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THE STRUCTURE, VALUES AND INFLUENCE OF THE SCOTTISH URBAN MIDDLE
CLASS; GLASGOW 1800 TO 1870

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty
of Social Sciences University of Glasgow.

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SUMMARY

Some of the main areas of change in nineteenth century Britain were seen in developments in social structure and values, the emergence of class and the dynamics of class consciousness. The role and impact of the working class within these social processes has been emphasized, while the analysis of the middle class is still at a relatively early stage. This study seeks to understand the nature of the middle class through a local case study and from a theoretical perspective that is well suited to such an undertaking. In the past, nineteenth century social structures have tended to be viewed descriptively and non-theoretically, or from a perspective that was heavily influenced by Marx. This work has sought to exploit the most notable post-Marxian model of social development, that of Weber.

The Weberian view of class is pluralistic, based on distinctions within classes and a differentiation of factors in the process of class formation. Three elements are observed in the creation of class. The first is the objective market value of the individual; the second is power and relationships with parties and organizations; and the third is status, which is often closely related to economic position. In employing a Weberian approach a sophisticated methodology - one of the main contributions of the thesis - has been developed. Two major components of the middle class profile have been identified. These are the physical and objective profile (corresponding broadly with the economic or materialist manifestations of class), and the psychological or subjective profile (corresponding with the status elements of class). Linking or synthesizing the two is the organizational or institutional manifestations of class.

This analysis of the multi-dimensional middle class has focused on a single city, Glasgow, during the years 1800 to 1870. It is a study of the middle classes in the early stages of formation, prior to maturity. Urban centres were the main context in which nineteenth century middle class values and identity were articulated, and Glasgow is a particularly suitable case for close study. The city had a rich and large middle class, established traditions, a varied industrial and commercial profile and a pattern of economic development that reflected many of the significant changes seen within Britain during the period. The economic character of a local area was a major influence on the creation of class structures. So too was the intellectual environment. The intellectual context of the Glasgow middle class was influenced by an array of distinctive Scottish cultural perceptions based in the church, law and education and especially in the precepts of the Scottish Enlightenment, which had a residual but important influence in the nineteenth century.

The main part of the study explores the dynamic evolution of the physical profile of the Glasgow middle class. The emphasis is on a statistical presentation within a number of specific categories - occupation, social and family structure, property, wealth and income and finally consumption. These are supplemented by an outline of methodology and statistical techniques in the Appendices. Occupation and economic activity are shown to be the primary elements in class and individual identity. It is within the occupational context that all other criteria of class are discussed. The Glasgow middle class was an occupationally diverse group - a diversity born out of the broad economic functions of the city. Despite the significance of

industry within the local economy, as late as the 1860's the Glasgow middle class was not typically engaged in manufacturing pursuits. With a structure dominated by dealing and trades, commerce and the professions, there had been much continuity in occupational structures since the late eighteenth century. Relatively gradual change in this important area of experience contributed to the stability and strength of the middle classes at times of social turmoil.

Subsequent discussion of the physical profile emphasizes the characteristics of individuals and families who formed the main statistical sample on which this study is based - the 1861 Record Linked Sample (which is compared with samples from 1800 and 1832). Individuals and their family circumstances were highly influenced by occupation and by life-cycle stage. Most middle class households were of a nuclear type, and small families (with evidence of family limitation) tended to be most evident among the lower middle class employee groups. Servant keeping was influenced by family life-cycle, and closely linked to the higher status occupations. Servant keeping had a strong correlation with occupation type and with other concrete indexes of wealth such as income, wealth at death, and size and value of the house. But significantly only half of the sample kept resident domestic servants. Following a trend seen in most Scottish cities, the majority of Glasgow middle class households lived in flatted dwellings, but these were of a particular type exclusive to the middle class.

Evolving individual wealth holding, in the form of property, wealth at death (based on confirmation inventories) and income, showed a continuity that mirrored much of the continuity seen in occupation structures. As with other aspects of the physical profile, wealth was highly determined by life-cycle stage. Wealth was an important outward criterion of status; great riches gave access to power and prestige. Increasingly opulent consumption patterns were also notable. But most of the middle class were only modestly rich and could not engage in conspicuous consumption. Their wealth was derived largely from direct participation in economic activity. There was a vast growth in the wealth holding potential of the upper middle class during the course of the nineteenth century, but the largest growth in numbers was seen among the lesser wealthy lower middle class. Despite vast riches, most wealth forms were conservative in nature. Safe investments in low yielding property or bank accounts, family businesses or local shares were the most common wealth forms seen in Glasgow.

The central part of the thesis considers the organizational profile of the Glasgow middle class, seen by Weber as an overt index of status, lifestyle and group identity. Organizations, of which two types are identified - traditional and new - were a major arena for the articulation of individual prestige and group values. There were networks of organizations within a locality, with multiple links between them and with similar bodies elsewhere. Economic organizations were especially early in establishing links with equivalent groups in other cities. Despite certain dramatic changes, organizations ensured relative stability and continuity in middle class power holding within the city. Though enabling the retention of power, the character of organizations did evolve during the period. Against the background of an expanding and increasingly alien city, traditional organizations, notably the church and municipality, were unable to adapt sufficiently quickly to deal with the exigencies of the age. Crisis

and intra-class conflict were precipitated during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, by established structures of elite power holding. To supplement a vacuum in urban social management, and to compensate for a decline in confidence in the capacities of many of the traditional centres of organized power, flexible, democratic, 'target orientated' voluntary organizations were formed. While many were linked to older institutions such as the church, these bodies were a new element in middle class organizational experience. Voluntary organizations disseminated the values of the evolving middle class and addressed a vast array of concerns - economic, reforming, charitable, educational and organizing. Their most important function, was to negotiate relationships with the expanding working class. But they also played a role (of increasing significance as the nineteenth century advanced and the municipality re-assumed more of the functions of social management) in negotiating intra-class relationships and hierarchies.

Though the impact of organizations in the lives of middle class individuals was clearly variable, they were a vital element in determining the formal allocation of power and status, and circumscribed many aspects of group association. These themes are explored more fully in the final part of the thesis which considers the psychological profile. Power and status were formal and vested in traditional organizations such as the Town Council, but they could also be informal in character. There were many links between power (in its several forms) and great wealth, elite family connections and involvement in prestigious areas of economic activity. The significance of tradition is again indicated by the continuity in the groups who directed and held power and social esteem. This, it is proposed, was vital to the maintenance of stability and authority within the changing city. But new wealth and new groups were not excluded from hierarchies of power and status. The strength of old elites lay in their flexibility and gradual accommodation of the new. In particular they recognized the role of the new middle classes, especially those involved in industry, in negotiating relationships with the expanding working class.

Middle class psychology was demonstrated also through outlook, attitudes and values. Class specific values were seen in a number of areas, but the middle classes were particularly characterised by an evolving array of perceptions related to three specific and interconnected areas of experience. Relationships between social classes and attitudes towards the working class were perhaps the most important areas in the evolution of the middle class psyche. The development of the urban environment and the emergence of municipal pride were also significant, as was the perceived economic role of the middle classes. In conjunction these three aspects of value formation created a distinct middle class outlook and identity, one that was to evolve from insecurity and perceptual turmoil in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, to great stability, optimism and confidence by the 1870's.

1. Setting the scene - the national and local context

1.1 Introduction

1.2 The case study

1.3 Glasgow 1800 to 1870 - the social and economic context

1.4 Glasgow 1800 to 1870 - the intellectual context

1.1 Introduction

In the analysis of economic and social change, historians have been particularly concerned with Britain from the late eighteenth century, and especially with the nineteenth century. It was a time of major evolution in economic structures, rapidly increasing wealth and the unprecedented growth of towns and cities. But above all it was a period of significant alterations in the way in which people lived.¹ These trends were perceived during the nineteenth century to be important and dramatic - likely to have a profound impact on the future of Britain. Such trends also have implications for our understanding of economy and society as they exist today - for in seeking to identify the factors that promoted change, and chart and elucidate the responses of individuals and groups, the historian makes a positive and valuable contribution to contemporary perceptions and outlook.²

Some of the principal aspects of change were seen in developments in society - in social structure and values, in the emergence of class in Britain, and in the dynamics of class consciousness. Social history, and the associated concern with 'Social Questions', have been central to the interests of the modern historian for several decades - 'We want to know not only what laws were made and battles fought or even how men got their living, but what it felt like to be alive, how men

¹ H. Perkin The origins of modern English society 1780-1880 (London, 1969 - N.B. place of publication in all subsequent notes is London unless otherwise stated) pp1-3

² E.H. Carr What is History? (1981) p.26 'The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present.'

in history - not merely kings and popes, statesmen and tycoons, lived and worked and thought and behaved towards each other.'³ Politicians are also often concerned with the way in which social historical trends reflect on or interact with contemporary issues. ⁴

In the recent past, there has been an understandable emphasis, in the study of society, on the character and experience of labouring people. This has been in part for ideological reasons, as a reaction against an earlier preoccupation with the history of traditional power elites and their institutions. Consequently there has been a stress on the theme of exploitation and on the struggle, by the poor and powerless, to establish legal and political rights and a recognition of separate cultural identity. This emphasis has also been conditioned by class theory, notably that of Marx, the most powerful and influential modern critique of social development. If 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles' and the proletariat are the focus of this structure of conflict, then inevitably the character of the working classes and the struggles in which they were engaged, will form the first concern of the historian.⁵ This is especially so if, in following the Marxian thesis, the working class is perceived as not merely a part of society, but the embodiment of society as a whole - 'the class which makes a revolution appear from the beginning not as a class but as the

³ H.J. Perkin 'Social history' in H.P.R. Finberg (ed) Approaches to History: a symposium (1962) pp 51-82

⁴ See New Statesman 27 May 1983 - special supplement 'Victorian Values - Historians take issue with Mrs Thatcher'

⁵ P. Calvert The concept of class: an historical introduction (1982) p.92

representatives of the whole of society, simply because it is opposed to class. It appears as the whole mass of society confronting the single ruling class.'⁶

There have been many notable contributions to the understanding of the evolution of the British working class and the development of social processes from the working class perspective.⁷ The quality and concentration of working class history and the history of class struggles have placed this body of intellectual debate centre-stage in the development of modern historical analysis. 'The working class presence was, in 1832, the most significant factor in British political life' - and in the view of one of the most influential historians of the genre, it was only in response to the impact of an insurgent working class from the late eighteenth century that other groups formed an identity and established cohesion.⁸

But, although considerable and very desirable advances have been made in this area, there have been few attempts to apply the same rigorous analysis to other groups who, in terms of occupation, wealth or power

⁶ Sociological perspectives edited by K. Thompson, & J. Tunstall (Harmondsworth 1971) p. 49 quote from K. Marx Wage, labour and capital (1849) Though not all modern Marx-influenced historians follow this line of thinking - see notably the work of R.Q. Gray.

⁷ The most notable are - E.P. Thompson The making of the English working class (1963); E. Hobsbawm Labouring Men (1964); J. Foster Class struggle and the industrial revolution - early industrial capitalism in three English towns (1974)

⁸ E.P. Thompson The making of the English working class p12

are distinctly different, notably the middle class.⁹ Ideological constraints have tended to shift the focus away from middle and upper class groups - though the analysis of the latter, particularly the aristocracy, derived from a non-Marxian intellectual tradition, has experienced a renaissance in recent years. This renaissance is seen particularly in the development of interest in the broad area of nineteenth century urban elites, groups who are increasingly perceived to have played a major role in the evolution of class and social structure. Thus, civic traditions and leadership, power hierarchies, values, sources of wealth and family relationships among the upper tiers of society have all been explored in depth.¹⁰ Despite this, however, the entrenched Marxian approach still tends to obscure the nature and role of the middle class. The concept of the 'bourgeoisie' - often, but not always used as a synonym for 'middle class' - is pejorative and inherently ambiguous, frequently applied in a confused and inconsistent way.¹¹ As a consequence of the lack of strong theoretical foundations for the nature of the middle class, historians

⁹ The term 'middle class' is used in this study as it conveys no overt socio-political meaning and allows the examination of the middle class as a whole, not merely one part of the group. It refers essentially to those who were neither manual workers (except where employers), nor aristocrats and landed gentry. See J. Raynor The middle class (1969)

¹⁰ Notably - F.M.L. Thompson English landed society in the nineteenth century (1963); H. Perkin The origins of modern English society (1969); Davidoff, L. The best circles: society, etiquette and the season (1973); W.D. Rubinstein Men of property; the very wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution (1984); M. Girouard The return to Camelot: chivalry and the English gentleman (1984)

¹¹ For an elaboration of this criticism see - P. Calvert The concept of Class pp.68-87; J. Foster Class struggle and the industrial revolution states p.161 'It is not easy, (or even very useful) to propose a tidy definition for a towns bourgeoisie'; A. Giddens The class structure of the advanced societies (1981) p.31 - at one point Marx identifies the 'middle class' as a transitional class, later though, he writes of a true capitalist middle class developing out of feudalism.

have been mainly concerned, when attention has focused on this group, with attempts to define and subdivide - particularly by concrete or objective criteria.¹² Yet precise definition, and the setting of boundaries that circumscribe the middle class, have not been notably successful: no single, comprehensive or widely accepted definition of the group has yet been produced. Nor, indeed, beyond the Marxian theoretical context, has there been any definitive statement on the concrete nature of social class which incorporates the middle class - though many historians have called for the consistent application of class measures.¹³

Analysis of social structures outside the working class has been most successful in the examination of groups which appeared at the margins between classes - notably the labour aristocracy, master artisans, tradesmen and lesser shopkeepers. Though generally viewed from within a Marxian perspective, such studies - their 'Marxism worn lightly' - cast valuable light on the nature of the middle class.¹⁴ Attempts to identify and examine specific areas or sub-groups within the middle class - such as women, industrialists or clerks - have also had some

¹² A. Mayer 'The lower middle class as a historical problem' Journal of Modern History 47 (1975) p.424; P.N. Stearns 'The middle class: towards a preliminary definition' Comparative Studies in Society and History 21 (1979) 369-388.

¹³ See A. Armstrong quoted in S.A. Royle 'Aspects of nineteenth century small town society, a comparative study from Leicestershire' Midland History 5 (1979/80) p.52 - Armstrong has attempted to achieve this through use of the Registrar Generals Five-class model.

¹⁴ For example G. Crossick (ed) The lower middle class in Britain 1870-1914 (1977); G. Crossick & H. Haupt (eds) Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth century Europe (1984); R. Gray The labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford 1976)

success.¹⁵ In addition, specific aspects of life-style, values, institutions and patterns of wealth holding have been examined usefully.¹⁶ But perhaps the greatest success in the study of social structure at all levels, but of the middle class in particular, has come in the general movement away from broad national analyses to the emphasis on detailed local case studies. The local area - city, town, village, rural district - was the context in which, for all but the small group who formed the upper class, life was conducted, social contacts circumscribed and power struggles and the classic Marxian class conflicts articulated.¹⁷ Local case studies - of which the present work is an example - are the only mechanism through which the details of social relationships, 'in action', can be identified.¹⁸ The development of case studies of social class, and the imaginative use of the varied personalized data sources that proliferated in the nineteenth century - of particular value in the analysis of the middle class - have resulted in a small number of notable advances in the

¹⁵ P. Branca Silent sisterhood, middle class women in the Victorian home (1975) ; B. Smith Ladies of the leisure class: the bourgeoisie of northern France in the nineteenth century (Princeton 1982) ; F. Crouzet The first industrialists; the problem of origins (Cambridge 1985) ; K. Honeyman Origins of enterprise - business leadership in the industrial revolution (1984) ; G. Anderson Victorian Clerks (1976) ; D. Lockwood The black coated worker (1958)

¹⁶ J.A. Banks Prosperity and parenthood (1954) ; L. Davidoff The best circles: society, etiquette and the season (1973) ; J.A. Garrard (ed) The middle class in politics (1978) ; F.K. Prochaska Women and philanthropy in nineteenth century England (Oxford 1980) ; W.D. Rubinstein Men of property: the very wealthy in Britain since the industrial revolution (1981)

¹⁷ P. Goubert 'Local History' Daedalus 100 (1971) pp113-114

¹⁸ Seen most notably in E. Le Roi Ladourie Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French village 1294-1324 (trans. Harmondsworth 1980)

understanding of the subject.¹⁹

But though the study of the nineteenth century middle class, especially the middle class in Scotland, is still at an early stage, the prospects for continued development are good, and are likely to be aided further by the systematic application of a post-Marxian class theory which is more receptive to the notion of a central and strongly identifiable middle class and which does not make inter-class conflict its basic focus. The sophisticated Gramscian critique of Marx shows elements of this tendency - with its recognition of two-way hegemonic processes and its reduced emphasis on the stark exploitative relationships between the classes.²⁰ Other post-Marxian models, particularly those of Aron, Dahrendorf and Veblen, also fulfill aspects of this requirement.²¹ But the most notable - though as yet little used by historians - is that of Weber, whose theories form the foundations of the present study.

While various aspects of middle class life, values and institutions have been examined and sophisticated local case studies have appeared, as yet there has been little systematic attempt to identify the dynamic evolution of the detailed, physical and psychological

¹⁹ For example - A. Daumard La bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 a 1848 (Paris 1963); R.J. Morris The Leeds middle class 1820-1850 (Final report to SSRC Committee of Economic Affairs June 1983); A. Howe The cotton masters 1830 - 1860 (1984)

²⁰ For an excellent Gramscian-derived approach see Gray, Edinburgh.

²¹ H. Perkin The origins of modern English society is informed by the work of the sociologist Aron; J.R. Vincent Pollbooks: how the Victorians voted (1967) and R.S. Neale Class and ideology in the nineteenth century (1972) are influenced by Dahrendorf [see R.S. Neale Class in English history 1680-1850 (Oxford 1981)]; The theories of Veblen have influenced B. Smith Ladies of the leisure class and H.E. Meller Leisure and the changing city, 1870-1914 (1976)

structures of the British urban middle class in the nineteenth century. In defining the middle class, too often simple, one dimensional, objective indexes have been used, frequently obscuring the role of peripheral groups. There is a need for a multi-dimensional approach - one which can combine the various commonly used indices to allow a more specific and dynamic definition of the middle class relative to social structure as a whole. It is not sufficient, merely to consider the concrete characteristics of class: contemporary assessments demonstrate that social hierarchy was not determined simply by wealth or occupation. Status, power and prestige, the subjective aspects of class existed alongside the concrete hierarchies. There is, therefore, a need systematically to integrate the objective and subjective criteria of class: which can only be achieved through the application of a flexible and broad social theory such as that developed by Weber. It is with this aim in mind that the present work was formulated. Based on a local case study and using innovative techniques of data analysis, the nature and conditions of the middle class as a whole has been examined, with attention also to sub-groups within the class, particular families and individuals, and those that fell on the periphery.

Historians, not excluding those influenced by Marx, have tended to examine class descriptively and subjectively - to rely heavily on contemporary perceptions, which were often confused and inconsistent,

rather than address the problem from the perspective of class theory.²² Although contemporary usage is acknowledged and extensively exploited in this study - the terminology of class was after all the product of the nineteenth century, a means of rationalizing and describing the evolving relationships between groups of individuals - a theoretical approach is employed. The Weberian view of class, though it forms part of the same intellectual tradition as that of Marx and acknowledges his influence,²³ is pluralistic - based upon distinctions within classes and a differentiation of factors in the process of class formation. Three elements are observed in the creation of class structures and consciousness. The first is the objective market value of the individual. Class according to Weber, accepting the contributions of Marx, is closely related to - at times synonymous with - the production and acquisition of goods. It is also determined by the associated area of 'work situations'. The second aspect in the Weberian analysis is the status of individuals - which is often, though not always, closely related to and determined by economic position. Status refers to styles of life, patterns of consumption and display, prestige and the esteem with which an individual is held in society. The final element is the relationship between individuals and power structures, organizations and parties, and the processes of

²² 'It is probably in respect of class that I shall be found, by the sociological, most wanting. I have used the language of class more as it was used by mid-Victorians than as it is used by any ancient or modern school of theorist - ie I have used it continually and confusedly. Mid-victorian society, it is hardly too much to say, was obsessed by class, and riddled with class consciousness, and perhaps not clear what it all meant.' G. Best Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1870 (Glasgow 1979) p.15

²³ P. Calvert The concept of class p.100

power acquisition.²⁴

In employing a Weberian class analysis, a complex methodology for local social group analysis has been developed.²⁵ This new methodological approach, it will be argued, is one of the main contributions of the thesis, capable of being applied generally in detailed examinations of the dynamics of class formation in all areas. Derived from Weber, two principal components in the middle class profile have been identified. These are the physical profile - corresponding broadly with the economic or materialist manifestations of class - and the psychological profile - corresponding with the status elements of class. Linking and synthesizing the two elements of the profile is a final aspect, the organizational or institutional manifestations of class.

To understand the context of class psychology it is necessary to establish initially the physical and objective characteristics of the group under analysis. This is approached in the first part of the study, which examines the quantifiable elements of the Glasgow middle class social character during the years 1800 to 1870 - occupation, class and family structure, wealth in its various forms, and material consumption. The intention is to provide a dynamic picture of the changing objective nature of the group by using sources that show the

²⁴ ibid ch.4 ; H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (eds) From Max Weber - essays in sociology (1967) pp.180-196 ; R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds) Class, status and power: a reader in social stratification (Glencoe, Illinois 1953) pp.63-74

²⁵ This methodology is much influenced by the pioneering work of Morris on the Leeds middle class. See R.J. Morris 'In search of the urban middle class. Record linkage and methodology: Leeds 1832' Urban History Yearbook (1976) pp.15-20

precise circumstances of individuals and by applying computer based techniques of personal record linkage. The middle class is conceptualized as both a physical and psychological phenomenon. The main arena in which these characteristics were formulated and articulated was an array of nineteenth century urban organizations and institutions, the analysis of which, within the local Glasgow context, will form the second major part of this study. Local organizations were multiple and highly differentiated - there were the traditional socio-legal organizations of family and church, the political parties and the formal organizations of commerce, trade and the municipality. Above all there were the voluntary associations: educational, charitable, reforming and entertaining. These were innovative, dynamic and adaptive organizations whose development within the urban centres of Britain from the early nineteenth century was closely linked to the evolution of middle class consciousness and power.²⁶

Nineteenth century local urban organizations were concrete phenomena with important implications for the development of group psychology. This dual characteristic is reflected in the methodology, and is linked to the final major aspect of the study, the psychological profile of the middle class. Class psychology - corresponding with the Weberian elements of status and power - is approached mainly, though not entirely, from a subjective perspective, set within the context of the previously defined objective boundaries of the group. Employing an array of contemporary sources, the dynamic

²⁶ R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies and the British urban elite 1780-1850' Historical Journal 26 (1983) p96

characteristics of status and power, patterns of association and social networks are analysed. Additionally, the nature of value articulation within areas that are identified as central in the formation of middle class identity - values associated with inter-class relationships, with commerce and trade, and the concept of the municipality - have been subject to detailed examination. Throughout the study, a 'key year' approach is employed, though frequently supplemented by sources and data from other years. Thus the years 1800, 1832 and 1861 are particularly subject to emphasis, because of the regular way in which they break the broader period, but also as a result of a favourable conjunction of sources which tend to occur on or about these years.²⁷

Throughout this analysis of the multi-faceted characteristics of the middle class, the principal aim will be to demonstrate the tensions between forces of continuity and change in the creation of class structure and consciousness. In considering the Glasgow case a number of notable hypotheses and propositions, developed mainly within a national context, will be tested. One particular area of concern is the impact of eighteenth century structures of economy, society, wealth and values on the dynamics of middle class formation.²⁸ It will be shown that despite the rise of modern industry, entailing

²⁷ See Appendices 1 and 2 for details on the sources, methodology and 'key' year approach.

²⁸ On the influence of eighteenth century patterns of wealth and property see W.D. Rubinstein Men of Property ; the impact of eighteenth century values and ethos see T.R. Tholfsen 'The intellectual origins of mid-victorian stability' Political Science Quarterly 86 (1971) 57-91 ; also H. Perkin The origins of modern English society ; M.J. Wiener English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit 1850-1980 (Cambridge 1981)

significant influence and wealth for manufacturers and massive changes in the manner in which middle class life was conducted, the eighteenth century had a decisive impact in determining patterns of society, social relationships and economic structures in the nineteenth century city. There was essential continuity in many aspects of social experience - and the pervasive influence of certain central eighteenth century values, commonly held by all elements in urban society and buttressed by an array of traditional Scottish precepts, contributed to relative political stability and class harmony in Glasgow. But it will also be shown that there was considerable change in the character of the environment and economy and particularly in the nature of society. New groups rose with novel values and an ethos that reflected changing economic situations. Above all there was the emergence of the middle class as a conscious, identifiable, powerful and growing element within British life. The urban middle classes, it is argued, were the pivot of social and political power in the nineteenth century - particularly in cities such as Glasgow where the influence of the aristocracy was traditionally weak. Their early, town based and organizationally focused class consciousness had a major role to play in the development of working class identity and determined the functions of the upper classes. In the analysis of the development of class and the creation of class structures, an understanding of the essential nature of the middle class - the group which falls at the centre - is vital to the understanding of the structure as a whole.

1.2 The case study

This analysis of the multi-dimensional nineteenth century middle class has focused on a single city, Glasgow. In order fully to understand the essential and evolving character of a social group it is necessary to undertake local case studies, and the urban centres of nineteenth century Britain were the main context in which middle class values and identity were articulated: 'The British towns of the industrial revolution period were the creation of their middle class, and in turn provided the theatre within which that middle class sought, extended, expressed and defended its power.'¹⁹ There are, however, problems associated with an examination based on just one town or city.²⁰ Difficulties arise from the selection of particular centres which, because of their specific economic character and social orientation, can lead to untypical or even biased results.²¹ It is clear, for instance, that the development of class structures could assume a

¹⁹ R.J. Morris 'The middle class and British towns and cities of the industrial revolution 1780-1870' in D. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe (eds) The pursuit of urban history (1983) p286

²⁰ E.M. Cook 'Local leadership and the typology fo New England towns 1700 to 1785' Political Science Quarterly 86 (1971) p586 - questions the value of single 'micro studies' which attempt to represent general experience.

²¹ J. Foster Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: early industrial capitalism in three English towns (1977) pp.2-3 This notable 'case study' analysis of three towns suggests that the 'individual community' is 'never much more than an arbitrary geographical bite out of a larger political system'.

variety of characters within contrasting localities.²² A traditional market town in the rural West Country would have a very different evolutionary profile to that of a single industry town in the manufacturing regions of the nineteenth century North. Nevertheless, by selecting a large and established urban centre - a metropolitan city and the focus of a regional economy - a city with a capacity, due to the diversity of its economic profile, to represent the broad range of class experience, the difficulties associated with a single centre analysis, or even a comparative analysis of several variable but small centres, are mitigated.²³ Glasgow is particularly suitable in this respect. The city had established traditions, a varied industrial and commercial profile and a pattern of economic development that reflected many of the significant changes seen within Britain as a whole during the course of the nineteenth century. Its economy initially was dominated by commerce and trade, to which were added textile manufacturing, iron and coal, engineering and finally shipbuilding. Glasgow was a city with an 'Empire' orientation - the popular ethos was distinct and outward looking. As the metropolitan focus of nineteenth century Scotland it has been singularly neglected in social analysis. Thus, while no urban centre, even a large city can entirely reflect the totality of British social experience, Glasgow does present a very favourable case for detailed study.

Yet there are certain problems associated with the 'big city' case

²² R.J. Morris 'The middle class and British towns and cities of the industrial revolution' p.289 ; S.A. Royle 'Aspects of nineteenth small town society: a comparative study from Leicestershire' Midland History 5 (1979-80) p.50 ; D. Smith Conflict and Compromise - class formation in English society 1830-1914 (1982) p.xi

²³ R.J. Morris The Leeds Middle Class 1820 - 1850 (Final report to SSRC Committee of Economic Affairs June 1983) p.1

study, especially those concerning the distribution of power, status, residence and economic structures between the urban centre and the region in which that centre is situated.²⁴ Regional economic character inevitably will differ from that of the service orientated, metropolitan city. Elites outwith the city - their wealth, residence and principal economic activities distributed though the region - may yet have a significant role to play within the city, in the manipulation of power, holding of status positions and in determining institutional policies and attitudes. Class structures and relationships are influenced by events and trends beyond the city boundaries. The ownership of property or residential distributions are not dictated by the often arbitrary divisions imposed by municipal or electoral boundaries - though the latter inevitably impose on the sources and methodology employed in a study such as this.

The date at which the present study ends, 1870, reflects concern about these problems. After 1870, with the development of an extensive suburban and regional transport network in the West of Scotland, many elements especially of the wealthier middle class came to reside outwith the formal limits of the city.²⁵ Developments in the dynamic heavy industrial sector, notably shipbuilding, were also largely

²⁴ A. Armstrong Stability and Change in an English County Town : a social Study of York 1801-51 (Cambridge 1974) p.17 acknowledges the relationship between locality and region as does M. Daunton Coal Metropolis, Cardiff 1800-1914 (Leicester 1977) p.13 - but few urban centre studies give this matter particular attention.

²⁵ Due to restrictions on land sales, local transport services only developed from the latter part of the nineteenth century in the Glasgow region. See M. Simpson 'Urban transport and the development of Glasgow's West End 1830-1914' Journal of Transport History 1 (1972) pp.156-159.

outside the city boundaries.²⁶ Glasgow, within its existing formal limits, was less of an identifiable and separate entity after 1870 than it had been in the earlier nineteenth century. Economy and society were more fully integrated into a complex regional system; as elsewhere, the middle class became an increasingly regional, in some respects national, rather than local phenomenon.²⁷ To talk of a discrete and identifiable city based middle class after 1870 becomes increasingly difficult - relative to Glasgow it is a task that must be left to other researchers. Prior to 1870, however, Glasgow was a distinct urban entity, and in exploring the nature of the middle classes before that date, the evolving relationship between locality and region, and pattern of extra-city contacts are given particular emphasis. In order to comprehend the development of society within Glasgow it is necessary to consider the nature of the economic base of that society, to outline its spatial features and determine the policies and guiding intelligence to which it was subject.²⁸ The broad character of Glasgow's economic and social experience, during and prior to the nineteenth century, in the context of regional and Scottish patterns of development, is therefore the area of initial consideration.

²⁶ S.G. Checkland The Upas Tree, Glasgow 1875-1975 (Glasgow 1981) p5

²⁷ H. Perkin The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969) pp.431-432 ; M.J. Wiener English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980 (Cambridge 1981) pp. 137-144. Both consider the 'gentrification' of the local business elite and the movement from the 1880's into a national forum. In the Glasgow context, certain very wealthy families, notably the Tennants, followed this path.

