Dinwiddie, 1764, George Buchanan of Mount Vernon, 1770, James Dunlop of Garnkirk, 1775, Andrew Cochrane, Archibald Coats, 1781, Archibald Smellie, 1781, Hugh Wylie, 1781, and Alexander Speirs, 1782.

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exhibition in the People's Palace, Glasgow. The representation of this slave is barely visible, however, as an attempt was made to cover over the black man in the early nineteenth century.

<sup>132</sup>. - These dates are the dates of registration with the register of deeds, not of the original writing of the disposition or settlement.



The importance of land as a major purchase for the merchant elite of Glasgow is borne out by the numerous amounts of estates in the Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire areas which belonged to these colonial merchants. As a natural result, land became a prime subject of inheritance as seen in the following trust deeds, dispositions, settlements, and conveyances. The purchase of land carried many benefits. One benefit was the status it portrayed, as seen in the life of a country gentleman, and embellished by the improving activities of the day. Another advantage was the financial stability it provided, not only as an asset for the merchant, but also for the inheritance of his family, and, as has been shown above in Chapter 3, the purchase of land was also beneficial for the suffrage rights it produced.<sup>133</sup> All of these benefits to be acquired by the purchase of land made it a very attractive investment.

The first dispositions to be examined are those of Peter Murdoch which were registered with the Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds in 1762 and 1768. The disposition and assignation registered on 28 July, 1762 was originally written in 1751. This disposition was primarily a conveyance of lands and debts which were owed to Peter Murdoch to his son John.<sup>134</sup> The second disposition registered in

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<sup>133</sup>. - View of the Political State of Scotland, p. xv. See also Chapter 3, pp. 178-184.

<sup>134</sup>. - Disposition Peter Murdoch to John Murdoch, 28 July, 1762, B10/15/6789, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

1768 which was originally written in 1755 effectively acted as a will. For example, the preamble to the disposition stated;

"I Peter Murdoch merchant and late Provost of Glasgow, for love and favour and other good causes, does by these presents give grant assign transferr and convey from me after my decease to and in favour of John Murdoch merchant late Provost of Glasgow my son...All and sundry lands tenements annualrents watsetts adjudications tacks steddings rooms and possessions whatever and all and sundry goods gear debts sums of money household furniture and other effects whatever and all the fortune and estate both heritable and moveable that shall be pertaining and belonging or adebted and owing to me at the time of my decease..."

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The rest of the disposition lists special conveyances of bonds to members of his family. He left to his daughter Janet Murdoch, wife of Andrew Cochrane, two bonds one for the sum of £300 sterling and one for £100 sterling. Similarly, to his daughter Martha Murdoch, wife of Archibald Buchanan, he left a bond of £300 sterling and a bond of £100 sterling. To his granddaughter, Janet Logan he also left two bonds, one for the sum of £200 sterling and one for the sum of £100 sterling. To his other granddaughter, Mary Logan, wife of James McPherson, he left a bond of £200 sterling. To his grandson Peter Murdoch, he left six bonds which came to the total of £1,050 sterling. To his other son Peter Murdoch he left his share of the ship *Dove Brigantine* and his "...yeard near the High Church of Glasgow and the rents and profits thereof..."

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<sup>135</sup>. - Disposition and Assignment Murdoch to Murdoch, 14 March, 1768, B10/15/7144, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

Murdoch also left to his grandsons Peter Buchanan and Peter Crawford the sum of £20 sterling each and to his great-grandson £20.<sup>136</sup> In total, Peter Murdoch left £2390 sterling in bonds to members of his family.

The disposition and settlement of John Murdoch (the son of James Murdoch, not the above mentioned Peter Murdoch, and brother of George Murdoch, Provost from 1754-56 and 1766-68) is an example of a disposition ensuring the settlement of property on his eldest son, James. By no means the settlement of an ample estate, the property owned by this merchant, John Murdoch, nevertheless, was deemed important enough to ensure that its inheritance was a registered deed. John Murdoch left to his son James "...all and haill the westmost half or part of the ground story or first flat of that tenement of land lately built by John Robertson wright, late baillie of Glasgow, on that piece of ground lying within the territory of the burgh of Glasgow on the west side of the south-east of that street called Virginia Street...".<sup>137</sup> He also left to his son "...all and whole the two northmost laigh cellars in the forsaid tenement below or under the northmost part of the forsaid first storey above disposed..." and "...siclike that garret room above the dwelling houses on the west side of the said tenement and fronting to Argyle

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<sup>136</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>137</sup>.- Disposition and Settlement John Murdoch, 23 September, 1763, B10/15/6845, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

Street..."<sup>138</sup> The disposition also listed the nomination of tutors and curators which included George Murdoch, his brother, Arthur Robertson, merchant in Glasgow, Charles Scot, merchant living at Dalquhurn, and his son James Murdoch to ensure the payment of £60 sterling liferent to be paid to his spouse Mary Yuill along with his moveable estate and the sum of £300 sterling to each of his children George, Jean, Marion, and Thomas.<sup>139</sup>

A settlement by Allan Dreghorn (deceased 1764) originally written in 1761, registered in 1764, also effectively carries the weight of a will. The settlement begins by stating:

"Know all men by these present that I Allan Dreghorn of Ruch-hill merchant in Glasgow for the love and favour which I have and bear to Betty Bogle my beloved spouse, and to Robert Dreghorn my nephew by me deceased brother Robert Dreghorn merchant in Glasgow, and for my other heirs and substitutes herein mentioned, and for other weighty causes and considerations me moving have given granted and disponed...all and sundry lands baronys teinds houses tenements gardens debts sums of money goods gear and every other subject whatsoever as well heritable and moveable..."<sup>140</sup>

Specifically, the settlement records sums of money to be left to his sister's children, Margaret Dreghorn (deceased), to his wife, and the conveyance of his estate on Clyde Street, the Dreghorn mansion. One special provision of the settlement was that all of his heirs who succeeded

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<sup>138</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>140</sup>.- Settlement Allan Dreghorn, 26 October, 1764, B10/15/6-923, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

to the property outlined must bear the surname of Dreghorn (including females) and the Dreghorn Coat of Arms.

To his sister's children, Dreghorn left the sum of £500 sterling to be given to each child who were named as James, Allan, Robert, Margaret, and Janet Scott. To his wife Elizabeth (Betty) Bogle he left an annualrent of £200 sterling with an initial payment of £500 sterling.<sup>141</sup> He also left to his wife his "...new built dwelling house in Clyde Street, Glasgow, with stable, byres, and other office houses and pertinents thereto belonging, together with the timber yard and shades..." and his "...whole household furniture and plenishing in both...dwelling houses in Clyde Street of Glasgow and in...{the} country house of Ruch-hill including all...linnens, plate, pictures, china and every other thing or kind of furniture... heirship moveable included together with...{his} four wheeled chaise, chaise horses, harness and everything else thereto belonging, and likeways what provisions or liquors of any kind that may be in these houses at the times..."<sup>142</sup> In total, Dreghorn left £3000 sterling in bonds, along with the annualrent of £200 for his wife.

Laurence Dinwiddie wrote his disposition and settlement of his wealth and property in 1760, four years before his death. The son of Robert Dinwiddie, a merchant, who came to the city of Glasgow from Dumfriesshire to become

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<sup>141</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>142</sup>.- Ibid., Robert Dreghorn, Allan Dreghorn's nephew, eventually succeeded to his estate of both Ruchill and the Dreghorn mansion on Clyde Street.

a trader in 1691, Laurence Dinwiddie was educated at the University of Glasgow, was Lord Provost from 1742 to 1744, purchased the lands of Germiston and Balornock in 1748, and was involved in various trading and manufacturing concerns in the city of Glasgow, such as Andrew Buchanan and co., Old Tannery Co., Glasgow Tanworks Co., Delftfield Pottery Co., Cochrane, Murdoch and Co., Port Glasgow Ropeworks Co., Dinwiddie Crawford and Co., and Dinwiddie and Corbett. The settlement written by Dinwiddie included the disposition of land, shares in business partnerships, sums of money, household furniture and plenishings which were to be entrusted to the trustees named as Elizabeth Kennedy, Dinwiddie's wife, Robert Dinwiddie, his eldest son, Robert Dinwiddie, his brother, James Coulter, merchant in Glasgow, Robert Kennedy of Auchtyfardell, James Dennistoun of Colgrain, and Robert Dunlop of Househill.<sup>143</sup>

Dinwiddie's disposition of land contained his lands of Germiston, described as a two merk land, his lands of Balornock, and his "...second story or dwelling house of that great tenement of land high and laigh back and fore, with the closs, cellars and pertinents formerly belonging to Michael Coulter merchant in Glasgow with the cellar office houses, and others belonging to the said second storey lying within the burgh of Glasgow on the north side of the Trongate thereof bounded by the high street on the

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<sup>143</sup>. - Settlement Laurence Dinwiddie, 9 May, 1764, B10/15/6895, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

south..."<sup>144</sup> A description of the estate at Germiston which was left to his eldest son Robert stated that it contained a new mansion house a "...new stable house, little new barn under the same roof with, and a part of the large barn, and a proportionall part of the barn yeard all at Germiston, together with the gardens at Germiston, west park thereof, inclosure called Banen yeard, and little inclosure consisting of about one half acre of land lying opposite to the house of Germiston..."<sup>145</sup> The value of his lands of Germiston and Balornock were set at 1000 pounds sterling and 400 pounds sterling accordingly.<sup>146</sup>

The disposition of shares in business partnerships included his one-eleventh share of the New Glasgow Tanwork Co., his nine-twentieth share of the Delftfield Pottery Co., his one-twenty-fifth share of the Glasgow Arms Bank, and his three-sixth shares of the copartnership carried on between Dinwiddie, Simon Brown, and Robert McCulloch.<sup>147</sup>

To his children, Dinwiddie left the sums of 20,000 merks Scots to his son Robert (the eldest), 12,000 merks Scots to his second son Lawrence, 12,000 merks Scots to his third son Gilbert, and the sum of 10,000 merks Scots to James, William, Jean, Agnes, Mary, Rebecca, and Elizabeth, his remaining children. His wife Elizabeth Kennedy was to be maintained with an annualrent of 1,200 merks

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<sup>144</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>145</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>147</sup>.- Ibid.

Scots and was to also inherit the household furniture and plenishings which were to be divided between her and her eldest son. In addition to the sums of money left to his family, Dinwiddie also left 200 merks Scots to the Merchants House of Glasgow and 100 merks Scots to the Kirk treasurer of the General Session of Glasgow.<sup>148</sup>

A disposition written by George Buchanan of Mount Vernon (1728-1762) registered in 1770 ensured the inheritance of his possessions of lands by his eldest son Andrew. His inventory of land possessions included: "...the ten acres one rood nine falls and fourteen ells of land of Boghead..."; "...eight acres of land called Broom and Chams..."; "...the twenty-three shilling four penny lands of old extent of the lands of Windy Edge now called Mount Vernon..."; "...the twenty-two acres two roods twenty-one falls and thirty-five ells of ground...bounded by the dykes or parks of Mount Vernon..."; the 3 shillings 3 penny land of old extent of the lands of Sandyhills; the 23 shillings 4 penny land of old extent of the lands of Blairtwinnoch; the 11 shilling 8 penny land of the lands of Chrystoun; the 12 shilling 5 penny land of old extent of the lands of Over Bargedie; the 4 shilling land of old extent of the lands of Nether Houses; and the 7 shilling six penny lands of old extent of the lands of Langlone.<sup>149</sup>

Also disposed to his eldest son was his mansion house

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<sup>148</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>149</sup>. - Disposition George Buchanan to his Eldest Son, June 8, 1770, RD4/207/757, Register of Deeds, S.R.O.



at the head of Virginia Street which subsequently became the residence of Alexander Speirs who was married to Mary Buchanan, George Buchanan's daughter. The estate on Virginia Street was described as containing a "...new dwelling house and office houses high and laigh back and fore...bounded by the lands disponed...to Alexander Mackie, merchant in Glasgow on the south, the lands of John Miller, Westertown, on the west, the Cowlone Street on the north and the lands belonging formerly to William McDowall of Castlesemple now to John Glassford, merchant in Glasgow, on the north side of the Wester Gate now called Argyle Street..."<sup>150</sup> George Buchanan of Mount Vernon originally received the land on Virginia Street by a disposition from his father Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier.<sup>151</sup>

Similarly, a disposition of James Dunlop of Garnkirk registered in 1775, makes special conveyance of his lands to his trustees who were noted as his "...trusty friends, Thomas Dunlop, Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston, and James Ritchie, merchants in Glasgow, and Colin Rae of Little Govan..."<sup>152</sup> Dunlop disponed of "...all and haill the four pound six shilling and eight penny land of old extent of Garnkirk with the manor place buildings yards orchards mosses muirs meadows parts pendicles and pertinents of the

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<sup>150</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>151</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>152</sup>.- Disposition Dunlop to Dunlops, October 20, 1775, RD3/234/705, Register of Deeds, S.R.O.

same...", the 24 shilling land of old extent of the lands of Casnock Hill in the parish of Calder, and the lands of Eastmuir, all of which were to be left to his trustees to be disposed of as they saw fit.<sup>153</sup>

A disposition by Andrew Cochrane registered in 1777 (the year of his death) made a special conveyance of land, property, and his moveable estate to James Brown, junior, merchant in Glasgow, son of Charles Brown, merchant in Wye in Maryland.<sup>154</sup> Specifically, Cochrane disposed to Brown "...all and haill that piece of land called the common Isle of Ayr...", otherwise known as Bridgehouse "...lying near to the town common of Ayr betwixt the lands of Gottray's fauld Bridgehouse and Browning on the one and other parts within the Parish and Sheriffdom of Ayr..."<sup>155</sup> Cochrane also left to James Brown "...all and haill...two houses or shades in Argyle Street near St. Enoch's kirk yard within the city of Glasgow lately built...{by Cochra- ne}...with brick and covered with tile, one of them for a stable for holding horses and the other for holding a four wheeled chaise or other wheeled carriages as presently possesst by James Dougal merchant in Glasgow to be held and enjoyed by the said James Brown and his foresaids in

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<sup>153</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>154</sup>.- Apparently, Cochrane had no heir to his estate.

<sup>155</sup>.- Disposition Andrew Cochrane to James Brown, July 29, 1777, RD2/222/313, Register of Deeds, S.R.O. The land of Bridgehouse was originally acquired by Cochrane in 1722, one year before he moved to Glasgow from his original birthplace of Ayr. His father was David Cochrane, merchant in Ayr.

the same manner and conditions..."<sup>156</sup> Finally, Cochrane left the remainder of his moveable estate which included "...all goods gear household furniture and plenishing moveable heirship included in...{his} town and country houses and offices books and presses wherein the same are lodged and continued horses nolt sheep corns hay chaise implements of husbandry or gardening debts sums of money and every other moveable subject..."<sup>157</sup>

Along with the disposition of Cochrane's property and moveable estate, Cochrane also left to James Brown various shares of his (Cochrane's) business concerns. For instance, Cochrane left to Brown shares in the ship *Cochrane* together with "...some tobacco cellars in Port Glasgow..." and his "...share and interest in all lots of houses in Virginia belonging or that shall belong to the said Cochrane company..."<sup>158</sup> He also left his "...share interest or concern in trade whatsoever..." with the company known as William Cunninghame and Co., his share in the ship *Murdoch* carried on with John Murdoch, James Donald, and Co., his shares and interest in the banking company known as Andrew Cochrane, John Murdoch and Co. (the Glasgow Arms Bank), and his shares in the Glasgow Ware-

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<sup>156</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>157</sup>.- Ibid. A note is made in the disposition that Cochrane's wife, Janet Murdoch, daughter of Peter Murdoch, will not lose her rights by contract of marriage to her share of household plenishings and moveable goods.

<sup>158</sup>.- Disposition by Cochrane to Brown per Rae, October 13, 1772, RD2/1/325, Register of Deeds, S.R.O.

house Company or James Hall and Company.<sup>159</sup>

Archibald Coats, father of John Coats Campbell of Clathick, left a disposition and settlement originally written in 1774 and registered in 1781, which consigned the inheritance of his estate to his son George Coats, whom failing would be assigned to Mary Buchanan, his wife, John Coats Campbell of Clathick, William Coats, merchant in Glasgow, Andrew Buchanan, merchant in Glasgow, and John Coats of Coatshill. Basically an inheritance disposition, this document provided for the transference of his house in Glasgow to his son George which was described as being the second storey flat on the southside of the Trongate, the conveyance of "...the whole household furniture and plenishing including heirship moveables and silver plate..." to his wife Mary Buchanan, a disposition to the poor of the city of Glasgow of the sum of £10 sterling to be used within one year of his death, the sum of £100 sterling to be given to his wife as an *annualrent*, and the conveyance of £800 sterling to each of his daughters Cecil, Christian, Mary, and Janet.<sup>160</sup>

A disposition and conveyance by Archibald Smellie, whose company McCall, Smellie and Co. was sequestrated during the American War of Independence, registered in 1781 ensured the inheritance of his estate of Easter Dalbeth, renamed by him as Easterhill, to his trustees

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<sup>159</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>160</sup>. - Disposition and Settlement by Archibald Coats, 17 September, 1781, B10/15/8356, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

named as John Lawrie, James McCall, Richard Allan, senior, Andrew Thomson, and William Couper, all merchants in Glasgow. The description of his estate included "...the coalwork engine and other machinery thereto belonging and erected on the said grounds together also with the mansion house belonging and erected on the said grounds, offices and all other houses and buildings thereon..."<sup>161</sup> Also included in the disposition was the conveyance of his town house which was the second storey flat on the "...east side of the street leading from the market cross of Glasgow to the metropolitan church thereof..."<sup>162</sup>

A continuance of the use of deeds of disposition and settlement (as opposed to wills and testaments) by the merchant elite for the conveyance of their wealth and the importance attached to land as a measure of this wealth can be seen in a settlement by Hugh Wylie, Lord Provost of Glasgow from 1780 to 1782, registered in 1781 one year before his decease. The beginning of this settlement, important for its effectiveness as a replacement of a will and testament, states; "I Hugh Wylie merchant present Lord Provost of Glasgow considering the situation of my fortune and the state and circumstances of my family...and upon the whole being resolved to settle my estate and worldly affairs in manner herein aforementioned, so as all dis-

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<sup>161</sup>.- Disposition and Conveyance by Archibald Smellie to John Lawrie and heirs, trustees, his creditors of his whole estate, 6 July, 1781, B10/15/8342, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

<sup>162</sup>.- Ibid.

putes and difference which may arise thereanent after my decease may be obviated and prevented..."<sup>163</sup>

The trustees of Wylie's settlement were named as being Elizabeth Dunlop, his wife, James Dunlop, merchant in New York, George Dunlop, Lieutenant in the seventy-fourth regiment of foot, the sons of James Dunlop of Garnkirk, late merchant in Glasgow, Thomas and William Dunlop, merchants in Glasgow, Colin Rae Esq. of Aikenhead, George Buchanan, junior, maltman in Glasgow, George Anderson, and James Somervell, merchants in Glasgow, and James Gemmill, merchant in Greenock. The settlement included: the disposition of his lands of Davidscroft, Malcomratch, and Broomiefield, all known as Broomfield; "...the just and equal half..." of his tenement on Stockwell Street; a burying place, "number forty-one" at Ramshorn Churchyard; his moveable estate which consisted of "...all and sundry goods, gear, debts, sums of money, wares, merchandizes, stocks in trade, ships and shares of ships, shares and concerns in company, whether foreign or inland trade, lands and plantations abroad and shares of the same stock and produce thereof..."; and his shares in the Glasgow Tanwork Company and the Glasgow Ropework Company.<sup>164</sup> Also mentioned was the liferent of £150 to his wife Elizabeth Dunlop and the transference of his

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<sup>163</sup>. - Settlement Hugh Wylie, 30 December, 1782, B10/15/8440, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

<sup>164</sup>. - Ibid.

silver plate to his eldest son Hugh Wylie.<sup>165</sup>

Alexander Speirs also left a settlement of his estate both written and registered in the year of his decease, 1782. This settlement provided for the inheritance of his estates, the payment of specific debts, and the payment of sums of money to his wife, children, and other relatives. The trustees of Speirs who were to carry out the settlement were listed as being Mary Buchanan, his wife, Archibald Speirs, Peter Speirs, George Crawford, his nephew also married to Speirs' eldest daughter Martha, Peter Buchanan of Silverbanks, George Buchanan, and Andrew Buchanan, Speirs' three brother-in-laws, John Bowman, Peter Murdoch, William French, Patrick Colquhoun, and John Robertson.<sup>166</sup>

The settlement of Speirs' estate ensured that the lands and estate of Elderslie were to go to Archibald Speirs, his eldest son, the lands and estate of Culcreuch were to go to Peter Speirs, his youngest son, and that the "...lands and estate of Yoker and Blawrthill lying within the parish and country of Renfrew, and also... {his}...dwelling house, officehouses and pertinents at the head of Virginia Street in Glasgow..." should go to his wife Mary Buchanan by contract of marriage.<sup>167</sup> For his daughter Martha Speirs, the wife of George Crawford, merchant in Glasgow, Speirs reiterated that she was to be provided

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<sup>165</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>166</sup>.- Settlement Alexander Speirs, 16 December, 1782, B10/15/8435, Glasgow Burgh Register of Deeds, S.R.A.