²⁸ R.S. Checkland 'The British industrial city as history, the Glasgow case' Urban Studies 1 (1964) p36

1.3 Glasgow 1800 to 1870 - the social and economic context

The Scottish economy was traditionally backward, hampered by difficult climatic conditions and terrain and a geographical position on the periphery of the developed trading networks of Western Europe. By the late seventeenth century, rural Scotland was still a largely peasant society 'bound by customary law and practising a relatively undifferentiated mixed form of agriculture' - only a few areas of the more favourably endowed Central Lowlands engaged in advanced farming techniques.²⁹ The burghs were generally small, but numerous - excepting Edinburgh, which rivaled Bristol in size - and through the development of trade, overseas and domestic, played a significant role in the economic life of Scotland. The country was undoubtedly in a process of development and expansion, generated by agriculture and trade, prior to the Act of Union in 1707. Progress was, however, limited, often hesitant and susceptible to severe curtailment at times of crisis. Following the act of Union, and an apparent willingness to exploit new opportunities, conditions advanced considerably, particularly within the Lowland areas.³⁰ Agricultural improvement and the associated accumulation of capital and wealth was notable: rural industry was expanding; commerce, particularly overseas trade focused

²⁹ B. Lenman An economic history of modern Scotland 1660-1976 (1977) p.17 ; I. Whyte Agriculture and society in seventeenth century Scotland (Edinburgh 1979) ch. 1.

³⁰ T.C. Smout A history of the Scottish people 1560-1830 (Glasgow 1969) pp.224-225; The extent to which the Union of 1707 did contribute to Scottish economic development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is an area of considerable debate - R.H. Campbell 'The Union and economic growth' in T.I. Rae (ed) The Union of 1707 (1965) outlines the main arguments.

on the burghs of the West of Scotland, was flourishing.³¹ Parts of the economy and certain geographical areas of Scotland, particularly the peasant dominated Highlands, continued to be backward and underdeveloped, the focus of periodic crisis and distress well into the nineteenth century. But Central and to a lesser degree Southern Scotland, were advancing along a broad economic front. Dynamic towns in the Lowlands were a considerable attraction to migrating populations and advances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were reflected in major changes in Scottish demographic distribution.³² It was against this background that Glasgow emerged as the main centre of Scottish commercial and industrial achievement in the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth century Glasgow society was fundamentally determined by the patterns of historical economic development to which the city had been subject. Unlike Edinburgh, which had a traditional significance derived from the functions of national government, law and administration, court and culture, education and religion, Glasgow, for much of its history, was relatively small and unimportant. Before the seventeenth century it was a minor town, only the eleventh burgh in Scotland by volume of trade and national political influence in 1546.³³ Its pre-reformation function was that of local ecclesiastic and market centre. It was a trading entrepot dealing mainly with raw goods and food products, derived from rural West Scotland and Ireland

³¹ T.Dickson (ed) Scottish capitalism - class, state and nation from before the Union to the present (1980) pp 95-102

³² M. Flinn (ed) Scottish population history from the seventeenth century to the 1930s (Cambridge 1977) p305

³³ The New Statistical Account of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1835) vol VI Lanarkshire p.109

and from the waters of the Firth of Clyde and Irish Seas.³⁴ Small scale and mainly localized trades and urban crafts flourished - but Glasgow, as with most other towns in Scotland, was largely an agricultural community.

Following the Reformation, merchant and craft elites gained greater scope for local power seeking and municipal determination.³⁵ It was from the seventeenth century that sustained and significant economic growth came to the city and to the West of Scotland in general, as traditional areas of commerce expanded and new ones, such as the trade in coal, began to develop. By the latter part of the seventeenth century Glasgow was the fastest growing burgh in Scotland and by contributions to the national Tax Roll the second most important burgh in the country. It was a century of great economic vicissitude for the city, as elsewhere. But overall, the period was one of notable expansion, with the establishment of the initial contacts in the Atlantic trades and the beginnings of new local industries such as textile manufacture, soap making and sugar refining.³⁶ The city was still relatively small, a population of less than 15,000 in 1700, its functions highly circumscribed by the dominant agricultural character of the region, but it was certainly not a sleepy backwater of provincial, urban under-development, awaiting the stimulus of 1707 -

³⁴ A. Gibb Glasgow - the making of a city (Beckenham, 1983) p36

³⁵ The sixteenth century saw the foundation of the Trades and Merchant Houses and Royal Burgh status and privileges were granted in 1611. D. Daiches Glasgow p 17.

³⁶ T.M. Devine 'The Cromwellian Union and the Scottish Burghs: the Case of Aberdeen and Glasgow 1652-60' in J. Butt & J. Ward Scottish Themes (Edinburgh 1976) p8

as is sometimes popularly assumed.³⁷

In the eighteenth century, rates of urban expansion and economic growth quickened, both in local industry, and particularly in trade. With the Act of Union, Scotland, deeply conscious of inferiority in wealth relative to her larger national partner, but also aware of areas of strength and opportunity, had become actively and aggressively involved in the search for economic advance and prestige.³⁸ This was a pattern of action and values that remained strong into the nineteenth century and was dominated by Glasgow merchants and manufacturers. Union had established a set of conditions through which rapid transformation to a progressive capitalist society was made possible. New market relationships enhanced the opportunities for agricultural improvement and unrestricted access to Atlantic colonial trade, within the protective barriers of the English Navigation Acts, played an essential role in Glasgow's rapid rise to trading dominance.³⁹ Those with 'progressive interests' were stimulated into action, notably the big reforming landowners, anxious to increase their wealth and status within the extended national forum, and also the merchants of the West. The agricultural sector was particularly buoyant during this period - promoting a steady accumulation of wealth in certain developed regions of the Scottish countryside. But the most dramatic areas of economic advance were associated with the burghs,

³⁷ T.C. Smout 'The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century' Scottish Historical Review 47 (1968) p55

³⁸ I. Hont 'The 'rich country-poor country' debate in Scottish classical political economy' I. Hont & M. Ignatieff (ed) Wealth and Virtue - the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment (Cambridge 1983) p271

³⁹ T. Dickson Scottish Capitalism pp.89-90

particularly Glasgow and the growth of shipping activities, especially the Atlantic trades of sugar, tobacco and cotton.

Colonial commerce and the tobacco trade in particular, encouraged domestic commerce and industry alike, through a demand for such basic Scottish manufactured goods as linen. The transport and banking infrastructure was stimulated - developments which gave a boost to Glasgow and allowed the West Central area of Scotland to rise to overwhelming dominance within the Scottish economy. It was at this time that the great merchanting families of Glasgow first rose to prominence - a vastly rich, but by no means monolithic or closed access hierarchy of 'elites', whose influence was to be significant well into the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century Scotland had advanced considerably on its profile of 1700. The whole country had experienced 'monetization' and a high level of economic progress. But the character of change, though significant, should not be over-emphasized - it was not as notable as the change to be experienced in the nineteenth century. It was an era of 'pre-industrial growth', in which Scotland resembled a number of late eighteenth century European countries (such as Denmark) rather more than the 'precocious yoke-fellow in the Union, England'.⁴¹ What was true of Scotland as a whole,

⁴⁰ H. Hamilton 'The founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783' Scottish Journal of Political Economy 1 (1954) p.36 ; T.M. Devine 'The social composition of the Business Class in the larger Scottish towns, 1680-1740' in T.M. Devine & D.Dickson (eds) Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850 (Edinburgh 1983) pp172-3.

⁴¹ T.C. Smout 'Where had the Scottish economy got to by the third quarter of the eighteenth century?' in I. Hont & M. Ignatieff (eds) Wealth and Virtue the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment (Cambridge 1983) p.71

was also to an extent true of Glasgow, which though growing rapidly, retained a distinctly different aspect to her more advanced and extensive English rivals of Liverpool and Bristol. In 1736, when the first history of the city was published, there was a population of a little over 15,000, living in ten streets and seventeen lanes within an area of three-quarters of a square mile. The city was surrounded by cornfields, meadows, kitchen and flower gardens and orchards.⁴² In 1787, when the first Directory of Glasgow was published, it was still a small and compact centre of about 40,000: a city much praised for the beauty of townscape and fine buildings. Surprisingly enough, in the light of modern perceptions of Glasgow dominated by images of the physical horrors of the nineteenth and twentieth century industrial city, one commentator has plausibly equated it with St Andrews as we know that city today - 'Flemish in general conception, but with what might be described as a Highland air.'⁴³ As late as 1800, when this study begins, semi-rural perceptions were still very important in Glasgow, as was shown in newspaper comments on the remarkable size of the honey harvest taken from the numerous beehives kept on the roofs of houses in the city.⁴⁴

By 1870, the impact of rapid economic, particularly industrial, growth had brought considerable change to the physical and spatial character of the city. The pretty, compact and semi-rural eighteenth century centre had become a vast industrial metropolis, the focus of some of the most intense problems associated with nineteenth century British

⁴² Reprint of Jones's Directory or Useful Pocket Companion for the year 1787 (Glasgow 1868) p7

⁴³ C.A. Oakley The Second City (1946) p.18

⁴⁴ Glasgow Courier Aug 2 1800

urban expansion. The massive and densely populated slums of central and eastern Glasgow were widely considered by contemporaries to be some of the worst in Europe, with all the attendant implications for health and mortality.⁴⁵ But other areas, particularly in the new west-central business districts and middle class West End demonstrated the wealth and opulence of certain sections of society and contributed to the reputation of Glasgow as one of the great cities of nineteenth century architecture.⁴⁶

The population growth was rapid, rising from 77,000 in 1801 to 147,000 in 1831, 329,000 in 1851 and 478,000 in 1871, by the latter date Glasgow accommodated 14% of the people of Scotland.⁴⁷ Of this population, a high proportion were born outside the city, as many as 60% in 1841, mostly from elsewhere in Scotland or Ireland. In the decade 1861 to 1871 there was a net increase of 88,000, of which it is estimated 41,000 were migrants born outside the city.⁴⁸ This massive migration to Glasgow was a reflection of a broader trend of demographic change seen within Scotland as a whole - in the mid-eighteenth century half the population lived in northern Scotland, above a line from the Clyde to the Tay, by 1821 it was 41% and by 1841

⁴⁵ R. Cowan Statistics of fever in Glasgow for 1837 and remarks suggested by the mortality bills (Glasgow 1838) p15

⁴⁶ M. Simpson 'Middle class housing and the growth of suburban communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914' Glasgow M.Litt 1970

⁴⁷ A. Gibb Glasgow - the making of a city p124 ; J. Cunnison & J.B.S. Gilfillan (eds) Glasgow vol 5 of the Third Statistical Account of Scotland (Glasgow 1958) p58

⁴⁸ *ibid* p.64

less than 30%.⁴⁹ The attractions of the industrial Lowlands and particularly of the growing cities - wealthy Glasgow above all - were undoubtedly great to all sections of society in the under-developed north, including the middle classes.

Rapid growth in population numbers inevitably strained the capacity of the city to provide accommodation. Though the years 1800 to 1870 saw physical expansion outwards, the city was still relatively compact and geographically circumscribed, prior to the growth of the late nineteenth century suburbs and neighbouring satellite towns.⁵⁰ Average population density in 1801 has been estimated at 15 persons per acre, by 1831 it was 38 per acre and in 1871 94 per acre, the highest figure for the whole century and well above average figures for other industrial cities.⁵¹ In certain of the poorest enclaves of Glasgow the density was as high as 583 persons per acre in the 1850's.⁵²

Stimulating this increase in population was, of course, the rapid developments in the economic importance of Glasgow. The economic vitality of the city, founded on commerce and overseas trade - which continued to expand and diversify during the nineteenth century - was enhanced from the 1780's by the development of a flourishing cotton textile industry. This was established initially in the rural hinterland, but from the early 1800's, with the development of steam

⁴⁹ T.M. Devine 'Highland migration to Lowland Scotland 1760-1860' Scottish Historical Review 62 (1983) p137

⁵⁰ S.G. Checkland The Uras Tree Glasgow 1875-1975 (Glasgow 1981) pp17-18

⁵¹ Cunnison & Gilfillan Glasgow p54

⁵² Shadow's midnight scenes and social photographs intro. J.F. McCaffrey (Glasgow 1976 - facsim reprint of 1858 ed) p6

power, it was centred in the city itself and in nearby Paisley.⁵³ Closely associated with the production of textiles was a thriving chemicals industry, also based in Glasgow.

Textile production - in Glasgow the emphasis was on relatively fine textiles and the finishing processes⁵⁴ - remained, in employment terms, the dominant industry within the city for the period under discussion. But though significant up to 1870, it is clear that from the 1840's the industry was no longer dynamic or expanding.⁵⁵ There was a trend towards concentration of ownership and by the late 1860's significant disinvestment and eventual decline in the face of powerful rivals at home and overseas.⁵⁶ As the cotton and textile processing industry went into relative downturn, so too did the local chemical industry. But decline in these areas of early industrialization were not matters of major concern to the business community of Glasgow - it did not impose on the overall prosperity of the city. Even during the American Civil War, when supplies of cotton were cut, the general business response was sanguine. The strength of the Glasgow economy lay in the ability of entrepreneurs to turn their attention, deliberately and confidently in new directions. New industries, based on the traditions of engineering and machine making within the city and the regional exploitation of coal and iron, presented fresh opportunities for specialization, growth, employment and wealth

⁵³ A. Slaven The development of the West of Scotland 1750-1860 (1975) pp.96-97

⁵⁴ D. Bremner The Industries of Scotland their rise progress and present condition (Edinburgh 1869) pp 281-282

⁵⁵ *ibid* p. 286

⁵⁶ S.G. Checkland The Upas Tree p. 7

making. Dominant among these new areas was modern shipbuilding and the related industries. In 1861 shipbuilding and metal trades in Glasgow and Govan employed only 4,500, while textile workers numbered 48,500. By 1891 the latter had fallen to 29,000 while the former had increased to 33,000 - a trend that had begun during the 1860's.⁵⁷

From the 1870's onwards Glasgow, though in itself still an important unit, was increasingly integrated into a regional economic structure, the Clyde - massively powerful and internationally recognized. It was no longer possible to talk of a relatively simple, Glasgow based economic system of the type seen from 1800 to 1870, when the cotton industry, centred on the city, was dominant. Trends that were evident during the eighteenth century - when Glasgow overseas trade (due to the physical inadequacies of the city port) had depended on the facilities of satellite ports on the Clyde - were reflected in the new economic circumstances of the late nineteenth century. The shipbuilding industry, for instance, though dominated by Glasgow, cannot be seen except in the context of shipbuilding on the Clyde as a whole. The spectacular success of the industry - over one third of British tonnage launched between 1870 and 1913 - was a regional phenomenon.⁵⁸ This thesis - an analysis of urban social structures and of the middle class specifically - is set against an economic background of early or initial industrialization. It considers a class in the various stages of its primary evolution. Despite the many interactions between locality and region, it is only between 1800 and 1870 that one can satisfactorily examine the Glasgow social

⁵⁷ A. Gibb Glasgow - the making of a city p116

⁵⁸ A. Slaven The development of the West of Scotland pp178-182

structure in relative isolation, a city based system - for it is only during this period that the principal aspects of its industrial economy were centred on the city and the immediate suburbs.

Economic and social relationships between large urban centres and the regions of which they are the focus are undoubtedly significant.⁵⁹ In the years 1800 to 1870, Glasgow was, in itself, an intensely diverse economic system - far more than just a reflection of the region of which it was the centre.⁶⁰ Though the era was characterised as the 'age of cotton' and the textile industry was undoubtedly dominant, the city also provided a forum for many other types of industry and economic enterprise. Coal mining was conducted within the boundaries of the city in the eighteenth century and extensively in the suburbs in the nineteenth century. Iron processing was widespread. Glasgow was a centre of railway building. Small scale non-ferrous metal working was particularly notable. There was paper making and book printing, food and drink processing and a range of other consumer oriented industries, usually small scale but extensive such as leather processing and glass and pottery manufacture.⁶¹

Diversity was not only reflected in a wide range of manufacturing enterprises: it was also manifest in the commercial and service sectors of the local economy. Glasgow was undoubtedly a great

⁵⁹ A. Briggs Victorian Cities (1963) pp.136-137

⁶⁰ A region of advanced agriculture, heavy industry (coal and iron), textiles, and predominantly one-industry, small towns. A. Slaven The development of the West of Scotland pp.1-10

⁶¹ D. Bremner Industries of Scotland p. 54, pp.98-99, p.338; J. Butt 'Belfast and Glasgow: connections and comparisons' in T.M. Devine & D. Dickson (eds) Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850 (Edinburgh 1983) p.198

industrial city, at the focus of a region whose principal characteristics were industrial - but it was also an extensive service providing city, a centre of educational, cultural and administrative facilities for the region as a whole. Above all, it was a commercial city - a city that has been described by many as a 'Liverpool and Manchester combined'.⁶² In emphasizing the industrial profile - an emphasis that has been evident among historians of the city from the late nineteenth century - the commercial, professional and service functions of Glasgow have tended to be overlooked.⁶³ Yet this aspect of the city economy had vital implications for the character of local society in general and, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, had a profound impact on the nature of the middle classes.

The commercial activities of nineteenth century Glasgow were a consequence of the long established port functions of the city. Glasgow centred trade, like Glasgow industry, was extensive, diverse and expanding. Tonnage arrivals rose from 55,980 in 1796 to 190,507 by 1823 and 1,504,220 by 1861. Ships registered in Glasgow rose from 24 in 1810 to 679 by 1861.⁶⁴ In the eighteenth century the main commodity was tobacco, in the nineteenth century cotton, but numerous other goods were transported and traded by sea, canal and road, including pig iron and metal products, chemicals, glass, beer and whisky, tea

⁶² S.G. Checkland Upas Tree p. 7

⁶³ The development of the industrial emphasis in contemporary perceptions from the later nineteenth century, to the virtual exclusion of the role of commerce, would merit study in its own right.

⁶⁴ A. Gibb Glasgow - the making of a city p.85 ; W. Watson Report upon the vital, social and economic statistics of Glasgow for 1880 (Glasgow 1881) p.97

and sugar and from the 1860's American grain.⁶⁵ Reflecting the role of regional centre, the provision of retail services was also extensive, innovative and often spectacular. Visitors to Glasgow were as impressed by the large early departmental stores, as they were by the great factories.⁶⁶ Drapery and soft goods retail and wholesale warehouses were notable - and many of the techniques of modern mass retailing were developed in the city, particularly by Thomas Lipton who began his chain grocery stores in Glasgow in the later nineteenth century.⁶⁷

Associated with commerce and business services as a whole, were insurance provision and the extensive (and from the 1830's very innovative) banking sector.⁶⁸ Glasgow was also a centre of professional business services, particularly commercial law and accountancy. It was a traditional centre of education, of cultural facilities and entertainment. The power of the non-industrial sectors of the local economy - of commerce, the professions, education and formal culture - was reflected in the many influential organizations within the city that existed to promote the interests of these areas. It is also shown through a broad analysis of press advertising trends during the period.⁶⁹ Against a background of traditional diversity in

⁶⁵ J. Butt 'Belfast and Glasgow connections and comparisons' p95 ; W. Watson Report upon the vital, social and economic statistics of Glasgow pp136-7

⁶⁶ J. Burn Commercial enterprise and social progress : or gleanings in London, Sheffield, Glasgow and Dublin (1858) p15

⁶⁷ C.A. Oakley Second City pp224-225

⁶⁸ S.G. Checkland Scottish banking: a history 1695-1973 (Glasgow 1975) p.324-325

⁶⁹ See Appendix 7.4

economic experience the middle class was to develop as a large and varied group. As shown below, it was also a group with a rich and diverse intellectual experience.

1.4. Glasgow 1800 to 1870 - the intellectual context

The physical and psychological character of urban middle class society were highly determined by patterns of economic development within the city and region. But it is also clear that social characteristics in the nineteenth century were equally influenced by other factors. In examining a Scottish case study, though points of similarity with the English experience are evident, one is conscious of certain significant differences in social perception and formation arising out of distinct traditions of culture, religion, politics, law, education and municipal development. Most notable was the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment, a phenomenon of the second half of the eighteenth century, with roots in cultural developments of the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ The Enlightenment in Scotland was a significant and innovative economic, social and cultural awakening in the Age of Improvement, after many centuries of relative backwardness and cultural stagnation. It was particularly characterised by a concern with the mechanics of society and the 'study of man as a social and sociable being'.⁷¹ It was an intellectual phenomenon, in part stimulated by the new political alliance with England and a pervading sense of inferiority within the Union, which provoked a need to stress the character of Scottish achievements and counter the condemnation of provincialism. Increased prosperity from the eighteenth century provided the funds for extensive patronage of the material arts and engendered a sense of optimism which encouraged debate and a

⁷⁰ A. Chitnis The Scottish Enlightenment: a social history (1976) p254

⁷¹ *ibid* p.6,91

commitment to progress.⁷²

In an environment of debate and rapid economic advance, existing traditions and assumptions were inevitably questioned. The Scottish Enlightenment was a manifestation of positive conflict between established perceptions of religion and politics and a new approach, in which the role of existing institutions was challenged. It was a profound break with the past, in which a generation of major intellectuals decisively shed some of the most basic orientations of preceding ages and defined a new spectrum of beliefs and assumptions which, despite their rather tenuous hold, are even in our present times regarded as essential components of the modern mentality.⁷³ The impact of the Enlightenment in Scotland was all the more powerful because of its geographical and social concentration - centred on the urban, middle class, professional institutions of Church, Law and higher education in Edinburgh, Glasgow and (to a lesser extent) Aberdeen.⁷⁴

By the early nineteenth century the Scottish Enlightenment had ceased to be dynamic. Rapid industrialization and new types of political behaviour had diverted attention elsewhere, whilst the religious and social backlash following the French Revolution and emergence of radical social theory had undermined open debate.⁷⁵ The once unifying

⁷² B. Lenman Integration, enlightenment and industrialization: Scotland 1746-1832 (1981) p25

⁷³ C. Camie Experience and enlightenment: socialization for cultural change in eighteenth century Scotland (Chicago 1983) p6

⁷⁴ A. Chitnis The Scottish Enlightenment p 5

⁷⁵ A. Chitnis The Scottish Enlightenment pp238-9 ; C.A. Whatley John Galt, 1779-1979 (Edinburgh 1979) p 46.

enlightenment philosophies of the Lowland urban elites had given way to a number of conflicting value systems, which among the business classes was particularly dominated by what has been termed 'sophisticated common sense', non-cultural and non-intellectual in character.⁷⁶ But certain Enlightenment precepts continued to have an influence into the nineteenth century and helped to form an array of distinct Scottish urban values. As will be shown in subsequent chapters, concern with the institutions and mechanisms of society was strong, particularly in a city such as Glasgow where economic advance had a profound and often deleterious impact on existing structures. An interest in the concept of the 'equality of man' and in the institutions of education - which developed out of an established Church tradition of concern with the parish school as an agent of social and spiritual control - combined to promote the pervasive, nineteenth century 'Scottish myth' of an open, egalitarian society, in which there was equality of opportunity through educational achievement. The belief in social mobility stimulated and was influenced by a formidable array of informal, part-time, self-help education institutions in the Scottish cities, which co-existed and co-operated with the established universities in a manner unseen in England.⁷⁷ It is significant that Samuel Smiles, the lower middle class 'utopian' leader and advocate of self-help, though active mainly in Leeds, was Lowland Scots by birth and upbringing.⁷⁸ Urban society at

⁷⁶ R.D. Elliot 'The Glasgow Novel' Glasgow Ph.D. 1978 p.15

⁷⁷ W.M. Matthew 'The origins and occupations of Glasgow students 1740-1839' Past and Present 33 (1966) p.35 ; R.D. Anderson, R.D. Education and opportunity in Victorian Scotland (Oxford 1983) p.336

⁷⁸ R.J. Morris 'Samuel Smiles and the genesis of self help: the retreat to a petit bourgeois utopia' Historical Journal 24 (1981) p.90

all levels was strongly committed to and identified with its institutions of formal education - the University in Glasgow was regarded as a major agent of civic prestige. It was also committed to a particular type of education - which, it was felt, had positive practical benefits for modern commercial society - broad and philosophy-based rather than classics-based, as in England.⁷⁹

Educational institutions, particularly the parish schools - despite a manifest failure to adapt in the wake of urban industrial growth - helped to form an array of distinctly Scottish urban attitudes and behaviour patterns at all levels of the class structure. The existence of a traditional national mechanism for the regulation of this area of social life contributed towards a more receptive and passive attitude to the introduction of state intervention in social activities from the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁰ Widely articulated, Enlightenment based social precepts, the existence of a traditional system of popular education and the powerful 'Scottish myth' - no less significant because it was a 'myth' - helped to moderate the impact of the massive changes seen within the Scottish cities, particularly in Glasgow, in the nineteenth century. Relationships between the classes were regulated and harmonized, conflicts were circumscribed and stress diverted, in a manner that was seen in England,⁸¹ but was more profound in Scotland.

⁷⁹ G.E. Davie The democratic intellect, Scotland and her universities in the nineteenth century (1961) p25

⁸⁰ R.D. Anderson 'Education and the state in nineteenth century Scotland' Economic History Review 2nd ser 36 (1983) pp518-534

⁸¹ T.R. Tholfsen 'The intellectual origins of mid-Victorian stability' Political Science Quarterly 86 (1971) pp57-91

Popular theories of political economy, derived from the Enlightenment, also had a lasting impact in Scotland. There was an emphasis on the role of new wealth, the ascendancy of commercialism and opportunity for all. There was also a profound concern with the 'rich country/poor country debate', with the desire to explain why Scotland was under-developed relative to her powerful neighbour and to create situations and attitudes that would bring about change.⁸² Allied to the new view of the economic world was the promotion of material culture in the urban centres of the nineteenth century. Prestigious civic and private architecture, the physical expression of economic achievement and progress, was particularly evident in Glasgow.⁸³

The intellectual ethos of the eighteenth century Enlightenment was in itself subject to longer term, particularly religious, influences which continued to play an important role in the formation of nineteenth century values.⁸⁴ Calvinism, the religion of the Scottish Reformation, entrenched and institutionalized in the established church, though already considerably undermined as an overt doctrine in urban Lowland society, was capable of exerting a residual influence, particularly at times of stress or social conflict. This was seen in attitudes to the cholera crisis in Glasgow in 1832 and in responses to the apparent moral degeneration of the urban residuum and the development of Irish Catholic immigration to Glasgow.⁸⁵ Social

⁸² I. Hont 'The 'rich country-poor country' debate in Scottish classical political economy' p271

⁸³ T. Markus Order and space in Society (1982)

⁸⁴ C. Camic Experience and Enlightenment pp225-229

⁸⁵ A. MacLaren 'Bourgeois Ideology and Victorian Philanthropy: the contradictions of Cholera' in MacLaren, A. (ed) Social Class in Scotland (Edinburgh N.D.) pp42-43

precepts derived from Calvinism were not essentially in conflict with concepts of equal opportunity, self-help, individualism and the desires of personal ambition.⁸⁶ But basic ideals of the 'moral society', firmly entrenched in the perceptions of nineteenth century Calvinism, were not easily reconciled with the more aggressive manifestations of the search for wealth and prestige. The conflicts between ambition, success and wealth and individual, as well as collective moral integrity, were important themes of many of the Glasgow novels of the period. The prevailing economic system and personal ambition were not condemned in total, but many novels do point to a sense of moral sterility in Lowland, urban, commercial society and often present the older values of traditional Highland society (or a romanticized version) in favourable comparison.⁸⁷ Perceptions of Highland life - intensified by the considerable levels of Highland migration to Glasgow - seen in such areas as militarism and a sense of commitment to the land and the extended family - were an important element in urban thinking.

The distinct religious traditions and institutions of Scotland, and a separate pattern of religious development to that seen in England in the nineteenth century, were significant factors in dictating the character of urban society. The traumatic events leading to the 1843 Disruption have, for instance, been interpreted, in an analysis of the

⁸⁶ G. Marshall 'The Weber thesis and the development of capitalism in Scotland' in R. Parsler (ed) Capitalism, class and politics in Scotland (Westmead 1980) pp1-36

⁸⁷ R.D. Elliot 'The Glasgow Novel' p32 ; H.J. Hanham 'Mid-century Scottish nationalism: romantic and radical' in R. Robson (ed) Ideas and institutions of Victorian Britain (1967) ; D. Craig Scottish Literature and the Scottish People (1961) p145

middle classes in one Scottish city (Aberdeen) as vital to the understanding of Scottish class relationships.⁸⁸ The legal system in Scotland was also distinct and separate from that seen in England, enshrined, as with the national Church, in the 1707 Act of Union. There was a separate system of political management and parliamentary representation. Municipal organizations too had developed within a particular tradition which was to have a continuing impact into the nineteenth century.⁸⁹ This array of social institutions preserved a sense of identifiable Scottish civil society in the face of powerful centralized mechanisms for ultimate control and direction from England.⁹⁰ They were vital to national perceptions and unity because of the many internal tensions within Scotland - between city and countryside, Lowlands and Highlands, East and West, Unionism and Nationalism. Scotland, even in the nineteenth century, was still in relative terms a poor country, aware of economic inferiority to England and often aspiring to English ways and levels of achievement - but she was also proud of her distinct cultural apparatus. These trends were particularly evident in Glasgow, where aggressive displays of cultural achievement and material wealth within a public forum underlined the desire to compete with cities of the more powerful

⁸⁸ A. MacLaren Religion and social class - the Disruption years in Aberdeen (1974)

⁸⁹ G. Best 'The Scottish Victorian city' Victorian Studies 11 (1967-8) p.341

⁹⁰ T. Dickson Scottish Capitalism p124

Union partner.⁹¹ In concert with the economic and social traditions of Scotland and Glasgow, the intellectual experiences of the Scottish population, and of the wealthier classes in particular, were notable factors in the formation of the urban middle class physical profile, and in middle class psychological development.

The present study of social formation with particular reference to the Glasgow middle classes, is set against this background of distinct Scottish economic, social and cultural experience. The character of social structure in nineteenth century urban Scotland has attracted little detailed analysis, with the partial exception of working class developments. In this there has been some analysis of class consciousness, culture, lifestyle and politics.⁹² There has also been a significant study of one important transitional element within the working classes, the labour aristocracy in Edinburgh.⁹³ But specific detailed examinations of the Scottish urban middle class - beyond a single study of Aberdeen at the time of the Disruption crisis in 1843 - have been few.⁹⁴ It is against this background that the present work has been formulated - an analysis of the multi-dimensional physical and psychological character of the middle class in the nineteenth century Scottish city. The approach and specific methodology, to be outlined in subsequent chapters, and conclusions and implications, are

⁹¹ Two international exhibitions, in 1888 and 1901, mark the height of Glasgow confidence and competitive civic display - the latter, at the time, was the biggest venture ever held in Britain and attracted over eleven million visitors. S.G. Checkland Upas Tree p.9. Earlier prestige events centred on the city included the notable 1860 meeting of the British Association.

⁹² J. D. Young The rousing of the Scottish Working Class (1979)

⁹³ R. Gray The labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford 1976)

⁹⁴ A. MacLaren Religion and Social Class (1974)

set within the context of the development of the urban middle class in Britain as a whole - but it is also hoped that they will contribute towards a deeper understanding of the uniquely Scottish elements of class formation.

2. The physical profile of the Glasgow middle class

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Occupation

2.3 Social character and family structure

2.4 Property, wealth and income

2.5 Consumption

Founded in the Weberian critique of class development, the first part of this study of the Glasgow middle class between the years 1800 and 1870 will explore the dynamic evolution of its physical profile against a background of local social and economic development. The emphasis is on a statistical presentation within a number of specific categories - occupation: social and family structure: property, wealth and income: and finally lifestyle and consumption. These are supplemented by an outline of methodology in Appendices 2 and 3. The section includes discussion of the implications of the Glasgow results in the light both of contemporary views of local society and of studies that have been conducted elsewhere.

2.1 Introduction

'A class does not in itself constitute a community. To treat "class" conceptually as having the same value as "community" leads to distortion'¹

So wrote Weber in his 1922 interpretation of social structures and the role of economic class. Yet, in the absence of a well defined and widely accepted theory of middle class development, economic class has often been equated with 'community' or a sense of group belonging, even where a Marxian approach is not overtly present. This, in turn, has led to an emphasis on ways of giving concrete economic definition to the middle class relative to other elements of nineteenth century class structure. The apparent lack of a strong, unified and publicly articulated urban middle class consciousness further heightens this tendency. It is a common observation that in the nineteenth century there was no 'middle class party', and that this detracts from attempts to positively identify the group through a specific, politics based expression of class consciousness.² Whilst this interpretation is challenged - the Glasgow analysis shows that middle class consciousness was strong and early in its development, though not consistent and homogenous in manifestation - undoubtedly concrete identification would be made easier if there had been a single political group, ideal or institution that represented all. The latter is more evident in the identification of groups that made up

¹ M. Weber *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* 1922, reprinted in H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (eds & trans) From Max Weber: essays in sociology (Oxford 1946) p.180

² J. Raynor The middle class (1969) pp17-18

the working class and the upper class - and consequently these have received a more satisfactory treatment at the hands of historians. The working class, a concept strongly rooted in class theory and traditionally associated with highly specific political and social institutions, generally pose no problems in identification, except at the margins.³ Even the title 'working' class - and the synonymous terms 'labouring' class and 'proletariat' - suggest a specific economic function that is not present in the term 'middle' class or 'bourgeoisie'. The upper class are also easily defined - small, linked to land and the traditions of inheritance, identified with national power structures and institutions such as the aristocracy, Parliament and the Season.⁴

In past attempts to give simple concrete definitions to the middle class - definitions that describe precisely where the group starts and ends within a linear hierarchy - a misleading picture, that obscures rather than illuminates, is often generated. For ultimately, the main reason for the middle class failure to present a consistent public face lay in the fact that the sense of 'class belonging' was not determined by simple physical and outward characteristics alone. It was the function of the psychology and values of the group. Strongly internalized notions of what middle class life involved could mean that groups who by simple physical character did not appear middle class, were, and those of whom elements of their physical character implied middle class membership, were not. The subjective criteria of

³ R. Gray The aristocracy of labour in nineteenth century Britain c.1850-1914 (1981) p.30

⁴ L. Davidoff The best circles: society, etiquette and the season (1973); F.M.L. Thompson English landed society in the nineteenth century (1963); M. Girouard The Victorian country house (Oxford 1971)

class consciousness, though difficult to measure, could be a stronger force than many of the objective criteria here described. For this reason the most sophisticated analyses of the middle class have tended to be those that attempt to make subjective definitions in conjunction with the objective - that see class as a way of living, thinking and behaving as well as being.⁵

Subjective criteria are the key to understanding the complexities of the nineteenth century middle class. But before they can be considered, the group must be defined objectively in its various aspects. Numerous concrete criteria, applied alone and compositely have been used by historians in the search for a physical definition of the middle class. Multiple criteria, it has been claimed - though here disputed - can lead to confusion and contradiction.⁶ Consequently, many analysts have stressed the need for one single measure of class. Or, as is more often the case given the 'tyranny of sources', to use one source alone to measure class: the Census Enumerators Books being the most popular.⁷ The most commonly used indexes have been servant keeping and other aspects of family or household consumption that reflect wealth, such as the education of children, the employment of women and children, and the presence of

⁵ A. Mayer 'The lower middle class as a historical problem' Journal of modern history 47 (1975) 409-436 - a broad combination of these elements - though there has been little attempt to apply this approach to the details of a local case study.

⁶ G.D. H. Cole, Studies in class structure (1955) p.2

⁷ R. Lawton (ed) The Census and social structure (1978)

lodgers.⁸ Property based franchise qualifications have been used, as have measurable aspects of real wealth and personal income.⁹ But the criterion that has received the most attention, in the examination of the middle classes and social structure in general, is occupation: 'occupation may be only one variable in a comprehensive theory of class, but it is the variable that includes more, which sets more limits on the other variables than any other criterion of status.'¹⁰

⁸ K. Cowlard 'The identification of social (class) areas and their place in nineteenth century urban development' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers (1979) 4 pp.241-243 A multi-index approach based on the Census.

⁹ The latter notably in J. A. Banks Prosperity and parenthood (1954)

¹⁰ S. Thernstrom Poverty and Progress (1974) p84

2.2 Occupation

As in late twentieth century society, individual occupations were vital aspects of nineteenth century thinking on class. Occupation was linked to income and job stability, which broadly dictated the ability to pursue a particular style of life. Occupation determined levels of comfort, consumption and residence patterns. It circumscribed educational opportunities and social networks. Household structures were influenced by the occupation of head of household, as was the experience of women and children within particular families. Relationships with the workplace and the character of vocational ethos and training could also contribute to the internalization of distinctive values associated with particular work areas.¹¹ Thus occupation is vital to an initial understanding of the middle class and is the first definitional criteria to be examined in this study. All other criteria will be examined in the light of occupational hierarchy.

Occupational definitions and hierarchies clearly dominated the thinking of the major nineteenth century social analysts such as Booth, and many contemporaries used occupational characteristics as their initial point of reference when writing on urban society. Thus, some of the changes manifest in Glasgow from the late eighteenth century were described in the following terms -

'Riches...were formerly the portion of a few merchants. These from the influence of the manufactures, are now diffusing themselves widely

¹¹ This was particularly the case with professional occupations - D. Duman 'The creation and diffusion of a professional ideology in nineteenth century England' Sociological Review 27 (1979) 113-138; but was evident in other areas too - G. Crossick & H. G. Haupt (eds) Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth century Europe (1984) p.9

among a great number of manufacturers, mechanics and artisans. This has made an alteration in the houses, dress, furniture, education and amusements of the people of Glasgow within a few years, which is astonishing to the older inhabitants.¹²

The novelist John Galt, an astute commentator on West of Scotland society during the same period, also indicates the importance of occupation. His most notable work, Annals of the parish (published 1821), which traces the impact of urban and industrial growth in the early nineteenth century, shows the move from status derived from tradition, land and family, to that based on occupation and related wealth. In the early part of the Annals the principal figure in local society is Lord Eglesham, a noble landowner. By the latter part, after the passage of several decades and onset of industrialization, it is Mr Cayenne, a nouveau riche former Virginia planter and textile mill owner.¹³

But why should occupation be so important in nineteenth century thinking? The significance is clearly related to the development of modern capitalism and individualism, the division of labour and work functions, and the growth of towns. Earlier rural societies defined status and hierarchy through the traditional means of land, place connections and family. In Scotland, such attitudes, rooted in Highland social structure continued powerful - and, as shown below, had a specific impact on the middle classes even in the great Lowland cities. But in general, as in other areas of advanced economic profile, individuals in Scottish urban society were defined mainly in occupational terms - a trend that had been developing over many

¹² J. Sinclair (ed) The Statistical Account of Scotland vol VII Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire (Wakefield, 1973, reprint of Edinburgh 1799 edition) p328

¹³ J. Galt Annals of the parish (1822)

centuries, but was most evident from the 1700s.¹⁴

Modern functionalism has placed considerable emphasis on the role of occupation in twentieth century life. Notions of occupational prestige have been systematized and incorporated into modern class, status and population indexes such as that adopted by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.¹⁵ It is not suggested that nineteenth century attitudes to occupation were exactly the same as those of modern society - older influences such as property, wealth or family were important, to an even greater extent than today. But the middle class, of all elements in the class structure, demonstrated certain attitudes towards the role of occupation that were modern in character. In this area of value articulation, as in others, the urban middle class were innovators: they provided a model for the rest of society.

The urban middle class derived identity from occupation because the majority of adult males within the group were compelled to work or engage in business for most of their lives to maintain a middle class lifestyle. Few men, except the elderly and retired who through work had provided for their later life, did not work.¹⁶ Few earned a sufficient income and accumulated sufficient wealth within a life time

¹⁴ P.J. Corfield The impact of English towns 1700 to 1800 (Oxford 1982) p85 - It is inevitable, given the paucity of Scottish research in related areas, when quoting comparative studies and supportive references that most will be based on English evidence.

¹⁵ F. Bechhofer Social class - necessary concept or needless baggage (Edinburgh University Survey Methodology Group Seminar 'Concept and measurement of social class' 20.12.82) p 2

¹⁶ R.J. Morris 'The middle class and the property cycle during the Industrial Revolution' in T. C. Smout The search for wealth and stability (1979) p110

to establish heirs in an independent position. Indeed, even where independence was possible, the prevailing ethos prior to 1870 gave little encouragement to an abandonment of some active connection with work. Middle class men, like working class men had to work to secure their living. Ideally, middle class women and children, unlike the working class, did not engage in specific, identifiable occupations outside the home. This was an important means whereby the middle classes secured a separate identity from the working class.¹⁷ More important however, in defining the parameters of 'middle classness' was the nature of the occupations that were undertaken. Basic occupational characteristic, the most notable of which was 'non-manual work', maintained the divisions between the classes.¹⁸ (Though in certain circumstances, manual workers who were also employers could be middle class.) Occupational characteristics, in particular the capacity for wealth generation, combined with urban traditions of status and prestige also dictated the nature of intra-class hierarchy.

The local economic functions of the middle class determined the occupational profile. But a mere listing of areas of employment can give little indication of the relative implications of specific types of work. To achieve this one must explore the distinct character of middle class occupations and define a hierarchy that reflects differences in perceived status. For though in the nineteenth century, as today, there was broad consensus as to the character of

¹⁷ P. Branca Silent sisterhood: middle class women in the Victorian home (1975) ; L. Davidoff & C. Hall 'The architecture of public and private life, English middle class society in a provincial town 1780-1850' in J. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe (eds) The pursuit of urban history (1983) pp327-328

¹⁸ A. Mayer 'The lower middle class as a historical problem' p424

status hierarchies based on occupation, it is also clear that the separate elements that formed the class structure had certain distinct and more refined notions of occupational prestige - notions that were articulated the most strongly within classes and are associated with the formation of intra-class hierarchies.¹⁹

Given the local orientation of the urban middle class, particularly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, it is probable that notions of occupational prestige were subject to localized influences and economic traditions. This is certainly evident in Glasgow as can be seen in social commentaries of the period. The city and immediate hinterland had been without a resident aristocracy - the object of traditional social deference - for many decades when, in the eighteenth century, colonial trading opportunities gave rise to a powerful and wealthy merchant elite. This group, consisting of a small number of inter-married families, was distinct in its extravagant house building, material culture and patterns of consumption.²⁰ Power and wealth were maintained through a number of generations, and specific families, the most notable of the group, quickly assumed the role of resident urban nobility, to which the rest of society deferred.

'Previous to the breaking out of the American war, the Virginians who were looked up to as the Glasgow aristocracy, had a privileged walk at the Cross, which they trod in long scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs, and such was the state of society that when any of the most respectable

¹⁹ On class based, differential views of modern occupational prestige see - A. Stewart et al Social stratification and Occupations pp17-18, pp. 70-71 ; National Opinion Research Centre 'Jobs and occupations, a popular evaluation' in R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds) Class status and power, a reader in social stratification (Glencoe, Illinois 1953) pp411-425

²⁰ T.M. Devine The Tobacco Lords (Edinburgh 1975) pp9-11

master tradesmen of the city had occasion to speak to these Tobacco Lords, he required to walk on the other side of the street, till he was fortunate enough to meet the eye of the patrician for it would have been presumption to have made up to him...'21

By the early nineteenth century the Virginian merchant dynasties no longer commanded such exclusive power. Many had moved out of the city and commerce into the rural gentry. But the descendants of this group, and others engaged in Atlantic trade, remained wealthy and continued to command a high status by virtue of their area of business. The term 'merchant', particularly 'overseas merchant', was one that conveyed great occupational prestige in Glasgow throughout the period, and also in other cities with a traditional port function.²² It was a 'catch-all' title, sometimes used by sectors of the middle class who were not engaged in merchanting functions proper - such as retail shopkeepers, dealers and even manufacturers - because it had respectable and prestigious local connotations. In Glasgow, it was employed in much the same way as the term 'gentleman' was used elsewhere : significantly, the term 'gentleman' was not one of great currency within the city.

Professional occupation titles were also similarly used, but did not command as much prestige as 'merchant', for in Glasgow the main function of the professions was to service commerce. This situation contrasted with that of Edinburgh, where professional status was

²¹ J. Cleland Statistical facts descriptive of the former and present state of Glasgow (Glasgow 1837) p39

²² The big ports like Bristol, Hull, Liverpool and Glasgow gave special opportunities for merchants to engage in a range of highly profitable enterprises from which vast wealth and prestige could be generated - see F. Crouzet The First Industrialists, the problem of origins (Cambridge 1985) p7

higher than that of commerce. Thus early nineteenth century Glasgow society, viewed from an Edinburgh professional perspective, provoked the following comments.

'In the manners of Glasgow, it is true, there is a sad uniformity of mercantile peculiarities - but how could this be otherwise in a town where no nobility resides, and where there is no profession that brings the aristocracy of talent much into view? In such a town, it is obvious there must be a miserable defect in the mechanism of society, from there being nothing to counteract the overbearing influence of mere wealth'.²³

By contrast, industrial or manufacturing occupation titles were not as prestigious in a city whose traditions were commercial than they may have been in an industrial town. Certain areas of early industry generated large and highly profitable units. But the commonest form of manufacturing enterprise in Glasgow in the earlier nineteenth century was in textile production, which tended to be a relatively volatile sector, typified by small firms.²⁴ This probably accounts for the relatively low prestige of manufacturing in a city such as Glasgow, where other areas of wealth were far more notable. On the other hand, by the later nineteenth century, with the dramatic growth of shipbuilding and engineering, which tended to have larger and more stable industrial enterprises, capable of generating high levels of personal wealth, this trend was beginning to change.

Local variations in socially perceived prestige clearly influenced the way in which individuals defined their occupations. In creating a middle class occupational hierarchy that reflects the significance and status of specific work areas, this factor must be taken into consideration. The tendency of individuals to use a variety of job

²³ J.G. Lockhart Peters letters to his Kinsfolk (Edinburgh 1819) pp.248-9

²⁴ F. Crouzet The First Industrialists p32

titles, because of rapid movement between occupational areas or simultaneously involvement in a number of different jobs or businesses, further compounds the problems of defining an occupational hierarchy based on specific local cases.

These problems of individual occupation title are easily accommodated in a research design that includes the linkage of personal records across sources. A notable example is provided by Walter Crum, described in the 1861 Glasgow Directory as 'Calico Printer' and in the Electoral List and Rate Books of the same year as 'Merchant'. In the 1861 Census Enumerators Book he is defined as 'Justice of the Peace. Merchant and Calico Printer. Proprietor of Houses and Employer of 1073 persons'. In another source, the list of members of the Society of Deacons and Free Presses, he is described as 'Justice of the Peace' and in several other places is simply denoted, 'Walter Crum of Thornliebank' - his family property on the southern outskirts of Glasgow. Walter Crum was a major figure in local business and society and for this reason his activities have been well documented. He was born into a family notable for its commercial business in the late eighteenth century. From the early nineteenth century one branch of the family, including Walter, engaged exclusively in muslin manufacture and linen printing - later in cotton spinning and weaving and calico printing. By the 1820's extensive factories, employing many hundreds of workers, had been established at Thornliebank. From the 1850's, however, spinning and weaving were abandoned and the firm concentrated on the textile finishing processes of dying and printing. Also from that time the firm entered upon extensive wholesale activities, and Crum assumed a number of honorary social positions, such as Justice of the Peace, that reflected his status. The headquarters of the business was established in the early 1860's in

the central business district of Glasgow, where there were offices, sales rooms and warehouses. But the main part of the firm's trade was conducted from warehouses in Manchester.²⁵

Robert Reid, a less wealthy businessman than Crum who later in life was to be famous for his published reminiscences of Glasgow under the pseudonym 'Senex', also had varied occupational interests. He was born in Glasgow in 1773, the son of an extensive mahogany dealer, and at the age of seventeen joined the establishment of David Dale in Glasgow to learn muslin manufacturing. Two years later he was a partner in the firm of Dale, Campbell, Reid and Dale, manufacturers, and in 1793 had gone into the muslin business on his own account. He gave this up a little later and in 1796 formed the shipping firm, with contacts in Jamaica, of Reid and Balfour. The copartnership was dissolved in 1800 due to the illness of John Balfour, who had run the Jamaica end of the business. He then went into partnership with his brother as wholesale mahogany dealer, which was to be the main area of his concerns for the rest of his business life. But he still kept contacts with manufacturing. In 1800, for a short time, he was a partner in the Caledonian Pottery Company. Two years later he took a share in a Calender and also formed a wholesale upholstery firm. In 1810 he was a partner in a commission and general agency which lasted for two years and in 1815, cabinet making was added to the upholstery business. Finally in 1832, at the age of fifty-nine he sold all his stocks-in-trade and partnerships and 'retired from mercantile

²⁵ J.O. Mitchell Two old Glasgow firms - William Connal & Co and the Crums of Thornliebank (Glasgow 1894)

pursuits' to the life of literator.²⁶

Variations in occupation title, dictated by status seeking, job mobility, multiple occupation functions - the latter more common in the earlier nineteenth century - and the nature of the sources, can lead to difficulty in the allocation of specific individuals to occupational categories. This is particularly the case where only one source is employed. In a record linked study however, where titles can be checked across sources, the problem is lessened. The availability of Rate Book data on the nature of the business property occupied by an individual also helps to cast valuable light on the specific activities of named sample individuals. By this means, it was possible to identify individuals who were truly 'Merchants' by occupation - and those who use the term for status reasons. Using this methodology, informed by the subjective analysis of occupational prestige, it was possible to devise a hierarchy of occupations which gave both an indication of economic sector function and of status.²⁷

There was no single pattern of historical economic development within all localities in the nineteenth century and consequently no single pattern of occupational prestige or occupational hierarchy. Similarly, there was no single equation for defining what proportion of the population were occupationally considered to be middle class. But while simple homogeneity is absent, it is possible to identify a range of general criteria that describe the nineteenth century middle class experience of work, which if not altogether applicable in all

²⁶ R. Reid Autobiography (Glasgow 1865) pp7-10

²⁷ Details of the way in which Rate Book information and record linkage were employed are given in Appendices 1 and 2.

cases can be regarded as generally representative. Glasgow, with its broad middle class and wide economic structure, is a good starting point in this respect.

In mid-nineteenth century Britain as a whole, the occupationally defined middle class has been assessed at about one fifth of the population.²⁸ A much employed estimate of middle class occupational growth gives a figure of 15% of the population in 1803 and 20% by 1867.²⁹ But national figures do, of course, tend to obscure local variations, born out of specific, localized economic activity. The middle class in Glasgow, identified by occupation in this study, formed 26% of the local population in 1861. An occupationally defined middle class in mid-nineteenth century Leeds (Census based) shows a 'true' middle class of 14% of the population, and a marginal or lower middle class of 13%.³⁰ A non-industrial market town like Melton Mowbray in 1851 had an occupationally defined (Census based) middle class of 35% of the population.³¹ Even comparisons of cities heavily involved in industrial pursuits show significant differences that reflect specific economic types and traditions. In 1851, 2% of the occupied population of Birmingham was engaged in professional, literary, educational, scientific and artistic occupations and 1% in

²⁸ R.D. Baxter National Income (1868) pp.13-17 A much quoted though crude average.

²⁹ Quoted by P. Branca Silent Sisterhood p.44 and derived from Colquhoun and Baxter.

³⁰ D. Ward 'Enviorns and neighbours in the 'Two Nations', residential differentiation in mid-nineteenth century Leeds' Journal of Historical Geography 6 (1980) p.2

³¹ A.S. Royle 'Social stratification from early Census returns' 9 Area 1977 p.218

mercantile pursuits, while in Sheffield it was 1% and 0.5% respectively.³²

The character of the occupationally defined Glasgow middle class in 1861 (based on the 1861 Record Linked Sample), compared with that of the occupied population of the city as a whole (derived from the published Census of 1861) is given in Table 2.1.³³ To demonstrate basic economic function, all adult male occupations were coded using the Booth/Armstrong classification scheme.³⁴ Female employment is not included as the number of middle class working women was relatively small, and the overwhelming presence of domestic service and cotton manufacture in the total womens occupation structure too obvious, to give meaningful results.³⁵

³² D. Smith Conflict and compromise, class formation in English society 1830-1914 (1982) p220

³³ See Appendix 3 for further details.

³⁴ The classification system is described in detail in W.A. Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation' in E.A. Wrigley (ed) Nineteenth century society pp. 191-253. The detailed breakdown of Glasgow occupations is given in Appendix 3.

³⁵ Though by not including women the independent category of the middle class profile is reduced.

Table 2.1 - Occupation structure of male population of Glasgow 1861, compared with male element of 1861 Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample. Source Census. Booth/Armstrong classification.

	Glasgow N=132034	Sample N=821
Agriculture	1.1%	0.5%
Mining	1.5%	0.1%
Building	9.3%	10.5%
Manufacture	52.3%	26.4%
Transport	11.1%	4.5%
Dealing	11.5%	37.3%
Industrial Service	7.2%	5.0%
Public Service Professional	5.0%	12.3%
Domestic Service	0.9%	1.6%
Property Owner Independent	0.1%	1.8%

Despite the significance of manufacturing and industry for the local population and economy, the Glasgow middle class was not typically engaged in manufacturing pursuits. The occupational profile was dominated by dealing and trade, by the professions and the provision of services - sectors that reflected the broader and more traditional economic functions of the large city, but which depended indirectly on buoyant industry. Even those directly involved in manufacturing had a profile distinctly different to that of the male manufacturing population as a whole. Of the latter, nearly a third were involved in iron and steel, or textile manufacture - while among the manufacturing middle classes it was less than one fifth. As late as 1861, middle class manufacturers were mainly small scale.³⁶ Similar trends in the distribution of the occupations can be seen in the years 1800 and 1832, as is shown in Table 2.2. It appears, then that the occupational pattern to be observed in 1861, reflects a broad continuity of experience from the late eighteenth century.

³⁶ Confirming trends observed elsewhere in Britain on the tenacity of small manufacturers - A. Howe The Cotton masters 1830-1860 (Oxford 1984) p4

Table 2.2 - Occupation structure of male population of Glasgow 1861, compared with male element of 1861 Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample, and 1832 and 1800 samples.* Booth/Armstrong classification.

	----1861----	-----1832-----	-----1800----				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Agriculture	1.1%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%	0.6%
Mining	1.5%	0.1%	8.4%	0.9%	1.3%	4.1%	6.6%
Building	9.3%	10.5%	3.7%	1.4%	0.6%	0.0%	0.1%
Manufacture	52.3%	26.4%	53.6%	25.0%	30.0%	35.5%	32.1%
Transport	11.1%	4.5%	3.5%	0.9%	2.5%	6.3%	4.3%
Dealing	11.5%	37.3%	24.4%	37.8%	44.7%	35.1%	28.7%
Industrial Service	7.2%	5.0%	0.7%	5.2%	2.8%	1.8%	1.3%
Public Service	5.0%	12.3%	4.8%	9.3%	12.2%	14.0%	5.1%
Professional							
Domestic Service	0.9%	1.6%	0.9%	2.3%	3.4%	0.9%	2.3%
Property Owner Independent	0.1%	1.8%	0.0	10.4%	2.5%	1.8%	10.1%
Not known	-	-	-	6.5%	-	-	8.8%

A = Census of total male occupied population 1861. N=132034

B = Male 1861 Middle Class Record Linked Sample. N=821

C = Cleland Census of Occupations 1831. Total male and female working population - no category of Property owner/Independent is identified. N=78932

D = Sample of male voters in Poll Book of 1832. N=344**

E = Sample of entries, male and female, in Post Office Directory of 1832. N=320

F = Sample of entries, male and female, in Directory of 1800. N=222

G = Sample of payers of Assessed Taxes, male and female, 1800. N=756**

*N.B. For further information on sample sources see Appendix 1.

**N.B. Both sample sources include large numbers of non-occupied property owners.

Though there were many changes in the overall work experience of Glasgow population during the period 1800 to 1861, these were not reflected to an equivalent extent within the middle classes. There were a number of specific trends in general employment patterns, in particular a major rise in manufacturing and an appreciable increase in those engaged in building, transport and industrial services. There was also a decline in mining and dealing occupations among the local population as a whole. Elements of these broader trends were mirrored in the middle class experience of work, such as the growth of building, transport and industrial services - areas that reflected the evolving service functions of the city. But a decline in dealing and rapid rise in manufacturing were clearly not evident, and most other aspects of the middle class occupational profile, defined by economic function, remained fairly stable over the period. The middle class was occupationally very different from the general population, but over the period 1800 to 1861 the nature of those differences remained constant. Despite an evolution in the economic function and activities of the city, the pattern of middle class work, broadly defined, did not change dramatically and continued to be highly influenced by late eighteenth century urban occupation structures.³⁷ Certainly there was an evolution in the manner in which particular occupations were conducted and experienced by the individual and family - it is not argued for instance, that the activities and work environment of a writer in 1861 were the same of those of 1800, nor

³⁷ A local reflection of British trends as described in - W.D. Rubinstein 'The Victorian Middle classes: wealth, occupation and geography' Economic History Review 2nd ser 35 (1982) pp. 602-623; Honeyman, K. Origins of Enterprise; business leadership in the Industrial Revolution (1984) p.109,166,169.

that the operations of an overseas merchant in the mid-nineteenth century exactly paralleled those of the early part of the century. But there was also continuity in Glasgow, and this contributed to the stability and strength of the middle classes at times of social turmoil. From the Glasgow evidence, it may be hypothesized that in many British towns the middle class experience of work during the period of industrialization was one of relatively gradual change.

The Booth/Armstrong classification describes comparative economic function well, but gives little indication of the details of middle class occupation as experienced day-to-day and on an individual level. Nor does it include any element of status differentiation. Table 2.3 outlines such a classification, formulated in the light of the local evidence and applied to the specific Glasgow sources.³⁸ Numerically, and in this there are no surprises, the middle classes are dominated, throughout the period, by Shopkeepers and Tradesmen - the classically perceived ^{lower} middle class. But in terms of status it is the Merchants, Professionals and the smaller category of Manufacturers who are the most important. Significantly, those of independent means were a relatively small group.

³⁸ For details on the classification scheme used here and throughout the rest of the study see Appendix 3.

Table 2.3 - Per-centage distributions of Glasgow middle class occupations in 1800, 1832 and 1861. *

	-1861-	-----1832-----	-----1800-----		
	A	B	C	D	E
Merchants	17.4	16.3	17.4	17.8	12.9
Manufacturers	8.6	9.8	8.1	24.3	9.6
Professionals	9.1	10.8	9.3	10.5	4.3
Shopkeepers	18.6	28.3	20.3	23.8	16.1
Tradesmen	24.5	22.1	19.4	11.0	25.9
Clerks/Officers	5.6	2.5	2.0	6.8	2.3
Managers/Foremen	1.7	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0
Transport	3.2	2.5	0.8	1.8	5.5
Domestic	1.2	3.4	0.0	1.8	0.0
Independent	8.4	2.5	10.4	1.8	10.1
Others/not known	1.7	1.3	11.5	0.4	13.3

A = Full Record Linked sample for 1861. N=894

B = Sample of Post Office Directory of 1832. N=320

C = Sample of Poll Book of 1832. N=344

D = Sample of Directory of 1800. N=222

E = Sample of Assessed Tax Schedules of 1800. N=756

* For details on the samples see Appendix 2.

As demonstrated by Table 2.3, occupational hierarchies directly reflect the character of the sample individuals who were recorded. Given the nature of the sources it is inevitable that these were mainly middle aged, male rate payers and heads of household. Though many elements within the middle class, particularly women and children, did not generally work, occupation profiles such as those tabled, should not be interpreted as the only manifestation of middle class work experience. The occupations of employed sons of middle class households, and of women engaged in specific work areas or heads of household in their own right, were often different to those of middle aged men, as shown in Table 2.4. There was a major presence of clerks among adult sons - an employment area often used as a form of apprenticeship for later business life.³⁹ Professional occupations - including students training for professions - were also more significant than among mature men, indicating what may be evidence of occupational mobility across the generations and a movement into 'safer', more genteel and prestigious employment areas.⁴⁰ Conversely, there was also some evidence of inter-generational downward mobility in the form of sons employed as factory workers and labourers.

³⁹ G. Anderson Victorian clerks (Manchester 1976) p13

⁴⁰ H.J. Perkin 'Middle class education and employment in the nineteenth century: a critical note' Economic History Review 2nd ser 14 (1961) pp.122-130. Though an area of controversy, this may have been a trend evident in Britain as a whole.

Table 2.4 - Occupation distribution of Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample, 1861, compared with occupations of adult sons resident in sample households and middle class women heads of household.*

	A	B	C
Merchants	17.4	7.6	0
Manufacturers	8.6	0.9	0
Professionals	9.1	9.7	3.2
Shopkeepers	18.6	15.5	22.5
Tradesmen	24.5	28.1	10.6
Clerks/officers	5.6	19.7	0
Foremen/managers	1.7	0.4	0
Transport	3.2	1.7	0
Factory workers	0	4.7	0
Labourers	0	3.4	0
Independent	8.4	0	58.9
Others*	2.9	7.9	4.8

A = Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample of 1861. N=894

B = Adult sons resident in Middle Class Sample households - first two mentioned per household. N=529

C = Women heads of household in Middle Class Sample households plus sampled women property holders of over ten pounds. N=186

*N.B. For information on the sample sources see Appendix 1.

**N.B. In column B these are mainly male adult students training for the professions, in C they are mainly women in domestic services provision.

Most middle class women did not engage in work outside the home, but those that did - mainly lower middle class widows and young single women - had a highly specific occupational profile, with greater evidence of real change from the early nineteenth century than seen in male work areas.⁴¹ Widows would often assume the occupations pursued by their husbands and engage in businesses in their own right, particularly where the husband had been concerned with shopkeeping or dealing. In Glasgow in 1861, Shopkeeping was the dominant form of middle class women's employment, and women were a notable component in the legions of grocers, spirit merchants and confectioners. Certain trades, especially dressmaking, staymaking and millinery were also popular. The capacity for women to engage in these two broad areas of shopkeeping and dressmaking trades had clearly expanded with the growth of the city and its service functions - and as with men, women in these sectors were often small-scale employers. Domestic service - hotel keeping, house and lodging keeping - were also common and growing, as were certain professions, particularly teaching. Manufacturing, on the other hand, was almost unknown among Glasgow middle class women in 1861, as in 1800.