<sup>167</sup>.- Ibid.

with a tocher of £5,000 sterling which was originally stated in a contract of marriage between the daughter, Speirs, and Crawford, dated 17 May, 1782.<sup>168</sup>

Speirs also lists a series of specific debts in his settlement that were to be paid on his decease. These debts were: the sum of £3000 sterling owing by Speirs "...to John Chichester in England, secured on...{Speirs}...lands and estate of Glanderston..."; the sum of £3000 sterling owing by Speirs "...to the heirs of Colonel William Napier secured on...{Speirs}...estate of Culcreuch which sometime belonged to the said William Napier..."; and the sum of 40,000 merks Scots "...retained by ...{Speirs}... out of the price of...{his}...lands and estate of Fulwood, for answering the yearly liferent or annuity of two thousand merks Scots payable to Jean Finlayson, widow of Mr. John Porterfield late proprietor of the said lands of Fulwood..."<sup>169</sup>

To his wife Speirs left the annualrent of £12,500 sterling, a very considerable sum by eighteenth-century standards, along with his house at Virginia Street, as stated above, with "...furniture and plenishing and liquors therein..."<sup>170</sup> He also left to his four youngest daughters, Mary, Helen, Grace, and John, the sum of £5,000 sterling each upon their marriage at the age of majority with consent of their mother, and the sum of £2,000

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<sup>168</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>169</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>170</sup>. - Ibid.



sterling each on the birth of a child of the same marriage. If the marriage was without consent or before the age of majority, then they were only to receive the interest on £2,500 sterling one year and one day after the marriage.<sup>171</sup> These sums of money set aside for his wife and his daughters illustrate the great wealth of Speirs, relative to other members of the merchant elite. A dowry of £5000 sterling in the eighteenth century was a very considerable sum, equal to what may be expected of the landed gentry. In addition, the annual rent of £12,500 for his wife, when it is taken into consideration that in 1780 it cost William Cunninghame £10,000 to build his mansion on Queen Street, was indicative of Speirs' status as the "mercantile God of Glasgow".

Speirs also by his settlement ensured that his family would be well provided with money for "decent mournings" after his decease. This sum of money was set at £400 sterling. Furthermore, he appointed his trustees to dispoise to his wife, Mary Buchanan, "...the whole liquors, teas and sugars that shall be in...[his]...house in Virginia Street of Glasgow after...[his]...funeral interment to be used and disposed of...as she shall think proper..." and to "...deliver to her...[his]...coach or chaise which of them she shall make choice of together with the harness, saddles, and other furniture belonging to the one she chuses, and any three of the horses...[he was]...possessed of at...[his]...death that she herself

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<sup>171</sup>. - Ibid.

may think proper..."<sup>172</sup>

Next followed a list of sums of money to be paid to various other relatives which included £50 sterling to his sister Helen Speirs and the sum of £500 sterling to "...Judith Bell widow of David Bell late merchant in Virginia if she shall be in life after...[his]...death, and failing of her by death to Archibald Cary her brother gentleman in Virginia..."<sup>173</sup> Speirs also left to the Merchants House of Glasgow the sum of £20 sterling, to the Treasurer of the Kirk Session of Renfrew £10 sterling for the poor, to the Treasurer of the Kirk Session of Neilston £10 sterling for the use of the poor, to the Treasurer of George Wilsons Charity in Glasgow the sum of £30 sterling for the use of the poor, and to the minister and managers of the English Chapel the sum of £50 sterling for the use of the poor of the English Chapel.<sup>174</sup>

Finally, Speirs listed two other provisions in his settlement which show the both the importance of land purchase and ownership and the contracts of copartnery that the merchant elite were involved in to such an extensive degree. The first reference is to a setting aside of a sum of money for the purchase of lands for his second son, Peter Speirs. Speirs stated "...and whereas

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<sup>172</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>173</sup>.- Ibid., The identity of Judith Bell mentioned elsewhere in Speirs' papers remains a mystery, though is most likely the sister of his first wife whom he married during his "apprenticeship" and residency in the colony of Virginia.

<sup>174</sup>.- Ibid.

my intention is to lay out and expend the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling in the purchase of lands for behoof of the said Peter Speirs..."<sup>175</sup> These lands were to be purchased in Stirlingshire. The second reference is for the heirs of Speirs to be free from any bonds to his various partnerships and contracts of copartnery which may be binding after his decease.<sup>176</sup> Speirs emphatically stated:

"...And whereas I am engaged with sundry persons in different branches of trade under sundry denominations, and am bound as partner in sundry bonds for money borrowed to carry on the said trades, and that by the contracts of copartnery entered into betwixt me and my partners my shares in the stocks of the different companies wherein I am concerned, cease and determine at my death, with regard to profite and loss thereafter, Therefore I do hereby in the most earnest manner recommend to my foresaid trust disponees after my decease to apply to the surviving partners of each company wherein I am concerned and to procure from them bonds and securities (if necessary) to free relieve and indemnify my heirs and my heritable and personal estates off and from the payment of all such bonds and obligations granted for the debts of the several companies wherein I am concerned, or otherways to get all such bonds and obligations discharged and cancelled..."<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>.- Ibid., The reason for Speirs strong and emphatic insistence on this point is most probably the confusion of many merchants' affairs because of the American War of Independence and the subsequent loss of monopoly in tobacco.

<sup>177</sup>.- Ibid. This clause of Speirs' settlement is also important because of the lack of confidence in trading partnerships as regards to profit and loss that Speirs clearly elicits. This lack of confidence compares sharply with the settlement of shares in businesses to various merchants' heirs in the previous decades of the 1760's and 1770's.

Sederunt books also provide information for the examination of merchant disposal of wealth. Unfortunately, however, most sederunt books date from the nineteenth century. Of the merchant elite of Glasgow, four were found to be in existence dating back to the eighteenth century, and of these four, two were useful in determining how much wealth these merchants had and how they disposed of their wealth;<sup>178</sup> those of William McDowall and James Somervell. On examination of these surviving sederunt books, one factor of wealth disposal is common to both, the major importance placed on land and shares and partnerships in trading and manufacturing companies.

William McDowall, the father of James McDowall, who was mainly involved in the West Indies trade, built up a considerable "portfolio" of land purchase during his life as a merchant in Glasgow. As listed in a volume entitled "a general inventory of rights and title deeds, etc." dated 1787, McDowall had in his possession lands in Wigtonshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire (see Table 5.6). By far his most extensive

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<sup>178</sup>.— These four volumes of sederunt books found in the papers of Solicitors and Surveyors Deposits, S.R.A. as deposited by Messrs. Mitchells, Johnston, and Co., Solicitors, were: "a volume containing a decret of ranking and preferences of the creditors of Alexander Wilson of Shieldhall", T-MJ/105; "a volume containing a general inventory of rights and title deeds belonging to William McDowall, Esq. of Garthland, Wigtonshire, comprising lands in Wigtonshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire, made in 1787", T-MJ/106; "the sederunt book of the trustees of James Somervell of Hamilton Farm, 1791-1797", T-MJ/108; and "Chartulary of Campbell of Clathic, 1796", T-MJ/109, S.R.A.

purchases were in Renfrewshire, in which he possessed a total of thirty-eight title deeds. He owned only 6 title deeds amongst the remaining districts.<sup>179</sup>

Table 5.6  
List of Lands Belonging to William McDowall, Esq. of  
Garthland, Wigtonshire

Wigtonshire-	Barony of Garthland
Renfrewshire-	Barony of Semple
	Lands of Glen
	Lands of Gavan and Risk
	Lands of Bruntsheills
	Lands of Calderhaugh Semple
	Lands of Browns Calderhaugh
	Lands of Craigend, Northbar and Milntown
	Lands of Hagtonhill
	Lands of Clothodrick
	Lands of Greenside
	Lands of Easter Kerse alias Lochhead
	Kirklands of Lochwinnoch
	Some small subjects in Lochwinnoch
	Lands of Third Part
	Kirktown of Lochwinnoch
	Lands of Barnaigh and Kaim
	Lands of Over Barnaigh alias Hill
	Lands of Barrs of Cloak
	Lands of Jaffraystock, Gavelmoss and Wavansdale
	Lands of Plantlee
	Lands of Glenward
	Lands of Bridgend
	Lands of Muirshiell and Queenside
	Lands of McDonnallie
	Lands of Crooks alias Langlee
	Parts of Easter and Wester Gavan
	Lands of Risk
	Lands of Barr and Bridgend
	Lands of Wester Gavan acquired from John Clark
	Lands of Caldermill and of

<sup>179</sup>.- "Volume containing a general inventory of rights and title deeds belonging to William McDowall Esq. of Garthland, Wigtonshire, comprising lands in Wigtonshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire, made in 1787", T-MJ/106, S.R.A., see also View of the Political State of Scotland, p. 279 and 282 for McDowall's political influence in the election of M.P.s for the Glasgow Burghs.

	Blacklinn with the right of the water of Calder acquired from John and Robert Kirk
	Lands of Mountsoups acquired from William Brodie
	Part of Risk acquired from James Orr
	Lands of Bridgend acquired from Andrew Brodie
	Lands of Corseford and Corsiflatt and Ralston
	Lands of Gibbalstoun
	Lands of Nebany, Bountreaflatt and Craigton Craigs
	Lands of Netherhouses, Clovenfaulds, and Dykes
Ayrshire-	Lands of Linthills
	Lands of Innerberkhead, Wardlaws and Auldmuir
Lanarkshire-	Lands of Bigholme
	Lands of Provan
	Lands of Auchingray and Calder-cruicks
Stirlingshire-	Lands of Blairskaith

Source- "Volume containing a general inventory of rights and title deeds belonging to William McDowall Esq. of Garthland, Wigtonshire, comprising lands in Wigtonshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire, made in 1787", T-MJ/106, S.R.A.

The sederunt book of the trustees of James Somervell (?-1791) is interesting for its contents of a "copy of the state of Mr. Somervell's affairs written with his own hands found put up within his settlement..." which states from Somervell's point of view what his most important assets were and how he was to dispose of his wealth upon his decease.<sup>180</sup> The first item in Somervell's "state of affairs" was his financial involvement in various companies which came to the total of £31,707. These companies

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<sup>180</sup>.- "Sederunt Book of the trustees of James Somervell of Hamilton Farm, 1791-1797". T-MJ/108, S.R.A.

included: Somervell, Gordon and Co.; Cudbear Co.; Henry Hardie & Co.; Finlay, Hopkirk & Co.; Corbert, Russell & Co.; Brown, Carrick & Co.; Muirkirk Iron Co.; Robertson, Monteith & Co.; Tanwork Co.; Gabriel Gray; Port Glasgow Ropework Co.; MacBryne, Stenhouse & Co.; and David Russell & Co. To his daughters, he left the sum of £4,500 each and to his wife he left an annualrent of £300. Also, Somervell specifically stated that the sum of £20,000 sterling was to be set aside for the purchase of lands.<sup>181</sup>

Somervell also made a note of his income both from the interest on his stocks in businesses and from the rent of his property Hamilton Farm in Scotstoun. His income from his stocks in businesses to the total sum of £31,707 was £1,585 annually, and his income from the rent on Hamilton Farm was £200 annually.<sup>182</sup>

Finally, Somervell made provision for his son who had not yet come of age to be taken into his company Somervell, Gordon, and Co. for two shares, and provision for his son to inherit his estate to which he gave lengthy advice. He stated:

"The above lands {of Hamilton Farm} are all in great heart and if set it should only be for one years ploughing and laid down in grass untill my son comes of age. At the expiration of the tack of Scotstoun lands which is much about the time my son comes of age, if he does not choose to take the whole into his own farm, he should fence off a park of five acres or thereby to the west side of the park which is next to the Orchard Bowling green and as that park ought to be kept in grass for sheep & c.,

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<sup>181</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>182</sup>.- Ibid.

it is so near the house and he will find it very convenient for that purpose, and if he chooses to set the remainder of the Scotstoun lands he should get fifty shillings an acre for them, if he does not get that rent it will be more for his interest to keep them in his own hand - until my son comes of age, and if my wife and daughter choose to live at Hamilton Farm I suppose my son will live with them and they should have the house garden, the land behind the house and orchyard free of any rent..."<sup>183</sup>

Somervell added further that "...on consideration I think it will be for my sons interest when the tack of the lands of Scotstoun expires, to keep the whole of them in his own possession, I have already two acres of them for which I pay the tenants rent, the addition of the 15 1/2 acres (the remainder) will with what I have in my own hands of Hamilton Farm, make him a very neat farm."<sup>184</sup>

## VI

As well as owning extensive property in Scotland, many of the tobacco merchants involved in the merchant elite, also owned property in the American colonies with whom they were trading in tobacco. For example, the business concern of John Glassford & Co. whose partners included John Glassford, James Gordon, John Campbell, junior, Henry Riddell, Alexander Low, William Ingram, and John Campbell, senior, owned various estates and lands in both Maryland and Virginia. These properties included: "two half lots of ground and buildings in Port Glasgow and

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<sup>183</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>184</sup>.- Ibid.



Charlestown, Charles County, Maryland" worth £600; "two lots of ground and buildings in the town of Benedict, Charles County" worth £500; "lands of Hickory Plains £70 and Marburys Meadows £32 in George County" worth 102; "lands called Tradesmens Value in Montgomery County, Maryland, 35 acres" worth £21; "lands called Longlooked for in Washington County, Maryland, 46 acres" worth £15; "leased lands called Vincent Ramble in Charles County, Maryland, 118 acres" worth £35 8 shillings; "two lots or 3/4ths of an acre and houses in the town of Colchester, Fairfax County, Virginia" worth £400; and "two lots of land containing 342 3/4 acres in Prince William County, Virginia" worth £224.<sup>185</sup> Also included in a certificate of confiscation and sale after the American Revolution was the value of household furniture involved in the various properties listed above which came to the total of £20 3d.<sup>186</sup>

The firm of Speirs, French and Co. whose partners included Alexander Speirs, John Bowman, William French, John Crawford, Ronald Crawford, Archibald Moncrieff, Charles Cruikshanks, and James Hopkirk, also owned extensive property in the American colonies. In the state of Maryland alone, this company owned a total value of £3950

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<sup>185</sup>.— John Glassford, Copy of entries among claims of American loyalists to British government after American Revolution, 1783, TD 88, S.R.A. (photocopy from A.O. 12, P.R.O.).

<sup>186</sup>.— Ibid.

8 shillings in property.<sup>187</sup>

The personal property of Neil Jamieson, a merchant and factor as well as a partner of the firm Glassford, Gordon, Monteath, and Company, Glasgow who lived in Norfolk, Virginia, which was claimed as a loss due to the conflict in the colonies is also interesting for the evidence it provides for the relative wealth disposal and consumption of merchants involved in the tobacco trade on the other side of the Atlantic. Jamieson's property was destroyed when he was approached by the colonial rebels and asked to join their party to which he refused as he declared that "...no earthly consideration should induce him to become an enemy to his King and Country..."<sup>188</sup> After Jamieson's refusal to join the band of revolutionaries, "...the provincials wantonly destroyed the great New Distillery situated a little below the town of Norfolk in sight of Lord Dunmore and the shipping. This Distillery together with the merchandize therein were worth nine thousand pounds sterling - one moiety of which belonged to your memorialist and his partners at Glasgow."<sup>189</sup> A schedule of Jamieson's personal property included: "one and a half lot of land on the main street with a wharf" worth £3000 (prices are listed in Virginia currency); "one large brick dwelling house 44 ft. 2 storey with kitchen,

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<sup>187</sup>.- Speirs, French & Company, Claims of American Loyalists, TD 88, S.R.A.

<sup>188</sup>.- Memorial of Neil Jamieson, late of Norfolk, Virginia, Claims of American Loyalists, S.R.A.

<sup>189</sup>.- Ibid.

smoke house, two small offices, garden and necessary houses" worth £1333; "one large two storey house" worth £306; "one large single storey house" worth £200; "three store houses on eastside of wharf..." of first property listed, worth £400; "four store houses on westside of wharf..." of first property listed, worth £400; "one small house" worth £40; "one dwelling house, stable and out-house" worth £100; "1/2 lot with dwelling house, kitchen and garden" worth £700; "157 acres of Woodland convenient for navigation near the borough of Norfolk" worth £600; "the interest in his wife's property of..." second property listed, worth £196; "several house frames and planks" worth £165; "one negro woman and her two children taken from Mr. Jamieson" worth £100; "one negro man, a carpenter named Sandy" worth £70; and a variety of goods that were destroyed worth £2528 19s. 2d.<sup>190</sup> Also included was Jamieson's interest in the *Brig Elizabeth* which was worth £666 13s. 5d. sterling. The total of Jamieson's personal property, which included considerable ownership of land, came to the sum of £7650 3s. 11d. sterling.<sup>191</sup>

William Cunninghame & Co. whose partners included William Cunninghame, Robert Bogle, the heirs of Andrew Cochrane, Peter Murdoch, John Murdoch, James Robinson, William Reid, the heirs of William Henderson, and John

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<sup>190</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>191</sup>.- Ibid. Neil Jamieson was apparently described as being one of the first men to be concerned in privateering against the American rebels, acquiring supplies from Antigua for Lord Dunmore. After the war, he became an established underwriter at Lloyd's Coffee House in London.

Hamilton, also suffered considerable losses in both merchandise and property due to the confiscations during and after the American War of Independence. Although most of the losses were through the confiscation of the property of company stores, there was also included in the schedule of confiscations an inventory of slaves and other personal estate belonging to William Cunninghame & Co. The total loss in personal property came to the sum of £2926 sterling and consisted of European and American goods, store furniture and negro slaves at the Falmouth Store, Fauquier Store, Culpepper Store, Fredericksburg Store, Dumfries Store, Cabinpoint Store, Petersburg Store, Halifax Store, Mecklenburg Store, and the Richmond Store. Of these 10 stores, there were 19 negro slaves present.<sup>192</sup>

## VII

Merchant wealth in the perspective of disposal of wealth and conspicuous consumption can also be examined and looked at through various listings of household expenses in merchants' account books. Three detailed account books that survive from the eighteenth century relating to the merchant elite were a cash book and journal of George Oswald covering the dates 1763 to 1767, various cash books belonging to Alexander Speirs of Elderslie from 1760 to 1780, and the household account

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<sup>192</sup>.— Losses of property of William Cunninghame & Co., Claims of American Loyalists, T.D. 88, S.R.A.

book of George Bogle's estate at Daldowie kept by his daughter Anne. The examination of these account books as regards to personal and household expenses is invaluable in understanding both eighteenth-century material culture and the wealth disposal of the merchant elite of Glasgow.

The first account book to be examined for listings of personal and household expenses is that of George Oswald (1735-1819) who inherited the estates of Scotstoun in 1766 and Auchencruive in 1784, who was rector of Glasgow University in 1797, and who was involved in various tobacco trading companies, one of which, his own company of Oswald, Dennistoun and Co., was the sixth highest importer of tobacco according to Gibson in his History of Glasgow of 1774. Although the cash book and journal was primarily a cash book concerning the business of Oswald, Dennistoun and Co. trading to Europe and American in sugar, tobacco, wine, and involved in other business interests such as ship-owning, marine insurance, and local investment (Glasgow Bottleworks Co.), it also contained information concerning the personal and household accounts of George Oswald at Scotstoun.

Two separate years will be surveyed in Oswald's account book, the years 1763 and 1764. Although, the information presented may seem pedestrian in content, it nevertheless allows a perspective to be placed on the material lifestyle of a member of the merchant elite. For example, in October and November, 1763, under the listing of house expenses is the entry of cheeses being ordered

from London from Robert Bogle, junior (see Chapter 2 for Bogle's activities in London during the 1760s) at the cost of 7s. 6d. for a 20lb. cheese and 10s. 3d. for a cheese of unknown weight. Also of interest is a listing of 30 November, 1763 for the purchase of a copy of the Republic by Plato from Messrs. Foulis at the cost of 10s. 6d. The last entry for the year 1763 was for the purchase of 2 stone of cotton wick candles for "GB and GO's use" (presumably George Baird and George Oswald) from John Archer & Son.<sup>193</sup>

The year 1764 saw more "luxury" purchases listed in the account book.<sup>194</sup> A purchase of a quantity of silver on 5 January, 1764 included one silver snuff box valued at £1 13s. 10d., one silver tea pot valued at £8 19s., and one silver waiter valued at £4 13s., the total value being £15 5s. 10d. Also purchased on the same day was a pair "best Bristol knee buckles" for the use of George Oswald at the cost of £1 5s. In April 1764 was listed under house expenses for the account of George Baird and George Oswald the sum of £13 6s. for the purchase of wine and liquors "used by them". The thirty-first of March 1764 saw the acquisition of "5 hampers Bristol water" at the cost of £3, along with the purchase of 8 hampers of Bohea Tea from Mr. Dennistoun at the cost of £3 2s. Furniture was also

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<sup>193</sup>.— Cash Book and Journal of George Oswald of Scotstoun, (1763-1767), GD1/618/1, S.R.O.