The analysis of occupation is an important means of giving concrete definition to class - one that conveys notions of status and prestige as well as economic function. From the Glasgow evidence it can be demonstrated that the middle class occupational profile was distinct

⁴¹ There is no evidence in the Glasgow case, as is suggested elsewhere, that the range of occupations open to women declined over the century - C. Hall 'Gender divisions and class formation in the Birmingham middle class, 1780 - 1850' in R. Samuel (ed) People's history and socialist theory (1981) pp168-9

from that seen among the local population as a whole, both in pattern and in trend. Though there were differences in the work experience of specific groups within the middle class, structural change among the dominant group of mature, adult working men was not rapid. In many respects a profile of occupation distribution and prestige evident in the late eighteenth century, and dominated by commerce, services and the professions, retained strength into the 1860's. Occupation, however, casts limited light on the nature of class consciousness: detailed character of family and household structures: wealth, income and property: and the implications of all these for the development of middle class lifestyles. The occupational profile can give only a basic range of information - the middle class was a far more complex group than this aspect alone might suggest. It is, however, an essential starting point in an understanding of the evolution of class, and subsequent analysis - beginning with individual and household characteristics - will be assessed in the light of occupational data.

2.3 Social character and family structure

Man is a social being, his life and character largely determined by the society in which he exists on a day-to-day basis. This section of the physical profile explores the social environment and relationships of the Glasgow urban middle class through an analysis of the dominant figure in that society - the mature man - and the family and household in which he lived. The detail is largely derived from the 1861 Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample. It is highly specific in character, but to ignore the detail is to detract from its value. The data is unique of its kind, and shows that the middle class was a highly variable phenomenon. The characteristics of individuals and their families were determined by employment and work, by levels of wealth and by the stage in the life-cycle of the middle class family. There were distinctive patterns of family relationships, of servant keeping, and of household accommodation which can be identified within the Glasgow middle class and which can be projected to the middle classes generally in nineteenth century Britain.

a. The individual

At the micro-level of the family, as more generally in nineteenth century Britain, power and authority were vested in mature men. It is both inevitable and desirable, therefore, that detailed analysis of historical social class should emphasize the role and functions of this group. The 1861 Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample, on which much of this analysis is based, accomplishes this aim. Most sample individuals - the initial point of contact with the middle class household - were men drawn from a population in their early middle years. With an average age of forty-four, these were

individuals at their prime, mainly settled in their own households with wives and families, and well established either as independent businessmen or long service employees.⁴² The small number of independent women who fell within the range of the sample, mainly widowed heads of household, represent an older group than the men, having an average age of forty-seven. Older widows, unless they owned significant property, were unlikely to remarry and return to a state of dependence, since they were in competition, in the marriage market, with young widows and single women.⁴³ For the nineteenth century middle class woman, formal power within the family - embodied within the role of head of household - tended to be the essentially negative consequence of widowhood.

In 1861, 78.4% of all Scottish men in the age range 45 to 60 years were married, 13.3% were single and 8.3% were widowed.⁴⁴ By contrast, male middle class heads of household in Glasgow had significantly fewer married men among their numbers, and more single men, than among the equivalent age groups of the population as a whole. This generally confirms a commonly expressed contemporary view that wealthy or higher status males tended to marry relatively late in life and had a high incidence of non-marriage. The delayed marriage

⁴² 89% of the 1861 Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample were heads of household: 7% were adult children of the household, usually the sons of widows: 2% were other relatives: 2% were lodgers.

⁴³ M. Drake 'The remarriage market in mid-nineteenth century Britain' in J. Dupaquier (ed) Marriage and remarriage in populations of the past (1981) p293; R. Hirschon 'Property, power and gender relations' in R. Hirschon (ed) Women and property - women as property (1984). Older widowers were not so disadvantaged in the marriage market and frequently married young women.

⁴⁴ Census of Scotland 1861 (Edinburgh 1862) vol 2 p.xxxxiii. 81.2% of men in England were married.

of men, in the interests of prudence, was a frequent theme of contemporary literature and social discourse. But total non-marriage, though clearly quite common, was not socially desirable. The biographical accounts of 'One hundred Glasgow men' indicate the social implications of wife and children among the wealthy middle classes of the city. Those men who failed to marry during their life-time - who failed, in effect, to establish the expected familial context in which much of middle class life was conducted - were often spoken of with pity.⁴⁵ The marriage conditions of middle class women heads of household inevitably shows an even greater contrast to the general population within equivalent age ranges (though it should be stressed that adult middle class women as a group, including non-heads of household, had rates of marriage that were similar to the wider female population). Of the former small group, over half were widows and almost a third were spinsters. In the Scottish female population as a whole in 1861, 58.5% in the age range 45 to 60 years were married, 20% were single and 21.5% were widowed.⁴⁶ The general rate of female marriage was lower than that of England due to high levels of male migration from Scotland. At all levels of society, but particularly within the middle class, marriage was highly dependent on the securing of a perceived good livelihood, which was often not available in Scotland.⁴⁷ There is some indication that as the nineteenth century

⁴⁵ A. Armstrong Stability and change in an English county town, a social study of York 1801-51 (Cambridge 1974) pp.165-7; J.A. Banks J.A. Prosperity and parenthood (1954) pp.32-38 ; Memoirs and portraits of one hundred Glasgow men (Glasgow 1886)

⁴⁶ Census of Scotland 1861 (Edinburgh 1862) vol 2 pxxxlv. 70% of English women were married.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

progressed the proportion of Glasgow middle class women who lived an 'independent' life, outside marriage or dependent status within the homes of parents, increased. In part this was due to declining marriage chances, the result of delayed marriage by middle class men or middle class male migration. But it was also a consequence of positive factors, notably better opportunities through employment or business for middle class women to maintain an adequate lifestyle outside of marriage. The employment and business outlets available to middle class women in Glasgow, though confined within a narrow range of areas, probably expanded as the period progressed. This was particularly true of specialist retail outlets aimed at the middle class market. For this reason, the city attracted single, female, middle class migrants as well as young men.

The middle class occupation sectors with notably different marital distributions to the whole, included the independent and those engaged in the provision of domestic services. Both areas were dominated by the widowed and single and had a large presence of women and the elderly. Merchants, who tended to be geographically mobile, and in Glasgow had a relatively large proportion of foreign born among their numbers, were a group that contained many single men. Possibly for these reasons, there were more unmarried merchants than unmarried tradesman or clerks, where the native born were dominant. Merchants and also shopkeepers, both with high proportions of elderly members, also had a relatively large widowed representation.

As shown in Table 2.6, within occupation areas, the age ranges of household heads did not deviate greatly from the average. But certain trends in age distribution, a consequence of employment characteristics, were distinct and are worthy of note. Inevitably, occupations that were physically demanding tended to have a younger

age range. Those involved in the transport sector, a category that included sea captains and marine officers, were younger than the average. Conversely, the independent - mainly retired men and widows - were more elderly than the average. Manufacturing was an area of business which in relative terms was particularly attractive to younger men. In part this was due to the ease of entry to the manufacturing sector.⁴⁸ But it also resulted from the volatility of manufacturing business and the sector's demands on time and attention. In contemporary literature, manufacturing was often portrayed as stressful. Many successful businessmen entered this sector in their youth, only to give it up when other opportunities became available. In a large and flourishing city with a broad economic base, such as Glasgow, there were many alternative career paths for the aspiring businessman. Such was William Ewing, who died in 1874. He had begun his career as a calenderer - an area of textile processing that demanded little initial investment - but soon abandoned the business, 'the anxiety and work being too much for him and telling seriously on his health'. He later entered the less stressful world of insurance and underwriting in which he made a considerable fortune.⁴⁹ The often youthful character of manufacturers was in contrast to the generally older age of merchants - men engaged in the more established and stable business area - a group that had relatively few of its number below thirty.

⁴⁸ Mitchell Library, Glasgow MS SR205 427075 'Autobiography of an unsuccessful man by Geore W. Muir'; R. Reid Autobiography (Glasgow 1865)

⁴⁹ Memoirs and portraits of one hundred Glasgow men who have died during the last thirty years, and in their lives did much to make the city what it is now (Glasgow 1886) vol 1 p.123. The impact of occupational stress was also frequently cited by individuals who had trained as doctors, but failed to follow that profession subsequently.

Table 2.5 The Glasgow middle class, 1861. Marital status within occupation categories - percentage distribution.

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Married	72.6	65.8	74.5	72.6	73.6	79.2	78.3	69.2	82.6	40.0	34.1
Single	17.7	21.4	15.7	17.7	12.1	12.0	15.2	15.4	13.0	30.0	25.0
Widowed	9.7	12.8	9.8	9.7	14.3	8.8	6.5	15.4	4.3	30.0	40.9

X. Total sample N=775

1. Merchants N=128

2. Manufacturers N=65

3. Professionals N=68

4. Shopkeepers N=159

5. Tradesmen N=195

6. Clerks/Officers N=48

7. Managers/Foremen N=15

8. Transport N=26

9. Domestic N=10

10. Independent N=49

Others N=12

Many men who later in life were to become merchants, began their careers as clerks. In Glasgow in the early 1860's this was an occupation dominated by the young.⁵⁰ Professionals also had a relatively young average age, though there was considerable variation between specific professional groups. Teachers, a low status profession which included young women, had an average age of 33 years and more than one third of their number below the age of thirty. The clerical and legal professions had average ages of 51 and 52 years respectively, with two thirds over the age of fifty years. Doctors and accountants, the former a profession that required relatively 'active' men, the latter a new professional area, had age distribution

⁵⁰ D. Lockwood The blackcoated worker (1958) p.25; G. Anderson Victorian Clerks (Manchester 1976) pp.13-14. By the later nineteenth century the occupation of clerk was less likely to act as an apprenticeship for more powerful positions within a company and age ranges were higher.

profiles similar to that of middle class heads of household in general.⁵¹ Up to the point of middle age, tradesmen and shopkeeper had similar age distributions. But in old age shopkeepers were a far more numerous group, as shown in Table 2.6. Being less physically demanding than most artisan trades, shopkeeping was an occupation that attracted the elderly, and particularly, of course, older lower middle class widows who had to work for a living.⁵²

Table 2.6 The Glasgow Middle class 1861. Age within occupation categories - percentage distribution.

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Below 30 years	11.8	8.5	21.6	16.1	14.3	14.8	19.6	15.4	26.1	0	0
30-39 years	26.8	29.1	17.6	32.3	28.6	26.2	34.8	30.8	30.4	10.0	2.3
40-49 years	25.0	28.2	23.5	17.7	27.1	26.2	15.2	7.7	21.8	60.0	20.5
50-59 years	22.4	20.5	21.6	24.2	17.9	23.0	21.7	38.4	8.7	20.0	29.5
Above 60 years	14.0	13.7	15.7	9.7	12.1	9.8	8.7	7.7	13.0	10.0	47.7
Average age	44.8	45.0	42.4	42.6	42.3	42.8	40.7	41.7	34.9	48.6	58.9

X = Sample as a whole.

1-10 = Occupation categories as in Table 2.5

b. The Family

The family, defined in the 1861 Scottish Census as 'all who board together in one house'⁵³ was the forum in which nineteenth century middle class life was oriented and bounded. Recently there has been

⁵¹ The Institute of Accountants and Actuaries in Glasgow was chartered in 1855.

⁵² See G. Crossick, & H. G. Haupt 'Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus' in G. Crossick & H. G. Haupt (eds) Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth century Europe (1984) p.9.

⁵³ Census of Scotland 1861 p.XXV

much interest in the evolution of the middle class family, particularly in the role of women, domesticity and the development of the private sphere which counter-balanced the increasingly distinct public sphere of male work.⁵⁴ The character and function of domestic servants in the middle class home have also been subject to considerable attention.⁵⁵ Yet attempts to examine systematically and in detail the nature of urban middle class families have been few. By undertaking such an analysis, from the case study perspective, light is shed on an area that has previously been superficially understood. The structure of middle class households is shown in Table 2.7.

⁵⁴ See M.P. Ryan Cradle of the middle class, the family in Oneida County, New York 1790-1865 (Cambridge 1981); L. Davidoff & C. Hall 'The architecture of public and private life, English middle class society in a provincial town 1780-1850' in J. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe (eds) The pursuit of urban history (1983) pp. 327-345; S. Mintz A prison of expectations, the family in Victorian culture (New York, 1983)

⁵⁵ T.M. McBride The domestic revolution, the modernization of household service in England and France 1820-1920 (1976); F.E. Dudden Serving women - household service in nineteenth century America (Connecticut 1983); P. Horn The rise and fall of the Victorian servant (Dublin, 1975); E. Higgs 'Domestic servants and households in Victorian England' Social History 8 (1982) 201-210

Table 2.7 The Glasgow middle class 1861. The structure of households - percentage distributions.

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Single	2.2	2.7	3.8	2.2	1.0	0.9	0	0	0	0	9.4
Nuclear	57.1	68.8	65.5	52.3	57.9	54.5	69.0	63.6	80.0	12.5	34.4
Stem	4.7	5.1	7.7	0	5.3	6.3	0	9.1	0	0	6.2
Composite	16.9	12.9	11.5	30.4	18.9	8.9	13.8	9.1	20.0	0	40.6
Mixed	19.1	10.5	11.5	15.1	16.9	29.4	17.2	18.2	20.0	87.5	9.4

X = sample as a whole

1-10 = occupation categories as in Table 2.5.

N.B. Structural definition is based on the observed relationships of individuals within households - excluding domestic servants. Five household types are identified, derived from those used in M. Anderson Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire (Cambridge 1971) p.44

Single households - consisting of the sample individual alone as head (with or without servants).

Nuclear households - consisting of a nuclear family of parent/s as head and offspring (with or without servants).

Stem households - consisting of parent/s as head and offspring, and/or the parents of the head, and/or the spouse and offspring of the offspring of the head (with or without servants).

Composite households - consisting of head and other blood relatives or relatives by marriage (with or without servants).

Mixed households - consisting of head and/or relatives and individuals who are not related, but are not servants (with or without servants).

In almost all occupation areas, Glasgow middle class households in 1861 were dominated by the nuclear type. This reflects the broad findings of other analysts of household structure in the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ The nuclear family is often regarded as a 'modern' family type, characteristic of advanced urbanized and industrial countries from the early nineteenth century, when increasingly the family ceased to serve as an important unit of economic production, with correspondingly less need for extended family or non-family individuals within the household.⁵⁷ The occupational variations of family types seen in the Glasgow case partly confirm this view. Where the household remained significant as an economic unit, and where work was physically conducted from premises in or adjoining the family home, there was a comparatively low level of nuclear family. This was seen in both the shopkeeping and trades areas. Both, while still dominated by nuclear family structures, also had a relatively high incidence of stem, composite and mixed households.⁵⁸ Conversely, where the head was distinctly employed outside the home, as a clerk, manager, merchant or factory owner, there were relatively high levels of nuclear household.

Though the structure of Glasgow middle class households generally

⁵⁶ M. Anderson Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire p44

⁵⁷ Though Laslett has dismissed the idea that extended families, and a large presence of non-family members in the household, were a notable feature of pre-industrial English society - See P. Laslett 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century' in P. Laslett (ed) Household and family in past time (Cambridge 1972) p149.

⁵⁸ See G. Crossick & G.H. Haupt 'Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian' pp.19-20

conform to expectations, those whose head was engaged in one of the professions were often significantly different. Most professionals were employed outside the home, yet nuclear families were relatively few and composite plentiful. The reasons for this are probably to be found in the traditional nature of professional work and life-cycles. Extensive periods of education and training meant that professional men were dependent on relatives for longer than other high status occupation groups. They were likely, therefore, to be settled into a pattern of residence with other relatives long into adulthood, which often continued once established in their careers. The nature of their occupations frequently required respectable and reliable lay individuals, such as wives if available, or sisters (who were numerous in professional households), or other female relatives to mediate contact with 'clients'. This was especially true of clergymen, part of whose work would be conducted from the home, and also of many doctors. Some established professionals also had within their households young male relatives, training for the profession through the traditional combination of formal education and informal 'apprenticeship'.

It can be seen from the detail of Table 2.7 that among the Glasgow middle class the level of stem household was surprisingly low. This may have been a function of the geographical mobility of certain groups, which broke direct household links between generations.⁵⁹ Single person households were also few, except, as might be expected, among the elderly and those of independent means. Servant keeping did

⁵⁹ A study of a largely working class population (possibly less mobile than the middle class) shows a greater percentage of stem households in the mid-nineteenth century - see M. Anderson Family structure p44

not vary significantly among the types of household, as just under one half of each category had resident domestic servants. Reference to the incidence of servants is, of course, just one aspect of the more precise character of the middle class family. There are few directly comparative details on family composition before the mid-nineteenth century, but the analysis of Glasgow in 1861 reveals the complexity of the middle class experience of house and home. Family characteristics were related to an array of variables, the most important of which were occupation and life-cycle. Certain of the variables were peculiar to Scotland and Glasgow - distinguishing the latter from the broader British trends - others were clearly evident among the urban middle classes at all levels, circumstances and geographical areas.

With an average of only five individuals in the family, (5.8 including servants) the Glasgow middle class household in 1861 seems at first glance to be small. But when compared with that of the Scottish urban population as a whole in 1861 (4.3 persons) it is clearly quite high. The figure is also large when compared to an average estimate of 4.7 persons per family in England from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries.⁶⁰ In Glasgow, the smallest households, excluding servants, tended to be found in the middle class employee occupation areas such as clerks and managers - which were also significantly dominated by nuclear family structures. Even where servants are included, these groups had small household size. On the other hand, the largest households, excluding servants, were found among those engaged in occupations where there was family participation in the work of the household

⁶⁰ P. Laslett 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century' p.139

head. In the transport industry, where household heads were often young and at an early stage in the family life-cycle, or in shopkeeping, families were often extensive, mainly due to large numbers of children. Large households were also evident, though usually composed of adult members only, where the household head was primarily engaged in the business of providing domestic services as lodging house or hotel keeper. Generally, from the Glasgow case, it would seem that families in high status occupation categories had relatively larger households than those of low status occupation - a trend that appears more marked when servants are included.⁶¹

Generally there was only one adult male in the Glasgow middle class family - though in a significant minority of families, due to the presence of grown sons, there were more. There were rarely, however, more than three men living in the middle class home, except where the family was involved in providing domestic services to lodgers. By contrast, most Glasgow middle class households included at least two adult females and it was very rare for there to be one or no women present. Excluding domestic servants, however, the ratio of adult males to females in the middle class home was equivalent - confirming the nuclear dominant structure of most families. The majority of households also had at least one child, though in a significant minority there were none under the age of sixteen years. The latter was particularly evident among certain low status families, especially where the head of household was in his late forties or early fifties, and his children were grown up and working, but still living at home.

⁶¹ This contrasts with the family limitation practices of upper middle class families described in Banks Prosperity and parenthood

At this stage in the family life-cycle it was possible for some households from the artisan elites to move - as judged by objective criteria of wealth or house value - into the lower ranks of the middle class. Often the accumulation of small amounts of capital at this stage of the life-cycle allowed such a family - or one part of the family such as wife and daughters - to undertake economic ventures, notably shopkeeping, that would ensure continued income and higher status after the male head of household had moved out of his prime.⁶² Such an instance is illustrated by the case of Mrs Ann Cross, who in 1861 was a forty-eight year old cafe and refreshment room keeper - recently commenced in business at premises adjoining her home at 118 New City Road. Her husband, also in his late forties was a carver and gilder. She had a grown son who worked with her husband, a grown daughter who worked in the cafe, two children still in full time education and one general servant.⁶³

Even in households where the head was elderly, as was typical among those of independent means, there were often children present - especially where the elderly household head was female. Sometimes these had been adopted by a grandmother or older aunt after the death of their parents. Most middle class children, however, lived with their parents in families where there were other siblings. In nuclear households, the smallest numbers of children were seen in the families of middle class employee groups such as clerks and managers. This is evidence, perhaps, of conscious family limitation among

⁶² See J. Benson The penny capitalists: a study of nineteenth century working class entrepreneurs (New Brunswick N.J. 1983)

⁶³ See Appendix 1 1861 Glasgow Middle Class Record Linked Sample.

certain middle class groups whose incomes were relatively low - though there is little to suggest that such practices were widespread among the Glasgow middle classes of 1861. By contrast, wealthy nuclear families tended to have many children and to give no indication of family limitation practice.⁶⁴

Except in those cases where the economic function of the head of household was to provide domestic services, it was rare for the Glasgow middle class family of 1861 to include lodgers. Possibly, as discussed below, this was due to the generally small size of most Glasgow domestic properties. Where lodgers were present they tended to occur in the households of a few occupation categories only, notably those in the transport sector and trades. Both were low status areas, for as might be expected, the professional, the merchant or the factory owner - those of high status - did not take lodgers into the family. But not all low status groups employed this economic expediency for boosting the family income. Notably, Glasgow shopkeepers, probably due to cramped living quarters above the shop and the shop's demands on the time of adult women in the family, did not take in lodgers in large numbers.⁶⁵ The specific details of middle class family character in this and the other areas discussed above are shown in Tables 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10.

⁶⁴ Birth control 'propaganda' began in Britain in the 1860's and 1870's, so it is possible that the group examined in detail in this study was the last middle class generation to be unconcerned about family size - see J.A. Banks Victorian Values, secularism and the size families (1981)

⁶⁵ L. Davidoff 'The separation of home and work? Landladies and Lodgers in nineteenth and twentieth century England' in S. Burman (ed) Fit work for women (1979)

Table 2.8 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Average household size in persons.

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Household size (excl servants)	5.0	4.8	5.6	5.0	4.6	5.2	4.1	3.9	6.1	6.4	4.1
Household size (incl servants)	5.8	6.2	6.8	6.1	5.1	5.5	4.5	4.4	6.4	8.8	5.0
Males	1.8	1.7	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.8	2.2	3.4	1.6
Females (excl servants)	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.8	2.0	1.9
Females (incl servants)	2.4	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.1	4.4	2.7
Children	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.1	0.8	2.1	1.0	0.7
Servants	0.8	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	2.4	0.9

X = sample as a whole

1-10 = occupations categories as in Table 2.5.

Table 2.9 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Percentage of households with each category of persons.

Adult males	Adult females (incl servants)	Children
0 - 3% households	0 - 1% households	0 - 42% households
1 - 52% ..	1 - 29% ..	1 - 17% ..
2 - 22% ..	2 - 36% ..	2 - 14% ..
3 - 16% ..	3 - 18% ..	3 - 9% ..
4 - 5% ..	4 - 8% ..	4 - 10% ..
5+- 2% ..	5+- 8% ..	5+- 8% ..

Servants

0 - 51% households
1 - 34% ..
2 - 10% ..
3 - 3% ..
4 - 1% ..
5+- 1% ..

N.B. adults defined as sixteen years and over. Children defined as fifteen years and under.

Table 2.10 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Percentage of household with each of selected category of family member.

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Children	58.2	50.4	49.0	61.9	63.6	65.0	56.5	53.8	69.6	40.0	31.8
Servants	49.0	78.6	60.8	73.0	42.9	28.4	32.6	46.2	26.1	40.0	56.8
2+ servants	14.6	32.5	27.5	22.2	5.0	4.9	4.3	7.7	4.3	30.0	22.7
Lodgers	13.0	6.8	3.9	11.1	10.7	16.9	10.9	15.4	21.7	80.0	15.9

X = sample as a whole

1-10 = occupation categories as in Table 2.5.

c. Servants

The role of domestic servants in the lives and households of the middle classes has been subject to much debate. Servant keeping is a commonly used index of middle class membership, and it is generally argued that the larger the number of servants then the wealthier the family and the higher its status.⁶⁶ The implications of servant keeping are great, for they conveyed to females of the household the ability to pursue a genteel lifestyle, free from the burden of heavy domestic work - and the lifestyle of female family members was one of the most sensitive indications of family status in urban society of the nineteenth century. The pattern of servant keeping in Glasgow middle class households, in part confirms this interpretation, though

⁶⁶ Rowntree in his York survey of 1899 saw servant keeping as a major index of social class, the dividing line between 'the working classes and those of a higher social scale'. This view has been both popular and influential, seen most notably in J.A. Banks Prosperity and parenthood. But in recent years its has been challenged - F.K. Prochaska 'Female philanthropy and domestic service in Victorian England' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research LIV 1981 pp.79-85; E. Higgs 'Domestic servants and households in Victorian England'; P. Branca Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home (1975)

it also shows that the relationship between the middle classes and domestic servants could be highly complex.

Clearly there was a strong relationship between 'middle classness' and the presence of domestic servants in the Glasgow home. Yet, only one half of families who by a range of objective criteria can be identified as middle class kept resident domestic servants. Furthermore, only a very small proportion of the middle class had more than three resident servants.⁶⁷ Though non-resident servants were available for domestic work in the city, an analysis of the published Census indicates that there was not an exceptionally large pool of servants in this category.⁶⁸ It would appear, therefore, that servant numbers in Glasgow were low - or at any rate, lower than one might expect to see in a city of such size and wealth.

A comparative analysis of a number of British cities in 1861 indicates the variability of servant numbers and confirms the lowness of the Glasgow figures. In cities like Glasgow or Leeds, where industrial (particularly textile) employment was available for native born women, there were relatively few domestic servants. In such circumstances most female servants were young migrants from outwith the city and domestic service acted as a low status occupation for working class

⁶⁷ For J.A. Banks Prosperity and parenthood p. 76, three servants - a cook, parlour-maid and housemaid - were the basic requirements for the upper middle class home.

⁶⁸ If the number of women defined in the published 1861 Census as 'servants' are divided by a number representing one fifth of all Glasgow households - the approximate size of the middle class - the result is an average of 0.7 servants per household, similar to the present sample results of 0.8 servants per household.

outsiders - a means whereby they could gain an entry to urban life.⁶⁹ In Glasgow in 1861 over three-quarters of all female servants were migrants, mainly from the Highlands and Ireland. In cities with limited industry such as Stirling or Edinburgh, which tended not to attract female migrants on the scale of Glasgow, domestic service held a higher status among the native born and more servants were available to the middle classes, as shown in Table 2.11. Few directly comparative details on servant keeping in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century exist. There is an indication, however, that the availability of female domestic servants was greater in the 1830's than in the 1860's.⁷⁰ Better employment opportunities for working class women, not only in the textile industry, but in the growing service sector, and improved wages for working class men - reducing the necessity for wives to work - together undermined the availability of servants. Comparatively low resident servant numbers may also have been a function of the relatively small domestic properties which traditionally existed in Glasgow, even among the middle classes. It may also be the case that in Glasgow, attitudes to servant keeping as an outward manifestation of status were not so well developed as elsewhere in Britain, and therefore less likely to result in a high demand for servants.

⁶⁹ P. Horn The rise and fall of the Victorian servant p.28 ; T.M. McBride The domestic revolution p.48

⁷⁰ J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and County of Lanark for the Government Census of 1831 (Glasgow 1832) p.210 - in 1831 9% of the Glasgow female population were occupationally defined as servants, compared with 6.2% in 1861.

Table 2.11 - Female servants as a percentage of adult female population for selected cities, 1861. Source Census.

Glasgow	6.2%
Stirling	14.3%
Aberdeen	9.0%
Dundee	3.8%
Edinburgh	15.3%
Leeds	6.1%
Manchester	7.3%
Liverpool	9.5%
Norwich	9.0%
Birmingham	7.4%

Never-the-less, while not all members of the Glasgow middle class had resident domestic servants in the household, the distribution of servants between occupation areas conforms to to an expected pattern. Households where the head belonged to one of the high status occupations usually included resident servants. Equally, households where the head belonged to one of the lower status occupations were not so frequently servant keepers, and where a servant was present she would be of the lowest class of general maid. The keeping of more than one servant, or prestigious named servants, defined by specific function - cook, parlourmaid, nursemaid, governess or more rarely male servants such as a butler - was far more likely to occur among merchants, factory owners and professionals, than elsewhere in the middle classes, both in 1861 and the in early nineteenth century. But though a majority of households in these categories kept resident servants, substantial minorities did not. Over a quarter of those in the liberal professions, for instance, lived in families where no resident servant was present.⁷¹

⁷¹ In Paris in 1856 25% of those engaged in the liberal professions did not have resident domestic servants - this is similar to the Glasgow figure of 28%, and significant in the sense that middle class housing in Paris, dominated by flatted dwellings, resembled that of Glasgow - see T.M. McBride The domestic revolution p. 21

d. Domestic accommodation

The ability to provide accommodation for resident servants was partly determined by the nature of the housing occupied by the middle class family. In urban Scotland generally, but particularly in Glasgow, houses were of a distinctive character, unlike those seen in England. In the 1860's, as in the early nineteenth century, most of the Glasgow middle class were tenement dwellers. Flatted domestic properties, based on a Europe influenced tradition and a land feu system peculiar to Scotland, were the norm for both the middle and working classes alike.⁷² Only the richest groups could afford detached or terraced houses, which in the mid-nineteenth century were mainly situated in the new elite middle class suburbs of the West End.⁷³ But even among the high status occupations the majority lived in tenements - albeit in flats of a particular character exclusive to the middle class - large, spacious and consequently highly valued, as indicated in Tables 2.12 to 2.15.

⁷² Though precise figures do not exist, it can be estimated that over 95% of all Glasgow housing was in the form of tenements or flatted dwellings.

⁷³ See M. Simpson 'Middle class housing and the growth of suburban communities in the West End of Glasgow 1830-1914' Glasgow M.Litt. 1970

Table 2.12 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Domestic accommodation - percentage distribution by house type.

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
House	18.8	33.4	37.3	38.1	7.9	5.5	10.9	7.7	8.7	0	38.6
Tenement	81.2	66.6	62.7	61.9	92.1	94.5	89.1	92.3	91.3	100.0	61.4

X = sample as a whole

1-10 = occupation categories as in Table 2.5.

Table 2.13 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Domestic accommodation - average house size (in rooms) and value (in pounds).

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Size	5.0	7.0	6.9	6.6	3.3	3.6	3.9	4.6	3.3	12.6	6.6
Value	26.0	40.6	37.9	40.4	16.9	16.1	19.5	18.4	15.5	18.1	38.9

X = sample as a whole

1-10 = occupations categories as in Table 2.5

Table 2.14 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Domestic accommodation - percentage distribution by size of house (in rooms).

1 room	- 2%
2 rooms	- 13%
3 rooms	- 27%
4 rooms	- 19%
5 rooms	- 10%
6 rooms	- 11%
7 rooms	- 4%
8 rooms	- 3%
9 rooms	- 2%
10+rooms	- 9%

Table 2.15 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Domestic accommodation - percentage distribution by size ranges (in rooms) and value ranges (in pounds).

	X	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Below 4 rooms	42.2	13.0	11.8	11.1	63.6	57.9	58.7	38.5	73.9	20.0	13.6
Above 8 rooms	14.2	29.9	31.2	31.7	0	3.8	6.5	15.4	4.3	30.0	27.3
Below £20	57.7	33.0	36.9	27.3	72.0	75.3	73.5	83.3	80.0	62.5	28.9
Above £60	9.1	22.9	19.6	27.3	0.8	0.6	2.9	0	0	0	13.2

X = sample as a whole

1-10 = occupation categories as in Table 2.5

Most Glasgow middle class households were accommodated in homes of three or more rooms. Housing conditions were clearly quite cramped even for the relatively rich, though for the city population as a whole, little more than a quarter of families lived in property of this size. In Edinburgh, a city with less industrial pressure and a larger percentage of the population in the middle class, over one third of families accommodated housing of this size.⁷⁴ The average Glasgow middle class home had five rooms and an annual rateable value of £26. There was a room to person ratio of about one to one. But needless-to-say, there was considerable variation in the housing conditions of the groups who made up the Glasgow middle class. Among those of the highest status over a third lived in homes of more than eight rooms - in the lowest status areas one or two rooms were not uncommon. Though it is not possible to draw direct parallels with the early nineteenth century, the payment of assessed taxes demonstrates the wide differences between the house value and probable size of the richest of the middle classes and those of more modest wealth and status.⁷⁵

e. The relative implications of the social character and family structures of the Glasgow middle class

The analysis of the groups that dominated middle class society - consisting mainly of mature adult male heads of household - and the exploration of the family environment in which they lived, indicates

⁷⁴ Census of Scotland 1861 vol 1 p.xxxlll

⁷⁵ Scottish Record Office Edinburgh E326/15/28 Glasgow Assessed Tax Schedule - Glasgow 1800-1801

the complexity of the physical profile of the Glasgow middle class. Occupation is shown to be an important variable in determining the specific features of the middle class - impacting on age and family structures, on family size, servant keeping and domestic accommodation. Fortunately, however, it was a variable that tended to be manifested in a relatively consistent manner - one that accords closely with broad subjective contemporary notions of occupational status and prestige. High status occupations tended to be dominated by older individuals, with large 'modern' nuclear families - they lived in large, highly valued domestic properties and were employers of large numbers of servants. Lower status occupations often had a younger age profile and non-nuclear family structures. If their families were nuclear, they were generally small. Domestic properties were less highly valued, were usually tenement flats, had fewer rooms and often no domestic servants. Indexes of status such as house size, house value and servant keeping demonstrate a large degree of correlation when applied to the Glasgow case study. The cut-off point for middle class servant keeping in 1861 was domestic property in the £20-£29 range, or four to six rooms. This also represents an average range of house size and value for the middle class home in general. Small sized and valued houses, those below the average, usually did not have domestic servants - large and highly valued houses did, and on a scale that increased with the value of the property, as shown in Table 2.16.

Table 2.16 The Glasgow middle class 1861. House size, house value and servant keeping.

	X	Y	A	B	C	D
% of sample	49	51	2	3	10	34
Average house size (rooms)	6.3	3.2	13.6	12.0	7.9	4.9
Average house value (pounds)	39.8	14.5	106.0	90.1	48.0	24.4

X = all households with servants

Y = all households with no servants

A = households with four or more servants

B = households with three servants

C = households with two servants

D = households with one servant

But though there was a broad correlation in these important physical indexes of status, certain features introduce the need for caution. Thus, a comparison of the family structures of households of four or more servants, with those of three servants shows that rather than representing two status levels within the Glasgow middle class, the different servant numbers were a consequence of two different stages in the life-cycle requirements of the upper middle class family.⁷⁶ Three servant households had relatively small families (average 4.9 persons excluding servants), with few children, and elderly heads of household (average age 63.6 years), many of whom were widows. This was the family in the later stage of the life-cycle. Four or more servant households represent the upper middle class family in the middle stage of the life-cycle. The family was large (average 6.1 persons excluding servants) with many children and adult employed sons living at home, and the head of household was in his prime (average age 47.6 years). Clearly, wealthy but elderly households

⁷⁶ See comparable results in J.B. Redfern 'Elite suburbs; early Victorian Edgebaston' Local Historian 15 (1983) 259-271

lived in smaller properties and had less need for many servants than younger households, with children. Servant numbers and house size over a certain level, therefore, reflect practical considerations of family need as well as status.

A comparison of households with one servant and those with no servants but a house value above £20 annual rental - that is of a value and size where one might expect to see servants present - also indicates the need for caution when making bold statements on the correlation of status indexes. Here the main feature of contrast was the number of adult females in the family. In one servant households there was an average of 1.2 adult females (excluding servants), while in servant-less families who lived in domestic property valued at over £20 there was an average of 2.3 adult females. At this level of wealth and status it was the ability of the family to provide adult females, particularly grown daughters, that negated the need for a paid resident servant. This suggests that among the lower middle class at least, servant keeping as an indicator of gentility was not a particularly strong value. Given that domestic servants were notoriously difficult and disruptive in the middle class home, presumably more so in a small house, it is hardly surprising that if a family could 'do without', they would. Yet even among the lower middle classes 'rough work', such as the household laundry, would be put-out or undertaken by day servants.

Just as middle class life-cycles had an impact on servant keeping, they also influenced other aspect of family structure. The family situations of heads of household under the age of thirty years, compared with those of heads of household of sixty years and over, and the middle classes in general, show many contrasts as indicated in

Table 2.17. Young households, in the early stage of the life-cycle, were small and usually of a nuclear type. They lived in small domestic properties - usually flats in tenements - and had very few servants. Elderly households, at a later stage of the middle class the life-cycle, were bigger, wealthier in terms of house size and servants, and included very few children. Only 3% of young households were headed by women, compared with 12% of elderly households. A surprisingly large proportion of elderly households were headed by single people, which suggests that the elderly who have in life been married, tend in old age to live with relatives.

Table 2.17 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Percentage distributions of life-cycle differences.

	X	Y	Z
House	18.8	13.3	28.9
Tenement	81.2	86.7	71.1
Average Rooms	5.0	3.4	6.0
Married	71.2	81.7	64.4
Single	15.8	16.7	28.9
Widowed	13.0	1.7	6.7
Household size (incl. servants)	5.8	3.9	4.9
Household size (excl. servants)	5.0	3.6	4.0
Adult males	1.8	1.3	1.9
Adult females (excl. servants)	1.6	1.2	1.8
Children	1.6	1.1	0.3
Servants	0.8	0.3	0.9

X = Sample as a whole N = 775

Y = Sample under the age of thirty years N = 67

Z = Sample over the age of sixty years N = 100

The variable nature of family structures, the different patterns of domestic servants keeping and distinctions in the size and value of domestic property were not, however, influenced only by life-cycle stage or the practical needs of the family. Particular occupation areas, and specific groups within the broad work categories, had individual requirements that influenced these multiple aspects of domestic life. There were for instance, notable ranges of experiences within those groups of occupations that can be broadly defined as the lower middle class. In general, shopkeepers, though they lived in houses of similar size and value to most tradesmen, were larger employers of servants. Tradesmen, on the other hand, were larger employers of others forms of labour than servants - usually

males, defined as apprentices or journeymen.⁷⁷ Some of the servants employed in the households of shopkeepers were also involved in work in the shop. More probably, however, such servants engaged in domestic chores while the adult females of the household worked in the shop - since shopkeepers would require honest, presentable and trustworthy shop assistants, which would exclude many of the lowest class of general servant. Tradesmen's wives, in 1861, generally did not work with their husbands; they were, therefore, free for domestic work and had less need for servants. General teachers and clerks, though living in domestic properties of higher value and greater size than those of the average shopkeeper, employed a similar number of servants. Wives in these categories would generally not work outside the home, and so could engage in domestic chores with a certain amount of servant help commensurate with status levels.

Even among different shopkeeper groups there were variations worthy of comment. Booksellers, by size and value of house were the wealthiest shopkeepers, but kept relatively few domestic servants - booksellers' wives were perhaps less likely to work in the shop than the wives of other shopkeepers. Bakers, on the other hand, had smaller houses but employed many servants and also other forms of labour - bakers were, of course, involved in both the processing and sale of their products in very labour intensive enterprises. The analysis, as outlined in greater detail in Table 2.18, shows, that without consideration of the various aspects and implications of work type and family function, servant keeping, house value and house size should not be used as a

⁷⁷ 'Employment of others' data in the Census enumerators books is not always reliable, and can only be taken as an indication of a trend - see W.A. Armstrong 'The Census Enumerators' books: a commentary' in R. Lawton (ed) The Census and social structure (1978) p37

precise index of status. The different groups who can be broadly defined as professionals also show a similar degree of variation among those of higher status. As indicated in Table 2.19, teachers lived in houses of much lower value and size, with fewer servants, than other professionals; while ministers clearly had the highest status by these particular physical indexes.

Table 2.18 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Lower middle class occupations and house size, house value, domestic servants keeping and employment of others.

	A	B	C	D
Teachers, general N=16	0	5.0	22.5	0.6
Clerks, general N=29	0	3.9	20.2	0.5
<u>Shopkeepers</u>				
Bookseller N=14	7	4.2	21.3	0.5
Grocers N=35	0	3.4	15.5	0.5
Wine/spirit dealers N=41	10	3.4	13.1	0.6
Bakers (with shops) N=10	40	3.6	16.8	1.0
<u>Tradesmen</u>				
Joiners N=21	38	3.5	15.3	0.1
Masons N=11	9	3.2	13.4	0
Tailors N=12	50	3.8	17.5	0.2

A = per centage who are employers of individuals other than servants.

B = average rooms in house

C = average house value in pounds

D = average number of servants in household

Table 2.19 The Glasgow middle class 1861. Professionals and house size, house value and domestic servant keeping.

	A	B	C
All professionals N=68	6.6	40.4	1.1
Writers (law) N=12	7.3	45.4	1.3
Doctors N=16	8.0	47.0	1.1
Teachers N=17	4.9	21.2	0.6
Ministers N=9	8.2	54.4	1.6
Accountants N=14	7.0	49.1	1.3

A = average house size (rooms)

B = average house value (pounds)

C = average number of servants

As discussed further below in the examination of wealth and property, any attempt to define a hierarchy of middle class status must accommodate the many complexities of individual experience and family structure. Multiple indexes are essential and do reveal a large degree of consistency. But in applying such an approach, it is necessary to recognize that the physical manifestations of the middle class could vary greatly. Life-cycle changes had a notable impact on the nature of families and even within broad occupation categories, or broad status levels, there were many variable experiences, dictated by the nature of the work undertaken by the individual and the family. The physical profile of the middle class, in its social and household manifestations as demonstrated by the Glasgow case of 1861, was a highly complex phenomenon.

2.4 Property, wealth and income

a Introduction

The value of wealth as an index of nineteenth century status and hierarchy is considerable. The nineteenth century novel, and other forms of contemporary literature, indicate the preoccupation, among all sections of society, with comparative wealth and public demonstrations of wealth. The outstanding Glasgow based novel of the period, John Galt's The Entail (1822), revolves around the theme of wealth and property, as it charts the ambitions, self interest and developing fortunes of the Walkinshaw family. The instability of wealth was also a notable area of concern, seen for instance in the experience of Mr Speckle, the ruined, though once wealthy, cotton mill proprietor described in Galt's Annals of a Parish (1821).⁷⁸ The riches and social pretensions of the new men of wealth were frequent objects of contemporary ridicule and derision.⁷⁹ Aggressive self interest and material greed - with their damaging effect on moral and spiritual values - were similarly common literary themes, much evident in Glasgow novels and social commentaries of the period. Cleland, writing in the 1830's, was particularly critical of this aspect of wealthy urban elite society - 'there are many persons among us who live as if they existed only for themselves and desire to know nothing but what may be conducive to their own private advantage...The first in order, but last in respect, are those who, though wealthy, or at

⁷⁸ p.264

⁷⁹ See, for instance, the contemptuous view of Glasgow men of new wealth from an Edinburgh perspective in J. G. Lockhart Peters letters to his kinsfolk (Edinburgh 1819) pp169-70. Though significantly, Lockhart was not as harsh in his views of Glasgow's old elites.

least in easy circumstances, lend a deaf ear to the tale of woe, and neither contribute their time nor their means to the relief of the wretched.⁸⁰

In an expanding and changing urban society of great economic buoyancy, it is clear why personal riches and social perceptions of wealth should be so significant. Rapid urban growth and associated great densities of diverse peoples - without a shared background, common activities or points of personal contact, and with few consistent and unifying values - meant that great premium was put on immediate visual recognition and outward symbols of status. This accounts for the aggressive search for wealth, the apparent decline in spiritual values and the high levels of material consumption and status display. With few common values to unify all levels of society, and considerable ethnic diversity, money and wealth became accepted measures of those personal qualities for which there were no other consistent standards.⁸¹ This was particularly so in the decades from the 1820's to 1850's, when urban expansion and social change were at their greatest. It was a trend seen throughout Britain in the nineteenth century, but was particularly marked in the large,

⁸⁰ J. Cleland Statistical facts of Glasgow (Glasgow 1837) p40

⁸¹ D. Timms The urban mosaic - towards a theory of residential differentiation (Cambridge 1971) p.26 - discusses these trends as observed generally in situations of rapid urban expansion.

prosperous cities of the industrializing north.⁸² Glasgow was such a city, one in which wealth was highly valued and the scope and opportunities for private money making were clearly evident. Yet even among contemporaries there were often expressions of surprise at the levels of personal riches to be seen in the city. Nowhere was this more so than in displays of wealth through opulent housing in the fashionable West End - 'the new abodes [of the West End] find tenants wonderfully fast: and as you stroll through the miles on miles of spacious streets and terraces containing exclusively handsome dwelling-houses, you cannot help wondering where all the money comes from which supports such a number of the upper middle class in luxury if not splendour.'⁸³ To give an answer to this speculation from Editor of the Glasgow Herald in 1850, is part of the aim of the following analysis of the property, wealth and income of the middle class.

The measurement of wealth holding, and examination of details of individual income are by no means easy. A tax on incomes over a certain level - £50 in the early nineteenth century, rising to £150 by the 1870's - which excluded the majority of the working classes, was imposed in Britain from 1799 to 1815, and again from 1842 onwards. But

⁸² Experience and values in the big cities and industrial towns were very different to those of small urban centres or rural areas - J.F.C. Harrison, Early Victorian Britain 1832-1851 (1979) p.38. The main contemporary evocation of these differences is seen in Elizabeth Gaskell's North and South (first published in serial form in 1854-55). But new wealth and aggressive status seeking, through the display of personal riches, were not a northern industrial phenomenon alone - Dickens, writing of a London commercial family, the Veneerings, 'bran-new people in a bran-new house' provides the most striking literary example of the type in Our Mutual Friend (first published 1864-65).

⁸³ Glasgow Herald April 8 1850

though numerous reports were published by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and other government tax departments, which allow broad analyses of large scale movements in taxable wealth and income levels, there is little detailed break down of information by town or district, and few available records of individual tax payment, from which local and personal trends can be inferred.⁸⁴ Any attempt to measure specific local income patterns must approach the subject obliquely, and in part subjectively through interpretation of the more accessible indexes of broad based wealth and specific types of wealth. For this reason, consideration is given initially to the examination of fixed property - housing, commercial premises and investment property - one of the simplest means of tracing structures of wealth, and one well served by the Glasgow sources. This is followed by an analysis of the nature of movable or personal wealth at death, as listed in Scottish confirmation inventories. The implications of these two major indexes of wealth are then considered in the light of subjective assessments and approximate estimates of evolving income levels within the Glasgow middle class.

Before analysing the nature of property, wealth, and income, it must be stressed that this area of the middle class physical profile was one of great complexity and diversity. This is well illustrated by a small number of individual case studies of wealth holding (derived from confirmation inventories, which exclude real estate) related to

⁸⁴ See J. A. Banks Prosperity and parenthood (1954) pp.103-112; H. Perkin The origins of modern English society (1969) pp.20-21; W.D. Rubinstein 'The Victorian middle classes: wealth, occupation and geography' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 1977 602-623 - which all attempt to distinguish broad income levels from national income tax records. See also R.D. Baxter National Income (1868); A.L. Bowley Wages and income since 1860 (1939).

other aspects of status and hierarchy in 1861. In creating the main Glasgow middle class Record Linked Sample of 1861, an attempt was made to link sample individuals to the confirmation inventories of the period 1861 to 1865.⁸⁵ As may be imagined, of a sample that stresses the middle aged and those in their prime, few were found to have died during this period - only nineteen could be positively traced in the confirmation inventory source. The number is insufficient to provide a strong foundation for generalizations on the nature of wealth relative to other concrete indexes of hierarchy and status. It is however, sufficient to show the diversity of individual wealth holding patterns.

Though drawn from an elderly age group, the average being fifty-seven years, only two (one a woman) were not actively engaged in business or employment.⁸⁶ The range of their inventory wealth was vast. At the top of the scale was the considerable fortune of £48134, left by an elderly retired merchant - described as a 'fundholder' - mainly in the form of railway stocks and valuable household effects such as paintings and silver plate. At the bottom, the modest sum of £45, the wealth at death of a carter, which took the form of stocks of cattle, personal effects and small book debts. Between the two extremes there was considerable diversity; often individuals who in many respects had similar financial and domestic circumstances were very different in the detailed manifestations of wealth. Two accountants were among the nineteen cases. They lived in houses of similar size and value

⁸⁵ SRO S.C 36/48/46-48. Linkage beyond 1865 was not considered a viable procedure due to changes in individual circumstances and difficulties of 'recognition' of sample individuals. For further details on the linkage see Appendices 1 and 2 and Table 7.2.

⁸⁶ Appendix 2 Table 7.2.

with similar numbers of servants. Their inventory estates were of a similar value, both mainly in the form of bank deposits, public company investments and business debts due to the deceased. But one also owned investment property in Glasgow with an annual value of £4137 (real value of about £40000 at 1861 prices) and an office valued at £70 a year, while the other owned no real estate in Glasgow and the inventory indicates he had no fixed property elsewhere outside the city.

The character of personal wealth distribution in the nineteenth century was, therefore, complex and often inconsistent - and, as indicated below, it tended to be increasingly so as the period progressed. Nonetheless, it is clear, even from the small numbers here involved, that there were strong relationships between inventory wealth and other indexes of status and wealth. Thus all of the nineteen individuals who left over £2000 in inventory wealth had two or more domestic servants, and the highest wealth was strongly related to the largest domestic properties. Those engaged in commerce and the professions, or of independent means had the largest fortunes - those in shopkeeping and the trades had the lowest. As shown in the analysis below, though there was great variability in this aspect of the middle class physical profile, it is possible, through the matching of the various wealth indexes, to construct a distinctive hierarchy of middle class wealth holding, and to relate this to other concrete aspects of status, family circumstances and occupational prestige.

b. Property

Fixed property or real estate was one of the most significant forms of middle class wealth in the nineteenth century. For the rural middle

class this was particularly so, with land ownership for farming or rental incomes, the single most important area of wealth.⁸⁷ Among the urban middle classes it was also important. In certain cases, particularly those of great wealth, urban middle class land or property was often in the countryside, beyond the city.⁸⁸ For the very rich, land was a traditional means of securing gentry status, and of diversifying an investment portfolio into safe income forms.⁸⁹ Many who could not aspire to extensive rural landownership would often purchase country houses with adjoining garden land to provide a summer home for the family. Even individuals of very modest wealth, especially those who had migrated to the city from rural areas, also often owned small plots of land in the countryside - land with which their family had a traditional association. Such land connections were important in Scotland, and tended to have a strong influence on urban middle class values and behaviour patterns. In a period of great social change, land was a source of stability and continuity. Most urban middle class property ownership was, however, to be found in the local urban setting.

Property ownership had important social and political implications.

⁸⁷ Shown below in the analysis of Confirmation Inventories of the farming and landed classes.

⁸⁸ One of the great Glasgow industrial families, the Bairds, coal and iron masters, owned by the 1870's extensive country estates in Scotland with an annual value in excess of £12000 - J. Bateman, The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland (1883) p22

⁸⁹ Particularly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century and late eighteenth century when small landed estates were relatively cheap and available in the West of Scotland, and a source of attractive investment for many local elite merchants. T.M. Devine 'An eighteenth century business elite: Glasgow West India merchants 1740 - 1815' Scottish Historical Review 57 (1978) 40-67

It was one of the principal means of defining class and hierarchy, and the basic factor by which the electorate was circumscribed. These functions were derived principally from the economic significance of property, particularly among the expanding urban middle classes. There was plenty of opportunity for investment in this area in Glasgow. The rapid growth of the city led to an increase in fixed property whose rental values were already £81484 for houses and places of business in 1804, and rose quickly thereafter to £286340 in 1820, £536965 in 1831 (city and suburbs) and £1666336 by 1861 (city and suburbs).⁹⁰ In the present examination of the Glasgow middle class three types of property based wealth are identified - investment in housing in which the individual lived, investment in commercial property from which the individual conducted his business, and investment for the generation of income in property in which the individual neither lived nor worked.⁹¹

Traditional land holding systems in Scottish cities, which gave rise to the development of high density tenement building, tended to work against individual ownership of domestic dwellings. Thus very few of the middle class, about one tenth, owned their own houses. Those who did, either owned the whole tenement block in which they lived

⁹⁰ J. Strang Report on the vital, economic and social statistics of Glasgow for 1861 (Glasgow 1862) p30; J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow (Glasgow 1832) p161

⁹¹ The 1861 analysis is based on a listing of property in Glasgow, recorded by rate assessors under the Land Valuation Scotland Act of 1854, and held in the Scottish Record Office -SRO V.R.102/85-94. It was not possible to record, in a consistent way, the holding of property outside the city boundaries by members of the Glasgow middle class. Confirmation inventories examined below in section 24 c. do indicate, however, that non-local property holding was not a major phenomenon relative to the overall size of property ownership, and tended to be the preserve of the relatively wealthy.

and derived an investment income from renting out the other flats, or were members of the highest wealth and status groups, living in the exclusive and prosperous districts of the West End where houses as opposed to flats predominated, and separate ownership of property was easier.⁹² Houses in the latter category were typically rated at over £60 a year and dominated by merchants, manufacturers, elite professionals and those of independent means. Such individuals were clearly wealthy and their wealth was demonstrated in other areas of property ownership. Thus nearly half of owner-occupiers of houses of over £60 annual value also owned other forms of property in Glasgow - property from which they received an investment income, or which was employed to house close relatives such as elderly parents.

Ownership of the commercial property from which an individual conducted his business was also at a relatively low level (constrained by the same factors that limited the ownership of housing in Glasgow). Most business premises were in the older and more densely built parts of the city where tenements prevailed. Those who did own their own commercial properties were again mainly the wealthy, and especially the large scale businessmen - the great merchants with extensive warehouses or manufacturers with factories. Commercial property among these groups was often on the edge of the city, in the industrial suburbs where land for new extensive building was available, or

⁹² Under Scottish law, land was usually feued rather than sold freehold. Initial feu levels in the big cities were often very high and encouraged dense exploitation of land, hence the growth of tenements. Ownership of a single flat within a tenement was legally ambiguous as such ownership did not imply legal rights to the feu-ownership of a whole tenement block or single house on its own land was much safer. See - J.R. Kellest 'Property speculators and the building of Glasgow 1780 -1830' Scottish Journal of Political Economy 8 (1961) p.212

alongside the river on the newly built quays. In such cases the individual concerned also often owned property round about his factory or warehouse - either other commercial buildings or housing. Of twelve major businessmen identified in the 1861 Glasgow middle class sample, who owned commercial property with an annual rental of over £500 - mostly manufacturers and overseas merchants - only two did not also own extensive adjacent property. It seems probable that the land had been feued in large blocks, and was purchased to give the factory or warehouse room and potential to expand. This pattern applies in the case of William Connal, a foreign and commission merchant who owned yards, counting houses and stores valued in 1861 at £1655 annual rental. His firm of William Connal & Co. also owned additional commercial property and houses round about in the Virginia Street and York Street areas of the city, valued at £1740 annual rental. Another was Robert Cochran, a china manufacturer who employed six hundred workers in 1861 and occupied factories and works valued at £936 annual rental, while also owning additional commercial property nearby, again in the York Street area, valued at £120 annual rental.

Most individuals did not own the commercial property from which their businesses were conducted. But an analysis of the distribution of property, by value, between occupation areas indicates one element of wealth holding - that represented by the annual rent that particular groups could afford to pay for their commercial premises. It also shows the differential property requirements of the various types of occupation - requirements that were often dictated by the nature of the businesses pursued. Less than half of those who formed the sample could be linked to commercial property. Clearly many groups would not have been occupiers of business property in their own right and would not, therefore, have appeared in the property listings. These include the independents and the retired, also middle class employees such as

clerks or managers, and several professional group such as teachers or ministers. The linking to business property favoured certain occupations above others, particularly shopkeepers and manufacturers, as shown in Table 2.20.

Table 2.20 The Glasgow Middle Class 1861. Domestic property, business property and investment property. Percentage of main sample linked to the rate books in each category of property.

	A		B		C	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
1.Merchants	16.8	(128)	18.7	(74)	13.4	(15)
2.Manufacturers	8.9	(65)	16.6	(66)	17.9	(20)
3.Professionals	8.5	(68)	6.1	(24)	10.7	(12)
4.Shopkeepers	20.8	(159)	35.4	(140)	16.1	(18)
5.Tradesmen	25.6	(195)	19.4	(77)	19.6	(22)
6.Clerks/officers	6.3	(48)	0		0	
7.Managers/foremen	2.0	(15)	0		0	
8.Transport	3.4	(26)	2.3	(9)	0.8	(1)
9.Domestic	1.3	(10)	1.5	(6)	0.8	(1)
10.Independent	6.4	(49)	0		20.5	(23)
	-----		-----		-----	
	100	(763)	100	(396)	100	(112)

A = Linked to domestic property
 B = Linked to commercial property
 C = Linked to investment property

In many respects, the value of commercial property occupied by particular occupation groups reflected other broad indexes of wealth and status. Yet, as in other aspects of the physical profile, the specific nature of work imposed on experience. Across the whole of the middle class the distribution of business property peaked at the lower value range of £10-19. But for each of the occupation areas there were significant variations in characteristics. Both merchants and manufacturers peaked in their distribution in the range £100-£499 rental value. Yet there was a greater tendency among manufacturers to skew towards high value property than among merchants.

Manufacturers, of course, required very large commercial properties from which to conduct their businesses, while the merchant often operated from an office or counting house, which was generally quite modestly rated. The manufacturer had to commit a large portion of his wealth and business finance to fixed property, which had implications for business flexibility and the capacity to invest elsewhere. Professionals who occupied business property in their own right - mainly writers, accountants and doctors - were most prominent in the range £50-£99 annual value. Such a sum represented the rental on a prestigious office or counting house in the central business district of Glasgow. Many however, had more modest office accommodation, whilst others, particularly accountants, had bigger and more highly rated offices.

The differences in the nature of business property occupied by merchants and manufacturers were reflected, to a degree, in differences between shopkeepers and tradesmen. The latter two groups had generally lower valued properties than the first two, but shopkeepers peaked at a level in the value scale that was higher than tradesmen.⁹³ Nearly half the shopkeepers examined had total business property valued at over £50, while less than one fifth of the tradesmen had business property with this level of rental. Several shopkeepers, particularly those engaged in the grocery and wine and spirit retail trade, had multiple shops with a high composite value. Rarely, however, was a single shopworth over £50. The more highly

⁹³ The physical position and nature of the 'shop' was very important in determining the status of the shopkeeper; tradesmen did not derive status to the same extent from the nature or value of their business properties. See T. Vigne & A. Howkins 'The small shopkeeper in industrial and market towns' in G. Crossick (ed) The lower middle class in Britain (1977) p206

valued of the tradesmen business properties tended to be those of individuals in the building trade - who were notable for their large yards and sand pits. But the workshops of most tradesmen were modestly valued at generally below £30 annual rental. Only a small number of those involved in transport and the domestic category could be linked to business premises. In the former case their properties, mainly stables, were generally very low in value. The biggest area of business investment for this group was in the means of transport, the horses, carts and waggons, rather than fixed property.⁹⁴ Those who provided domestic services largely worked from their own homes if lodging house keepers, and therefore do not appear as business property occupiers; or worked in premises owned by others if housekeepers or matrons. Of domestic service providers, only restaurant and hotel keepers appear in Table 2.21 - which outlines the detail of Glasgow middle class commercial property values in 1861 - some of whose property was very highly valued. Such was that of George Cranston, who owned the Crow Hotel in George Square, valued at £312, and a nearby tavern valued at £70.

⁹⁴ The early nineteenth century Assessed Taxes included a tax on horses used in business, which was dominated by those in the transport sector. See SRO E326/15/28. Individual businesses could involve up to twenty horses in the early nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century the largest transport business in Glasgow, owned by Andrew Menzies (died 1873), an omnibus proprietor, carter, carriage hirer and funeral undertaker employed hundreds of horses. One Hundred Glasgow Men (Glasgow 1886) p223

Table 2.21 Glasgow Middle Class, 1861. Business property - percentage distribution by occupation within value categories.*

	X	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Over £500 annual value	3.5	8.1	10.6	0	0	0	0	16.6
£100-£499 annual value	13.6	24.3	33.3	12.5	1.4	5.2	0	83.3
£50-£99 annual value	14.1	14.9	13.6	33.3	15.0	7.8	11.1	0
£30-£49 annual value	19.2	16.2	19.7	4.2	32.1	5.2	11.1	0
£20-£29 annual value	16.9	16.2	6.1	20.8	18.6	24.7	11.1	0
£10-£19 annual value	25.8	18.9	15.2	12.5	27.9	40.2	55.5	0
Below £10 annual value	6.8	1.4	1.5	16.6	5.0	16.9	11.1	0

X = Linked sample N=396

1-9 Occupation categories as in Table 2.20

*It should be noted that the values are not just for single business properties, but in some cases, particularly of notable merchants and manufacturers, may represent the holding of several distinct properties from which a business was conducted. For example, Robert Cogan, cotton manufacturers had business property valued at £1350 annual rental, which consisted of five separate factories. David Cross, seed merchant, held business property valued at £504 annual rental, consisting of a shop, a counting house and two stores.

The nature and occupational distribution of business property in the earlier nineteenth century was similar to that seen in 1861. There were, however, fewer extensive manufacturing premises, and consequently the large merchant premises tended to be relatively more prominent. Hotels and taverns were some of the largest and most highly valued commercial properties prior to the development of extensive urban based industry. But the majority of business premises in 1800 and 1832 were, as in 1861, relatively low rated shops or

Property for the generation of investment income was often held in large geographical blocks by corporate bodies, institutions or trusts, particularly by the mid and later nineteenth century.⁹⁶ The number of identifiable individuals who can be linked to direct investment in property - as opposed to investment in institutions or trusts through which there was an indirect investment in property - tended, therefore, to be relatively small. Some individuals in Glasgow in 1861 were vast investors in property in which they neither lived nor worked. The largest to be identified in this study was an accountant who owned houses and shops in multiple sites valued at £4137 annual rental. Most, however, were more modest investors, with an average investment holding of £200 annual rental - which represented property with a real value of about £2000 at 1861 prices. The distribution of those occupation groups who were linked to investment property in 1861 compared with those linked to commercial premises and domestic property is given in Table 2.20. The occupational distribution by range of investment income appears as Table 2.22.