<sup>194</sup>.— George Oswald classified his account book by placing a number in front of specific listings. For example, the classification number for household expenses was 41.

purchased to a considerable degree, on 17 April, 1764 at the cost of £44 6s. Some of the more interesting entries for 1764 against household and personal expenses were: the purchase of a horse and mare at the prices of £10 and £6 5s. respectively at a roup of the Duke of Argyle's horses on 11 July; the acquisition of "sundries" from John Clark which included "a large glass globe" at 12s., a "large china bowl" at 18s., and "a smaller china bowl" at 9s. on 16 July; the purchase of clothes from Alexander Campbell and Son to the sum of £13 17s. 10 1/2d. on 4 September; the purchase of "best lump sugar" from the South Sugar House at 17s. 5d. (after a 11d. discount) on 17 September; the procurement of one octagon oven from Thomas Eclington for the Carron Company at £3 6s. 5d. on 19 October; the payment of £5 6s. 2d. to James Watt, instrument maker (the inventor of the steam engine in 1765) for an unknown item on 12 December; and the considerable sum of £20 12s. 11 1/2d. "for a dinner and supper, in consequence of a wager lost by him (George Oswald) with Robert Bogle, senior" paid to James Graham, vintner on 24 December.<sup>195</sup>

Personal and household accounts for the 1760s of Alexander Speirs also provide insight into the lifestyle of the mercantile elite of Glasgow. For example, in 1760 Speirs purchased four slaves at the cost of £23 11s. Listed in his personal accounts for the month of September 1760 were: the cost of going to Port Glasgow at 14s. 6d.; 91 bottles of Claret at £4 7s. 1/2d.; anchovies, capulare

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<sup>195</sup>. - Ibid.

and olives at £1 4s. 1d.; 2 dozen women's gloves (presumably for his wife) at 15s.; silk stockings at 15s. 9d.; charges for housekeeping at 19s. 4d.; and "sundry New Year's gifts at £2 14s. 6d.<sup>196</sup>

Accounts kept by Speirs' servants Henry Bell, Mrs. Crawford, and Mrs. Inglis for the years 1765 and 1766 contained items concerned with the running of the merchant household along with various items. For instance, there were listed entries for coal, candle, printing calicoe, clothes, shoes, buckles, dressing hair, payments for a writing master (apparently for his children) along with entries for a ball ticket at 5s. and a book collection at 2s. 6d.<sup>197</sup>

Accounts for Speirs' personal estate in the 1770s show a distinct increase in his standard of living. For example a list of "heritable subjects valued exclusive of all improvements " in 1773 was set at £49,050 sterling. Also listed of value to Speirs was his seat in Renfrew Church at the cost of £68 15s. 1d., "English Chapel property to self and heirs" at £35, burying ground at the Northwest Churchyard and the English Chapel at £27 5s., his house in Virginia Street at £3,341 17s. 10d., and his house in Edinburgh at £296 17s. 11d. Various listings of personal expenses for the same year included Madeira wine in company with John Bowman at £30 2s. 5d., sherry wine at

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<sup>196</sup>. - Cash Book, business and private accounts of Alexander Speirs, partly in his own hand, 1760-1778, 18/12, Crichton-Maitland Papers.

<sup>197</sup>. - Ibid.



the cost of £28 16s. 4d., and rum at the price of £40. Some of Speirs' personal expenses for the year 1775 were also put into his account books, such as the sum of £1,726 6s. 3d. spent on household furniture, £76 7s. 10d. spent on his "country house materials", his one-half concern of the boat Clyde with Mr. Oswald (most likely George Oswald) at £46 3s. 1d., and the amounts of money spent on his children's education which came to £2492 5s. 8d for Archibald Speirs education in Holland, £1070 5s. for Peter Speirs education in Holland, and only £286 5s. 2d. for his daughter's education in Liverpool, whose education was obviously seen as being less important commercially.<sup>198</sup>

The last account book of a member of the merchant elite to be examined in detail is that of George Bogle of Daldowie's household. The account book is a household account book kept by his daughter, Anne (Annie), covers 1775 through 1780. It includes entries dealing with the upkeep or maintenance of the household at Daldowie, such as purchases of salt, meat, bread, tea, linen, and sums of money spent on wages of servants and various services (i.e. cooper's expenses and carters expenses), and it gives an invaluable view of the material world of a merchant household in the eighteenth century. In order to achieve this end a database was compiled, and every single item for the five year period was entered along with its price and any miscellaneous comments. Although this

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<sup>198</sup>. - Ledger B, Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, 1773-1780, 18/3, Crichton-Maitland Papers, G.U.A.

household account book contains a detailed account of every purchase made for the household for the five year period between 1775 and 1780, for the sake of analysis, only certain items will be examined in regards to expenditure.<sup>199</sup>

The total expenditure for the five year period of every item listed in the account book was £931 1d. Two sets of charts have been compiled to show the average and total expenditure on "luxury" items which included tea, sugar, white bread, biscuits, a wide range of meats, and servants' wages, and "everyday" items which included eggs, charity, salt, soap, postage, tolls, ale, and whisky. These two charts were divided into their respective categories by the consistency in purchase of these items. The "luxury" items were judged on the basis of the relative wealth and status that they showed. For example, the purchase of tea demonstrated the wealth and lifestyle of one household of the merchant elite, as it was fairly expensive in eighteenth-century Glasgow, purchases by Miss Bogle ranging from £1 to £5 on any single purchase. Similarly, the purchase of white bread was something that only the wealthier ranks of society could afford, as well as the range of meats which included everything from veal to lamb, beef, and wages for servants. The Bogle household had three permanent servants, as well as various labourers such as gardeners, who were noted in the account book not only by the payment of wages, but also by the

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<sup>199</sup>. - "Miss Annie's Housebook", Bogle MS, M.L.

entry of "a New Year's gift" on the first of every year. These three servants were all women, Dolly Anderson, Jenny Waddel, and Christie Turner who each received New Year's gifts to the value of 4s., 2s. 6d., and 2s. 6d. respectively. The category of "everyday" items was decided for the insight they provide on common purchases of the eighteenth century, obviously not extravagant purchases, and the running of a merchant household. The total expenditure for the "luxury" items came to £452 1s. (see chart 5.1, p. 367). The breakdown of these purchases was as follows: £70 5s. spent on tea between 1775 and 1780; £30 3s. spent on sugar; £64 4s. spent on white bread; £3 5s. spent on biscuits; £84 5s. spent on meat (this included venison, mutton, and other meats); and £198 4s. spent on servants' wages. The average breakdown by year can be seen in chart 5.2 (p. 368). Although nothing unusual can be seen from this analysis, the simple conclusion can be drawn that the majority of "luxury" purchases were spent on wages, accounting for 43% of the total expenditure in this category. Also, a considerable amount of money was spent on tea and various expensive cuts of meat, one would conjecture to a much greater degree than the average household in Glasgow at the time.

The listing of everyday purchases came to the total of £99 8s., the greatest amount of money being spent on ale, £39 1d (see chart 5.3, p. 369). The breakdown by year shows that £17 3s. was spent on everyday purchases in 1775, £15 3s. in 1776, £9 5s. in 1777, £15 2s. in 1778,

CHART 5.1  
Bogle of Daldowie  
Luxury purchases

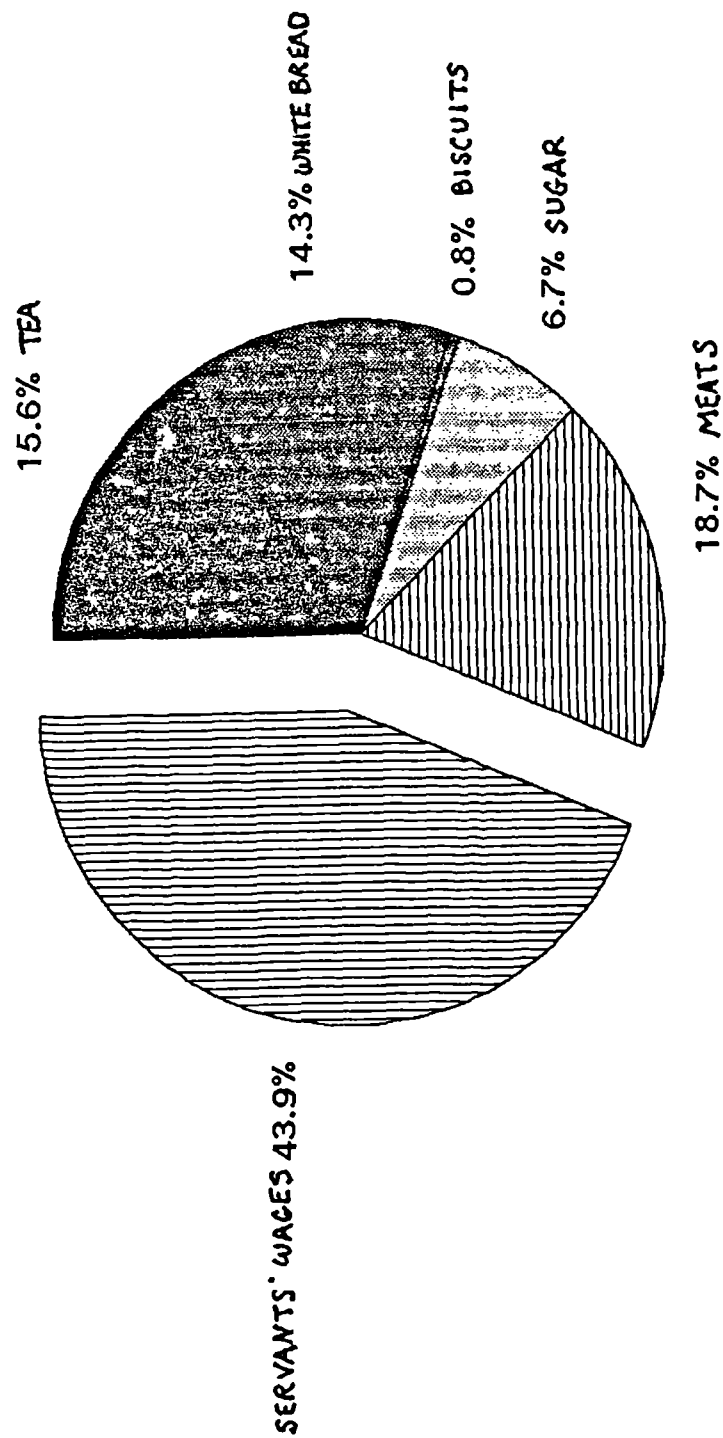


CHART 5.2  
Bogle of Daldowie  
Luxury purchases

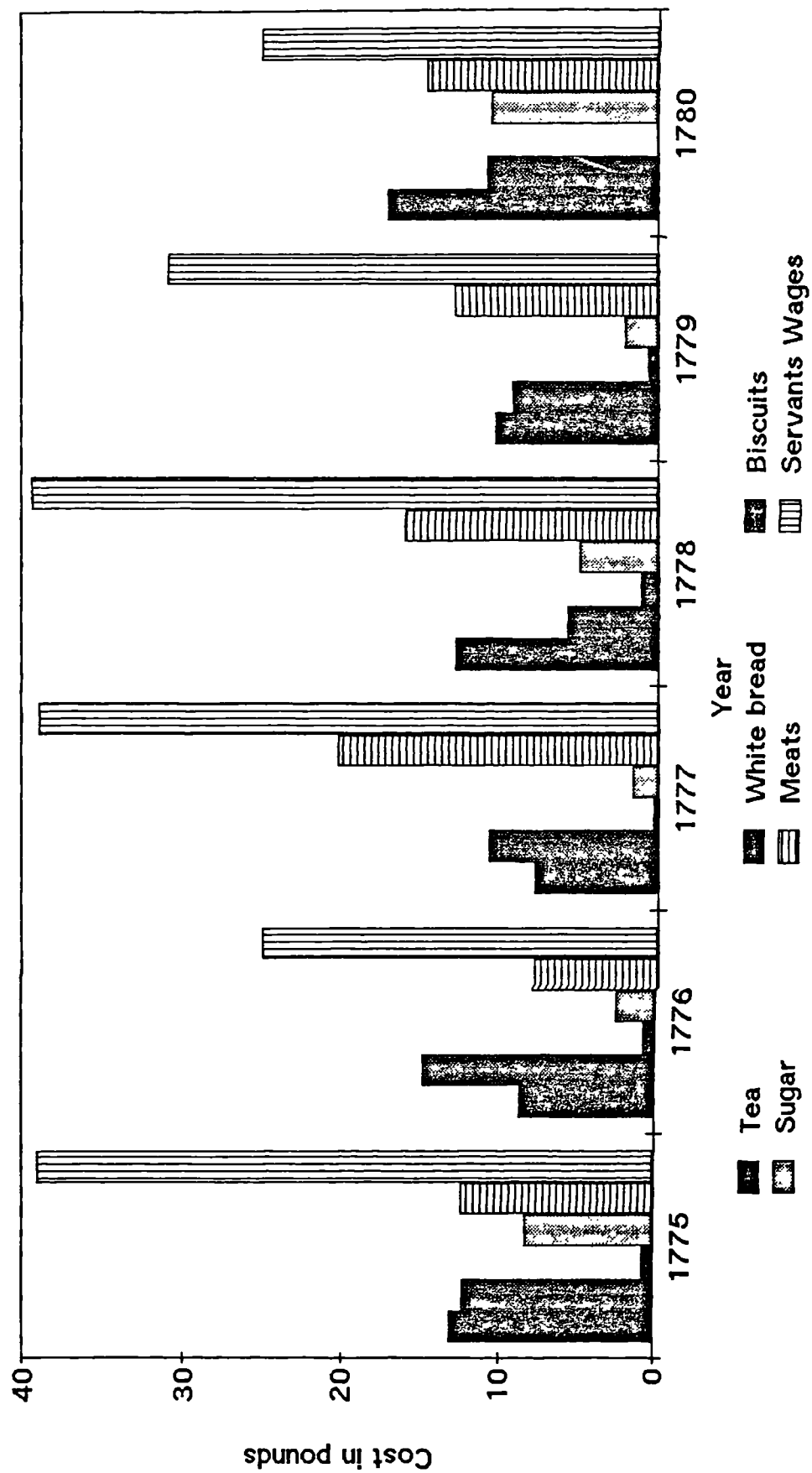


CHART 5.3  
Bogle of Daldowie  
Everyday purchases

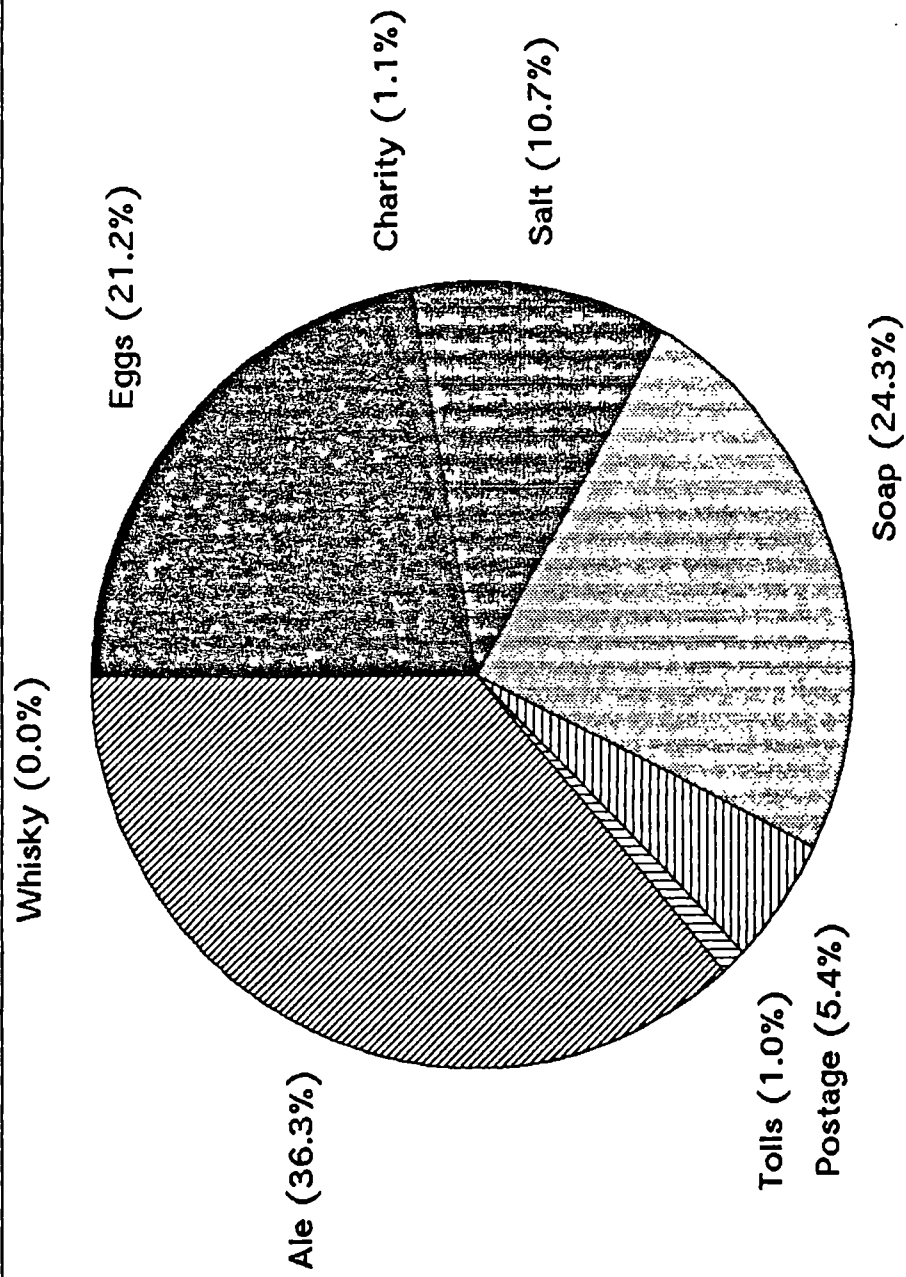
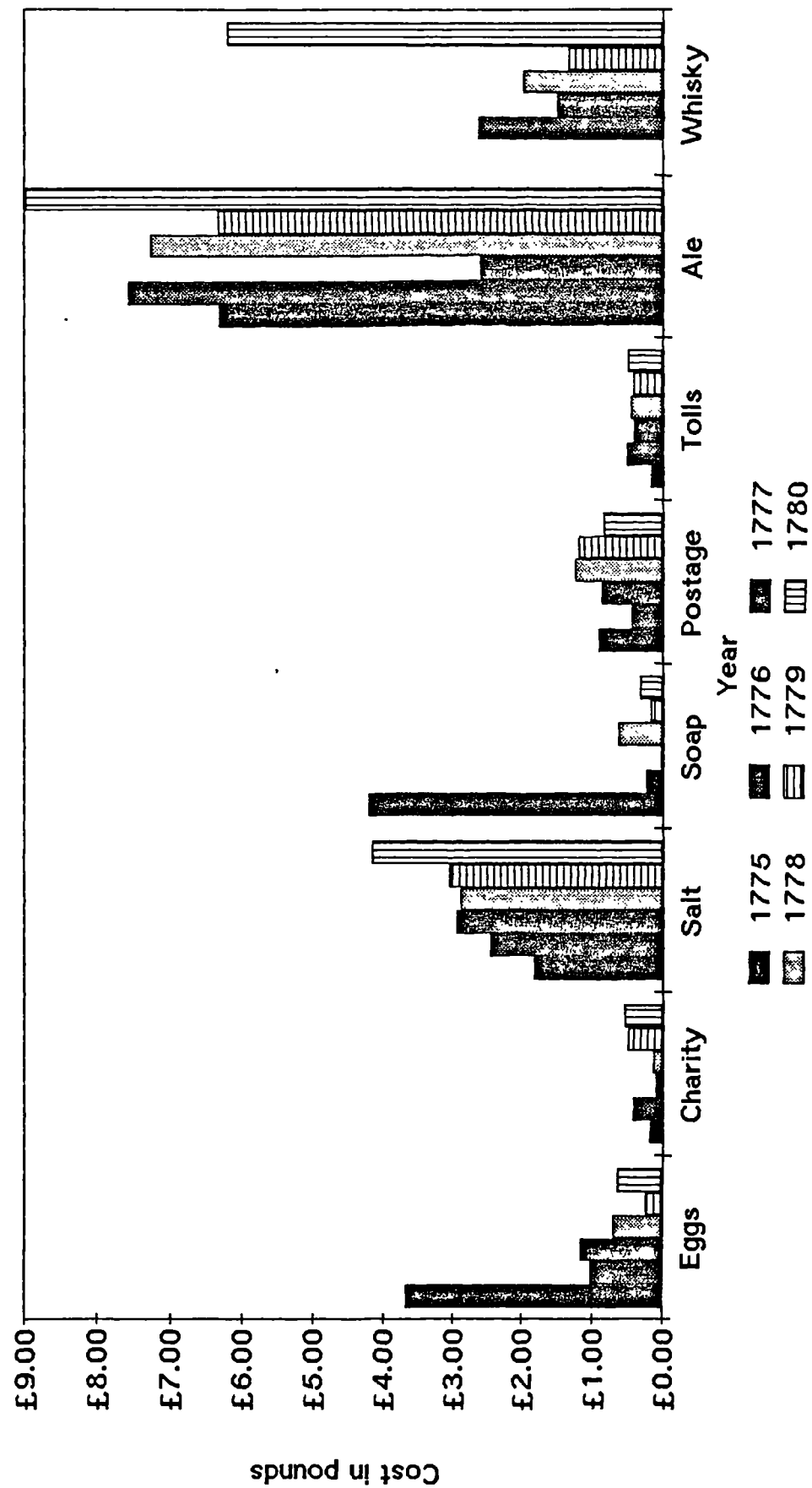


CHART 5.4  
Bogle of Daldowie  
Everyday purchases



£13 2s. in 1779, and £22 1s. in 1780 (see chart 5.4, p. 370). Also of interest in this list is the entry of charity which came to a total of £1 8s. for the five year period, broken down into the sums of 2s. for 1775, 4s. for 1776, 1s. for 1777, 1s. for 1778, 4s. for 1779, and 5s. for 1780.

Other miscellaneous items listed in the household account book were purchases of; silver clasps for a Bible; various seafood such as oysters, lobsters, herring and whitefish; medicinal items such as leeches, magnesia, quicksilver, myrrh, and "Anderson's Pills" and various herbs such as bargamon and gentian root; various spices such as ginger, turmeric, garlic, mustard, and pepper; and fruits such as oranges, currants, plums, prunes, and lemons.

From the above evidence, it appears that by the end of the eighteenth century, not only had the fortunes and wealth of the merchant elite involved in the tobacco trade increased greatly, but also the material environment of the merchants who created much of the wealth in this city from 1700 to 1780. From 1700 when only the landed gentlemen were buying "luxury" products such as oranges and spices of oriental origin and when Glasgow had very few shops offering any great variety of items, to 1780 when a multitude of consumer goods were available in this city of 30,000 people [including such middle-class status symbols



as toys and individual transportation - the chaises and carriages so often mentioned in merchants' wills and settlements]. Along with the progress of the Enlightenment in Scotland with its effects on literature, entertainment, and art, Glasgow could no longer be described as a "cultural backwater". The opening up of the American market had not only produced great merchant fortunes, but also created a secular and consumer-oriented market evidence for which is not only visible in secondary sources, but also in the local newspapers and the merchant elite's disposal of wealth through wills and testaments and dispositions and settlements along with their meticulous form of bookkeeping which kept account not only of their business partnerships, profit and loss, and credit mechanisms, but also of the more mundane and temporal world of the purchase of shoe buckles, silver teapots, wigs, powder, silk, cambric, muslin, lemons and oranges, and their indulgences such as rum, Madeira wine, claret, chocolate, tea, and coffee. This world of secular purchases has its place in the understanding of a merchant elite of the eighteenth century, as their status as the "tobacco lords" and their self-proclaimed predominance amongst the "plainstanes" of Glasgow Cross was proof not only of their business acumen but also, as in their great mansions and their purchases of huge chunks of land allowing them all-important entry into the landed classes,

of their place in the world of secular status.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup>.- One indicator of status amongst the merchant elite that was related to the purchase of land was the acquisition of a coat of arms, such as Allan Dreghorn's of Ruchill and George Bogle's of Daldowie; see Bo38/32, 30 December, 1736, Bogle MS, M.L. for the correspondence concerning the purchase of a coat of arms for the Bogle family and an illustration of the coat of arms.

## Chapter 6

### The Pious Merchant: Religious Activity in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow in Relation to the Merchant Elite

"Hand in hand did ministers, elders, and magistrates walk together in fraternal zeal for piety..." - Henry Grey Graham on town life in Glasgow, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 137.

"There are (sic) nothing we receive, and are possessed of but what are produced from, and the effects of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, and therefore claim our warmest gratitude and love and ought to make us greatly afraid of offending the supreme King who upholds our souls in life and our breath in our nostrils, and assiduously to perform all the great important and interesting dutys of religion and *holiness, piety and virtue* which we owe to God, to our fellow men and ourselves, ever in a dependence upon and imploring the aids and assistances of divine grace..." - George Bogle, senior, of Daldowie writing to his son George Bogle junior, in Calcutta, India, April 16, 1771, Bo 19/5, Bogle MS, M.L.

"...Surely religion is business, and work of time, of labour, and vigorous activity; it is not a few transient wishes, cold prayers, or sloathfull endeavours that will obtain heaven - these weak, feeble, fruitless desires, instead of saving, tend to kill the soul." - George Brown, merchant in Glasgow, writing in his diary, January 17, 1747, Diary of George Brown. Merchant in Glasgow, (Glasgow: 1856), p. 297.

The suggestion that Protestantism with its emphasis on individuality through direct personal communication with God, the doctrine of predestination, and the theory

of the elect was a major factor in the growth of capitalist societies, has long been a matter of dispute between those trying to prove or disprove the connection between Protestantism and the rise of modern capitalism as an historical watershed in the birth of the modern industrialized world.<sup>1</sup> R.H. Campbell has pointed out it has been argued particularly in recent years that the religious environment of Scottish society was likely to encourage economic effort and ambition. "The intellectual contribution of the eighteenth century was to take the qualities of mind, derived partly from the theological obsession of earlier years, and apply them to wholly secular affairs without loss of fervour."<sup>2</sup>

Historians who have attempted to tackle this historical problem in relation to Scotland (a topic which has always been difficult to handle), include, in addition to R.H. Campbell, Gordon Marshall in his book Presbyteries and Profits<sup>3</sup>, Charles Camie in his sociological study of the Scottish Enlightenment entitled Experience and Enlightenment: Socialization for Cultural Change in

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<sup>1</sup>.- See Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London: Allen and Unwin, 1930), and The Sociology of Religion (London: Methuen, 1965), Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, 2 volumes (London: Allen and Unwin, 1931), Gordon Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits - Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Perigrine Books, 1984), Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>.- Campbell, Scotland since 1707, pp. 8,9. See also, McClelland, The Achieving Society.

<sup>3</sup>.- Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits.

Eighteenth-Century Scotland<sup>4</sup>, Richard B. Sher in his study of the "moderate literati" of Edinburgh in his book Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment<sup>5</sup>, and Ned Landsman who in his book Scotland and Its First American Colony<sup>6</sup> touches upon the question of the linkages between religious revivals in both America and Scotland in relation to commercial centers.

In relation to the merchant elite of Glasgow, the question of how much these merchants were influenced by religion remains an elusive one, especially in conjunction with the question as to whether those merchants who were so influenced were successful in business because of their religious upbringing, leading to the even greater question of whether the whole phenomenon of the economic successes of the tobacco lords can, in fact be traced to either a strict Calvinistic upbringing<sup>7</sup> or to the liberalizing effects of the eighteenth-century "moderate" reaction against the superstitious and severe religious attitudes of the seventeenth century. More often than not, therefore, this problem of the relationship between religion and capitalism becomes a variation on the age-old question of what came first, the chicken or the egg. As

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<sup>4</sup>.- Camic, Experience and Enlightenment.

<sup>5</sup>.- Sher, Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment.

<sup>6</sup>.- Ned C. Landsman, Scotland and Its First American Colony-1683-1765 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>7</sup>.- As in the case with Episcopalians.

Marshall recognized, "...Is the Calvinist ethic an important source of the spirit of modern capitalism, as Weber maintains, or does the latter explain the nature and development of the former, as is suggested by Marx and Engels?"<sup>8</sup> Marshall's study focused on the Newmills Cloth Manufactory of the seventeenth century, though he did comment on the situation in Glasgow by stating that "...the Glasgow merchants in particular seem to have taken advantage of the right of a partnership to incorporate itself in order to become shareholders in several undertakings. This pattern would suggest, as does the expanding manufactory movement as a whole, that those with capital available for investment were prepared to invest it, rather than spending it in a 'traditional' manner either by consuming luxuries or spending all of it in acquiring land..."<sup>9</sup> However, this statement does, perhaps, not sufficiently take into consideration the increasingly secular world of the tobacco merchants, as not only did they involve themselves with various partnerships, but they also engaged in considerable purchases of "unnecessary" and often "luxurious" goods as well as their massive purchases of land buying themselves into both the landed aristocracy and the political machinery of Scotland.<sup>10</sup> Although the merchant elite of

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<sup>8</sup>.- Marshall, Presbyteries and profits, p. 247.

<sup>9</sup>.- Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>10</sup>.- See Chapter 3, the Political Merchant, and Chapter 5, the Secular Merchant.

Glasgow did invest profit back into their businesses, enough evidence exists to suggest that this was not the sole way they disposed of their wealth, and that quite early in the century, items of wealth and luxury were already being purchased and consumed by the merchants of Glasgow.<sup>11</sup>

R.H. Tawney also recognized the role of religion in the formation of modern capitalistic societies, but instead of attributing Protestantism directly to the formation of business qualities and work ethics, he called for a reverse approach, stating that it is only in the liberalization of religion and the changing nature of the church towards toleration that modern secular societies can be formed, i.e. that this new economic individualism led to the religious changes of the Reformation and, thus, the rise of Protestantism. He suggested that:

"...modern social theory, like modern political theory, developed only when society was given a naturalistic instead of a religious explanation, and the rise of both was largely due to a changed conception of the nature and functions of the Church. The crucial period is the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most important arena (apart from Holland) is England, because it is in England, with its new geographical position as the entrepot between Europe and America its achievement of internal economic unity two centuries before France and two and a half centuries before Germany, its constitutional revolution, and its powerful bourgeoisie of bankers, ship-owners, and merchants, that the transformation of the structure of society is earliest, swiftest, and most complete. Its essence is the secularization of social and economic

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<sup>11</sup>. - See Chapter 5, pp. 302-330.

philosophy..."<sup>12</sup>

This "naturalistic" explanation is what comes to dominate secular thought in the eighteenth century as the Enlightenment in Scotland was drawn from "naturalistic" legal writers like Pufendorf, philosophers like Locke, political writers like Montesquieu, and mathematicians like Newton.

Hobsbawm's approach to the perennial problem of the effects of Calvinism on the development of capitalistic societies in the Scottish context was that the Calvinistic contributions of a "democratic" (meritocratic) educational system, the absence of an English Poor Law (as donations to the poor were almost entirely handled via the kirk), and the Calvinist ideal of perfection encouraging technical competence as displayed in engineering for example, all helped to form the development of the industrial revolution in Scotland.<sup>13</sup> In this sense, it was not a case of religion (Calvinism) and Enlightenment being opposites, but rather complementary, as Calvinism is a strong factor in the creation of the Enlightenment (as R.H. Campbell has suggested).

Finally, Callum Brown in his study of the social history of religion in Scotland declares that "...the role

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<sup>12</sup>.- Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p. 21. The qualities ascribed to England here in the seventeenth century can be used equally to describe the position of Glasgow in the eighteenth century.

<sup>13</sup>.- E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, The Pelican Economic History of Britain, Vol. 3 From 1750 to the Present Day (Penguin Books, 3 volumes, 1968), pp. 303-305.



of 'this worldly asceticism', ascribed to Protestants by Weber," is highly debateable and "probably unsuited to conclusive verification or falsification...there are serious doubts anyway about whether Scottish presbyterians of the period of the Industrial Revolution were distinctively Calvinist..."<sup>14</sup> It is also important to recognize the fact that one cannot treat these factors as though they are unchanging quantities throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, i.e. Calvinism and its various formulations. It seems safe to say that the question of whether or not religion creates the culture or culture creates the religion can be best explained by stating that the two processes or forces are complementary, as R.H. Campbell has suggested.

This question of whether or not Protestantism had anything to do with the economic successes of the tobacco lords, at best remains a debatable topic, for it is impossible to gauge the importance which individual merchants involved in the merchant elite put on their religious endeavours. In addition, not all of the merchant elite were Presbyterians, many of them subscribing to Episcopalianism. It is necessary, therefore, to stress that the merchant elite was not a religiously unified group, although the general climate of the city was presbyterian.

What will be examined in this chapter is the

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<sup>14</sup>.- Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland, p. 13.

religious background of Glasgow in the eighteenth century to see how the merchant elite as leaders in both civic politics and in civic planning could have been involved with events touching upon religion. Also to be looked at is the building of the two St. Andrews, St. Andrew's Parish Church (Church of Scotland), c. 1762 and St. Andrews-by-the-Green (Episcopalian), c. 1750, both of which were patronized by members of the merchant elite. St. Andrew's Parish Church is particularly interesting for its role in the patronage debates of 1763 involving the settling of a minister in the New Wynd Church, built to replace the Old Wynd Church, which vacancy was precipitated by the building of the new church of St. Andrew's. Finally to be explored are the personal papers of two members of the merchant elite, George Brown (1715-1779) and George Bogle of Daldowie who displayed a kind of fervent interest in religion and whose allusions to "divine providence" and strict religious adherence deserve a place in any examination of the piety displayed by merchants, in order to see if their religious devotion played any part in their commercial activities. These papers are extremely important for their content provides a rare glimpse into the religious attitudes and thoughts of two leading tobacco merchants at least.

## I

The eighteenth century has often been described by historians of Scottish history as a watershed in the state

of religion in the educated classes. Many writers, especially in the nineteenth century have suggested that the beginning of the century was still characterized by superstition, and firm belief in God governing directly all facets of everyday life. The situation, however, was not so cut-and-dry, as fulminations against dancing, sabbath profanation, and all such tokens of external behaviour, were so constantly repeated as to suggest that they were continuously happening. It is nevertheless true that the early eighteenth century had not yet seen moderate views extend so widely, even among the middling ranks, as it would do later, when the strictness of the seceders in the 1730s, for example, in their wish to maintain the laws against witchcraft came to be seen as setting them apart from the vast bulk of society. Graham writing in the nineteenth century stated: "In the early decades of the century {the eighteenth century} the intense religious fervor and faith which characterized the covenanting days retained all its influence and hold over great masses of the people of all classes, and the belief in the potency of prayer and in the constant interference of Providence with every act of existence, however minute, was unbounded..."<sup>15</sup> Comments by Elizabeth Mure (1714-1795) who lived at Caldwell, her family estate in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, also show this extremely superstitious and religious nature of Scotland at the

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<sup>15</sup>.- Graham, The Social Life of Scotland, pp. 336, 337.

beginning of the eighteenth century. She wrote "...the fear of Hell and deceitful power of the Devil was at the bottom of all their religious sentiments. The established belief in witchcraft (for which many suffer'd) prevailed much at this time; Ghosts too and appearances of various kinds were credit'd; few old houses was without a Ghost chamber that few people had Courage to sleep in. Omens and Dreams were much regarded even by people of the best Education. Those were the manners of the last Century, and remained in part for 30 years in this."<sup>16</sup> Compared with the gaiety of social life in the later eighteenth century through dancing assemblies, balls, theatre, and gambling, such descriptions of the seriousness of Scottish religious life at the beginning of the century seems wholly unlike that which existed by the end of the eighteenth century. For example in the beginning of the century, sentiments were such that, "...dancing was a carnal excitement, cards a dangerous pastime, dicing was an impious game (for lots appointed by God for holy purposes as recorded in Holy Writ), the theater was the devil's playground and dancing assemblies were the recruiting quarters for Satan's ranks..."<sup>17</sup>

By the 1720s, however, the strict religious attitudes of a previous generation were clearly beginning (whatever Elizabeth Mure thought) to give way to changing attitudes

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<sup>16</sup>.- Fyfe, ed. Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, pp. 71, 72.

<sup>17</sup>.- Ibid., p. 345.

towards religion. William Ferguson has shown that by this time the wheels were already set in motion towards more liberal religious sentiments: "...by the 1720s Glasgow' increasing trade was causing the Reverend Mr. Wodrow to predict a day of wrath for so much wealth and carnality. At the time of the malt riots in 1725 Lord Advocate Forbes unconsciously confirmed Wodrow's dark forebodings, giving it as his opinion that 'the tobacco trade has got the better much of the religion of this place'. "<sup>18</sup>

Robert Wodrow (1679-1734), minister of the parish of Eastwood in the country of Renfrew and son of James Wodrow, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, through his published Correspondence and his Analecta provides a perfect example of the seriousness and superstitious nature of religion in Scotland (regarded as typical by writers like Grey Graham) among some ministers and people at the beginning of the century. His History of Remarkable Providences contains numerous examples of the hand of God interfering with everyday life, of ghosts, apparitions, of divine providence. Wodrow also noted the loosening of religious strictures in society in general. For example in Glasgow in March, 1729 he wrote: "I hear lamentable accounts of the growth of most corrupt and loose principles at Glasgou among the young people, merchants, and others: and do not wonder at it. Ther is litle care taken in their education and founding in the

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<sup>18</sup>.- William Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968), p. 86.

principles of religion; they never wait on catechising; they have multitudes of corrupt books among their hands; and club, wher every thing that is serious is ridiculed. And at Edinburgh, they say, ther are many turned Deists, and that it's exceeding common ther to mock at all religion and seriousness."<sup>19</sup> He also noted in the same year with trepidation the apparent loosening of religious strictness in Ayr. He wrote: "Things are come to a terrible lenth among us. This moneth I am well informed that lately, in Air toun, wher other sort of meetings wer wont to be, ther is a meeting of men who deserve litle better name then that of Atheists. On the Sabbath, in time of Divine Worship, men of some character, Mr. Charles Cochran, James Dalrymple, Clerk, and many others, to the number of seven or eight, who, instead of worshipping with other Christians, meet in a tavern, and read Woolston's Discourses on Miracles, and ridicule all religion..."<sup>20</sup>

During the eighteenth century, more educated men (and women) started to become more lax, and the strict religious piety which had characterized the seventeenth century began to give way to a more tolerant religious lifestyle. Wodrow noticed this change as early as 1724 and "...was distressed by a change in tone and manners in Glasgow, which was eminent for its sedate propriety, young

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<sup>19</sup>.- Wodrow, Analecta, vol. 4, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup>.- Ibid., p.63. Blackburn's brush with the compurgators on Glasgow's Green must, therefore, have been an increasingly unusual and isolated occurrence by the 1750s.

men who had gone abroad on mercantile business came back with looser habit, students mocked at gospel ministers and favoured Simson's erroneous ways; prayer societies had dwindled from seventy-two to four; and clubs for debating worldly and profane questions had increased, discipline was less regarded, and delinquents less shunned."<sup>21</sup>

An example of the increasing religious toleration of the eighteenth century can be seen in the changing attitudes towards the Episcopal Church. Episcopacy was for a long time unpopular in the Whiggish, covenanting west of Scotland where it was associated with Royal oppression, persecution, and arbitrary government, despite the 1712 Act of Toleration which was granted to Episcopalians who took the oath of loyalty to the Hanoverian government. For example, Thomas Somerville (1741-1830), minister of Jedburgh, writing in the later eighteenth century stated:

"...an abhorrence of Episcopacy, not less than of Popery, predominated in the hearts of the great body of the people in Scotland, and rendered them jealous of every expression of lenity, and of every measure of tolerance towards their heretical fellow-citizens during the reigns of King William and Queen Anne...many persons of better education, who were disposed seriously, and acted conscientiously, considered religious communion with the adherents of Episcopacy unwarrantable and dangerous, and condemned the liberal sentiments which began to find favour with some of the more enlightened clergy as an heretical innovation and a breach of the sacred trust committed to the Church."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>.- Ibid., p. 350.

<sup>22</sup>.- Fyfe, ed. Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, pp. 208, 209.

In Glasgow, in 1714, a small Episcopal chapel run by the preacher Adam Cockburn was pulled down by a mob of people. In 1728, however, the setting up of an Episcopal meeting-house was tolerated along with the allowance of a performance of the Beggar's Opera by strolling minstrels. Wodrow writing in August, 1728 stated: "At Glasgou, this moneth, two things happen pretty singular, which twenty or thirty years ago would have been very odd in Glasgou, the setting up of an Episcopalian Meeting-house, and publick allowing of Comedies."<sup>23</sup> By 1750, the Episcopal chapel of St. Andrews-by-the-Green was built and included among its membership prominent members of the merchant elite such as Alexander Speirs, William French, and later Patrick Colquhoun. The Episcopal chapel in Glasgow was a juring congregation, and became the first church in Glasgow to play music, the organ being built by the same James Watt whose ingenuity can be said to have started the industrial revolution. Later in the eighteenth century and especially the early nineteenth century, the Episcopal Church in Scotland was to become to be seen as a place of worship for those of both the aspiring middle-class and the wealthier landowners. It has been written that "...the Church's liturgy and decorous furnishings exuded a refinement and wealth which appealed to sections of the Scottish middle and upper classes. A very large proportion of the high nobility (86 per cent according to

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<sup>23</sup>.- Wodrow, Analecta, vol.1, p. 8.



an estimate of 1843) and perhaps as much as two-thirds of the landowning classes generally were episcopal..."<sup>24</sup>

The seriousness of the Sabbath in Scotland has often been described, at least in the beginning of the century. For example, as Graham has stated, "the Sunday acquired in Scotland a sanctity which far exceeded that of the Sabbath of the Jews in their most Pharisaical days - equalling in austerity the Puritanism of New England, and surpassing the Puritanism of England, from which much of the Scottish superstitious veneration for the day was unhappily derived..."<sup>25</sup> By 1750, however, in Glasgow the strict keeping of the Sabbath as enforced by the compurgators appointed by the magistrates was over as is shown by the case of Peter Blackburn of Killearn, a merchant, who brought a lawsuit against the magistrates for "an unwarranted exercise of authority".<sup>26</sup>

On the Sabbath, church services began at 9 or 10 a.m. and lasted for two to two and a half hours. There was a break for lunch and then another service in the afternoon for another two to two and a half hours. The themes of most of the sermons in the eighteenth century focused on the four-fold state of man, namely: "...1st, What man was in a state of innocence; 2nd, What he was after the fall;

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<sup>24</sup>.- Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland, p. 49.

<sup>25</sup>.- Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 314.

<sup>26</sup>.- Pagan, Sketches of the History of Glasgow, p. 198.