⁹⁵ A sample of the 1832 Cholera Rental Book, (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, M.S.) showed that the most highly valued commercial properties were textile warehouses, calenders and foundries of about £150 annual rental, considerably below the value of equivalent properties by 1861. Assessed Tax schedules of 1800 (SRO E326/15/28), do not include commercial properties unless also used as or physically joined to domestic properties - the largest valued and most extensive premises described, therefore, tend to be hotels and inns.

⁹⁶ The expansion of Glasgow, through new building from the late eighteenth century, was considerably dictated by certain of these institutions, notable Hutcheson's Hospital - see J.R. Kellest 'Property speculators and the building of Glasgow 1780-1830' p213

Table 2.22 The Glasgow Middle Class 1861. Investment property - percentage occupation distributions within value ranges

	X	1	2	3	4	5	10
Over £300 annual rental	20.6	20.0	20.0	25.0	16.7	22.7	21.7
£100-£299 annual rental	46.4	46.6	50.0	33.3	55.5	45.5	47.8
Below £100 annual rental	33.0	33.3	30.0	41.7	27.8	31.8	30.4

X = linked sample as a whole, N=112

1-10 = occupation categories as in Table 2.20

Most investment property took the form of housing, shops and workshops - individual units being mainly low in value, though often held in large composite blocks. There was a tendency for investment in large scale factories or warehouses to be undertaken either by merchants and factory owners, who also had their commercial premises nearby, or by wealthy institutions and trusts. Although the numbers who invested were relatively small, they clearly show the importance of investment property ownership to particular middle class groups. The independent, the elderly, the retired and women were the most significant investors in private property. One of the largest examined in the 1861 analysis was John Crawford, who owned multiple shops and houses throughout Glasgow valued in total at £515 annual rental. Crawford was relatively young at only forty-eight years old, though described as 'retired' in most sources. Significantly his son, who lived in the parental home, was a builder, and there is some suggestion that Crawford himself, while in business, had been in the building trade and therefore had a particular interest in investment in this area. But investment property holdings for most of the elderly and retired were not as large as those of Crawford. More typical was Robert Craig, a fifty-five year old retired farmer who owned houses and shops in Main Street, Bridgeton, where he also lived,

valued at £150 annual rental. There was also David Crosbie, a sixty-four year old 'fund holder', who in addition to investments in government stocks owned houses and flats in Abercromby Street valued at £40 annual rental, where he also lived.

Tradesmen, especially those involved in the building trades, such as builders, slaters, house painters and carpenters were notable investors in urban property - an area to which they were attracted by special knowledge and interest. With a relatively small part of their wealth tied up in business premises, tradesmen tended to have greater scope for investment in property for rental income than other lower middle class groups. They had far greater involvement in this type of investment than shopkeepers, who had to commit a large level of wealth to the premises from which their businesses were conducted. Manufacturers, though numerically a smaller group, invested more in urban property than merchants - usually, as noted above, in areas round about their factories and works. Professionals, particularly accountants and writers, groups who often acted as factors and house agents, also invested considerable sums in local urban property, especially houses and shops, from which they derived a rentier income. Lower status employee groups such as clerks or managers did not, however, invest in property, unless they were retired and had moved into the category of independent.

As a source of investment income, local urban property in the nineteenth century was generally stable, safe and easy to control. It was particularly attractive to those of relatively modest wealth, to the elderly and to women, who required a steady income. It was also attractive to those with a specialist involvement in building trades or in property management, where investment tended to be larger and more speculative in nature. Property was, however, only one aspect of

middle class wealth holding. Its role relative to other categories of wealth can be assessed through an analysis of confirmation inventories - the listing of movable wealth at time of death.

c. Wealth at death

In the study of Scottish middle class wealth structures, the confirmation inventory is particularly valuable.⁹⁷ The character of broad based wealth at death has been examined elsewhere, but nowhere previously has an analysis of specific individual wealth circumstances, relative to other indexes of hierarchy and status in the nineteenth century, been undertaken.⁹⁸ Though exceptional in the details they supply, Scottish confirmation inventories present the same problems of interpretation that are seen in the English probates. As records of individual wealth at time of death, they inevitably reflect the circumstances of an elderly population. In some cases this has a distorting effect, for wealth at death not always paralleled wealth during the lifetime of an individual. An exploration of the detailed wealth of a particularly rich Scottish industrialist - William Todd Lithgow - during his life and at death, has raised concern over the unrepresentative nature of the confirmation inventory.⁹⁹ But these reservations are more applicable to the very rich, particularly those of the later nineteenth century when stringent estate duties were in force, than to the modestly

⁹⁷ The nature of the source and the samples employed are described in detail in Appendices 1 and 2.

⁹⁸ See particularly W.D. Rubinstein Men of Property: the very wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution (London 1981); The broad value of wealth at death of artisans and small masters in early nineteenth century Birmingham is described in C. Behagg 'Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50' in G. Crossick & H.G. Haupt Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth-century Europe (1984) 137-154; J. Foster Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution (1974) uses broad probate wealth in defining the Oldham bourgeoisie p271.

⁹⁹ M.S. Moss 'William Todd Lithgow - founder of a fortune' Scottish Historical Review 63 (1984) 47-72.

wealthy middle classes of the mid-nineteenth century. For the latter, who were not generally faced with heavy estate duties, there was less need to disperse wealth to relatives before death, as evidently happened in the case of Todd Lithgow. In any event, the confirmation inventory is used here only in conjunction with other indexes of wealth.¹⁰⁰

Scottish confirmation inventories give valuable and precise details on individual movable wealth, and also give an indication of fixed property. Additionally, they point to the character of wealth distribution between the town and countryside within a particular geographical area. Sheriff Court responsibility for confirming inventories - in this case the Glasgow Sheriff Court - also included the inventories of individuals resident in the wider county beyond the city, that is in Lanarkshire.¹⁰¹ Of the cases analysed for the early 1860's, over a quarter represented individuals who lived outside Glasgow or the immediate suburbs. These were mainly farmers and landowners, and a few professionals, such as ministers and writers who lived in small Lanarkshire towns and villages. In the Census of 1861, 71% of the population of Lanarkshire was resident in Glasgow and 29% elsewhere in the county. The broad geographical distribution of confirmations reflects the distribution of the population as a whole.¹⁰² Among those with larger fortunes - identified in this study as

¹⁰⁰ See the analysis of 19 case studies of elderly wealth on pages 109-110.

¹⁰¹ J. G. Currie The confirmation of executors in Scotland according to the practice in the Commissariat of Edinburgh (Edinburgh 1884) pp5-6

¹⁰² J. Strang Report on the vital, social and economic statistics of Glasgow for 1861 (Glasgow 1862) p6

individuals leaving over £2000 in movable property - there was, however, a slightly smaller representation from outside the city and suburbs. Except for a few notable cases, such as the great landowners, the very highest levels of personal wealth tended to be concentrated in the city.¹⁰³ In the earlier nineteenth century this concentration of wealth was even more notable. In 1832, less than one tenth of large wealth holders lived beyond Glasgow. Clearly, economic expansion and buoyancy within the city had given tangible encouragement to the growth of prosperity and wealth in the rural hinterland.¹⁰⁴

Despite the presence of groups drawn from outside the city, and the high representation of retired men and elderly women, the occupational distribution of confirmation inventories in the early 1860's reflects that of the 1861 Glasgow middle class Record Linked Sample. As indicated on Table 2.23, the only significantly different group was shopkeepers, since there were relatively more shopkeepers in the confirmation inventory analysis than in the linked sample. The reasons for this pattern cannot be stated with certainty, although it seems probable that the occupation of shopkeeper was less likely to be abandoned for retirement (and passage to the independent category)

¹⁰³ Many of the very wealthy had two residences, one in the country and one in the town. The Scottish courts presumed, in such cases, that if the individual was a nobleman or landed proprietor his domicile was in the country, and if a merchant, manufacturer or professional his domicile was in the town. See J.G. Currie The Confirmation Of Executors In Scotland p21

¹⁰⁴ Stimulated by expanding urban markets, the development of efficient, large scale commercial agriculture in the lowlands from the 1780s was rapid. This was reflected in the greater material wealth and consumption of farmers, seen most notably in new trends in farmhouse building and higher levels of domestic comfort - see T.C. Smout A history of the Scottish people 1560-1830 (1969) pp229-293

than others more physically or mentally arduous in character, or more profitable and capable of sustaining the individual in independent old age. It may also be, and there is evidence to support this among the inventories, that certain tradesman occupations were frequently given up in old age in favour of the less physically demanding area of shopkeeping.¹⁰⁵ This is seen for instance in the case of William Barr, wine and spirit dealer of Jamaica Street Glasgow, who died in 1860 leaving an inventory fortune of £2582 mainly in the form of stocks in trade. Though engaged in shopkeeping at the time of his death, the nature of his book debts, and a number of personal loans suggest that he had earlier been a small scale brass founder and metal worker.¹⁰⁶

Table 2.23 Glasgow Middle Class Confirmation Inventories 1861, 1832 and 1800. Percentage distribution by occupation - number in brackets.

	1861 %	1832 %	1800 %
A - Merchants	10.5 (26)	17.9 (25)	32.0 (16)
B - Manufacturers	6.5 (16)	9.3 (13)	4.0 (2)
C - Merch/manuf	1.0 (2)	1.4 (2)	2.0 (1)
D - Professional	7.0 (18)	11.4 (16)	8.0 (4)
E - Shopkeeper	20.0 (50)	15.0 (21)	8.0 (4)
F - Tradesmen	15.0 (37)	13.6 (19)	6.0 (3)
G - Clerk/Officer	4.5 (11)	2.1 (3)	0 (0)
H - Farmer/Landowner	10.0 (24)	7.1 (10)	10.0 (5)
I - Others	4.5 (11)	5.0 (7)	12.0 (6)
J - Independent	21.0 (52)	17.1 (24)	18.0 (9)

1861 - N = 247 cases

1832 - N = 140 cases

1800 - N = 50 cases

¹⁰⁵ Career instability, the threat of large scale production and the debilities of old age often forced craftsmen into shopkeeping. In Germany between the 1860's and 1890's, partly as a result of this trend, the ratio of customers to retailers was halved. As in Britain, small scale shopkeeping was not threatened by large-scale competition untill the late nineteenth century. See D. Blackburn 'Between resignation and volatility: the German petite bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century' in Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth century Europe p41

¹⁰⁶ SRO S.C.36/48/46

Inventories of the early 1830's were occupationally similar to those of the 1860's, with one or two notable points of difference. In the former there was a larger representation of merchants, factory owners and professional men, and fewer shopkeepers, farmers and retired individuals living on independent means. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the presence of merchants was even more marked. This was a pattern of wealth domination that mirrored the merchant domination of power and status positions, as so often described by contemporaries. As represented by the propensity to leave wealth of a character that required confirmation, the years 1800 to 1861 saw considerable growth among particular groups, especially those engaged in shopkeeping and farming. These were areas whose expansion can be directly related to the service functions and wider economic role of the city and region.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the number of women whose death was followed by the confirmation process increased as the century progressed. This suggests that there was a relative rise also in the wealth holding capacity of independent females.

Wealth holding changes during the period 1800 to 1861 included a relative increase in riches among the less well off, and a decline in the tendency of wealth to be concentrated in the hands of a few notable individuals. But though this may suggest a more equitable distribution of urban middle class wealth, it is also clear that the opportunities for accumulating very large fortunes were far greater in

¹⁰⁷ Giving emphasis to a frequently described pattern, that the largest area of middle class growth between the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century was among those of modest wealth and income. See P. Branca Silent sisterhood: middle class women in the Victorian home (1975) p.45.

1861 than they had been in 1832 or 1800. The distribution of ranges of inventory wealth are shown in Table 2.24. In 1861, almost 60% of the individuals sampled had personal wealth at death below £500 in value and just under a quarter had wealth above £1000 in value. Mean average wealth holding in 1861 was £1669, but median average was much lower at £335. In 1832 the mean average was relatively similar at £1615, but the median was higher at £438. This again suggests a growth of less wealthy groups over the century, with an increased presence of low value inventories in 1861 tending to dilute the median average. Mean average wealth holding at the beginning of the century was also relatively high and comparable with that of the later samples, though the numbers involved were small and wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few very rich individuals. Reflecting this concentration, the median average in 1800 was £644, higher than both 1832 and 1861.

Table 2.24 Glasgow Middle Class Confirmation Inventories 1861, 1832 and c.1800. Percentage distribution of samples by wealth ranges - numbers in brackets.

	1861	1832	1800
	%	%	%
Below £100	15.4 (38)	18.6 (26)	16.0 (8)
£100-£199	17.0 (42)	15.0 (21)	12.0 (6)
£200-£499	26.7 (66)	18.6 (26)	18.0 (9)
£500-£999	16.6 (41)	17.1 (24)	18.0 (9)
£1000-£1999	10.9 (27)	12.1 (17)	16.0 (8)
Over £2000	13.4 (33)	18.6 (26)	20.0 (10)

Those occupations that were traditionally perceived to have a high status - the merchant, the factory owners and the major professionals - tended to have their greatest representation in the upper levels of the wealth scales. Lower status occupation groups such as shopkeepers and tradesman were more fully represented at the lower levels of the scale. There was a tendency, however, for individuals from these

groups to be found increasingly in the higher ranges of the scale as the period progressed and their wealth was enhanced by the expansion and economic buoyancy of Glasgow. In 1832 the richest shopkeeper to be examined was Robert Siddon a grocer of 2 Trongate, who left a fortune of £1523, mostly in the form of shares in the Glasgow Union Bank and stocks in trade. By 1861 the richest shopkeeper was a flesher, David Thomson of 183 George Street, who left £7191, in stocks in trade, loans and bank deposits. The wealthiest tradesman in 1832 was Thomas Fotheringham, a cabinet maker who left £3872, and in 1861, William Logan a tinsmith who left £13909. Employee groups such as clerks, though members of the lower middle class and numerically expanding during this period, did not see equivalent changes in their wealth levels. Thus the richest clerk sampled in 1832 was John Johnstone, clerk in the Carron Iron Works office in Glasgow, who left £628 in the form mainly of bank deposits and loans. While in 1861 it was David Hamilton, clerk and collector of Poor Rates at Braehead near Glasgow, who left £698 mainly in insurance company shares and family loans.¹⁰⁸

The occupational characteristics of the richest urban groups, those who left estates of over £2000 in 1861 and 1832, are shown in Table 2.25.¹⁰⁹ As might be expected, the wealthier sections of middle class society were dominated by those in high status occupations and by those who were retired or of independent means. There were relatively

¹⁰⁸ SRO S.C. 36/48/46-48 (1861 confirmation inventories); SRO S.C.36/48/23-24 (1832 confirmation inventories)

¹⁰⁹ Appendix 2 gives a detailed occupation breakdown of all those leaving over £2000 in 1861. Also the occupations of those leaving over £10000 and those leaving over £50000 in 1861.

few among this group who were active as shopkeepers or tradesmen, and almost none from the employee occupations. Though merchants were more prominent in 1832 than in the early 1860's, by which time wealth had diffused to a wider group of high status groups, there were generally few significant changes in the occupations of those leaving over £2000 at death.

Table 2.25 Glasgow Middle Class Confirmation Inventories 1861 and 1832 - wealth over £2000. Percentage distribution by occupation - number in brackets.

	1861 %	1832 %
A - Merchants	23.3 (45)	25.6 (32)
B - Manufacturers	15.0 (29)	14.4 (18)
C - Merchants/Manuf.	4.1 (8)	5.6 (7)
D - Professionals	11.9 (23)	13.6 (17)
E - Shopkeepers	9.8 (19)	6.4 (8)
F - Tradesmen	5.7 (11)	4.0 (5)
G - Clerks/Officers	2.1 (4)	3.2 (4)
H - Farmers/landed	12.4 (24)	8.8 (11)
I - Others	2.6 (5)	2.4 (3)
J - Independent	13.0 (25)	16.0 (20)

1861 N = 193

1832 N = 125

A part from individuals in general areas of commerce, rich Glasgow merchants in both 1832 and 1861, were numerically dominated by textile merchants, and merchants who traded with specific overseas areas. Provision merchants, trading in wholesale food supplies to feed the expanding city, were an increasingly prominent element by 1861. The manufacturing sector was equally dominated by textile manufacturers and processors and also by those involved in the iron, steel and coal industry. But by 1861 there were other wealthy manufacturers too, such as those engaged in chemicals and drug production and also in the processing of preserved provisions.

Merchant/manufacturers, a small group of very rich and powerful businessmen, were mainly involved with textile production and trade throughout the period. Most of those in the professional category were writers or accountants, surgeons and ministers. Spirit dealers and grocers were the most notably wealthy elements among the shopkeepers, and tinsmiths, metal workers, plumbers and others in the building trades were the dominant group among rich tradesmen.

When ranked by value of wealth at death, as in Table 2.26, it is clear that opportunities for accumulating great personal fortunes had been enhanced by 1861. Thus, while similar proportions of those in the richest category (over £2000 wealth at death) left wealth over £10000 in both 1832 and 1861 (about a quarter of the total), the proportion leaving over £50000 had doubled between the two years. Most individuals who left the very highest levels of wealth were resident in the city rather than the countryside beyond, and were actively engaged in either commerce, particularly overseas trade, or heavy industry.¹¹⁰ Only one professional man, Alexander Morrison, a writer living in Hill Street Glasgow (who also owned a country home at Ballinakill) left over £50000 in 1861. His fortune of £68682, was held mainly in the form of bank and insurance company shares, heritable bonds and bank deposits. No individual who was retired or lived on independent means had wealth over £50000. The greatest independent fortune in 1861 was that of Miss Elizabeth Arthur, (also the richest woman examined) of St Georges Road Glasgow, who left £25767 mainly in heritable bonds. The largest single fortune recorded in Glasgow in the early 1860's was that of Alexander Baird,

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 2 for more details.

the coal and iron master who left personal wealth of £695410 - a very complex estate dominated by railway investments and shares in the family firms. This was, however, atypically high, and over twice the value of the estate of the next largest wealth holder. Five other Glasgow estates were over £100000 in value in the early 1860's - all were those of merchants. By contrast, the highest single estate recorded in the early 1830's was £80603, the wealth at death of James Rodgers a merchant of Sauchiehall Road, which took the form of bank company shares and bank deposits.

Table 2.26 Glasgow Middle Class Confirmation Inventories 1861 and 1832 - over £2000 wealth. Percentage distribution of samples by wealth ranges - numbers in brackets.

	1861 %	1832 %
£2000 - £4999	50.7 (98)	57.6 (72)
£5000 - £9999	26.9 (52)	19.2 (24)
£10000 - £49999	16.6 (32)	20.8 (26)
Over £50000	5.7 (11)	2.4 (3)

1861 N = 193

1832 N = 125

The gross value of movable property at death indicates the relative and evolving wealth of particular groups. But it is also evident that there were variations in the detailed nature of inventory estates, and these too reflected the character and wealth of specific occupations.¹¹¹ It is notable that in all the confirmation inventory samples the only area in which over half of those examined held wealth

¹¹¹ See Appendix 1 for more details.

Table 2.27 Glasgow Middle Class Confirmation Inventories 1861 and 1832. Ranked average wealth within categories - (average is the sum of wealth in each category divided by number of sample individuals)

	1832		1861
Inventory value	£1615	Inventory value	£1669
1. Business wealth	£492	1. Business wealth	£382
2. Loans	£250	2. Loans	£324
3. Bank deposits	£208	3. Other shares	£188
4. Book debts	£181	4. Railway shares	£186
5. Other shares	£173	5. Bank deposits	£183
6. Household effects	£125	6. Insurance	£104
7. Insurance	£30	7. Household effect	£76
8. Cash	£16	8. Book debts	£44
9. Rents	£6	9. Rents	£26
10. Railway shares	£1	10. Cash	£10

Table 2.28 Glasgow Middle Class Confirmation Inventories 1861 and 1832. Wealth over £2000. Ranked average wealth within categories - (average is the sum of wealth in each category divided by number of sample individuals)

	1832		1861
Inventory value	£9172	Inventory value	£16306
1. Business wealth	£3073	1. Business wealth	£7262
2. Other shares	£1707	2. Railway shares	£2480
3. Bank deposits	£1346	3. Other shares	£1257
4. Loans	£1065	4. Bank deposits	£967
5. Household effects	£381	5. Loans	£903
6. Book debts	£330	6. Insurance	£374
7. Rents	£171	7. Book debts	£331
8. Insurance	£127	8. Household effects	£296
9. Cash	£26	9. Rents	£86
10. Railway shares	£20	10. Cash	£35

The value of cash holdings at time of death was generally not large in 1861 except among shopkeepers, merchants and farmers, who required above average reserves for their day-to-day dealings. Larger sums in 1832 probably reflected the less refined business practices of the day, and relative scarcity of banking facilities.¹¹² In 1800, cash holding were even more significant, with personal reserves of coins and notes in excess of £100 quite common. By contrast, household effects was an area of wealth holding that was notable in most urban middle class estates. As one would anticipate, the value of household effects generally reflected the overall wealth of the individual, for it was a type of wealth with tangible implications for consumption and status display.¹¹³ Thus the average merchant or factory owner in 1861 had household effects valued at about £270, while the shopkeeper or tradesman had household effects valued at £50. In 1832 this area of wealth was generally higher than in 1861. But the fall, as the period progressed, was due to the growth of the less wealthy lower middle class within the confirmation inventory source, who tend to dilute the figures, rather than a reflection of absolute decline in the value of middle class household goods. Indeed the reverse was true, with far greater material wealth invested in furnishings, plate, paintings and silver in the 1860's than had been the case in the

¹¹² Prior to the establishment of a number of innovative joint stock banks in Glasgow from the mid-1830's. S.G. Checkland Scottish banking: a history 1695-1973 (Glasgow 1975) p325

¹¹³ The value of the household effects of the farming category tends to be under-represented in the inventories as they were often jointly assessed with farm stock and equipment. For all other occupations, precise information on value was given, and in certain cases, described below in the analysis of middle class consumption patterns, there were detailed listings of the items that made up the household effects.

earlier part of the century.

In 1861, bank deposits were among the most frequently found areas of personal wealth - though the amounts involved were generally not great. Women and shopkeepers tended to commit large portions of their wealth to this form. Bank deposits were relatively safe and easy to realize, and simple to control, for individuals without big business contacts. Although fewer individuals had wealth in this form in 1832 and almost none in 1800, the sums involved, particularly among those professional groups who provided financial services, could be substantial. By contrast, the holding of wealth in the form of life insurance, though growing as the period progressed, was not particularly notable, even among the relatively rich - and even here it tended to form only a small part of the overall value of an estate. The most significant groups of life insurance holders were professionals in 1861, especially those who acted as, or had regular business contact with insurance brokers. Again there was almost no wealth in this form in the earlier part of the century.

Public company share holdings, particularly railway shares among the wealthiest groups in 1861, were often vast, in some cases worth many thousands of pounds. In 1832, small to medium sized investments in local companies such as banks or public utilities were very popular, especially among moderately wealthy individuals. By 1861 public company shares tended to be much larger and less localized, though investment was still usually in Scottish based companies. This was especially true of railway shares, though there was also some investment among the very wealthy, notably those from merchant groups with overseas connections, in North American railroads. Where wealth was in overseas company shares, the sums involved were usually very

substantial. They were not always safe however, and several inventories of the early 1860's record instances of substantial investments in overseas companies that had been lost or 'written down'. One case was that of Michael Farie, a retired merchant who left a fortune of £6985, mostly in Scottish railway and insurance company shares, which included £4000 in bonds, written down to £733, in the Illinois Central Railroad Company.¹¹⁴ Other public company shares in 1861 included bank and insurance companies, canal and navigation companies and public utilities. Wealthy women rarely invested in railways, but frequently had substantial sums in bank company shares and in local public utilities such as gas or water companies. The latter were less volatile than other forms of share investment, and as they were local they were more easily observed and assessed by the potential investor. In 1832 considerably less of women's wealth took the form of public company share investments.

Wealth in the form of personal loans was particularly significant in the early nineteenth century, but became progressively less so as the period advanced - though where loans were made, even in 1861, the sums involved could be large. Farmers and professional were both extensive holders of wealth of this type. Women, especially rich widows and spinsters who made loans to relatives, were also notable within this category - though even here the frequency of lending declined as the period progressed. It is hard to estimate the evolving nature of wealth in heritable bonds due to changes in legislation that had an

¹¹⁴ SRO SC 36/48/46-48

impact on the recording of wealth in this form.¹¹⁵ Even so, in 1861 such bonds were significant only among the very wealthy, particularly women and retired men, and the sums involved could be vast.

The absolute value of fixed property was not included in the confirmation inventory, but rents in arrears were given, and show something of the level of wealth holding in this area. Among women in particular, fixed property represented a relatively large area of wealth. It is estimated that at least one quarter of financially independent women who left wealth at death left some part of their estate in fixed property. In 1861, such property had an average estimated annual value of £200 per woman and an estimated real value, in total, of £460000 - nearly twice the value of all other combined categories of inventory wealth of the women sampled for 1861.¹¹⁶ Clearly among elderly, independent middle class women, property was a very significant area of wealth and income generation. Other groups to hold substantial levels of wealth as rents were farmers, with their obvious land connections, and wealthy merchants and factory owners. Some of the property of the latter groups was in rural areas. There were also some notable property owners among professional and tradesmen groups, though here most of the rents were from composite blocks of

¹¹⁵ By an act of 1860 (23 Vict. c.15,6) the full value of heritable bonds had to be entered in the inventory. Prior to 1860 it was necessary only to include the value of interest on heritable bonds. As a result, heritable bonds appear as a large category of wealth in 1861, particularly among the rich, but relatively small in 1832. See Glasgow Post Office Directory 1861 (Glasgow 1861) p27

¹¹⁶ Though property investments represent a significant part of the wealth of independent middle class women, in Glasgow in 1861 women were only 15% of property investors, and owned only a little more than 10% of property by value. Their role in the property market was, therefore, marginal. SRO V.R. 102/85-94

small scale urban properties. Generally, wealth in the form of rents in arrears was less significant in 1800 and 1832 than in 1861. The growth of the city had presented increased opportunities for investment in property, particularly to the modestly wealthy.¹¹⁷ The only groups who did not conform to this pattern were farmers, who had always had a high level of wealth in this form, and the very rich. The latter experienced a relative decline in the average proportion of wealth committed to fixed property as the period advanced and other opportunities for profitable investment developed.

Wealth defined in the tables as 'other wealth' is a mixed category, composed mainly of salaries or annuities due to the deceased, or - of greater importance in terms of value - shares in trust funds or the estates of deceased relatives. It was an area of wealth holding that could have considerable value, especially for the retired and women. Many wealthy women, throughout the period, had large portions of their fortune held in family trusts, set up and administered by male relatives. A number of individuals, of both sexes, with shares in the estates of deceased relatives had been engaged, at the time of their own death, in protracted legal struggles, reminiscent of 'Jarndyce V. Jarndyce', to gain access to their inherited wealth. Such was seen in the case of the smallest inventory recorded in 1861, which consisted of a modest sum of £3 in furniture and clothes and a considerable but undisclosed sum in heritages under dispute.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Trends in property ownership observed in the confirmation inventories largely correspond with those seen in the analysis of rates books. This underlines the value of confirmations as a source of information on middle class wealth, despite the fact that they record wealth at death.

¹¹⁸ SRO S.C. 36/48/46

Business wealth and book debts were together the most significant areas of urban middle class estate for all years examined, with average values far greater than those of any other single type of wealth holding. In 1861, 55% of those leaving over £2000 had part of their fortune in the form of business commitments. This suggests that over half of the wealthier middle classes at death were still economically active in some form. The level of economic activity was, however, variable and determined by the nature of business or employment area. Those areas that commanded the most stable profits tended to promote more retirement or semi-retirement than relatively volatile areas. Of individuals leaving over £2000 in the early 1860's, 72% of those defined as manufacturers were still actively engaged in business on a regular basis, but only 53% of merchants and a mere 39% of professionals. The levels of business wealth recorded for the very rich in 1861 were considerably higher than the levels seen in 1832. Merchants and those in commerce generally had the largest sums committed to business, closely followed by manufacturers. Great wealth was distinctly related to an active involvement in business; lesser wealth tended to denote less active involvement in business, or retirement. Few individuals from the upper levels of the urban middle class could sustain the same levels of wealth in retirement that they had enjoyed while in business - though many, of course, were still very rich in relative terms.¹¹⁹ Rich women, especially in 1832, had considerable business commitments, though

¹¹⁹ For detailed descriptions of individual life-cycle wealth holding see M.S. Moss 'William Todd Lithgow, founder of a fortune'; R.J. Morris 'The middle class and the property cycle during the Industrial Revolution' in T.C. Smout The search for wealth and stability (1979) 91-113

these were usually passive investments or holdings in the businesses of close relatives. Book debts were one significant aspect of business wealth, and particularly important to shopkeepers and tradesmen. The sums involved tended, individually, to be relatively small, but compositely, book debts often represented a substantial part of the estate of an individual in these lower middle class groups - and as they were frequently long standing and 'written down', they clearly acted as a drain on wealth.¹²⁰ The credit relationships between shopkeepers or tradesmen and their working class customers could be very delicate. In one respect such relationships might be seen as forms of 'authority and control' over customers, to ensure they did not go elsewhere. They could denote a simple business accommodation at times of economic stringency, or in times of real hardship, a means of charity giving. For what ever reason credit was extended, it could often be very costly in unpaid debts. A typical case was that of William Gardener, a spirit dealer of 70 Govan Street who died in 1861 leaving an estate valued at £348, mainly in life insurance, stocks in trade and bank deposits - and also including numerous small long standing book debts, written down to £1, due mainly from workers in the nearby Govan iron works.¹²¹ But not all book debts were due from working class customers. Many retailers of fashion goods, for instance, were expected to extend credit to their wealthier clients. The advantage taken of this system by impecunious upper class rogues was one of the common themes of nineteenth century comic literature.

¹²⁰ G. Crossick 'The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case' in G. Crossick & H.G. Haupt (eds) Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth century Europe (1984) p.87.

¹²¹ SRO SC 36/48/46

In general, comparing wealth between occupations, it can be stated that high status groups, despite the business sector in which they were engaged, often had estates of a similar character. By far the largest element of wealth was committed to business. Heritable bonds and public company shares were also notable in 1861, and personal loans in the earlier part of the century. Merchants and factory owners commanded the highest levels of personal wealth, but usually this depended on a continuing active involvement in their business areas. Senior professionals, on the other hand, were capable of more varied experience, and often sustained considerable fortunes through semi-retirement. Though professionals generally were not as rich as men in commerce or industry, certain individuals, particularly those providing legal and financial services, and also surgeons, could be very wealthy. Often professional wealth was in book debts, business commitments and loans. Rents, especially from urban property were important and there were also high levels of public company share investment.

Shopkeepers and tradesmen tended to have similar wealth profiles and again business commitments and book debts were the largest single areas of total wealth holding. Bank deposits were relatively important, as were rents, especially for the tradesman category, though less so among shopkeepers, who had to expend greater sums on the commercial properties from which their businesses were conducted. There was only limited investment in public company shares, and where investments did occur they were often small scale and in local 'safe' public utilities or banks. Overall wealth, as reflected in inventory value, was, on average, one half to one third that of big business groups. But as the period progressed, the scope for achieving higher levels of personal wealth through shopkeeping or trades clearly

increased.