3rd, What he is under the gospel of grace; 4th, What shall be his eternal state..."<sup>27</sup>

At the beginning of the century there were seven churches in Glasgow. These churches were: the High Church (the medieval Cathedral) which was divided into two, the Inner and the Outer High Church; the Barony, erected in 1595; the Blackfriars or College Parish, originally founded by the Dominicans and after the Reformation granted to the University of Glasgow, rebuilt in 1622; St. David's or as it was more popularly known the Northwest or Ramshorn Church erected in 1718; the Wynd Church erected in 1687 under the Act of Toleration for the Presbyterians; ; and the Tron Church also known as the Laigh Kirk, which was originally founded in 1528 by James Houstoun, subdean and rector of Glasgow as the Collegiate Church of Our Lady and St. Anne.<sup>28</sup> By 1740 the number of churches had increased to 11, with seven belonging to the established Church of Scotland, two to churches of presbyterian dissent<sup>29</sup>, and two to churches of non-presbyterian

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<sup>27</sup>.- Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 294.

<sup>28</sup>.- Hew Scott, ed., Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae - The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, volume III, 10 volumes, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1920).

<sup>29</sup>.- The increase in the numbers of churches of Presbyterian dissent throughout the eighteenth century came partly in response to the increase of Deism, the growth of the more tolerant Moderatism, and the restoration of patronage in 1712 the Overture of 1732 tried to clarify by stating that if the patron failed to present a minister within six months then the right 'to elect and call' a minister passed to the Protestant heritors and elders, or in royal burghs, with the

dissent.<sup>30</sup> By 1780, there were 25 churches in Glasgow, 12 being of the established church, ten of presbyterian dissent, and three of non-presbyterian dissent.<sup>31</sup> Churches of presbyterian dissent included the Secession Church founded in 1733 by four ministers headed by Ebenezer Erskine, the Reformed Presbyterian Church or the Cameronians founded in 1743, related to the seventeenth-century Covenanting movement, and the Relief Presbytery founded in 1761 by a group of ministers headed by Thomas Gillespie and Thomas Boston.<sup>32</sup> Information concerning the history of the Episcopal Church in Scotland after the restoration of Presbyteries in 1690 is very scanty. In Glasgow, the most that is known about the Episcopal Church concerns the building of the English Chapel in 1750 which in itself is a significant indicator of growing religious toleration. As far as the origins of this chapel are concerned, however, very little is known. As Drummond and Bulloch have stated, "...it is significant that from the passing of the penal laws until their repeal in 1792 the

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magistrates, town council, and kirk session as opposed to the parishioners deciding on who would be their minister. Information from Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland. See also, Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church, Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present, and Rev. John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland - From the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Century, 2 volumes, (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1859).

<sup>30</sup>.- Callum Graham Brown, "Religion and the Development of an Urban Society: Glasgow 1780-1814", Glasgow University PhD Thesis, no. 6560, 1981, p. 182.

<sup>31</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>.- Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church, pp. 42-62.

ablest historian of the Scottish Episcopal Church has little to tell."<sup>33</sup>

An analysis of the ministerial composition in Glasgow since the beginning of the century up to the year 1780 is important for an understanding of the religious context in the city during the eighteenth century. Although it is not possible to clearly differentiate every minister preaching in Glasgow during the eighteenth century according to whether or not they were of the Moderate or the Evangelical party, certain ministers do stand out for their outspoken views which help place them in the realm of an Evangelical religious outlook. That is not to say that the remaining ministers in the city were necessarily of the Moderate outlook. What the evidence of ministers who were Evangelical shows is that this religious element in the city during the eighteenth century was quite strong, and that both views could co-exist in the same environment, one calling for a sense of religious fervour and the other emphasizing reason and toleration.

For instance, John Gillies (born 1713) who was called in 1742 until 1796 to be minister of the Blackfriars or College Parish after being tutor to the families of Brisbane, MacDowall of Castle Semple and John, Earl of Glasgow, was definitely of an Evangelical religious outlook. Gillies wrote many pamphlets and essays such as Essays on the Prophecies relating to the Messiah, Devotional Exercises on the New Testament, Memoirs of the

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<sup>33</sup>.- Ibid., p. 29.

Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, Historical Collections relating to the Success of the Gospel, and illustrated with texts from scripture in 1788 a new edition of Paradise Lost by Milton.<sup>34</sup> Gillies was the son of Rev. John Gillies, minister of Caraldstone, and married Elizabeth, the daughter of the Evangelical minister John MacLaurin. He gave three sermons on every Sabbath, and also gave public lectures two to three times a week, as well as publishing a weekly spiritual paper. Gillies' Evangelical outlook can easily be seen in his marriage to the daughter of John MacLaurin, his publications discussing the Evangelical revivals of the mid-eighteenth century, and his antipathy towards Catholics, as he was one of the outspoken ministers who was against the repeal of the laws against Roman Catholics in 1778.<sup>35</sup>

The Ramshorn Church, or the Northwest Church had three ministers from the year 1718 to 1780, all of whom were Evangelical in their religious outlook. Also of significance, concerning the Ramshorn Church is its popularity with George Brown, merchant, who was very Evangelical in outlook (as discussed below) who frequented this church during his life in Glasgow. The first minister was John Anderson who received his M.A. from Edinburgh, and who was tutor to John, 2nd Duke of Argyll.

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<sup>34</sup>.- Scott, Fasti.

<sup>35</sup>.- William Anderson, ed., The Scottish Nation or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours and Biographical History of the People of Scotland, 3 vols., (Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Co., 1860), vol. 2, p. 304 and Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 21, pp. 367, 368.

He was called to this church in 1718 until 1721. Anderson was born during the reign of Charles II, and at the beginning of the century was minister of the parish of Dumbarton. He was especially noted for entering "with zeal" into the controversy concerning the use of the English liturgy in Episcopalian congregations which he was against. He wrote many pamphlets to this effect, many of which were published, one of which was A Dialogue between a Curat and a Countreyman concerning the English Service, or Common Prayer Book of England, printed in Glasgow in 1710 in which he argued that the liturgy used by the first Scottish reformers after the Reformation was not the English liturgy but the old Scottish liturgy, or John Knox's liturgy. In 1720 he also published Letters upon the Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries... which, like all his controversial writings, abound in curious historical information, interspersed with severe satirical remarks.<sup>36</sup> The next minister to be called to the Ramshorn Church was John MacLaurin who was minister there from 1723-1754, a noted Evangelical educated at the University of Glasgow and at Leyden. He was known for his services in Gaelic for Highlanders resident in Glasgow and his work on poor-law reform and the improvement of social conditions. MacLaurin was also acquainted with and corresponded with Jonathan Edwards, the famous American Evangelical. It has

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<sup>36</sup>.- Anderson, The Scottish Nation, vol. 1, pp. 129.130.

been stated, that "...the help which Edwards obtained from Scotland, while living in poverty after his dismissal from his church at Northampton, Connecticut, was largely owing to MacLaurin's exertions."<sup>37</sup> Finally, there was Robert Findlay, translated from the Laigh Kirk in Paisley in 1756 and minister at the Northwest Church until 1783.<sup>38</sup> Born on March 23, 1721, Findlay was also educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Leyden. His publications included: Two Letters to Rev. Dr. Kennicott (1762); A persuasive to the enlargement of Psalmody (1763); Vindication of the Sacred Books, and of Josephus, from various misrepresentations and cavils of Voltaires (1770); The Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures of the Old Testament asserted by St. Paul, 2 Timothy iii 16; and Dr. Geddes' reasons against the tenor of his words examined (1804). Findlay was appointed Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University in 1782. He died in 1814.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from the established church, most of the people of Glasgow could also obtain religious information and material from the wide variety of published sermons that were available in the local book shops. Advertisements published in local newspapers such as the *Glasgow Journal* give evidence for the market of religious reading material

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<sup>37</sup>. - Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 35, p. 198.

<sup>38</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>. - Anderson, The Scottish Nation, vol. 2, pp. 216, 127 and Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 19, p. 24.

in the city at the time. In 1741, the type of sermons being published and sold were often written by the more "Evangelical" elements of the church. For example, there was being sold at Alexander Carlile's book shop a Collection of several remarkable and valuable sermons, speeches and exhortations, or renewing and subscribing the national Covenant of Scotland, ...Wherin the Nature, Necessity and Excellency of the duty of Covenanting with the Evil and danger of Apostacy, are clearly and convincingly held forth from the Word of God.<sup>40</sup> Many other publications which were clearly Evangelical in nature being sold in the same year were; Henry on the Bible, Burnet on the 39 Articles, Woolston's Religion of Nature (an Evangelical work), Sherlock on Providence, on Death, on Judgement, and on the Immortality of the soul, Religious Philosophers, Boston's fourfold state, Tindal's Christianity, Whitefield's Sermons, and Erskine's Sermons.<sup>41</sup>

As can be seen, therefore, by the publication of both Whitefield's and Erskine's sermons, the religious revivals of the eighteenth century were to find a ready audience in the Glasgow area.<sup>42</sup> For 14 pence at the book shop of Robert Smith, "at the sign of the Gilt Bible", the sermons

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<sup>40</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, August 10-17, 1741, no. 3.

<sup>41</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, September 21-28, 1741, no. 9.

<sup>42</sup>.- see Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival for a fuller discussion of religious revivals in the Glasgow area, of which Whitefield's visit in 1741 was part of the rising tide.



of George Whitefield that were preached at the High Church were being sold. These sermons were on the subjects of "the Lord our righteousness, on Jericho 33.6", "the Prodigal Son, on Luke 15, verse 11 to the end", "the duty of a gospel minister, on Luke 4.18", "Saul's Conversion, on Acts 9", "the Method of Grace, on Jericho 6.14", "the Kingdom of God, on Romans 14.17", "Persecution, every Christian's Lot, on Timothy 3.12", and "the Believer's golden chain, on Corinthians 1.30."<sup>43</sup>

One consequence of the religious revivals of the mid-eighteenth century was an increasing antagonism towards the established church. A curious advertisement under local news in the *Glasgow Journal* by the seceders in the year 1742, shows their disapproval of the 1742 revival partly because it was being supported by established churchmen like McCulloch of Cambuslang. It states, "Tuesday last was observed by the Seceding Congregation in this place as a Day of Fasting (amongst other reasons) on account of the strong delusions now prevailing, whereby several ministers in their printed missives, attestations, journals, &c., impose on the people, to make them believe a lie, and to deceive if it were possible, *the very Elect*."<sup>44</sup>

By 1755 the number of seceding presbyterian congregations had grown as a result of the dissatisfaction of many parishioners over the calling of ministers to

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<sup>43</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, November 16-23, 1741, no. 17.

<sup>44</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, August 2-9, 1742, no. 54.

their charges being placed in the hand of the patrons, as well as their dissatisfaction with increasingly tolerant views of the Moderate party in the established church. Religious publications followed suit, and in 1755, the Acts of the Associate Presbytery were being sold by John Bryce and David Paterson, printers in Glasgow. This publication included two acts, the first "...concerning the doctrine of Grace; wherein the said doctrine, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and agreeably thereto, set forth in our Confession of Faith and Catechisms, is asserted, and vindicated, from the assemblies of this church, passed in prejudice of the same" and the second "...for renewing the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three nations, in a way and manner agreeable to our present situation and circumstances in this period. With an introduction discovering the rise and progress of the opposition to the Doctrine of Grace, and the reasons of passing and publishing this Act, in vindication of the same."<sup>45</sup>

Also of local interest through newspaper advertisements was the teaching of hymns, "church tunes", and psalmody, which in 1755 were being taught in the city by two different gentlemen, a sign that efforts at a more devotional, better standard type of worship were paying off after acts passed in the early eighteenth century to encourage psalmody. These two men were Thomas Moore who "...with the approbation of the honourable the Magistrates

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<sup>45</sup>.- *Glasgow Journal*, June 2-9, 1755, no. 722.

of the city of Glasgow..." opened a public school at the Merchants-Hall in the Bridgegate for instruction "...in the various branches of psalmody, viz. Psalms, hymns, anthems, &c." for the sum of 7s. 6d. per quarter, and Thomas Barr, a teacher of English, who also offered instruction in "...church tunes, after the best approven method, with variety of Scots and English songs set to music..."<sup>46</sup>

An example of the type of sermons that might have been heard in Glasgow during the eighteenth century can be gleaned from a publication of sermons by John Maclaurin, minister of the Ramshorn Church from 1723 to 1756. Maclaurin was born in 1693 at Glendaruel in Argyleshire and was a brother of Colin Maclaurin, the famous mathematician and Professor of mathematics at the University of *Edinburgh*. Being an Evangelical, during his residence in Glasgow, he participated in the revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth helping McCulloch especially in the "Cambuslang Wark". He wrote about the events stating, "I had occasion to observe and compare the new convictions of persons who perhaps were never known to have any considerable concern about religion before; and the peculiar bitterness attending remorse for backsliding into bad courses, after some profession of religion and concern

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<sup>46</sup>. - *Glasgow Journal*, June 16-23, 1755, no. 724 and September 22-29, 1755, no. 738.

about it in former times:..."<sup>47</sup>

An example of the Evangelical nature of Maclaurin's sermons can be seen in his sermon "on Christian piety" as he stresses the doctrine of efficacious free grace. Maclaurin starts out by saying "besides the duties that are incumbent on us, as we are rational creatures, and as we are sinners, it is needful to consider the duties which we are obliged to , as we are sinners to whom the salvation revealed in the Gospel is freely and graciously offered."<sup>48</sup> He then goes on to illustrate those characteristics that distinguish Christian piety. These characteristics are described as being the belief in "...the mercy and power of God in the mediation of his Son, and the effectual grace of his Spirit; the divine nature and glory of the means of an interest in the divine promises, and the means of obtaining the accomplishment of them; and particularly the constant improvement that ought to be made of all the grounds of our hope and joy as motives to love and obedience."<sup>49</sup>

An interesting essay written by Maclaurin was his "Answer to a Question Proposed in a Philosophical Society at Glasgow, viz. Whether the happiness of the mind consists in the enjoyment of things without it, or in the reflection on its own perfections, or in both?" As an

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<sup>47</sup>.- W.H. Goold, ed., The Works of the Reverend John Maclaurin, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1860), vol. 1, p. xli.

<sup>48</sup>.- Ibid., vol. 2, p. 9.

<sup>49</sup>.- Ibid.

example of the increasing interest in philosophical subjects in the growing number of clubs devoted to more secular interests in Glasgow, it is especially interesting as it was said to have been written before the year 1736. Although, the basic premise of Maclaurin's argument is that true happiness comes from the "perfect contemplation" of the "Divine Being", he also shows an interest in the intellectual contemplation of the beauty of the secular world. For example, he states, "Let us suppose a man seeing a machine, building, city, or beautiful country, he sees in one simultaneous view more than he can imagine at once. A man remembers and imagines by parts what he sees in one view. Besides, active producing of ideas, because it requires effort, is oftentimes uneasy in comparison of vision, which is a contemplation of an object more comprehensive, easy, bright, steadfast, and consequently more delightful, than any other."<sup>50</sup> Maclaurin's views here are significant for their similarity to those of the notable American Calvinist, Jonathan Edwards, as they both attempt in their theology to reconcile God's work to the world of nature.<sup>51</sup> Maclaurin concludes that "...therefore, both the things mentioned in the question are ingredients of happiness, the best enjoyment of the best outward objects, and such internal perfection, that

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<sup>50</sup>.- Ibid., p. 493.

<sup>51</sup>.- Perry Miller, The New England Mind from Colony to Province, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953).

the consciousness and reflection on it must be joyful."<sup>52</sup>

Another religious element in the lives of the merchants of Glasgow in the eighteenth century were the "Scripture Rules to be Observed in Buying and Selling" which hung in the Merchants House of Glasgow in the Bridgegate. The rules were divided into two parts, the first part dealing with how scripture dictated the "rules" of buying commodities, the second part dealing with how scripture dictated the "rules" of selling commodities. Although the Scripture Rules were not hard-and-fast precepts that were strictly followed, they nevertheless demonstrate a certain religious atmosphere or code of behavior that at that time was considered appropriate to be hung up so as to be in public view in the main centres where merchants would meet.<sup>53</sup> One of the more interesting aspects of this set of rules is that it shows that an effort was still being made to put trading activities into a religious and moral context; to see them as in some way, no matter how difficult to achieve in practice, as goals of commercial behaviour that ought to be aimed at; as an element in their commercial calculations that ought to be considered so as to reconcile their commercial activities with their basic beliefs in God's plan of salvation for them as being the chief purpose for which they had been

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<sup>52</sup>. - Goold, ed., The Works of the Reverend John MacLaurin, p. 501.

<sup>53</sup>. - These rules were instituted by Provost John Aird in the beginning of the century, and the board can be seen as one of the exhibits in the People's Palace, Glasgow Green.

created. So whether they were absolute rules to be followed exactly or not is less important than the general context and atmosphere which they sought to create. In time, of course, the evolving nature of Glasgow's commerce would entail a series of adjustments and rationalizations and at first sight many of the developments that came to characterize Glasgow's trade would seem to sit more and more uneasily with the unvarnished message printed in the panels thus hanging in the walls of the Merchant's House. However, men are not slow to rationalize inconsistencies between their actions and the standards they claim to aspire to so that it may be that the explanation of how the Glasgow merchants reconciled wealth with religion lies more in the realm of psychological explanation, and is therefore ultimately speculation. Nevertheless, these rules do set an example for the religious atmosphere and environment of Glasgow, even in the set of comparisons they would provide throughout the course of the eighteenth century and the progressive economic success of the Glasgow merchants.

An example of the tone of these rules can be seen in rule number one which stated, "If you would not transgress Scripture rules in buying; then first take heed that you do not discommend those commodities that are very good, which you are about to buy, that so you may bring down the price of the Commoditie, and get it for less than it is worth:..." The reference in scripture that was used as an example for this rule was Proverbs 20.14 The verse

alluded to declared, "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer: but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth. People in Solomons time they were so Wicked, that when they came to the market to buy any thing, the buyer he would discommend the commodity, and say, it was naught, though it were very good and saleable: but when the seller was gone, then he would boast of what a good penny worth he had bought, and the like."<sup>54</sup> Although this rule was not absolute, it does set up the importance of the rules as more or less precepts of perfection, in acting, therefore, as a moderating influence over the merchants' material selfishness.

Rule number six under the buying of commodities seems to totally contradict the whole structure of the tobacco trade of the Glasgow merchants and their subsequent successes. Dealing with the topic of monopoly of commodities it states, "Do not engross a Commodity, that is, do not buy all of a Commodity into your own hands alone, that by that means you may sell the Commodity at your own price; this is a meer oppression, destructive to a Common wealth, and to all trading;..." This rule's correlation in Proverbs 11.26 says, "...Now, it is no sin in itself to engross a Commodity, thereby to sell it the cheaper, but for a man to engross a Commodity, meerly thereby to advance the price of it; this is such an oppression, that the people shall curse him for it." This

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<sup>54</sup>.- Ewing, ed., View of the Merchants House of Glasgow, p. 635.



rule compares sharply with the business practices of the "tobacco lords" of Glasgow (as their very name signified the monopoly of their trade), especially when immediately before the hostilities with the American colonies broke, massive stockpiling of tobacco in Glasgow warehouses resulted, and there was a subsequent increase in price of tobacco due to shortages in the European market.<sup>55</sup>

Although the "Scripture Rules for Buying and Selling" do not prove or disprove the religiosity of the merchant elite of Glasgow in the eighteenth century, they do show that by the very monopolistic nature of the tobacco trade itself (a monopoly that relied heavily on credit mechanisms entailing exchanging goods for the purchase of a commodity of high value), the employment of scripture as a guide for conducting trade was becoming an anachronism. If anything, the "Scripture Rules for Buying and Selling" were a marker for the changing nature of religion in eighteenth century Scotland. The eighteenth century was an age of transition. The older stricter attitudes were changing by the 1720s and were constantly having to be revised thereafter.

## II

The building of the two St. Andrew's, St. Andrew's Parish Church and St. Andrew's by-the-Green Episcopal Church, in the middle of the eighteenth century marked a turning point in the ecclesiastical history of Glasgow at

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<sup>55</sup>.— Ibid., p. 636.

the time, for both churches were built at the instigation of members of the merchant elite, and both churches showed a new sense of style in architecture and wealth in their building: both were visible symbols of the fact that it was the profits of the "tobacco lords" which had made these buildings possible.

The building of St. Andrew's Parish church was begun in 1739<sup>56</sup> with the foundation stone being laid by Provost Andrew Aiton, and was finished in 1762 at the enormous cost of £15,000 to £20,000. The building itself was very ornate for the time, and was described as:

"...the finest piece of modern Architecture in the City, and is Built after the Model of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, whose Architect was the famous Gibbs. It has a noble Portico of 6 Lofty Columns of the Corinthian Order in the West Front, the same Order being continued in Pilasters, both under the Pediments and on each side. The Assent to this Portico is by a flight of Steps. The Columns, which are well wrought, support an angular Pediment, in which are the City Arms cut in bas relief. The Entablature of the North and South Fronts support a Balustrade, well adorned with Vases. The Length of the Church is 104 feet; and it is 66 feet Broad. It has a fine arched Roof, well ornamented with Figures in Stucco, and sustained by Corinthian Stone-Columns. To complete the Model, it has a place for the Altar, on the East, in which is a very handsome Venetian Window; -but the Altar Place being Seated, makes this End appear to no great advantage. The Fronts of the Galleries and the Pulpit are done in Mahogany, in a very elegant manner. The Spire by no means corresponds with the rest of the Building, and in place of being an Ornament, it disgraces this beautiful

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<sup>56</sup>. - The building of a new church and church yard was entered into the town council books on 23 April, 1739, Renwick, ed., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, volume 6: 1739-1759, p. 17.