Employee groups such as clerks or managers did not appear in large numbers in the confirmation inventory source. In older age such individuals would have passed into the ranks of the retired and independent, living on small pensions, or possibly into some other occupational area such as shopkeeping. Where they were present however, wealth was small and usually in the form of household effects and bank deposits. The total wealth of individuals in the independent category, including women, was below that of the richest business groups, but estates were still relatively substantial when compared with the middle classes as a whole. Household effects could often be of comparatively high value, and bank deposits were an important element. Independent men were frequently large investors in railway and public company shares. But most wealth holding among the independent and retired represented conservative and 'safe' forms of passive investment. Significantly, over one third of women in the richest categories had wealth in a form that was controlled by male relatives - investments in family companies, family loans, trusts administered on their behalf, or shares in the estates of deceased relatives.

Overall, though there were some changes in the character of inventories in the period 1800 to 1861 (the rise of railway shares and insurance investments, more bank deposits and fewer personal loans, and increased wealth among low status occupations, women and farmers) the nature of wealth, especially from 1832 to 1861, shows a picture of remarkable stability, that can in certain respects be projected back to 1800. There was a similar average level and range of wealth at death, though with more potential for extremes of great fortune by 1861. Merchants dominated wealth holding throughout the period, though certain manufacturers, especially in heavy industry, had a rapidly

growing capacity for notable wealth. The broad development of the Glasgow economy and growth of local industry brought great personal fortunes to many engaged in manufacturing. It generated higher levels of wealth holding among shopkeepers and tradesmen and enhanced the prosperity of the rural hinterland. But, above all, it increased and consolidated the wealth holding capacity of merchants and those involved generally in commerce and finance.¹²² Merchants in 1800 were the only group to hold great riches and power. By 1861, great wealth holding was more diverse in character. But merchants were still very significant, and the group of merchants with the greatest fortunes, notably those engaged in overseas trade, had many continuities with the eighteenth century 'Tobacco Lords'.¹²³

¹²² This tends to confirm in a local context, and at a lower level of wealth, patterns observed among the largest wealth holders in a national context - see W.D. Rubinstein 'The Victorian middle classes: wealth, occupation and geography' Economic History Review 2nd ser. 30 (1977) pp.605-8.

¹²³ Many great Glasgow Merchants of the nineteenth century had long established family connections with trade, which included the late eighteenth century tobacco trade. One of the most notable was William Connal, (died 1856) of William Connal & Co., foreign produce brokers and tea and sugar merchants. He had merchant ancestors in Glasgow as far back as 1722, including a number of major Virginia merchants. From the 1860's the firm of William Connal & Co. became more involved in shipping and also moved into iron broking. See J.O. Mitchell, J.O. Two old Glasgow firms - William Connal & Co and the Crums of Thornliebank (Glasgow 1894)

d. Incomes

The preceeding analysis has considered the wealth of the Glasgow middle classes as manifest in fixed property and in movable property recorded at death. A particular pattern of wealth development has been identified; a pattern that shows much continuity of experience at the upper levels of wealth holding, and the most significant change in the growing wealth capacities of those groups traditionally defined as the lower middle class. But how does this relate to middle class income, and the experience of wealth on a day-by-day basis? Income has been defined as 'payments to individuals for participation in production' - participation that can either be active and direct as in the case of employees or businessmen, or passive and indirect as seen among rentiers and investors.¹²⁴ It is difficult to assess the specific nature and development of middle class incomes in the nineteenth century. There are few available returns of individual incomes for income tax purposes, and abstracts rarely consider the local picture in detail. None-the-less, Scotland and Glasgow are better served by available income tax information than much of Britain in the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ Therefore, this analysis of the nature of Glasgow middle class incomes begins with an assessment of these sources.

Income taxes are particularly important in an examination of middle and upper class incomes for, as the most notable nineteenth century

¹²⁴ P.K. O'Brien 'British incomes and property in the early nineteenth century' Economic History Review 12 (1959) p255

¹²⁵ Individual Income Tax returns of the early nineteenth century still exist for Glasgow and certain other areas of Scotland and are held in the Scottish Record Office - SRO E326/14/1. See Appendix 1 for an outline of the nature of this source.

commentator on the subject pointed out - 'few workmen, however high their wages, ever allow themselves to be caught [for income tax]. An Assessor told me that he had often in his district working men who he knew must be in receipt of more than £100, but whom he never could succeed in assessing.'¹²⁶ In considering nineteenth century taxable income, therefore, one is dealing principally with the incomes of the upper and middle classes. This is not to say, however, that all middle class incomes were liable for tax. In 1867, when Baxter was writing, income tax commenced on incomes of over £100 a year. But in that year, for England and Wales, it was estimated that nearly half of all middle and upper class incomes were below the income tax level. While in Scotland, a generally poorer country which had one seventh of the population of England but paid only one tenth of total British income tax, 57% of middle and upper class incomes were thought to be below £100.¹²⁷

In the year 1865, tax was charged in Scotland on total incomes of £30816000, about 20% of which was income earned in Glasgow.¹²⁸ In the Census of 1861, the population of Glasgow (city and suburbs) was shown

¹²⁶ R.D. Baxter National Income: the United Kingdom (1868) p21

¹²⁷ *ibid* p36,53,56 - the estimate of percentage of middle class incomes below the tax threshold is based on figures for the known size of the middle class by occupational definition, compared with the estimated number of individuals who were subject to income tax. This procedure, and Baxters estimates in general, have been subject to criticism - see notably P.H. Lindert & J.G. Williamson 'Reinterpreting Britains's social tables, 1688-1913' Explorations in Economic History 20 (1983) 94-109. But in the absence of alternatives Baxter is a good starting-point, as demonstrated by his wide use in historical studies.

¹²⁸ R.D. Baxter National Income p53 gives the total taxable income of Scotland for 1865. The Glasgow percentage is based on the taxable income of 1860, adjusted upwards to account for the rise in incomes noted by Baxter in the five years to 1865 - see PP 1860 XXXIX pt 2 Property and Income Tax p396

to be 14% of the population of Scotland. From broad based aggregate figures there was an above average concentration of middle class income in the city - which conforms with general conclusions on wealth holding shown in the confirmation inventories. There are no equivalent aggregate figures for the early nineteenth century. But in the first full year in which income tax was imposed, 1801, there were 20837 individual assessments made in Scotland, of which only 748 or 3.6% were of Glasgow residents. Total income tax paid in Scotland was £367949 and in Glasgow it was £5762, about 1.6% of the total tax burden of the country. In 1801 Glasgow accommodated just under 5% of the population of Scotland - income tax assessments and the amount of income tax paid were, therefore, considerably below the average for the country at large.¹²⁹

In the tax year to April 1860, the city of Glasgow, with Gorbals and Barony parishes, paid income tax under Schedule A on £2349392 gross annual value of property - 43.6% of the total income tax burden of the city. Tax under Schedule B was on £21307 - 0.4% of the total tax burden. While tax under Schedule D was paid on £3018960 - amounting to 56.0% of the total income tax burden.¹³⁰ In Scotland as a whole, Schedule A accounted for 50.7% of the tax burden, Schedule B, 12.5%

¹²⁹ The figures for Scotland as a whole are given in PP 1801/2 IV 149 Account respecting the Income Duty in Great Britain for the year ending 5 April 1802. The Glasgow figures are extracted from the manuscript Income Tax returns in the Scottish Record Office, SRO E326/14/2.

¹³⁰ PP 1860 XXXIX pt.2 Property and Income Tax p396. Schedule A was income from land ownership, houses, railways, mines and other public companies. Schedule B was income from land occupancy. Schedule D was income from wages, trades or professions and foreign property. Schedule C, income from government securities and Schedule E, the income of public employees were not significant in scale at this date.

of the tax burden and Schedule D, 36.8% of the tax burden (excluding Schedule E where the sums involved were very small).¹³¹ The percentage of income tax paid on wages and profits in Glasgow was, therefore, much higher than that generally seen in Scotland and also higher than that of Britain as a whole, where the equivalent figure was 42.7%. This is a pattern one would expect in an urban, commercial and industrial centre. None-the-less, the level of income among the Glasgow middle class that was not attributable to profits and wages was high. The implications and nature of incomes from passive investment are discussed below.

It can be calculated, from the above figures, that aggregate income tax in Glasgow was paid, in the year to April 1860, on total incomes of £5389722. If this sum is divided between the estimated 22000 families who formed the Glasgow middle class of the early 1860's, the result is an average middle class family income of £245 per year. Assuming that 50% of broadly defined middle class families fell below the income tax threshold and had an average annual family income of £60, to be added to the gross sum liable for tax, the average middle class family income in Glasgow was £275.¹³² Following on from the assumption that 50% of middle class families did not pay income tax, then the average income of those families that did pay tax can be

¹³¹ R.D. Baxter National Income p22

¹³² This estimate is based on the premise that Glasgow was richer than Scotland in general, and therefore a higher percentage of the middle classes had incomes over £100 - at a level more equivalent to that seen in England, which Baxter estimated at about 50%.

estimated in 1860 at about £490.¹³³

Again using Baxter's estimates, (at this stage used in the absence of alternatives) it can be inferred that in a wealthy industrial and commercial city, about 0.2% of middle and upper class families in the 1860's had family incomes of over £5000 and 2.3% had incomes in the range £1000 to £5000. 7.5% had incomes in the range £300 to £1000 and 40.0% had incomes of between £100 and £300. The final 50% had incomes below £100. If this broad equation is applied to Glasgow, based on the level of taxed income in 1860, the average income distribution shown in Table 2.29 is produced.

Table 2.29 Estimated Glasgow middle class income distribution for 1860.

No. of families	Income per year
50 (0.2%)	Over £5000 (average £21144)
500 (2.3%)	£1000 to £5000 (average £3000)
1650 (7.5%)	£300 to £1000 (average £650)
8800 (40.0%)	£100 to £300 (average £200)
11000 (50.0%)	Under £100 (average £60)

22000 (100%)	

Projecting these average aggregate figures to incorporate some of the other concrete indexes of wealth that have been explored already is a difficult procedure. But, it is suggested that the 50% of the middle class with a family income below £100 in 1860 broadly corresponds with the 49% of middle class households that did not have servants in

¹³³ These average figures conform well with contemporary estimates of middle class income and notions of what level of income was required to maintain a middle class 'life-style'. The implications of such income levels for middle class consumption are discussed below. Also see Branca, P. Silent Sisterhood, middle class women in the Victorian home (1975) p45,55.

1861, or the 42% who lived in tenement flats of three or fewer rooms, with an average value of about £15 to £16 annual rental. At time of death, such individuals, excluding dependent women, would have had wealth holdings in the range £0 to £300. This group, dominated by shopkeepers, tradesmen, middle class employees such as clerks and managers and most of those in the transport sector can be broadly defined as the lower middle class.

The 40% of the middle class with an income in the range £100 to £300 was broadly equivalent to the 34% of middle class households with one servant, or the 44% who lived in houses of four to seven rooms, with an annual rental of £20 to £50. At time of death, wealth holding would have been in the in the order of £300 to £1000 (a range which included the median average wealth holding for early 1860's confirmations of £335). As the average Glasgow middle class family of 1861 lived in a five roomed house, valued at £26 annual rental, with one domestic servant, the 40% represent a core group, that included those whose incomes fell close to the estimated (Baxter based) average income, for all middle class families, of £275.

Incomes in the £300 to £1000 range, about 7.5% of middle class families, correspond broadly with the 10% of households that had two servants, or the 9% of households living in houses of seven to nine rooms, or the 6% of households in houses valued at £50-£80 a year. Wealth at death would have been in the range £1000 to £2500. This group, when added to those in the range £100 to £300 family income, can be described as the solid or central middle class. It was a diverse group in occupational terms, incorporating the wealthier shopkeepers and tradesmen, most professionals and those who were retired or lived on independent means. It also included the majority of merchants and manufacturers.

The small number of families with incomes over £1000 was the Glasgow equivalent of an upper middle class, dominated by top professionals from law and medicine, major merchants and manufacturers and a few wealthy independents. This group broadly corresponds with the 9% of the Record Linked Sample in houses of ten or more rooms, or the 6% living in houses valued at above £80 rental or the the 5% living in households in which there were three or more servants. Average wealth at death would have been in excess of £2500.

Clearly, these figures show much overlap, particularly in the distinctions between those at the upper end of the income ranges. This is due to differential family circumstances and life cycle requirements, the small numbers involved and the complex nature of the wealth indexes employed. Such problems have obviously been experienced in attempts by analysts elsewhere to relate income tax payment to other indexes of wealth.¹³⁴ Broadly, however, the nature of income related to other indexes of wealth, as seen in Glasgow in the early 1860's, can be summarized as follows in Table 2.30.

Table 2.30 Glasgow middle class income ranges related to other indexes of wealth - broad based estimates for 1860.

Families %	Income	Servants	House size (rooms)	House value (per annum)	Wealth at death
2.5%	Over £1000	3-4+	10-12+	£80-£100+	£2500+
7.5%	£300 - £1000	2	7-9	£50-£80	£1000-£2500
40.0%	£100-£300	1	4-6	£20-£50	£300-£1000
50.0%	Below £100	0	1-3	£10-£20	£0-£300

¹³⁴ See R.D. Baxter National Income; P. Branca Silent Sisterhood

The changing character of middle class incomes can be shown through comparison of the above results with income tax information of the early nineteenth century. A sample analysis was made of the Glasgow tax returns for the year 1800, from which individual and named taxable incomes can be identified (see description of source in Appendix 1).¹³⁵ In 1800, 39% of middle class incomes subject to tax were below £100.¹³⁶ 44% were in the £100 to £300 range and 14% were in the range £300 to £1000. The latter mostly clustered about an average of £500 income. Average income for the sample as a whole was £191 - for those with incomes in excess of £100 the average was £236. There were no incomes returned in Glasgow of over £1000, and only 4% of total family incomes in the population as a whole were declared for tax purposes. The wealthiest individuals were those in the independent category, merchants and major professionals, particularly University professors and writers. Large incomes were also recorded for a number of army officers temporarily garrisoned in Glasgow. A brief survey of the nearby town and district of Hamilton showed the the largest income earner there - and probably also for the whole of Lanarkshire - was the Duke of Hamilton, who paid income tax of £242, denoting an income in excess of £2000 a year. Those in the lower income ranges were mainly merchants, shopkeepers, hotel keepers and a few from the tradesman category.

There was much evasion, especially among businessmen suffering volatile profits at a time of commercial uncertainty, in the early

¹³⁵ SRO E326/14/2 Income tax returns 1800-1801

¹³⁶ The tax threshold in 1800 was £60 - it is probable that there were members of the occupationally defined middle class who did not have incomes over the £60 level in 1800 and therefore do not appear in the returns.

years of the Napoleonic income tax. But despite this, a broad trend in income movements from 1800 to 1860 can be interpreted from the preceding analysis. Clearly the most significant feature was a major increase in the percentage of the population who fell within the middle class and had middle class levels of income, subject to tax. This can be shown through comparing the Glasgow figures with those of the country as a whole. In 1800 Glasgow was under-represented, relative to her population size, in Scottish income tax payment - by 1860 she was over represented. Within the Glasgow middle class, there was a central element - consisting of 40% of total families in 1860 and 44% in 1800 - who retained a relatively stable income in the range £100 to £300 (though as discussed below in the assessment of consumption patterns, such an income in 1800 had very different implications to an income in this range in 1860.) There were two main areas of change, as has been indicated also in the confirmation inventories. The first was the growth of lower middle class incomes, those below £100, which increased from 39% of taxed incomes in 1800 to an estimated 50% by 1860. There was also an increased potential, as the century progressed, for much higher levels of middle class income, seen in the growing percentage of families with incomes in excess of £1000. The rich were clearly getting richer, and the inequalities of income distribution within the middle class was tending to grow.¹³⁷

Developments in broad aggregate income figures say nothing, however,

¹³⁷ This conforms with evidence discussed in H. Perkin The origins of modern English society (1969) p417

about the evolving character of middle class incomes, of which clearly there were many different types. Differences were manifest both within and between income ranges. They were dictated by the occupation pursued, the level of wealth that had been accumulated, the stage that the family occupied in the middle class life-cycle, and the sex and background of the individual concerned. An examination of confirmation inventory wealth, wealth in the form of fixed property and subjective sources such as diaries, account books and newspapers allow a number of conclusions to be drawn on the detailed nature of middle class incomes relative to the wider trends in income growth as indicated in tax statistics. They show that middle class income could be drawn from a variety of sources, that might change as the individual grew older. Income could and often was generated through passive and mainly safe investments. But for the majority of the middle classes, for most of their life-time, the primary source of income was through active participation in business or employment.

In Glasgow in the nineteenth century, three types of middle class family income can be identified: income solely from wages or from the profits of business, income solely from passive investment, and income that was a combination of wages or profits and investments. It is not possible to say with certainty what percentage of the Glasgow middle class received income of each of the three identifiable types. But, as indicated above, 56% of total Glasgow income that was subject to tax in 1860 was derived from wages or profits. It is likely that if the incomes of those earning below the tax threshold were included, that the percentage from wages and profits would be higher, probably

about 60% of middle class total income.¹³⁸ The remaining 40-44% of Glasgow income was generated by investments, mainly in property and such areas as public company shares. It can be assumed therefore, that most middle class income was the result of direct economic participation.

The 1861 Record Linked Sample, a sample of individuals mainly in their middle years, shows that just over 8% of families were in the occupationally defined independent category, in receipt of passive investment based incomes (though some of these incomes may have been generated from passive receipts of business profits). The remaining 92% received all or part of their incomes from specified occupations in the form of profits and wages. The Confirmation Inventory Sample, a sample of the middle class in old age has an independent category of 21%. Thus, about 21% of the older middle class, based on occupational definitions, received their incomes from investments alone and 79% had some element of their incomes in the form of profits or wages. The latter figure is probably, however, an over estimate, for when one examines the details of confirmation wealth in the form of active business commitments or wages due, rather than just occupational definitions, about 55% of men in the main 1861 Confirmation Inventory Sample, and 70% of those leaving over £2000, were in receipt of income from wages or profits. Despite these qualifications, it is clear that even in old age the majority of middle class men were economically active, and only a minority were totally retired. An examination of the young adult males who formed

¹³⁸ Baxter estimated that for the population of the United Kingdom as a whole in 1867, one third of total income was derived from Capital and two thirds from Profits and Earnings - National Income p66

part of the Record Linked Sample of 1861, indicated that almost all received the bulk of their incomes from wages and business profits.

It appears likely that over a life-time a single individual would experience different sources or types of income. In early adulthood, income would be in the form mainly of wages or profits, with perhaps an additional small allowance from parents for the very young or for those in occupations that required long periods of training such as certain of the professions. Such a case is shown through the diary of a young Kirkcaldy man in his late teens, (name unknown) who was employed in 1872 as a clerk and trainee traveller in the Glasgow wholesale clothes warehouse of Hardie, Thomson & Company. He received a salary of £40-£50 a year, supplemented by an allowance from his father of £20.¹³⁹ John Smeaton, who also kept a diary in 1872, was a young, single, master wright and builder employed as an overseer in the large building company of R. Whyte of McFarlane Street. Later in life he was to be an employer and businessman in his own right, but in his early career his sole source of income was his wage of £75 per year.¹⁴⁰

Robert Craigie, who died in 1862, was a thirty-six year old commission merchant and drapery agent. He lived with his wife and three young children. His domestic circumstances conform very closely to the average for the Glasgow middle classes in the early 1860's. His family lived in a five roomed flat, valued at £26 annual rental and there was one domestic servant. He had no property holdings apart from his

¹³⁹ Mitchell Library Glasgow - MS 891079 'Diary of a Kirkcaldy man employed in Hardie, Thomson & Co. 1872'

¹⁴⁰ City Archives, Glasgow - MS TD 109/1 'Diary of John Smeaton January to March 1872'

house and his confirmation inventory recorded his wealth at death as £406. This consisted of household effects, cash in his counting house and value of counting house furniture, book debts and a modest life insurance policy. He had no income generating investments and therefore must have derived his sole income from business profits, probably, given the nature of his domestic circumstances, in the range £100 to £300 a year.¹⁴¹

In middle age most urban middle class income would still be in the form of wages or profits, but there might be added income from passive investments such as property, share holdings or bank deposits. The decision to diversify wealth into passive, income generating investments, and the type of investments that were made, would be determined largely by the nature of the occupation area of the individual concerned. Occupations that had a stable income structure over a life time, such as certain employee groups or the high status professions of writer, accountant, minister or surgeon, had less imperative to seek alternative sources of income than occupation areas where the income structure could be very volatile. Many employees were of course relatively poorly paid, earning below £100 a year, and therefore would not have been able to generate the wealth to secure large investments. But as these areas of work tended not to be physically or mentally stressful (compared with some of the more erratic areas of manufacturing) individuals would often remain in

¹⁴¹ SRO SC 36/48/49 Confirmation Inventories - Glasgow August 1862 - June 1863

employment into old age.¹⁴² The same is true of many of the professions, which would generate a stable income, full or part-time, into old age. By illustration, individuals who had been writers during their active career, if no longer engaged in legal practise often received incomes in old age as legal officers, sheriffs or procurators - part-time, prestige positions associated with the administration of the local courts.

The profit based incomes of manufacturing in particular, but also of certain areas of commerce, could be notably erratic, and would consequently encourage individuals to seek safer and more stable income sources as they grew older and accumulated wealth.¹⁴³ This is seen in the case of James Jamieson, a wealthy, middle aged foreign merchant with grown children, living in Park Gardens Glasgow, who died in 1861 leaving a large fortune of £167000. Most of his wealth was in the form of business commitments and stock in the firm of James Jamieson & Co, of which he was an active partner. From this firm he received annual profits in excess of £8000 - how much was retained as income and how much returned to the firm is uncertain. An active involvement in business was his main source of income, but he also owned railway and insurance company shares and Canadian debentures

¹⁴² The confirmation inventories of clerks, managers and ministers nearly all include some element of wages or stipends due to the deceased.

¹⁴³ Manufacturing was not only an area of erratic profits; certain enterprises saw considerable losses to the businessman concerned. A good example is that of James McNee, a Glasgow commission merchant and failed textile manufacturer who died in 1862 leaving a fortune of £3444, mainly in business commitments. His inventory included 'Rights in letters patent dated January 1852 for "Improvements in the manufacture or production of ornamental fabrics" upon which no value can be put in respect the patent, for instead of yielding any profit it has been and is a heavy loss.' SRO SC 36/48/48

with a total value of about £5000 - only a fraction of his total estate - and some local property, rented to a relative, with an annual value of about £100.¹⁴⁴ Another case is provided by John Wilson, a carpet manufacturer and merchant who died in 1832 leaving a fortune of £6205. The main part of his wealth, and principal source of income, was his carpet factory and stocks in trade, from which he was due, at time of death, a half-yearly profit of £453. But he also owned modest share holdings in the Glasgow Gas Light Company and Paisley Coffee Room and some unspecified shares in England.¹⁴⁵

In old age there would be a tendency for all or much of the income of certain individuals to be from passive investments. This pattern would particularly apply to the wealthier levels of the middle class, those with incomes in excess of £300 who were in a financial position to make decisions about investment, and plan for retirement.¹⁴⁶ It should be stressed, however, that the number of families with wealth levels that allowed such investment planning was relatively small. Indeed, sensible planning for the future - to provide for old age, or for widows and children - was often not a strong feature among many of the Glasgow middle classes. The number of individuals of quite substantial wealth, who, from their confirmation inventories, were shown to have died intestate and without simple life insurance to provide for widows, was surprisingly high. For the majority of the middle classes and especially those in low income brackets, the

¹⁴⁴ SRO SC 36/48/47

¹⁴⁵ SRO SC 26/48/24

¹⁴⁶ This pattern over the life-time of a wealthy Leeds clothier is described in detail in R.J. Morris 'The middle class and the property cycle during the industrial revolution'.

opportunities for accumulating sufficient investments to support complete retirement in old age were few. Old age might not see retirement as such, but merely movement into some other occupation area that was less demanding, such as shopkeeping, supported by a modest level of investment income from a source such as local urban property. This pattern is shown particularly well in the confirmation inventories of 1861, where the highest level of active participation in business in old age was among shopkeepers. Old age among lower income middle class groups may also, of course, be accompanied by relative poverty and dependence on children or other relatives.¹⁴⁷

For certain of the elderly, though no longer directly active in business, some element of income may have been generated by former business interests. This is shown in the case of David Forbes, a retired tailor of 148 Trongate who died in 1833 leaving a fortune of £639. His wealth included £100 in old book debts and almost all the remaining sum was in the form of bank deposits, from which he would have received a small investment income of about £15-£25 per year. He also received £25 annually from his former tailoring business, which he had sold but still retained 5% of profits on old customers.¹⁴⁸

Passive investments in family firms were a common source of income for women, both the elderly, single and widows. Indeed family sources of income were important for all elements of the non-economically active middle class, but particularly women whose access to other forms of

¹⁴⁷ So strengthening the significance of family unity and family ties among the lower middle classes.

¹⁴⁸ SRO SC36/48/24 - most bank deposits yielded an annual interest of 3-5%. If £25 represents 5% of profits of a tailoring firm, then the total profits of the firm would have been at least £500 (not including new customers).

negotiated, impersonal investment tended to be circumscribed. This was especially so in the early part of the century, before the development of extensive deposit banking, which was a socially accessible and easy to organize area of women's wealth holding. The confirmation inventories of most women of independent wealth, notably those of large fortune, tended to include some element of family controlled income such as formal annuities and jointures, or informal allowances from adult children. Mrs Cecilia Stevenson, widow of a Glasgow builder, died in 1860 and left a fortune of £3254. This consisted of £2000 in heritable bonds, bank deposits of about £900 and a small shareholding in a gas company. These investments would have generated an income in the range £90-£150 a year, but she also received an annual income from a family trust of £116.¹⁴⁹ Mrs Catherine Gilbert, the widow of an army officer who lived in Partick, died in 1861 leaving £2290. This was mainly in the form of bank deposits, which would have yielded an annual income in the range £70-£110, but she also received an annuity from two married daughters worth £36 a year, as well as an army pension of £30.¹⁵⁰

Family controlled income was safe and reliable - the same was largely true of that other major area of passive income generation, urban property. Property investments were usually local and therefore easy to control, for both men and women, either through a factor or in person. Personal control of income yielding property was most common among those in the lowest income categories, where the property holding was small and usually on one site. A pattern of property

¹⁴⁹ SRO SC 36/48/46

¹⁵⁰ SRO SC36/48/47

holding commonly seen in Glasgow from the 1820's onwards was for an elderly individual to own a complete tenement block of four to six flats, with a shop on the ground floor. The individual would live in one of the flats, sometimes also run a shopkeeping business from the ground floor shop and rent the other flats; from which he would gain a yearly income in the range of £50 to £100, depending on the nature and size of the property.¹⁵¹

To secure a reliable and safe form of passive income was probably the main aim of the majority of middle class investors in the nineteenth century. Most investments gave relatively modest returns - 3-5% were most commonly observed across the range of confirmation inventories - which reflected the generally unspectacular nature of most chosen investment destinations. The volatile nature of business profits and vulnerable economic position of middle class women and children, made middle class men, when preparing for their own old age or the future of their widows, extremely cautious. If income could be circumscribed by family controls or placed in a form that was local and safe such as property or heritable bonds secured on property, this investment path would usually be taken, especially by those who were only modestly wealthy.

Even the very rich were cautious in their investment decisions. These groups were more likely than the middle class as a whole to have

¹⁵¹ The big disadvantage of property was that it had to be maintained and managed, which could be costly. Lower middle class, petty property investors could not afford expensive repairs or improvements and were reknown as the worst sort of landlord among their largely working class tenants. See G. Crossick 'The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case' in G. Crossick & G.H. Haupt Shopkeepers and master artisans in nineteenth century Europe (1984) p83

investments in public company shares, particularly by the mid-nineteenth century following the establishment of the Stock Exchange in Glasgow.¹⁵² But the types of share investment tended to be relatively safe and stable, and again of a localized nature, with very little investment outside of Scotland. Thus popular share investment destinations were local railway companies, particularly by the 1860's following the end of speculation, bank and insurance companies and established public utilities.

Speculative investment for large and quick profits, as opposed to regular income, was relatively rare and tended to be confined to the inherently reckless or, more usually, those in early adulthood or middle age who could also command a fairly stable family income from wages or business profits. This is seen in the case of George Muir (born 1817) a young Glasgow businessman who in the 1840's made an income of about £200 a year as a partner in a commission agency. In 1844, at a period of major railway speculation, an acquaintance offered him forty shares at £25 each in a projected railway line from Sheffield to Lincoln. He was required to provide a deposit of 25s per share - an outlay of £100 - on the understanding that he would be able to resell immediately. Muir was unable to raise this sum himself (he had been married earlier in the year and had little available capital), but in partnership with a friend, James Wright, finisher, calenderer and packer, he was able to purchase the shares on deposit. These were resold at a premium of 15s per share - a profit of £30 less discount for the two friends. In the next two years they made profits

¹⁵² The Stock Exchange, dealing mainly in local public company shares, was established in 1844. See Records of the Stock Exchange Association 1844-1898 (Glasgow 1898)

on share dealings of over £1200 - far more than the income being made by either through their regular businesses. As with many middle class men, the career of George Muir was highly varied. While a young man he had been a manufacturer's clerk, and at the time of the above speculations was a commission agent. In middle age he was a local government inspector of smoke nuisances and in the 1860's he patented a smoke reducing chimney flue, which he then successfully manufactured in Manchester. In later life he returned to Glasgow in semi-retirement and was active in efforts to improve the river and city sewerage system. Significantly, all of Muir's investment speculations took place while he was young.¹⁵³

That investment in shares for the generation of income was expected to be safe and stable can be seen in the shock and turmoil that occurred in Glasgow following the collapse of two major banking houses - the Western Bank which failed in 1859 and the City of Glasgow Bank which failed in the late 1870's. The failure of the Western Bank was met with horror in the city, particularly when it was revealed that 131 middle class investors, many of them elderly women, had been reduced to absolute penury. In response to this calamity, a subscription was launched which eventually raised £12373 to aid those who had been most badly hit.¹⁵⁴ A similar response was seen following the City of Glasgow bank collapse. There were 1249 holding partners in the enterprise, about 20% of whom were women. The majority lived in Glasgow and adjacent areas. The average share holding of men in the bank was

¹⁵³ Mitchell Library, Glasgow. - MS 'Autobiography of an unsuccessful man by George W. Muir' 1876 p19-27.