Fabric. Its Height is 170 ft."<sup>57</sup>

The importance of the building of St. Andrew's Church lay in the elaborate and elegant nature of its structure, and in the very direct way it sprang from the fortunes made in the tobacco trade by the wealthier merchants of the city. As Drummond and Bulloch stated, "...The splendid church of St. Andrew's in Glasgow ... departs completely from traditional planning. Designed by Allan Dreghorn, it is almost entirely a copy of Gibbs' St. Martin-in-the-Fields, with steeple and pedimented portico. Its impressive interior 'with tall Corinthian columns rich Spanish mahogany gallery fronts and pulpit, and the rococo enrichments of the ceiling and clock surround' tell of the new society of the tobacco lords of Glasgow. A shallow chancel completed the building but the dominating pulpit was set, irrelevantly but logically, on the middle of the chancel steps..."<sup>58</sup>

St. Andrew's Church was also important for its role in the debates about the calling of ministers (patronage) in 1763, when the Town Council decided to exercise its role as patron to the exclusion of the General Session in the calling of the minister.<sup>59</sup> As has been shown, the debate concerning the patronage of this new church is interesting because it reveals a new exercise of authority

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<sup>57</sup>.- J.F.S. Gordon, ed., Glasgow Ancient and Modern or Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow, (Glasgow: John Tweed, n.d.), pp. 569-570.

<sup>58</sup>.- Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church, p. 73.

<sup>59</sup>.- see Chapter 3, pp. 141-155.

by some members of the Town Council (Provost Archibald Ingram differed from some on this issue) determined to choose a minister for a church that so plainly reflected their wealth and extravagance as tobacco merchants. The General Session reacted angrily and as discussed at length in Chapter 3, these patronage debates of 1763 shows not only an increased desire of the merchants on the council to exercise more and more power over civic affairs, but over general ecclesiastical affairs within the city's boundaries.

The building of St. Andrew's-by-the-Green Episcopal Chapel in the year 1750 is another significant example of the merchant elite's influence on religion in the city at the time, as many of the original directors and managers of the chapel were "tobacco lords". Also important about the English Chapel (it was also popularly known as the "Whistling Kirk" in reference to its playing of organ music) is the fact that it was built at all, since Episcopacy was often equated with Catholicism and Jacobitism, and just as hated in the predominantly Presbyterian lowlands, especially after 1745. It was not built without criticism, however, local gossip even suggesting that it was the devil himself who helped to build the Chapel.<sup>60</sup>

The Chapel was built by Andrew Hunter, a mason, and although not to be compared with the grandiose architecture of St. Andrew's Parish Church, in itself was

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<sup>60</sup>. - Gordon, Glasgow Ancient and Modern, p. 546.

elegantly built and furnished. A description of the chapel taken from "Chapman's Picture of Glasgow" states:

"This Chapel is situated to the North of the Public Green, on the East side of the Lane leading from St. Andrew's Square. It was Erected by Subscription in 1750, and is a neat oblong Building; but, by its low situation is, when the River overflows its banks inundated. It contains an elegant well-toned Organ, and the Orchestra, situated at the East end, above the Altar. The Fronts of the Galleries are finely Panned, and covered with Green Cloth: the Eastern Window is ornamented with Scriptural Devices. At a little distance, in front of the Altar, and looking towards the West, is placed a Mahogany Pulpit, adorned with a Canopy and Mitre, and supported by a Pillar of the Composite Order. The Minister's and Clerk's Pulpits are covered with Crimson Velvet. In Winter, this Chapel is heated by Stove. A Burying Ground surrounds it."<sup>61</sup>

The ministers of the Episcopal Chapel were James Riddoch who was minister for one year, 1750, and John Falconer who was minister from 1751 to 1783, also being a licensed Episcopal minister at Musselburgh and Dalkeith.

The preliminary acts and regulations of the Chapel were established on 15 March, 1750 in the house of Robert Tennant, vintner with James Dennistoun<sup>62</sup>, merchant, being preses. At the meeting, the discussion of the building of the Chapel took place: "...likewise a Bargain concluded between Andrew Stalker, Robert Tennant, Casper Claussen, George Sangster and Robert Parr for the managers and

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<sup>61</sup>.- Ibid., p. 539.

<sup>62</sup>.- James Dennistoun senior received his burgess ticket in 1743 and later became laird of Colgrain after inheriting the estate in Dumbartonshire in 1756. He married Janet Baird daughter of John Baird of Craigton. His mercantile interests included Dennistoun, Huries and Co., Alexander Oswald and Co., James Stevenson and Co., James Hall Universal Warehouse Co., and the Smithfield Co.

William Paull and Andrew Hunter masons and Thomas Thompson wright for building the Chapel conform to missives exchanged of date the thirtieth of March last was reported to this meeting and the said bargain was approved and the managers authorize the treasurer to advance what money shall be wanted to carry on the building as he shall see proper."<sup>63</sup>

The original managers of the Episcopal Chapel in 1750 were Alexander Oswald, merchant, James Dennistoun, merchant, David Dalyell, merchant, David Cochran, merchant, Andrew Stalker, bookseller, Casper Claussen, sugar-baker, Robert Parr, dyer, Robert Tennant, vintner, and George Sangster, tobacconist.<sup>64</sup> In 1751, Doctor John Brisbane, physician, and Alexander Speirs were added to the list of managers. After Speirs' death in 1782 a memorial marble tablet was put up in the church on the south-east wall of the Church which read: "Sacred to the Memory of Alexander Speirs, Esq., of Elderslie Merchant in Glasgow: Who, with Uncommon Ability and Liberality of Mind Promoted the Interest of his Fellow Citizens, and Extended the Commerce of his Country: With Unblemished Integrity Acquired an Ample Fortune, and with Affectionate Tenderness Fulfilled the Duties of Domestic life. His Virtues Render his Death A Subject of Regret to the Public, And Claim this Testimony of Grateful Respect From

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<sup>63</sup>.- "St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Minute Book, 1750-1805", TD 423/1/1/, S.R.A.

<sup>64</sup>.- Ibid.

a Few of his Particular Friends, Who Have Obtained Leave of his Family To Erect this Monument In this Chapel Whereof he Was a Member."<sup>65</sup>

In 1781, Patrick Colquhoun, merchant, was elected treasurer of the English Chapel as "...requested by James Dennistoun Esq. and several of the Principal managers of the Licensed Episcopal Church..." Colquhoun's bookkeeping was meticulous, as one would expect. The annual expenditure for the church in the year 1781 was £96 8s. which was broken down into £60 for the Pastor's salary, £20 for the Organist's salary, £10 8s. for the Clerk's salary, £4 for the Beadle's salary, and £2 for the Organ blower's salary. Also worthy of notice is an entry in 1782 for the purchase of "Candles at Christmas" at 9s. 10d. indicating that the holiday of Christmas, which was generally shunned by the Presbyterians, was celebrated in the Episcopal Chapel.<sup>66</sup>

Also worthy of notice in Colquhoun's record-keeping for the English Chapel is a small glimpse of who attended the Chapel as seen in a short list of arrears for seat rents uncollected in 1783. Included in this list were Lord Blantyre who owed £3 3s., James Dennistoun who owed £1 5s., Peter Speirs who owed £1 5s., James Alston junior who owed £1 5s., and Mrs. McDowall who owed £1 5s. All

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<sup>65</sup>. - Reverend J. Wilkinson, Centenary Souvenir of St. Andrew's Church. Glasgow Green, (Glasgow, 1905), pp. 60, 61.

<sup>66</sup>. - "St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Minute Book, 1750-1805", TD 423/1/1, S.R.A.

of the above apart from Lord Blantyre and Mrs. McDowall (probably the wife of William McDowall, merchant, who was a manager of the Episcopal Chapel in 1781) were members of the merchant elite. As to why these merchants were Episcopalian instead of Presbyterian, however, remains a mystery. It might be assumed that they were Episcopalian by family tradition. None of them came from England. Clearly their religious affiliations stemmed from the Scottish Episcopalianism which had prevailed in the city until 1690. It is true that Alexander Speirs was born and brought up in Edinburgh and Patrick Colquhoun was born in Dumbartonshire, spending his formative years in the American colony of Virginia, but equally, James Alston and William McDowall were natives of Glasgow. If anything, this relatively high incidence of juring Episcopalians in Glasgow in 1750 shows that Episcopacy was not as rare in lowland Scotland as nineteenth-century historians try to claim.

### III

Although the depth of religious commitment of individual members of the merchant elite can not be measured exactly and precisely, there is evidence to suggest that at least two of them were extremely religious. These two were George Brown and George Bogle of Daldowie. The Diary of the former and the letters of the latter give a unique and fascinating insight into the inner world, the most personal feelings, and beliefs held by at least two of the leading merchants of this time.



The first of these men to be examined as to how a member of the merchant elite acted under the influence of religious feeling and belief is George Brown. Born in 1715, he had been baptized on 6 February, 1715 at the High Church.<sup>67</sup> He was involved in the tobacco trade as a merchant and was also involved in the manufacturing firms of Scott and Brown, the Glasgow Ropework Co., and the Mars Company. Brown was Dean of Guild in 1763-64 and 1771-72. His wife whom he married in 1753 was Anne Corbett. Brown died in 1779. George Brown's "the Diary" covers the dates 1745 to 1753 and was printed in Glasgow in 1856. The main purpose of the diary, as Brown himself stated was as "...a means of promoting holiness in heart and life, as it stirs me up to the duty of self-examination and enquiry into my conduct thro' the day..., so as on the one hand not to conceal my sins and iniquittys, faults and declinings, which are grounds of humiliation, nor on the other hand omit mentioning grounds and encouragements of hope, and what tends to the praise of the day of thy grace."<sup>68</sup> In it one can gain a clearer picture of how a merchant involved in the tobacco trade saw both his religious duties and his position as a wealthy merchant, and how he attempted to resolve the apparent contradictions that both of these facets of his life presented to each other.

Basically, the diary consists of a list of the

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<sup>67</sup>.- Arthur Jamison, ed., Glasgow Parish Registers. Baptisms, Volume 10, 1710-1719.

<sup>68</sup>.-George Brown, Diary of George Brown. Merchant in Glasgow 1745-1753, (Glasgow: 1856), p. 203.

sermons that Brown attended, and where he had heard them, as he went to various churches around the city on different days, along with comments on his state of mind in relation to his duties towards religion and God, and to his life in the secular world. Brown usually attended church two times a week, although sometimes he attended church three or even four times a week.<sup>69</sup> Although, Brown attended all of the churches in the city at the time, it does appear that his most frequent visits were either to the Northwest Church or Ramshorn Church where he heard John Maclaurin preach or to the Tron Church.

As can be imagined, the variety of sermons that Brown must have heard was vast. A few are worth examining for the impression they give of religious sentiment in Glasgow during the years 1745 to 1753. For example, on Friday, 13 December, 1745, Brown heard a sermon at the College Church by Mr. Haw against Popery entitled "Let us make a captain and return into Egypt."<sup>70</sup> This sermon shows at least the usual antagonism to Catholicism. On 24 May, 1746, Brown attended the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in Kirkintilloch where Mr. Brice, minister of Drove preached on Romans 8:32, "He that spared not his own Son", Mr. Robb preached on Psalms 2, last verse, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry", and Mr. Gillespy preached on Jonah chapter 2, "I said, I am cast out of thy sight, nevertheless 'I will

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<sup>69</sup>.- Ibid., It appears from "the Diary" that church services were available in Glasgow on every day of the week.

<sup>70</sup>.-Ibid., p. 73.

look towards thy holy temple'".<sup>71</sup> The first sermon mentioned, based on Romans 8:32 which reads "He who did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all, will he not also give us all things with him?"<sup>72</sup> emphasizes that everything in life depends on God's will. Mr. Robb's sermon on Psalms 2, last verse which reads "Serve the Lord with fear, with trembling kiss his feet, lest he be angry, and you perish in the way; for his wrath is quickly kindled,"<sup>73</sup> gives an indication of the religious fervour of the revivals, as in this one held at Kirkintilloch. Stressing the wrath of God, as opposed to the benevolence that was preached by Jesus Christ, this reference lends the impression of not quite religious severity but at least a sense of the urgency and necessity of religious devotion being kindled by these revivals. The last sermon mentioned on Jonah chapter 2 describing Jonah's experience of being swallowed by a great fish and God causing the fish to vomit and release him is another indication of these sermons stressing the grace of God, fervent belief, and divine intervention. The last few verses of this chapter state, "Those who pay regard to vain idols forsake their true loyalty. But, I with the voice of thanksgiving will sacrifice to thee; what I have vowed I will pay. Deliverance belongs to the Lord!"<sup>74</sup> Also on the Sabbath,

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<sup>71</sup>.- Ibid.. p. 86.

<sup>72</sup>.- Romans 8:32 (Revised Standard Version).

<sup>73</sup>.- Psalms 2, last verse (RSV).

<sup>74</sup>.- Jonah 2:8-9 (RSV).

27 July, 1746, Brown attended the sermons of Mr. Webster at Cambuslang, where the apparently popular verse of Romans 8:32 was again preached.<sup>75</sup>

The most important comments in Brown's diary, however, are his comments on his state of mind, and his attitudes towards both religion and his worldly business in trade. For example, a comment in his diary on March 28, 1745 states the importance of being both pious in spirit and diligent in business. Brown wrote, "...There is another thing which I have reason to charge myself with, and that is want of more care, in subordination to the great concern, about my secular affairs. O to be not sloathfull in business, and at the same time fervent in spirit, serveing the Lord!"<sup>76</sup> Here Brown is saying that is necessary to work as hard as you can for that is God's will; one's secular affairs are subordinate, and merely a means to, that great end. A comment on 24 April, 1746 further stresses the importance of God and religious concerns. He stated, "...As to the duty of spiritual meditation I did not like it, and could not go about it aright, and I cared not to think on the case of my soul; *together with this, I had not that willingness and concern to mind my worldly business from obedience to God's command, who requires of me not to be sloathfull in business, neither had I suitable regard to the direction of the Apostle whatever I do in my worldly affairs and*

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<sup>75</sup>.- Brown, Diary of George Brown, p. 89.

<sup>76</sup>.- Ibid., p. 101.

*relative dutys, to do it heartily as to the Lord..."*<sup>77</sup>

This statement by Brown illustrates how the language of business was applied to religion; just as the language of religion was intermixed with that of business.<sup>78</sup>

The connection between the will of God and Brown's success in business is frequently alluded to in his diary, along with warnings that he must not dwell on worldly matters for fear of becoming less religious and devoted to God in piety. In other words, he is to do his best and leave the rest to God's inscrutable direction. For instance, on 22 August, 1746, Brown wrote, "Rose this morning, prayed and entered on my worldly business, which the Lord seems to be prospering and blessing with success..."<sup>79</sup>

One particular reference in the diary mentioned the hand of God in business in the sense that it is God who made his success, and as God was responsible, he may also take away the success in business. The reference on 5 October, 1746 stated:

"...Tho' sin in general was the procuring cause, yet there was one particular sin which occurred to me on reflection as the cause among others of this tryal, which was this: - my partner in trade and I had been frequently conversing of the success God had blessed us in our trade last year, notwithstanding the national troubles, and were observing to one another that our profits were greatly increased, on which we both seemed well pleased, and were forming schemes of enlarging business. I on my

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<sup>77</sup>.- Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>78</sup>.- See also introductory quote on p. 374 by Brown.

<sup>79</sup>.- Brown, Diary of George Brown, p. 207.

part inwardly rejoiced in the increase of my wealth, and thought I would do this and that and the other worldly thing; my hear was well pleased and set on the world, by which I provoked a Holy God, who in righteousness testified his displeasure at me in two ways, both of which evidently showed in what a variety of ways the Lord blasts the most pleasant worldly joy. 1st, The Lord did rebuke me by ordering it so in His adorable providence, that one who was owing my partner and I about 60 lib. did stop payment, thus showing that wealth and riches may take wings and flee away. 2dly, The Lord did punish me by making one scheme I had projected for increasing my wealth a mean of depriving me of the peace of my mind; for my beginning to underwrite policys, as I mentioned before, joined with a debtor's stopping payment, wrought on that part of the corruption of my nature- carnality, and raised in me a sinfull, unreasonable anxiety, a restless uneasiness, and fear of losing my worldly riches and wealth, which robbed me of inward peace of mind. O how does the care of this world pierce through with many sorrows!"<sup>80</sup>

Brown's criticisms of wealth continued, as in his diary on December 30, 1746 he wrote, "'Wo unto them that are rich.' For some days my heart has been very fond of increase of wealth; Lord, impress my conscience with a sense of the threatenings of thy word against such a trust in riches, and say of gold, 'thou art my hope', and thus deny the God that made them, that my desire this way be moderate, and regulated by the laws of the Gospell..."<sup>81</sup> What may be suggested here is that there were obviously deep tensions between religious beliefs and secular concerns constantly having to be resolved by merchants such as Brown.

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<sup>80</sup>.- Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>81</sup>.- Ibid., p. 274.

The extent to which Brown was religiously concerned can be seen in his references to his belief in efficacious free grace which he implores God to fill him with. For example, on 25 January, 1747, he wrote, "...O let thy powerfull, efficacious grace be magnified in supporting under tryalls, mortifying every corruption, resisting every temptation, and enabling to every duty, and to the exercise of every grace, and causing love, joined with joy unspeakable..." He continued, "...Lord, I plead this evening for blessed experience of the exceeding greatness of the power of thy efficacious grace, working a thorough and universal change on my heart and life, renewing me in the spirit of my mind, delivering me from a vain, dark, proud, presumptuous mind, and blessing with a humble mind that is subject to thy authority, giving me a new heart, a broken contrite, believing and loving heart; and a heart having the door-posts of it sprinkled, washed, and purged from dead works!"<sup>82</sup> More simply stated, God is to do the worrying while Brown is to get on and do his best, trusting to God's Providence and accepting his decisions.

The most important feature of Brown's diary is the constant recurring theme concerning the reconciliation between worldly, secular wealth and belief in God. For instance on 28 March, 1745, he wrote, "Frequently, when I begin to write the state and exercise of my soul at any time, I am much strained what to say, being afraid on the one hand, lest pride and self-conceit, and an overwhelming

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<sup>82</sup>.- Ibid., p. 311.

opinion of myself so far blind-fold me as to cause me to imagine myself rich and increased in goods, while I am poor, wretched, miserable; and on the other hand, lest fears and doubts cause a denial of the grace of God, or unthankfulness."<sup>83</sup>

Brown expands on this thought later in the same entry when he discusses his appearance to most people as a wealthy merchant, and how he is to explain to people that he is not as wealthy, in spiritual matters, as he is in worldly goods. Again, he debates with himself on the subject coming to the conclusion that it is God's blessing that has made him wealthy, and therefore compatible with his appearance as a wealthy merchant. Brown stated, "...I bless God I have a good measure of worldly things, and am able, by the Divine blessing on my industry to maintain the person I am seeking, in an easy way..."<sup>84</sup>

This idea that his success in business was paralleled by his fervour in spirit, and the blessing of God, is further drawn out in a letter of 24 April, 1746 when he was experiencing a period of doubt as to his ability to worship God in the proper way. Brown declared, "...When I formerly enjoyed (if ever I was blessed with it) the light of God's countenance, then I was not only spiritual in worship, heavenly in my mind, but also most diligent in my worldly business, but now I am not only deprived of fervency of spirit in serveing the Lord, but also am

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<sup>83</sup>.- Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>84</sup>.- Ibid., p. 111.



sloathfull in business..."<sup>85</sup> In this sense, at least, Brown compares industriousness in business to religious fervour, as when he is "sloathfull" in business, his spirituality in religious worship also fails.

In his diary, however, Brown fluctuates between his concerns for his business and worldly affairs and his religious duties, indicating the constant compromise between the two. For example, on 4 June, 1746, he wrote, "...This day had experience of a vain heart and imagination, for I was much employed in forming imaginary schemes about the world, which discovered an earthly temper and frame. What need have I to have my heart washed from wickedness, that vain thought may not lodge in me..."<sup>86</sup>

The Evangelical nature of Brown's religious beliefs can further be seen in his participation in the religious revivals of the day, such as the field conventicles at Cambuslang and Kilsyth where the sacrament of the Lord's Suppers was celebrated. On 21 June, 1746, after his stay at Kilsyth where he joined in the high sacraments of the Lord's Supper and mused long and hard over religion and spirituality, genuine communion with God, and the intercession of the Holy Spirit, he wrote, "...; notwithstanding of this, still I fell many proofs of a body of sin and death, and have good cause to guard against sloath and security, since there is no rest in the

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<sup>85</sup>.- Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>86</sup>.- Ibid., p. 164.

Christian warfare..."<sup>87</sup>

One month later, on 21 July, 1746, Brown again commented on the need to avoid the worldly gain which he had often been preoccupied with. After receiving a sermon on Philippians 1.6 "I am confident of this, that he who has begun the good work shall also perform it to the day of the Lord", he commented in his diary:

"...Mr. Carrick's discourse was very edifying to me, and was a means of carrying home a conviction on my soul. In a use of tryall he mentioned these marks - which was very affecting to me. How stand ye affected to these sins that bring you most worldly gain? How stand ye affected to those sins which none knows, but God and your conscience? I put these questions to my own soul, and conscience charged home guilt on me. I saw that I had frequently regarded and been favourable to, and harboured and like these sins that promoted my worldly advantage, that secret sins had often not been the object of my aversion, and that the presence of God had not overawed me..."<sup>88</sup>

Brown's problems with reconciling worldly wealth and religious duties seems to find in his diary an explanation which at least to his mind temporarily dispelled his previous fears. In this entry on 18 January, 1747, he justified wealth acquired in worldly affairs as the blessings of God. His explanation, although lengthy, bears repetition for its allusions to the compatibility of wealth and the "hand of providence". He wrote:

"This night I was also reviewing the conduct of providence towards me the last week, on which I observed that is of great importance and advantage not to be anxiously carefull about

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<sup>87</sup>.- Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>88</sup>.- Ibid., p. 199.

only temporal good, but, in, dependance on grace, to be labouring to known and do what is present duty, looking to the Lord for a blessing, and leaving events to Him. I think I have seen much of the hand of providence in ordering my worldly affairs in a way otherwise than I designed or thought of, and in a way that was more to my advantage. The experience of the goodness of God this way makes me hope for further proofs of it, in the after part of my life. I think I have seen much of the hand of providence in making my keenest attempts and endeavours in pursuing my worldly calling, fruitless, or in some measure unsuccessful; while on the other hand He has blessed with success these endeavours and that diligence in my worldly business that was consistent with fervency in the service of God, and was with anxious hurtfull cares, thus shewing that it is the blessing of the Lord that only maketh rich. Further, I observed, that in following one's worldly business, there is great need of grace, to teach and enable to do justice, live righteously, and speak the truth in the heart, so as to have a conscience void of offence towards God and man. Unjustice, fraud, unrighteousness, dissimulation and lying, are evils flowing from an inordinate love of the world, and to which there are ensnaring and bewitching temptations in following people's worldly business, and into which the soul may be led in lesser or higher degrees of guilt, unless constantly watching and guarding. Let my conversation be without covetousness, being content with such things as I have!"<sup>89</sup>

George Bogle of Daldowie<sup>90</sup>, also displayed a similar sense of religious fervour as that of George Brown, as can be seen in a variety of letters he wrote to his son John while the latter was a factor's assistant in Virginia in the 1750s, and to another son George who was in India in the 1770s. The importance of Bogle's letters to his sons lies in the great stress that he puts on religion along

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<sup>89</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 302,303.

<sup>90</sup>.- See Chapter 2, pp. 80-83 for background information on Bogle.

with his allusions to divine grace emanating from "the Supreme Being". Bogle's stress on religion does indicate how important a role religion could play in the life and attitudes of one of the "tobacco lords".

An example of the type of stress that George Bogle placed on religion in his advice to his sons can be seen in a letter from 26 January, 1758, to his son John (Jockie) on the occasion of John's initial arrival in Virginia. Bogle wrote, "...; I beg you will allow *Religion* to be your first principal care and then every thing else will go on with great composure and chearfullness."<sup>91</sup> Another letter to his son John on 25 April, 1758 advised his son in how to avoid the vices and corruptions of the world. He stated, "...the Best method I know, or Indeed has ever been known for the young man's safeguard against the allurements of Vice, is an Entire and thorough Dependence upon the Aids of *Divine Grace* and frequent recourse to the Golden Rules and pure precepts of our Holy Christian Religion...and fervent prayer are noble Incentives to a Holy and Virtuous Life..."<sup>92</sup> George Bogle's wife Anne (formerly Anne Sinclair) also wrote to her son concerning keeping up his diligence in religion and reverence towards God. For example, on 25 April,

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<sup>91</sup>.- George Bogle of Daldowie, 26 January, 1758, to his son John via *the Margaret* in Falmouth, Virginia on the Rappahanock River, Bo 15a/4, folder 1756-1760, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>92</sup>.- George Bogle of Daldowie, 25 April, 1758, to his son John via *the Blackburn*, Falmouth, Virginia, Bo 15a/6, folder 1756-1760, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

1758, she wrote, "...My Dear Jockie don't neglect them (prayers) for yourself you are in a strange country destitute of friends and acquaintances but where ever you are God is near you...keep return him thanks for your preservation and give over yourself to his care..."<sup>93</sup>

Although, at first, it might appear that George Bogle's concern for his son's well being in urging for his son to lead a Christian life, demonstrates a natural paternal interest in his son's leading a moral life, it nevertheless seems that Bogle's insistence on and constant reference to religious subjects might also equally be a reflection of his own religiosity as of his parental concern. For instance, in a letter of 2 February, 1759, one year after his son's settlement on the Rappahanock River, George Bogle was still urging his son to lead a religious lifestyle. Bogle wrote to his son, "Now my dear Johnny as I have Entertained you a little hither to with Secular and Worldly affairs, give me leave,...to put you sometimes in remembrance of the great and important, as well as the self-interesting dutys of a religious life and conversation, as you and I believe an Endless State of Duration and Existence after we have bid an Everlasting farewell to this short and uncertain state in which we are at present, shall not you and I Judges of mighty Consequence to make suitable preparation for the other, and Eternal World. Nor is there any Business in life of

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<sup>93</sup>. - Anne Bogle to her son John, 25 April, 1758 via *the Blackburn*, Bo 15a/7, folder 1756-1760, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

Equall meaning to us, much less of greater importance."<sup>94</sup>

Two years later, in 1761, Bogle wrote to his son John advising him that a young man from Glasgow was coming to Virginia who was known to be "wild". Bogle told his son not to be led into bad practices, and to keep a distance from such bad influences. Finally, he proposed various scripture readings to guard his son against being led astray. He wrote, "...I therefore beg in the most earnest manner that you will give all care and attention that you may not be led astray by Bad and visciuous example yourself and for which purpose read frequently the 139th Psalm, in which you have a lively and Beautiful description both of the omniscience and omnipresence of the infinitely perfect being, which you will keep constantly in your mind and be much in Prayer to God to Guide and Direct you,..."<sup>95</sup>

George Bogle, junior, also received various letters of advice from his father which attempted to point him in the direction of leading a true Christian life. For instance, in 1764, while George Bogle junior was attending an academy in London run by a Mr. Kinross for instruction in how to be "both a Gentleman and a merchant", his father wrote him a letter concerning his sons's attendance at an Episcopal Church. He wrote, "...I observe you go frequently to the Episcopal Church and in a very discreet

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<sup>94</sup>.- George Bogle to his son John 2 February, 1759 via *the Cochrane*, Bo 15a/11, folder 1756-1760, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>95</sup>.- George Bogle to John Bogle, 23 September, 1761, Bo 15b/15, folder 1761-1764, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

manner. You hope I will not take it amiss, especially as you guess your master would chuse to have you under his Eye in time of divine worship. For above reason, my dear George, I have no objection, as to speak plainly, I'm of opinion that the great Error and fault of the present rising generation, is not of joining one sect of Religion or another, but in an almost total neglect of every Christian Institution whatever, and in ridiculing everything Sacred and serious of good report and praiseworthy, by which unaccountable conduct, they sap the very foundation of all religion, both natural and moral..."<sup>96</sup> The reference to the Episcopal Church is particularly interesting for the spirit of toleration it shows on the part of George Bogle, senior. Although at first glance, it might appear that George Bogle junior, who was 18 at the time, had an interest in going to an Episcopal Church, it must be stressed that at this time in London, it would have been difficult for him to attend a Presbyterian Church in the capital.

Four years later in 1768, George Bogle junior was still in London. A letter from his father on 1768 mentioned the sermons of a Mr. Chandler. He communicated to his son, "Mr. Chandler's 4 volumes of Sermons you sent me were very acceptable. They merit the serious perusal and attentive reading of every real Christian and of every

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<sup>96</sup>.- George Bogle senior to George Bogle junior, near Endfield by London, September 17, 1764, Bo 16/1, folder 1761-1764, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

sincere Candidate for Glory, Honour, and Immortality..."<sup>97</sup>  
This letter also expressed George Bogle senior's concerns about immortality. He stated, "...when our souls a few years hence, at longest, are disengadged from these mortall bodys and will enter by a life employed in the delightful exercise of religion and virtue into a glorious and blessed immortality when time as to us shall be no more! Rejoicing thought!..."<sup>98</sup>

In 1770, George Bogle junior, working for the East India Company, went to India (he eventually would die there from a fever in 1781; he also sired illegitimate children from his relationship with a Tibetan concubine<sup>99</sup>) where he continued to receive news and religious advice from his family and his father. By 1770, George Bogle senior was 69 years of age, and increasingly referred to his illnesses and his imminent death, along with various allusions to immortality through being a Christian.<sup>100</sup> For example, in 1771, he wrote to his son, "...apply often to the throne of Grace, for Grace to help you in time of need, in this method you have a greater prospect of

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<sup>97</sup>. - George Bogle senior to George Bogle junior in London, 14 November, 1768, Bo 16/15, folder 1765-1769, box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>98</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>. - *The Bogle Family History*, p. 24, B881033, Rare Books and Manuscripts, M.L.

<sup>100</sup>. - George Bogle senior actually outlived his son George junior, dying in 1784 at the age of 83, despite his obvious difficulties in health made clear by the steadily decreasing legibility in his handwriting from 1770 onwards.



prospering in your worldly affairs and at any rate securing a blessed immortality..."<sup>101</sup> The interesting characteristic about Bogle's comments here, is the insistence that success in business and increase in profits are due to God, not Bogle's own efforts, very similar to the same attitudes held by George Brown. And again, for instance, in the same year he made the same point, "You my dear George have gone out in the East India Company's service with many superior advantages to numbers employed in the same manner of Business, blessed with good natural dispositions, with a fine liberal education, and at an age when your judgement should be ripe, so that you can balance the Profit and Loss of any piece of business you may be engaged in. These natural and acquired advantages you are blessed with are the gift of God and ought always to be valued and improven as such..."<sup>102</sup> More interesting is a letter of advice from George Bogle senior in the following year, 1772, in which he stresses again the same point that business is only a direct result of God's intervention and that those who think that their good management and circumspection are the cause of their own successes, as opposed to their dedication to religious affairs, may soon have their businesses fall down around their ears because of their arrogance in thinking that

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<sup>101</sup>.- George Bogle senior to George Bogle junior in Calcutta, 21 January, 1771, Bo 19/4, folder Bo 1771, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>102</sup>.- George Bogle senior to George Bogle junior in Calcutta, 16 April, 1771, Bo 19/5, folder Bo 1771, Box 1756-1771, Bo MS, M.L.

they themselves were the masters of their own fate. He wrote, "...I thank God I hear sometimes...that you keep your health and in a very promising and prosperous way in Business. Be humble, be thankfull to the Bountifull giver of every good and perfect gift. *It frequently falls out, in the allwise dispensations of providence that those who are ready to overlook these gifts and impute their success in business to their own prudence and wise manadgement in their worldly affairs, that their best concerted schemes are suddenly, and unexpectedly Blasted and rendered abortive, and wither as by the worm which smote the gourd of the fretful prophet Jonah...*"<sup>103</sup>

During the war with the American colonies, Bogle also stressed the religious element stating that the war would end and trade would revive when it pleased God to effect such an event. Writing to his son George junior, he stated, "The unnatural war with American is a great hindrance to settling and recovering the debts due by the Colonys to us, and amongst others of its due effect has thrown all our young manufacturors quite idle, however when it shall please almighty God who rules in the armys in Heaven and the Inhabitants of the world to bring about a good and equitable peace, trade will revive and flourish..."<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>. - George Bogle senior to George Bogle junior in Calcutta, 20 November, 1772, Bo 19/8, folder January-December, 1772, Box 1772-1780, Bo MS, M.L.

<sup>104</sup>. - George Bogle senior to George Bogle junior, 23 November, 1777, Bo 19/29, Folder Bo 1776 January-December, Bo MS, M.L.

The interesting point here is the great similarity between George Bogle's religious attitudes and those of George Brown. They both stressed with equal weight the fact that success in business is not due to their own efforts, but to the will of God, and that secular or "worldly" concerns were a great danger to the business of religious devotion and faith in God. Brown's musings on his own problems in relation to religion and faith in God, and Bogle giving advice to his sons in leading a Christian lifestyle, are important sources illustrating the religious attitudes and ideas of two merchants involved in the inner elite of the tobacco trade of Glasgow. The beliefs of the rest of the merchant elite as a whole can be explained no further since no other sources exist which discuss the individual merchant's ideas about religion to the same extent. But these two sources do give some indication that at least two men of the merchant elite did have these beliefs, and expressed them so fervently.

Another example of members of the merchant elite being directly connected to religion can be seen in a few surviving sermons of Reverend James Oswald, minister of Dunnett, who was brother to Richard and Alexander Oswald of Scotstoun (1687-1766 and 1694-1765 respectively). Richard and Alexander Oswald were major traders not only in tobacco but wine from France and Madeira from the island of the same name. They were mentioned by McUre as Virginia and Jamaica shipowners as early as 1735 with 3

ships<sup>105</sup>, and had their own company of merchants which included John Stevenston and James Dennistoun.<sup>106</sup> Their other business interests included Dennistoun, Buchanan and Co., Glasgow Bottleworks Co., Port Glasgow Ropework Co., Oswald and Co., and the United Sugar House Co. Apart from the estate of Scotstoun they also built Oswald's land in the Stockwell, now Oswald Street.

Although the sermons referred to were by their brother Reverend James Oswald, they may suggest to some degree the nature of their common family upbringing and religious education. The sentiment of Oswald's sermons can be seen in an excerpt from one of them included in a letter. Oswald starts out by writing:

"As the Christian Revelation is addressed not to any body of learned men but to mankind in general and not in the state of the learned but in vulgar language no doctrines can be the object of our faith but those that are intelligible and apparent to all men and those questions which have been agitated among the learned are to be regarded no otherwise than we regard their enquiries on all other subjects. That the Saviour of men is of a rank superior to all created being, that he is the Creator of all things visible and invisible, that he is the Son of God in a sense which does not belong to any creature and that he is subordinate to his Father is apparent from the face of the Scriptures. That he was at once possessed of the power and perfections of God and subjected to the laws of humanity appears from the history of his life and death and resurrection from the dead: and that God thro his mediation does exercise an oeconomy of justice in the next is apparent from the whole and from every part of the Revelation and this we are bound to

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<sup>105</sup>. - John McUre, Glasghu facies a view of the city of Glasgow (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), p. 35.

<sup>106</sup>. - Alexander Oswald and Co., merchants, 9 October, 1742, TD 89/1, S.R.A.

believe."<sup>107</sup>

Oswald continued:

"The expectation of favour from the Supreme Ruler of which we are unworthy is indeed a Doctrine of Revelation but is also a dictat of common-sense not only because it hath been entertained by all ages and nations but also because an opposite expectation is a manifest offense against common sense and the greatness of the offense appears evidently from the resentment so commonly and so naturally expressed against the coldness of those who without any such mediation apply for favours to which they are not entitled and especially those who ought to be conscious of their demerit and of the propriety and fitness of making application in this manner."<sup>108</sup>

From this limited evidence, these sermons are perhaps more moderate than the type of sermons that George Brown or George Bogle would have listened to, but they help in a small way to illustrate the varieties in the prevailing religious atmosphere.

In comparison with George Bogle's fervent requests that his sons lead a religious life and George Brown's writings about the contradiction between his worldly and spiritual affairs, the Pocket Diary of Alexander Speirs stating his daily whereabouts in the years 1781 and 1782 is conspicuously free of allusions to religion and God, apart from his comments on Sunday that he had been to either Church or Chapel. Speirs' membership in the Episcopal Chapel did not seem to preclude his going to other churches in the city. For example, on 18 February,

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<sup>107</sup>.- Reverend James Oswald, 1 November, 1773, Miscellaneous letters, 1764-1784, GD 213/53, Oswald of Auchencruive Muniments, S.R.O.

<sup>108</sup>.- Ibid.

1781, Speirs wrote in his diary that he had been to Chapel in the morning and the New Church in the afternoon.<sup>109</sup> Speirs, however, did not attend Church or Chapel every Sunday as is apparent from his entry on 18 March of the same year where he noted that he was "in the country viewing my land".<sup>110</sup> In fact, quite a few Sundays passed during the year when Speirs not only failed to mention his going to church, but stated that he was doing something else, as on Sunday, 10 February, 1782 when he wrote that he "drank tea and supped" with Messrs. Andrew and George Buchanan at his home.<sup>111</sup> In fact most of Speirs' time during the last two years of his life, as noted meticulously by his diary, was spent in the company of his fellow merchants where he recorded that he had either consumed a meal or drank brandy (or some other beverage), such as on 5 February, 1782 when he recorded that he had breakfast with John Glassford and was all day at Pollockshaws which he followed with a play at night.<sup>112</sup> Speirs' personal lifestyle sharply contrasted with the concerns of Bogle and Brown who would have considered such secular preoccupations dangerous, and who would have never missed the Sabbath, especially Brown. Speirs' fastidious recording of his daily whereabouts and his concerns which

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<sup>109</sup>. - Diary of Alexander Speirs in 'Kearsley's Pocket Ledger' 1781, TD 131/11, S.R.A.

<sup>110</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>111</sup>. - Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>. - Ibid.

did not include religion, but focused instead on his business dealings, his land, his relationships with other merchants, his meals and drinks, and his entertainment, gives an example of the varying nature of the relative religiosity of the merchant elite, and the possibility that other merchants could have been more "secular" in outlook.

From the above evidence, it seems that the tobacco merchants of Glasgow lived and conducted their business affairs in an atmosphere of ever-increasing religious toleration, as Glasgow grew and progressed economically during the eighteenth century. Although religion was a fairly important part of everyday life in the eighteenth century, it is apparent that religion was neither completely a hindrance nor an impetus to the economic successes of the "tobacco lords". Although records remain to show that two members of the merchant elite, George Brown and George Bogle of Daldowie, were very religious in their outlooks, it is not sufficient here to say that these two men can be taken as typical of the rest of the merchant elite, especially as evidence exists to suggest that certain merchants were not concerned in the least with following a Christian lifestyle. For instance, John Glassford, probably the wealthiest merchant in Glasgow involved in the tobacco trade, was a notorious gambler.<sup>113</sup>

The relationship between religion and the rise of capitalism, therefore, at best remains a hunch or an

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<sup>113</sup>. - Gourlay, A Glasgow Miscellany, pp. 45, 46.

impression, since the varied nature of the merchant elite leads to no hard and fast conclusions that an upbringing based on the doctrines of Calvinism can lead to good business sense. Nevertheless, religion and religious affairs were clearly important for the merchant community in Glasgow. It seems safe to say that the merchant elite can neither be examined apart from the natural religious environment of the eighteenth century, since their roles as magistrates and patrons of the city's churches, as managers of the Episcopal Chapel, and as ordinary citizens, necessitated at the very least a certain participation in the everyday religious life of the city. However, what is apparent from an examination of the city of Glasgow in the eighteenth century is that their role as both civic planners and wealthy merchants were *seemingly* directly responsible for new churches like the architecturally extravagant St. Andrew's Parish Church and the juring Episcopal congregation of St. Andrew's-by-the-Green. Although they may not all have been interested in religious matters to the extent of *George Brown* or *George Bogle*, nevertheless, the atmosphere of the eighteenth century was still tied up with the church. It is in this sense that the "tobacco lords" could be said to be religious, as reinforced by two of their number whose writings leaves one with the impression that the role of a merchant involved in secular affairs was not totally contradictory to religious devotion, although it did have to be constantly reconciled.



## Chapter 7

### Comparisons and Conclusions

In the imagination of early nineteenth-century writers, the merchant elite of Glasgow were compared to such other illustrious merchant groups as the merchants of Venice and Florence during the Italian Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> It is important then to place this elite in the context, at least, of British merchants during the eighteenth century, to examine to what extent the Glasgow group was distinct and different. Was the merchant elite of Glasgow significantly unique because of their successful prosecution of the Atlantic commercial market which provided such great wealth as to make them stand apart from the other merchants of Scotland; and to have bestowed on them the fanciful title of "tobacco lords"?<sup>2</sup> Were these merchants typical and comparable to other merchant

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<sup>1</sup>.- See for example, Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>.- Strang seems to have been the first writer to have mentioned these merchants as "tobacco lords", drawing attention to their role as an "aristocracy", describing their mansions as "palaces" and their demeanour as "superior" and "lordly". Ibid., pp. 34-36. The origin of the phrase, however, remains obscure.

groups trading in eighteenth-century Britain?

## I

### Hull Merchants in the Eighteenth Century<sup>3</sup>

In discussing merchant groups of eighteenth-century Britain, similarities between various merchant elites come into clearer focus. The merchants of Hull are a case in point. "The trade of Hull, like that of most places, was controlled by an oligarchy of two or three dozen great merchant houses, which between them handled the bulk of the goods passing through the port..."<sup>4</sup> Only twenty-two merchants were involved in shipping to the extent that it made them the inner-core, similar to the Glasgow merchant elite. As in the case of the merchants of Glasgow, merchant recruitment to the Hull merchants was not static, with evidence of newcomers being able to infiltrate the trade, though the distinction must be made that these newcomers were from the middling ranks of society as were the Glasgow merchants. Evidence of outsiders from Hull entering and successfully prosecuting the Hull trade can be paralleled in the cases of Alexander Speirs, Andrew Cochrane, and Patrick Colquhoun who were not from Glasgow. In Hull, "...The Somerscales, leading timber importers in

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<sup>3</sup>.- Gordon Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century - A Study in Economic and Social History, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

<sup>4</sup>.- Ibid., p. 96.

the first half of the century, came from trade in Grimsby, and the Wilberforces came from Beverly..."<sup>5</sup> These instances of outsiders being able to infiltrate the merchant ranks of Hull and Glasgow show the importance of dynamism in successful trading. As Jackson has stated, "...Social mobility was probably easier in a mercantile community than elsewhere, but more than ordinary drive and initiative - and good fortune - were required to ensure success."<sup>6</sup>

Also similar between the Hull merchants and the Glasgow merchants was the unity and interdependency of the merchant elite, especially through marriage. Jackson stated, "For success in trade - in raising credit, capital and customers - much depended on connexion; and the best connexion was the family compact. Whether or not a marriage cemented an existing relationship, it was expected to lead to closer union between the parent houses: to a partnership a trading alliance; to a trustworthy factorage abroad; or simply to the recommendations that meant so much to an eighteenth-century merchant. Parental pressure was not the only - or chief - pressure. Endogamy was a natural result of the limited choice of socially acceptable partners in a relatively small and isolated community."<sup>7</sup>

The Hull merchants also dominated the municipal

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<sup>5</sup>.- Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>6</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 101,102.

<sup>7</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 109,110.

corporation as mayors and alderman, Jackson making the point that "Hull was governed by her merchant oligarchy..."<sup>8</sup> It appears then that the Glasgow merchants' activities on the Town Council and their predominance as Lord Provosts and merchant baillies were not unusual. The form of local government in Great Britain, even from medieval times, ensured that local corporations and councils would be controlled by merchants.

As far as land was concerned, the Hull merchants also displayed the same interest as was the case with the Glasgow merchants. As Jackson has stated, "Land was probably the chief interest outside commerce. No merchant of any consequence was without his seat or estate, large or small, in the East Riding or Lincolnshire..."<sup>9</sup> Merchants in Hull, however, did not retire to land, as Jackson makes clear. "It is often thought, and not infrequently written, that merchants lived for the day when they could retire as country gentry. Such a view is, at best, a simplification of the facts. It is a subjective evaluation of the role of merchant and landowner, and owes more to nineteenth-century writers than eighteenth-century merchants..."<sup>10</sup> In the city of Hull, also, new streets were built to provide land for merchants houses, much in common with the same occurrences

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<sup>8</sup>.- Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>9</sup>.- Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>10</sup>.- Ibid., p. 263.

in Glasgow.<sup>11</sup>

However much it might appear that the merchants of Hull were thus on the same level as the Glasgow merchants, as regards to wealth, this is not the case. Jackson states that Hull did not produce merchant princes like Liverpool or Bristol (or even Glasgow). However, the nature of the merchant community in eighteenth-century Britain having their standard of living increased greatly by the growth of the British empire did provide wealthy merchants in Hull who lived a wealthy lifestyle and in their own way displayed a type of "status".<sup>12</sup>

The social life of the city consisted of such leisure activities as horse-racing, gambling, assemblies, dances, and the theatre. In the case of the theatre, the Theatre Royal was built in Hull in 1769-1770, as opposed to the relative impossibility of establishing a building for the theatre in Glasgow during the same time period. However by the 1790s, as opposed to Glasgow, the Methodists in the town began to show open opposition to the theatre. "...Opposition to the theatre, the perverting instrument of the Devil, had been growing among them for some time, and an implacable and mutual hatred had developed by the nineties..."<sup>13</sup>

Information concerning wealth disposal of the Hull merchants is not readily available, although there is

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<sup>11</sup>.- Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>12</sup>.- Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>13</sup>.- Ibid., p. 273.

evidence of these merchants having their portraits painted along with members of their family. For instance, the portrait of "John Lee and his family" by John Russell in the Ferres Art Gallery bears a striking similarity to the portrait of John Glassford and his family in the People's Palace, Glasgow.<sup>14</sup>

Educationally, the merchants in Hull served apprenticeships, and learned the basic merchant requirements of foreign languages, merchant accounts, and geography. However, there is not much instance of these merchants having attended Cambridge or Oxford. When they had attained a sufficient enough living, in the case of the merchant elite, they did send their sons to university, providing them with a "gentleman's education". In comparison with the merchant elite of Glasgow who had the educational opportunity of the University of Glasgow within the city itself and who were to a much greater degree matriculated students at the university, the Hull merchants seem not to have had the same intellectual exposure as the Glasgow merchants. There is evidence of Hull merchants owning personal libraries, but most of the merchants used the Subscription Library, comparable to the Circulating Library in Glasgow. There were also intellectual societies in Hull during the eighteenth century, such as the Sentimental Society which discussed philosophical topics, but these clubs were not as prolific as they were in Glasgow, and then only flourished after

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<sup>14</sup>.- Ibid., p. 270.

1790, as in the case of the Society for the Purpose of Literary Information which was active from 1792 to 1797.<sup>15</sup>

As far as religion was concerned, Jackson discusses the importance of Methodism in Hull which became popular in 1746, but does not mention the Hull merchants' relationship with religion. It would be interesting to know their attitudes towards religion, such as exists in the personal papers of George Brown and George Bogle in Glasgow, but no comparison can be made here due to lack of information.

It would appear then, that in the context of the eighteenth century, the Glasgow merchants were similar in some respects to the merchant community in Hull. However, as Jackson states, the Hull merchants did not achieve the same status, due to wealth, as other merchant groups in Britain at the time, as being described as merchant princes. Their activities in the municipal corporation bear resemblance to the Glasgow merchants activities on the Town Council, but the lack of evidence of material wealth or of distinction on the point of verbal mythology, (as in the case of the title "tobacco lords") leads one to believe that their role as wealthy merchants in the city of Hull did not reach the same pinnacle that the Glasgow merchants achieved. Nevertheless, in the context of eighteenth-century society, the similarities between social activities, the importance of land, the unity and inter-marriage of members of the merchant elite, and

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<sup>15</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 275-278.

merchant recruitment being open to newcomers of the middling ranks lead to some general conclusions about eighteenth-century merchant groups.

## II

### Leeds Merchants in the Eighteenth Century

The merchants of Leeds in the eighteenth century as discussed by R.G. Wilson<sup>16</sup> are comparable to the Glasgow merchants as representing an elite as denoted by the same sort of verbal mythology, "gentlemen merchants" as paralleled by the Glasgow "tobacco lords".

Merchant recruitment, as in the case with the Hull and the Glasgow merchants, was from the middling ranks of society, and was attained by apprenticeship or marriage into a merchant family.<sup>17</sup>

The practical mercantile education in Leeds through apprenticeship consisted of instruction in trade, accounts, and foreign languages. Also worthy of notice concerning the philosophies of the successful merchants is the conjecture that Wilson makes regarding industry and religion. He states, "When William Milner jotted down in 1736 an account of the successes in his long and full life he paid chief tribute to a 'wonderfully good and Gracious God Almighty' and his 'very vertuous discreet and good

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<sup>16</sup>.- Wilson, Gentlemen Merchants.

<sup>17</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 23-28.



wyfe'. Few merchants would probably have paid Milner's uxorious tribute, but almost all of them would have replied to questions about their prosperity in terms of God and hard work..."<sup>18</sup> In relation to the Glasgow merchants, in particular the writings of George Brown and George Bogle, there also seems to be an emphasis on religion and industriousness in the merchants of Leeds.

Politically, the merchants of Leeds were active on two levels. One was as governors of the city through the municipal corporation and the other was in the county in voting for representatives to parliament. In this sense they were similar to the Glasgow merchants who were politically active through their role on the Town Council and later as voters for the M.P. for the Glasgow Burghs. As in Glasgow and Hull, the municipal corporation was merchant-dominated.<sup>19</sup> Wilson points out, however, that "...the immediate influence of the merchant community on the course of county politics before 1780 was small..."<sup>20</sup> This aspect of the Leeds merchant community is very dissimilar to the experiences of the Glasgow merchants, as noted in Chapter 3 in the discussion of the political influence of such merchants as Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, James Dunlop of Garnkirk, and William McDowall of Garthland, in providing substantial political influence in the election of the representative to parliament in

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<sup>18</sup>.- Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>19</sup>.- Ibid., pp. 161,162.

<sup>20</sup>.- Ibid., p. 166.

Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire.

Although Wilson does not discuss the Leeds merchants ideas about religion (probably because this type of evidence is extremely rare), he does state that as the merchants of Leeds held civic power through the municipal corporation, they also were interested in controlling the ecclesiastical patronage of the city. He states, "The merchants' role in the religious history of the town is in large measure a reflection of their dominant place in its political life. The same group of merchants who held the whip-hand in the corporation welded authority in the vestry and workhouse committee meetings. In their appointment of the vicar and the perpetual curates of Holy Trinity and St. John's Churches, this group controlled an important field of ecclesiastical patronage..."<sup>21</sup> Also of significance concerning the merchant community of Leeds is that the majority of merchants subscribed to the established Church of England, and were not dissenters.

As in other merchant elites, the "gentlemen merchants" of Leeds were able to afford a higher standard of living than other merchants who were not part of this exclusive elite. Wilson states, "...Someone commented in Leeds in 1793 that the merchants' wealth enabled 'them to vie with the nobility in their magnificence.' It was this style of living that set them socially apart in the town."<sup>22</sup> As with the Glasgow and Hull merchants, the

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<sup>21</sup>.- Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>22</sup>.- Ibid., p. 213.

Leeds merchants had their portraits painted, and "...the wealthiest merchants patronised architects and artists of national fame..."<sup>23</sup> They were a mercantile group whose wealth permitted extravagance and luxury in standards of living, similar to the Glasgow merchants' expenditures on material goods. Wilson continues, "If the merchants kept half an eye cocked at posterity they were not blind to the satisfaction of their more immediate comforts. The stray inventories that have survived, and the sale notices which appear in the newspapers after the 1790's disclose the ample contents of their houses..."<sup>24</sup>

As far as landed estates were concerned, the Leeds merchant were no exception. As Wilson states, "...The same process, whereby merchants became landowners through the profits of trade, was taking place not only in Leeds, Bristol and Newcastle, but in every town that could boast a merchant, banker and attorney..."<sup>25</sup> According to Wilson, the main motivation in merchants buying land was the social prestige and the political advancement that naturally ensued.<sup>26</sup> As with the Glasgow merchants, the Leeds merchants were also improvers, "...in William Denison's example, vast financial resources and a keen eye on the accounts were linked with a considerable knowledge of the latest agricultural developments to effect major

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<sup>23</sup>.- Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>.- Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>25</sup>.- Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>26</sup>.- Ibid., p. 223.

improvements on his country estates..."<sup>27</sup>

In comparison with both of these groups, the Hull merchants and the Leeds merchants, the merchant elite of Glasgow seems to bear striking similarity to certain aspects of these other elite's activities. First of all, all of these merchant groups seem to have been in control of civic politics, either through the municipal corporation as mayors and aldermen in the case of English merchants, or through the Town Council as Lord Provosts and baillies in the case of the Scottish merchants. Secondly, at the county level, the ownership of land provided the right to vote in elections for M.P.s, thus providing a second arena for merchant involvement in politics, this time at the national level. Thirdly, all of these merchant groups participated in active displays of their wealth, through their dress, possessions, city mansions, and landed estates, often purchasing a coat-of-arms. Fourthly, these merchant elites all were closely-knit and interdependent, often sealing business ties through marriage. Finally, there was the universal purchase of landed estates by all merchants who could afford to do so. The social prestige, the financial stability, and political benefits to be acquired always ensured that land would be an attractive investment.

How then did the Glasgow merchants differ from these

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<sup>27</sup>.- Ibid., p. 235.

other groups? First of all, the Glasgow merchants differed from other merchant groups in Great Britain in the eighteenth century due to their ability to prosecute with great success a trade that was open to all of Great Britain, and in the case of England had been available in the mercantilist form of the Navigation Acts of 1660, for much longer. Although these other merchant elites were wealthy, it was still Glasgow that was described as being the most beautiful and well-built city in the kingdom, and it was still Glasgow that boasted the citizenship of the wealthiest merchant in Europe, John Glassford of Dougalston, who owned 25 ships trading in tobacco. As evident from newspaper advertisements of the day, the material culture of Glasgow was growing at a tremendous rate as the century progressed, and was made possible by the growth of the tobacco trade. Also of significance in marking the Glasgow merchants as unique in the British context is the fact that they participated in the University of Glasgow to a great degree, and that many prestigious professors taught there during the ascendancy of the tobacco trade. It is no mere coincidence that Adam Smith formulated his ideas for the Wealth of Nations during his residency in Glasgow. The English merchants did not participate in education to the same degree, and in the cases of Leeds and Hull, would have had to go to Cambridge or Oxford to do so. Finally, Glasgow was the first city in Great Britain to establish a Chamber of Commerce, a significant fact illustrating the ability of

the Glasgow merchants to successfully politically combine in purpose to promote their trading interest to parliament. All of these factors, along with the unique environment of the city of Glasgow in the eighteenth century, created a distinctive mercantile elite whose status has been preserved in their description by later writers as the "tobacco lords".

Their geographical position, therefore, in the western Atlantic sea routes enabled them to take advantage of the immense wealth waiting to be tapped in trade with the Colonies, acting as the main staging post between America and Europe. Their Scottish environment with its civil university culture allied to the strong ecclesiastical/political establishment, shared by the Scottish lowland community, provided a unique environment for them to develop their commercial skills. There was a basis, therefore, for a whole series of commercial and manufacturing developments which provided a mixture of economic lines unavailable in most restricted mercantile environments such as Hull or Leeds.

What then were the general characteristics of the merchant elite of Glasgow? First of all, they were a small group, consisting of only about thirty men. Their recruitment was from the middling ranks of eighteenth-century society, many of them marrying into merchant families, if they were not already of them. As a result, the merchant elite of Glasgow was a very unified group,

whose solidarity and interdependence can be seen through all aspects of their lives. In business, they relied on one another for mutual credit assistance. In social activities, they attended the same clubs and entertained one another in their homes, where no doubt business and other topics were discussed. Politically, they were unified in their attempts to promote the trading interest of Glasgow which they did to good effect through their role on the Town Council and in the county through their massive purchases of landed estates. They were a small tight-knit group of merchants who formed the inner-circle of all men trading in tobacco to the American colonies.

This unity and interdependence was a vital factor in the successes of their companies and businesses involved in the tobacco trade, as well as in the many domestic manufacturing companies with which they were concerned. This solidarity of the merchant elite was sustained by their successful manipulation of the Atlantic commercial market, whose singular outstanding characteristic was the use of a store system as opposed to the English use of a consignment system. The factors they employed in these stores were a major source of market information, and their loyalty was ensured by offering them shares in the companies they represented, along with their annual salary. The merchant elite's written directives to these factors, along with various comments by George Bogle to his sons in personal letters, exhibit a business philosophy and business policy which formed the basis for

these merchants' economic successes. After the American Revolution, the solvency of these merchants was maintained by being able to diversify commodity interests into other areas, such as coffee, rice, and sugar, and no doubt by the vast fortunes they had built up in the previous years. The death of the "tobacco lords", however, came as a result of the ending of the monopoly in tobacco due to the independence of the American colonies.

Politically, they dominated the Town Council of Glasgow throughout the eighteenth century. In 1745, the Jacobite rebellion which threatened to ruin the city of Glasgow was met by the able administration of Andrew Cochrane, Lord Provost at the time. Cochrane's activities centred on maintaining the trading interest for the city by petitioning the political manager of Scotland, and ensuring the government that Glasgow was a Whig city and would uphold the Hanoverian succession. In 1763, the Town Council petitioned for the sole right of patronage of the New Wynd Church to the exclusion of the General Session. Finally, in 1783, Glasgow became the first city in Great Britain to establish a Chamber of Commerce, and was governed by Patrick Colquhoun who successfully promoted the trading interest of Glasgow in obtaining the passage of a new bankruptcy act for Scotland. In the county, the Glasgow merchants were gaining power through their purchases of landed estates. Three of these merchants, through massive land purchases, had in fact become some of the dominant political influences in the counties of



Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire. These were Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, James Dunlop of Garnkirk, and William McDowall of Garthland. Speirs, especially, showed a certain sense of merchant dynamism, in being able to build himself up from the humble beginnings of a merchant trader from Edinburgh, spending his first years involved in the trade as a resident in Virginia, and then through successful trading becoming a major landowner and political influence in his county.

The merchant elite also lived during one of the most intellectually progressive times in Scotland, the Scottish Enlightenment, sharing the same city with the "father of modern capitalism", Adam Smith. Through clubs such as Andrew Cochran's Political Economy Club, the merchant elite undoubtedly enjoyed contact with such men. Also of significance is that Smith had finished his work on the Wealth of Nations before 1764, and before he left Glasgow. There is also evidence of the merchant elite being a very educated entrepreneurial group, being matriculated students at the University of Glasgow, in comparison with other merchant groups. Their interest in intellectual clubs such as the Political Economy Club, the Literary Society, and the Hodge-Podge Club shows a keen interest in these characteristics of the Scottish Enlightenment. In fact, the whole city of Glasgow exhibited evidence of Enlightenment thought, in direct contradiction to previous theses emphasizing Edinburgh as the main place where the Scottish Enlightenment occurred. In the eighteenth

century, there were demonstrations on natural science, such as double-reflecting microscopes and electricity, and travelling zoos. There was also evidence of increased educational opportunities such as schools teaching foreign languages, dancing, and cooking. As far as entertainment was concerned, there was the theatre, travelling magicians, and musical concerts. There was also the growth of art in the city through the establishment of the Foulis Academy of Art which was patronised by members of the merchant elite. Books were being sold in profusion, many merchants owning expensive libraries which more often than not contained such enlightenment authors as Montesquieu. Finally, there was the merchant elite's role as improvers on their landed estates, which portrays them not as mere financial and industrial opportunists, but as lovers of beauty through their construction of pleasure parks and orchid groves.

Due to their successes in trade, the merchant elite of Glasgow was able to lead a much wealthier lifestyle than their ancestors, displaying this wealth in various ways. In the context of eighteenth-century Glasgow, the trade with the American colonies and other countries greatly improved the material world of the city. Evidence of a great variety of foodstuffs, china, delftware, toys, and such items as wallpaper from approximately 1740, when the first newspaper came out providing such information, increasing in quantity and variety until 1780. Such consumption was mainly due to purchasing power provided by

the merchant elite. The evidence is borne out by surviving wills and testaments, registered deeds, sederunt books, and merchant ownership of land, and the building of status-symbol mansions. William Cunninghame's mansion on Queen Street with its plaque declaring *Emergo* is a case in point. The wills and testaments of the merchant elite show a flourishing material culture with the purchases of silver, gold watches, mahogany furniture, carpets, and the like. Also evident is the extravagant and self-important procurement of portraits of the merchant and his family. In dispositions, the merchant elite displayed the all-important status of land, as well as shares in companies being treated as heritable material. In more detailed accounts describing the microcosm of mercantile life, such as household account books, evidence exists of extravagant lifestyles, much in contradiction to the nineteenth-century anachronistic accounts of these eighteenth-century merchants which owe more to Victorian values and ethics of frugality, sobriety, and industry, than to the eighteenth century. Many of the merchant elite employed servants (many of whom were slaves) and listed as significant entries amongst their personal accounts the use of large quantities of such drinks as Madeira wine, French brandy, or Port in company with their fellow merchants.

As far as religion was concerned, very little evidence exists to uphold such theses as put forth by Gordon Marshall, Max Weber, and Ernst Troeltsch in calling for a necessary link between Protestantism and capitalism.

However, the merchant elite, were necessarily part of the eighteenth-century religious environment, and through their role as merchant councillors ensured the sole patronage of the New Wynd Church, and then all other churches built at the Town Council's expense. Also of importance in the eighteenth century was the building of the ornate and luxurious St. Andrew's Parish Church, modelled on St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London, a building which reflected their assessment of themselves as wealthy merchants. Many of the merchant elite were also members of the Episcopal Chapel, another sign of growing tolerance in the eighteenth-century religious environment in Glasgow. Of greater importance is the evidence provided by the personal writings of George Brown and George Bogle of Daldowie, showing that at least two members of the merchant elite were concerned to a great degree with religion, God, and their salvation. Their constant battles within themselves between the material world and their secular business interests on the one hand, and their devotion to God and a Christian lifestyle on the other, show that economic success could exist alongside a fairly pious nature.

Although no evidence exists to explain the origin of the title "tobacco lords" which has so often been quoted regarding this merchant elite, enough information does remain to prove that this title was not arbitrarily placed on an earlier generation of Glasgow merchants. Their contributions to eighteenth-century Glasgow were more far-

reaching than merely providing a capital base from which the industrial revolution took off. Their uniqueness as a merchant group can only be explained by their own dynamism, and as Provost Cochrane stated in the eighteenth century, the energy and drive of "the four young men".<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>. - The story goes that when asked about the success of the Glasgow tobacco trade, Andrew Cochrane replied that it was all due to the energy and drive of "the four young men" who were Alexander Speirs, John Glassford, James Ritchie, and William Cunninghame who started their businesses with very little money. It is repeated in a variety of nineteenth-century histories of Glasgow.

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