¹⁵⁴ Glasgow Herald July 5 1860

£1016 and that of women was £561 - all of which was lost amidst great public outrage and considerable resentment against the lawyers involved in the protracted court cases that followed, who were the only ones seen to benefit from the disaster.¹⁵⁵

In concluding this analysis of middle class incomes it is necessary to stress that despite the role of investment profits, be they passive and safe or speculative, the majority of middle class families (including those who fell outside the income tax threshold) had little or no income from this sources. This was indicated by Baxter for Britain as a whole, and the trend is even more notable when observed in the urban commercial context as represented by Glasgow. Derived from Baxter's estimates of income distribution, but going far beyond this base by referring income levels to other indexes of wealth - servants, house size, house value and wealth at death - it has been possible to define a hierarchy of income for Glasgow in 1860, and to relate this to the evolution of local income levels from the early part of the century. A number of distinct trends can be observed, with an increase in Glasgow's share of Scottish income, greater levels of income being earned by an expanding lower middle class, and a vast growth in the income levels of the very rich. But despite changes in the scale and distribution of middle class incomes one feature remained constant; that most incomes were derived from an active day-by-day participation in the economy. Economic participation was either in the form of business ownership, the principal area of middle class income, or employment. Income sources might change over a life-time, and depending on the stage in family life-cycle, the number of

¹⁵⁵ City of Glasgow Bank - official list of shareholders, their holdings and amount of their calls (Edinburgh 1878)

individuals within the family who contributed to the total income might vary. But despite the cyclical character of individual experience, at all stages of life throughout the nineteenth century, the majority of the urban middle classes were supported through their own abilities to make a profit, or sell a skill within the market place. The types of life-style, and levels of material consumption that middle class incomes allowed, are explored in ^{the} following analysis, which concludes the examination of the physical profile of the Glasgow middle class.

2.5 Consumption

In modern, particularly American, social analysis, lifestyle and patterns of consumption have been employed as central indexes of status and class. Lifestyle has been defined as 'any distinctive and therefore recognizable mode of living'... a series of expressive behaviours, the most significant of which is consumption, 'that are directly observable or deducible from observation'.¹⁵⁶ Concern with the overt manifestations of lifestyle and the implications for class can be seen in the work of Marx. He spoke dismissively of the 'commodity fetishism' and trappings of 'bourgeois decadence' displayed by the richer classes of the mid-nineteenth century, and he saw consumption patterns as directly related to the individual's objective market position within the economy. Weber was also interested in lifestyle, which he associated with the determination of 'status groups'.¹⁵⁷ In the Weberian analysis, classes are stratified by relations with the productive process, the economic definition, but status group stratification is based on the consumption of material goods and specific styles of life - though, of course, both are determined to a large extent by economic position and objective wealth. A more recent social theorist, Veblen, has also given considerable attention to the nature of lifestyle and conspicuous consumption, particularly

¹⁵⁶ M.E. Sobel Lifestyle and social structure: concepts, definitions, analyses (1981) p.3. See also R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds) Class, status and party: a reader in social stratification (Glencoe Illinois 1953)

¹⁵⁷ M.E. Sobel Lifestyle and social structure p.8. See also M. Weber 'Class, status and party' in R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds) Class status and party 63-75

in the form of leisure, as indexes of social status and prestige.¹⁵⁸ It is appropriate, therefore, in concluding this analysis of the physical profile of the Glasgow middle class, and by way of a preface to the subsequent examination of organizations and the psychological profile, to consider the tangible and demonstrable aspects of middle class lifestyle as manifest in evolving patterns of material consumption.

In large, anonymous nineteenth century cities, where personal contacts were circumscribed and detailed knowledge of 'others' was limited, the outward, material manifestations of lifestyle - clothing, housing, the objects in a house, or entertaining - would be significant symbols of status and class. The middle class, a sometimes precarious and volatile group, usually without the older status indicators of land or family connections, was particularly concerned with the nature of consumption and lifestyle. It was an aspiring class, and individuals frequently sought to publicly demonstrate to others their wealth, substance and worth. The nineteenth century popular novel, perhaps the most sensitive indicator of middle class preoccupations, demonstrates repeatedly an intense interest in the physical display of material symbols of status.¹⁵⁹

Concern with lifestyle and consumption was not only dictated by the inherent psychological character of the middle class. It was due also

¹⁵⁸ T. Veblen 'The theory of the leisure class' in Bendix & Lipset Class, status and party 35-45 - "leisure" as here used does not connote indolence or quiescence. what it connotes is non-productive consumption of time'. Veblen has been influential in a number of historical studies of middle class leisure patterns in the nineteenth century - see H. Meller Leisure and the changing city 1870 to 1914 (1976); B.G. Smith Ladies of the leisure class: the bourgeoisie of northern France in the nineteenth century (Princeton New Jersey, 1981)

¹⁵⁹ Mrs Elton, in Jane Austin's Emma (first published 1816) is one of the finest comic manifestations of this middle class trait.

to the nature of life and economy generally in the big cities. It was an age of developing commercialism and advertising, there were new productive processes and new products available. There was pressure to buy and consume or possess goods that symbolized status or position. Goods which had formerly been available only to the rich, or if to the rest of society only on special occasions, were now cheap and could be purchased at any time through the burgeoning urban retail outlets. Former luxuries became necessities. Women and children as well as men were the objects of an increasingly sophisticated advertising industry and were encouraged to consume and display their consumption.¹⁶⁰ New goods were marketed and possession was dictated increasingly by the needs of fashion. This trend, evident generally in Britain from the late eighteenth century, had a particular impact on an increasingly wealthy urban middle class. It was decried in the early nineteenth century by those who were more traditionally minded -

'Observing the weight attached to what are termed fashionable accomplishments, they [the new rich] conceived the idea that to excel in these was the only way to public estimation. They accordingly plunged into the most unlimited extravagance, and made fashion their model in everything - in their house and furniture, their dress, their taste, their opinions.'¹⁶¹

But despite the criticism of some, the advent of a 'Consumer Society' was to have a remarkable and permanent impact on the nature of social perceptions, class and status.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Advertising through the Glasgow local press of goods for personal or family consumption on average doubled in scale every fifteen years. See analysis of newspaper advertising in Appendix 4.

¹⁶¹ L. Smith Northern sketches or characters of Glasgow (1809) p152-3

¹⁶² See N. McKendrick et al The birth of a consumer society: the commercialization of eighteenth-century England (1982) esp p1-6

The desire, propensity and ability to consume in an elaborate way was one of the hallmarks of the nineteenth century urban middle class, and the changing nature of lifestyle as represented by consumption was frequently remarked on by contemporaries in Glasgow. Nowhere was the change more evident and spectacular than in the physical nature of middle class housing. For much of the eighteenth century, as described by Cleland in the late 1830's - 'the habits and style of living of the citizens of Glasgow, were of a very modest and frugal cast. The houses, in the early part of this century, were almost without exception, covered with thatch, and those occupied by the highest class of citizens, contained only one public room, a dining room and even that was used only when they had company: the family at other times usually eating in a bed room'.¹⁶³ Until the second half of the eighteenth century most Glasgow housing was in the form of tenements. In the year 1755, according to Cleland, the area from Virginia Street to Anderston, about a mile in distance which was later to be developed as part of the new middle class West End, contained only three separate houses as opposed to flats. But the growth of great commercial wealth in the city, associated with the colonial trades, brought a change to this pattern. From the later eighteenth century numerous grand detached and terraced urban houses for the wealthier classes were constructed.¹⁶⁴

In 1800, following the development of initial wealth in Glasgow and the onset of commercialism, the newspaper advertising of property

¹⁶³ J. Cleland Statistical facts of Glasgow (Glasgow 1837) p37

¹⁶⁴ ibid p38. T.M. Devine The Tobacco Lords (Edinburgh 1975) p11.; The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry (Glasgow 1870)

gives an accurate impression of the type of housing inhabited by the middle classes, and the status implications of this form of overt consumption. The most prestigious properties were semi-rural detached houses. The modern 'gentleman's residence' such as that at Jeanfield near Glasgow which was advertised for sale in 1800 - 'a mansion house with garden and offices', half an hour's walk from the Exchange. It had a paved and gravel footpath, and it was claimed, 'few situations can be more inviting to the Glasgow merchant or manufacturere who is anxious to unite an assiduous attention to business with the pleasures of a country life'.¹⁶⁵ A town-house with adjacent commercial premises, 'suitable to a person in extensive business either in manufacture or the foreign life', was such as that seen in Dunlop Street - consisting of a dining and drawing room, nine bed rooms, servant's rooms and cellars, with a counting-house, cellars and vacant ground behind.¹⁶⁶

A typical house of a high class shopkeeper was that of James Fulton, a haberdasher at the corner of Trongate and Hutcheson Street, the main fashionable shopping thoroughfare of the time. The shop had four 'elegant' windows and two doors in front. There was a mahogany counter fifty-one feet long and a counting house behind. The dwelling house in the flat above consisted of a kitchen, dining room and two bedrooms. On the upper stories of the building were two further middle class flats of kitchen, dining and drawing rooms and three bedrooms each.¹⁶⁷ Lesser shopkeepers would accommodate far more modest premises, such as the shop and flat in the High Street, run as a

¹⁶⁵ Glasgow Advertiser May 2 1800

¹⁶⁶ Glasgow Courier Nov. 2 1799

¹⁶⁷ Glasgow Courier May 2 1800

grocery business, which was offered for sale in 1800. There was a front shop-room, with a kitchen, room and cellar behind and numerous small working class flats in the tenement above.¹⁶⁸

In the early nineteenth century middle class housing was often combined in tenements with extensive commercial and even manufacturing premises. A single tenement on the north side of St Andrews Square, one of the finest residential areas in the later eighteenth century though by the nineteenth century on the decline, consisted of a basement and first two floors in use as warehouses (owned by three different companies) and a calender. The third floor and attic formed a single large dwelling house of kitchen, drawing and dining rooms on the first floor and five bedrooms and lumber room in the attic.¹⁶⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century however, the increased separation of home and work routines and the value accorded to an exclusively domestic environment as refuge from the pressures of middle class employment, had brought many changes to housing patterns. The homes of the wealthy were rarely to be found in buildings that also included factories and warehouses as in St Andrews Square. There was also less tendency for houses to be close to or attached to the work premises as in the Dunlop Street example quoted above: wealthy shopkeepers no longer lived above the shop. Sumptuous and exclusive suburbs of large town houses developing to the west of the city attracted the higher middle classes out of the increasingly crowded and unpleasant central commercial districts. While the development of a network of regional transport from the 1840's and 1850's drew the

¹⁶⁸ Glasgow Courier Nov.2 1799

¹⁶⁹ Glasgow Advertiser March 3 1800

very wealthiest beyond the city boundaries altogether, to holiday and family homes in nearby coastal towns and rural districts. In such cases, houses were kept in Glasgow only to be inhabited during the winter 'season' and when a presence was required for business reasons. The 'season' in Glasgow was a distinct phenomenon from the 1850's, associated with major exhibitions, balls, lectures and concerts. Also from the 1850's the advertising of country homes in the newspapers became more prominent. Such homes were not usually gentry estates with land, but rather small detached mansions with a few acres of garden in such popular and accessible seaside resorts as Helensburgh, twenty miles west of the city.¹⁷⁰ One contemporary, describing the very low mortality rates of the wealthy West End attributed this feature to the higher living and housing standards of the area, but also to the fact that much of the West End population, particularly women and children, spent up to six months in the year outside Glasgow.¹⁷¹

But while the very wealthy tended to adopt a pattern of housing that was distinct from that seen in the early nineteenth century - a pattern embodying a number of symbolic features that characterized the status of upper middle class - the housing trends of the lower and central middle class did not change so dramatically. The majority of the middle class continued to live in tenement dwellings in areas close to the city centre, and tenements would often still

¹⁷⁰ See W.D. Rubinstein 'Wealth, elites and the class structure of modern Britain' Past and Present 77 (1977) 99-126

¹⁷¹ J. Strang Report on the vital, social and economic statistics of Glasgow for 1862 (Glasgow 1863) p23

have a combination of domestic and commercial functions.¹⁷² In a city and country in which middle class tenement dwelling was traditionally established, living in such housing did not imply loss of caste for the lower and middle classes. Separate houses may ultimately have been desired, but the development of exclusive and handsome middle class tenements from the 1820's ensured the symbolic preservation of this aspect of materially determined status. Indeed members of the Scottish middle class, accustomed to living in tenement dwellings, were frequently quite happy with this form of lifestyle and reluctant to give it up, even when they could afford an alternative. Such a case is illustrated by Lindsay Makersy, an unmarried Edinburgh accountant, lawyer and bank agent in his late thirties, who kept a diary from 1827 to 1834. He was a successful man of increasing wealth who lived in a tenement flat in the New Town area of the city. In 1833, after recording considerable profits from his business dealings he noted -

'I am now beginning to think of a house with a street door, a point of great importance in Edinburgh. There is in fact a scale in this matter nicely graduated, and people being estimated in inverse ratio to the height from the mother earth at which they fix their domicile. Now as I have always had the greatest contempt for appearances not reared on substantial foundations I have been content to vegetate up two pairs of stairs'.

He clearly takes some time in thinking about any change in his housing circumstances, but the following year he notes -

'We have this week put out a ticket on our house "To Be Let", not

¹⁷² There was less opportunity in Glasgow before the end of the nineteenth century for members of the lower middle class to move to residential suburbs of separate dwellings of the sort that was seen in many English cities. See S.M. Gaskell 'Housing and the lower middle class, 1870-1914' in G. Crossick (ed) The lower middle class in Britian (1977) 159-183. Expansion of the suburbs, due to poor availability of land, was relatively slow and the feu system tended to encourage tenement construction or high cost housing when land did come onto the market.

without reluctance as I have lived now more than twelve years in it. But my friends tell me that it is now absolutely necessary I should have what is called a "front door".¹⁷³

Only the wealthy middle class could afford a second home or holiday home in the country. But the lower and central middle classes were also increasingly able, as the period advanced, to take short summer holidays in the country or by the sea, in rented cottages. And for the least well off there were numerous opportunities from the 1840's onwards for day trips by steamer or train.¹⁷⁴ The middle classes as a whole were characterized by increased consumption of leisure, recreational travel and entertainment.¹⁷⁵ The conspicuous display of leisure, particularly by women of the household, was one of the main symbols of upper middle class status. The growth of this aspect of lifestyle and consumption is marked by the massive development in Glasgow from the early nineteenth century of 'accomplishment' orientated, educational facilities for the daughters of upper middle

¹⁷³ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh - MS 192 - 'Diary of Lindsay Makersy, Edinburgh accountant and lawyer 1827-1834' p.139, 167. The household of Lindsay Makersy consisted of himself, his widowed step-mother and little nephew.

¹⁷⁴ On the two main days of the Glasgow Fair in July 1870, over 124000 people left the city for day excursions by river and rail. Glasgow Herald July 19 1870

¹⁷⁵ As discussed in the next chapter, one of the major areas of voluntary association growth from the mid-nineteenth century was in organizations whose aim was to promote and direct middle class leisure.

class households.¹⁷⁶ Women of the lower middle classes, with few or no servants and often actively engaged in their husbands' businesses, could not of course realistically aspire to this important symbol of lifestyle.¹⁷⁷

The development of sumptuous middle class housing and second or holiday homes was paralleled by increased luxury and refinement in the internal fittings of houses. In 1800 it was rare for the household effects (as recorded in confirmation inventories) even of individuals of great wealth, to be valued at above £100. But by 1861 the inventories show an average value of household effects of £300 for those leaving wealth over £2000 - and many were valued at much more, especially where the effects included pictures, plate, books and stocks of wine.¹⁷⁸ The growing propensity of the wealthy middle class to indulge in conspicuous material consumption of domestic furnishings is revealed also in newspaper advertising of goods available for sale. The advertising of books, prints and paintings increased forty-fold

¹⁷⁶ In 1793, at the time of recording The Statistical Accounts of Scotland, there were no educational facilities available for girls in Glasgow, other than the eleven mixed Sunday schools established in 1787. Girls of the richer classes were sent to Edinburgh for their education and most others were taught at home. By 1800, dancing academies, such as that advertised by Mr Gardener of Wilson Street, Candleriggs were proliferating - Glasgow Advertiser Nov 7 1800 - and a number of small, exclusive seminaries, such as that run by Mrs Brown, 'lately of Edinburgh', opposite the College, had been established - Glasgow Advertiser Nov 7 1800. The growth of prestigious girl's education facilities thereafter was rapid.

¹⁷⁷ Though lower middle class women could not realistically hope to achieve the ideal of female domesticity and leisure, they were under considerable pressure from the press, novels and domestic manuals to consider this as desirable style of life for which they should aim.

¹⁷⁸ Where the household effects of a deceased were particularly sumptuous, such as an extensive cellar of wine, rare books or paintings, specialist valuers were employed to assess the worth of this element of the estate.

between 1800 and 1860 and the advertising of household furniture, drapery, decorative table ware and domestic silver increased by a factor of one hundred and twenty over the same period.¹⁷⁹ Such goods were fashion dictated and contributed to the material definition of status. The retailers and manufacturers of luxury items such as pianos, carpets, silverware and items of domestic plumbing flourished in Glasgow. One of the first departmental stores to open in Glasgow was that of Wylie and Lockhead in 1855, which sold ready-made furniture on a grand and spectacular scale.¹⁸⁰

The growing consumption of elaborate household articles was matched by increased demonstrations of wealth and status through conspicuous private entertaining.¹⁸¹ The differences to be seen in the nature of middle class entertainment since the late eighteenth century were described in detail by Cleland in 1837.

'Entertainments are now given more frequently, and the mode of giving them is materially changed. Persons who formerly gave supper parties and a bowl of punch, are now in the way of giving sumptuous dinners, entertaining with the choicest wines, and finishing with cold punch, for which Glasgow is so celebrated. The value of the table service, and the style of furniture in the houses of many of the Glasgow merchants, are inferior to none in the land.'¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix 4.

¹⁸⁰ Glasgow Herald April 6 1855. Wylie and Lockheads store was so grand that it became a tourist attraction, visited even by notable dignatories and royalty.

¹⁸¹ The nature of middle class leisure activities changed considerably during this period. In the late eighteenth century it was usual to attend public balls, concerts and theatricals as the main source of entertainment. But a desire for greater privacy, a psychological need to more closely circumscribe the intellectual and physical space inhabited by the middle classes led, from the early nineteenth century, to a trend towards more exclusive and private leisure activities. This feature of the urban middle classes is described more fully in Section 4.

¹⁸² J. Cleland Statistical facts of Glasgow p39

The evolution of more extravagant dining and entertaining habits was initially met with some reserve in Glasgow -

'the first instance of a dinner of two courses in Glasgow, was about the year 1786. Mrs Andrew Stirling of Drumpellier, who made this change in the economy of the table, justified herself against the charge of introducing a more extravagant style of living, by saying, that she had put no more dishes on her table than before, but had merely divided her dinner in place of introducing her additional dishes in removes.'¹⁸³

But any coyness about extravagance in food consumption was to be quickly overcome, and Glasgow became renowned and even ridiculed for an excessive opulence of the table and gourmandizing tendencies. As was remarked by an Edinburgh visitor of the early nineteenth century when dining at the home of a wealthy merchant -

'the dinner was excellent, although calculated apparently for forty people rather than sixteen which last number sat down. Capital salmon, and trout almost as rich as salmon from one of the lochs - prime mutton from Argyleshire, very small and sweet, and indeed ten times better than half the venison we see in London - veal not inferior - beef of the very first order - some excellent fowls in curry; everything washed down by delicious old West India Maderia...a single bottle of hock, and another of white hermitage went round, but I saw plainly that the greater part of the company took them for perry or cider.'¹⁸⁴

Access to a wider range of foods and the manifest ability of certain sections of the middle classes to purchase such goods is again shown in newspaper advertising. Imported wines, imported cheeses and exotic fruit, preserved goods and the early processed foods were increasingly available, making the middle class diet more varied and attractive than it had been in the late eighteenth century. The differences between the usual diet of the working classes and that of the wealthier urban elites became more marked as the century

¹⁸³ *ibid* p.38

¹⁸⁴ J. G. Lockhart Peters letters to his kinsfolk (Glasgow 1819) vol 111 p.172

progressed. In the 1830's the typical diet of a labouring family consisted of oatmeal, potatoes, bread, milk, sugar and tea, with a little fish, butter and occasional cheap meat such as pork. This diet did not change to any significant extent until the late nineteenth century.¹⁸⁵ The diet of the wealthier Glasgow middle classes can be judged from the 'housebook' and household accounts of Mrs Elizabeth Gourlay of Cowlairs, wife of a relatively wealthy distiller. In the year 1839 the family diet included regular purchases of salmon and other fish, poultry, beef and ham. Bread and pastries such as buns, muffins, tarts and biscuits were daily items on the shopping list, as were butter, milk, oil, eggs, coffee and sugar. There were also frequent purchases of rice, essences, spices, nuts and fresh local vegetables and imported fruits such as grapes, oranges, lemons and apples.¹⁸⁶

Personal symbols of status in clothing and jewellery were also more evident and illustrated particularly well by confirmation inventories which generally record the jewels of women, or the watches and chains and silver cases of men.¹⁸⁷ Ready made, men's clothing was available

¹⁸⁵ R. A. Cane 'The standard of living debate - Glasgow 1800-1850' Journal of Economic History 43 (1983) 175-182; T.R. Gourvish 'The cost of living in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century' Economic History Review 25 (1972) 65-79; J.H. Treble Urban poverty in Britain 1830-1914 (1979) p.148-183 - the only real change before the development of cheap imported meat and grain in the later nineteenth century was a small general increase in potato consumption.

¹⁸⁶ Glasgow University Archives - MS D64/3/1 The housebook of Mrs Gourlay of Cowlairs.

¹⁸⁷ These small personal symbols of status, particularly among men, were the first to be adopted by the aspiring working classes or artisan elites from the mid-nineteenth century, as is often shown in formal photographs of the period. The watch and chain was indeed a very potent symbol, not only of a certain level of wealth, but also, it can be argued, of an adherence to a 'respectable' time and work discipline.

for the middle class market from the late 1820's - and the proliferation of milliners and dressmakers attests to the scale of female demand for fashionable attire.¹⁸⁸

Physical and material symbols that denoted lifestyle, consumption patterns and hence status were clearly important. But not all symbols which have been traditionally associated with the British urban middle class were evident in Glasgow. Carriages and riding horses for instance were not notable aspects of middle class possession even among the relatively wealthy.¹⁸⁹ In the early nineteenth century, when the carriage was subject to assessed taxes and the numbers present in the city can be judged with certainty, it is clear that there were very few in Glasgow.¹⁹⁰ Confirmation inventories also show that carriages and riding horses rarely appeared among individual's estates. When horses or carriages were required they tended to be hired, even by the rich.¹⁹¹ Those who lived outside the city, in the

¹⁸⁸ It was claimed that the sale of ready made clothing was first introduced into Glasgow in the late 1820's by Lewis Ferguson, tailor and clothier, who based his enterprise, in the words of his own frequently employed advertisements - 'on the LONDON PLAN for keeping gentlemen's clothes READY MADE and selling only for READY MONEY at the smallest possible profit.' Glasgow Herald Jun 5 1835. Ready made clothing soon spread to include womens and childrens clothes.

¹⁸⁹ The upper middle classes are frequently described as 'carriage folk', and carriages are one of the most significant items in the 'paraphernalia of gentility' described in J.A. Banks Prosperity and Parenthood (1954) pp.87-88

¹⁹⁰ In 1800, long before major problems of urban overcrowding, there were no more than about thirty privately owned carriages in Glasgow and about two hundred private riding horses (not used in business) - estimated from Assessed Tax records, Scottish Record Office, E326/15/28

¹⁹¹ Most urban dwellers did not ride horses or have a great deal to do with the beasts - this unfamiliarity is amusingly described by John Galt in The Entail, when Claud Walkinshaw, a rising cloth merchant, hires a horse to 'go-a-courting'.

rural satellite towns that developed from the 1840's, would rely on public transport such as trains or steam boats. The reasons for this tendency lay in the physical nature of the city, and in the character of the local economy. Glasgow was a geographically compact 'walking-city' with only limited suburban development even as late as 1870.¹⁹² The city, particularly the middle class West End, was built on a hilly terrain which made carriage travel difficult. Compact and often overcrowded housing meant that there was little space for private stables or coach houses and relatively high waged male employment in heavy industry limited the availability of the male servants required to look after horses and carriages.

For the middle classes in general, despite certain areas of reservation dictated by the practical considerations of life in Glasgow, there is much evidence, from contemporary assessments and from newspaper advertising to suggest that consumption patterns and lifestyle were increasingly lavish. This is seen in better and more opulent housing, more consumer goods in the home, fashionable clothing and personal luxury items, extravagant entertaining and greater and more varied food consumption, more leisure time and holidays, and an increase in 'social accomplishment' orientated education facilities for girls. To an extent this trend was influenced by the growing scale of the middle class, with greater demand tending to make goods cheaper and more accessible, and new methods of processing and forms of business organizations turning what had formerly been luxuries into

¹⁹² In 1871 only 11% of the population of Glasgow were resident beyond the old municipal and parliamentary boundaries which had been established in the 1830's - J. Strang Report on the vital, social and economic statistics of Glasgow for 1861 (Glasgow 1862) p6

goods of wide availability.¹⁹³ A general fall in commodity prices to 1850, from a high point in 1800, followed by a modest rise to 1870 also encouraged middle class consumption patterns.¹⁹⁴ In Glasgow there was a significant fall in the cost of basic foods and housing from 1800 to 1830, and though housing costs began to rise from the late 1830's this tended to have a greater impact on the working classes, competing for space in the increasingly overcrowded central districts, than on the middle classes.¹⁹⁵ The fall in the price of luxury foods and imported foods, due to better farming methods, a wider market and improved transportation, was far more significant than any fall in the price of basic foodstuffs which made up the working class diet. The costs of middle class clothing, luxury personal effects and house furnishings, again due to the impact of mass production and a wider market, were also relatively less. A middle class lifestyle may have demand greater consumption of material goods, but the ability to engage in this desirable consumption was aided by price falls in goods whose markets were solely among the

¹⁹³ One of the most dramatic cases was the fall in the price of books, due to new techniques of printing, cheaper paper and an expanding market - see S.H. Steinberg Five hundred years of printing (1955) chapter 3.

¹⁹⁴ See P. Deane & W.A. Cole British economic growth 1688-1959 (Cambridge 1967) pp.13-18 & Fig.7 in appendix - trends based on Gayer-Rostow-Schwartz index.

¹⁹⁵ The poorer the family, then the larger the percentage of family income required for housing - and there is much evidence to suggest that over the period concerned the percentage of working class budgets absorbed by housing costs, particularly in the big cities, did increase. - See J.H.Treble Urban poverty in Britain ch.5

wealthier elements in society.¹⁹⁶

General price and market trends meant that middle class incomes could purchase more as the century progressed. Areas of increase such as housing from the 1830's and meat prices from the 1850's, undoubtedly had an impact on individual family budgets. But overall the middle class, relative to the market place and opportunities for consumption, were considerably better off in 1870 than they had been in 1800. This trend would have been evident if middle class income, in total, had remained stable over the years from 1800 to 1870. But, as has been demonstrated above, average middle class incomes increased from an estimated £191 in 1800 to £275 in 1860. Overall opportunities for a more lavish lifestyle and the demonstration of status through consumption was therefore, enhanced not only by the fact that middle class incomes could purchase more, but also because the middle classes on average were getting richer.

A general enhancement in lifestyle and consumption and an average increase in middle class incomes should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that while the proportion of very wealthy middle class families was expanding, the largest growth in middle class numbers over the period 1800 to 1870 was among those with the lowest income levels. Middle class families with incomes below £100 suffered the increased costs associated with price rises in housing and other

¹⁹⁶ Working class budgets left little margin before 1870 for expenditure on goods other than basic food, an estimated 70% of the total, and accommodation and heat. See R.A. Cage 'The standard of living debate, Glasgow 1800-1850' p80. There was very little for clothing, furnishings or luxuries and as late as the 1890's, after much improvement in working class living standards, the poorest families recorded by Rowntree spent only 6.3% of their budgets on clothes - J.H.Treble Urban poverty in Britain p182

basic needs from the mid-nineteenth century in much the same way as the working classes. For individual families on fixed low incomes in the range £60 to £100, even marginal rises in the price of food and accommodation could have a significant impact. At such a level of wealth, most family income, as among the working classes, would be expended on housing, heat, light and food. Food consumption, though providing a better nutritional diet than that of the poor, would consist of plain and simple fare. There would be very little consumption of luxury goods, very little entertaining, and expenditure on clothing would be relatively small. At this level of wealth in 1860, housing would take up 20% to 25% of income, heating another 5%, food possibly as much as 50% to 55% which would leave only 20% to 25% for clothing and non essential items - a mere £15 to £25 per year. By comparison a wealthy household such as that of Mrs Gourlay of Cowlairst - with an income in the £500 to £1000 range in the late 1860's - spent an estimated 15% of income on housing and fuel, 10% on servants, 20% on food, leaving 55% for clothing and non essentials, about £300 to £500 per year.¹⁹⁷ Confirmation inventories also show quite dramatically the contrasts of material wealth within the middle classes. Vast catalogues of personal and household possessions, valued at many thousands of pounds and including silver, wine and rare pictures can be set aside an example such as that of Robert McEwan, a missionary and teacher of 78 Muslin Street who died in 1861 leaving an fortune of £286. His personal effects are described in great detail. He owned bank deposits of £275. Clothes valued at £1. A watch, chain and

¹⁹⁷ Glasgow University Archives MS D64/3/1 'Mrs Gourlay's housebook'. See also, P. Branca Silent sisterhood, middle class women in the Victorian home (1977) pp.45-57 for a discussion of typical middle class incomes and the implications for lifestyle.

silver spectacles valued at £2 10s. A book case and mahogany drawers valued at 15s. Chairs valued at £2. An eight day clock worth £2 and grate, fender and kitchen utensils and bedding worth £1 10s.¹⁹⁸

By comparison with the increasingly wealthy upper classes, the consumption patterns of the lower middle class - though enhanced slightly as the period progressed - were very modest. There was undoubtedly a great expansion of wealth at the upper end of the middle classes, and those in the middle ranges were also exhibiting a more lavish lifestyle. The rich were clearly getting richer, but the majority of the expanding poorer middle classes, though certainly better off than they had been, and enjoying improved conditions relative to the working class, would seem all the more poor by contrast. The implications for middle class aspirations and anxieties were great, for what was desirable in terms of middle class lifestyle and what could be achieved by the majority were clearly far apart.¹⁹⁹ There was an increasing material gulf in lifestyle and consumption patterns not only between classes, but also within the middle class itself. It was a gulf, which though rooted in physical phenomenon, was to have important psychological implications, and as demonstrated in the next chapter, was also increasingly manifest through the organizations that characterised the urban middle classes of the nineteenth century.

¹⁹⁸ SRO SR36/48/48

¹⁹⁹ Women in particular, trying to make a small budget cover those things thought to be desirable and required for a middle class lifestyle, could suffer considerable personal stress and anxiety - see P. Branca Silent sisterhood pp22-35

The organizational profile of the Glasgow middle class

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Traditional organizations

3.3 New organizations

3.4 The role and impact of organizations

3.1 Introduction

Nineteenth century urban organizations and the activities in which they engaged, were a major arena for the articulation of middle class identity and consciousness, status and values. The network of organizations within a locality, the multiple links among them and with national bodies, was the main source of middle class power during the period. Against a background of dramatic changes in society, economy, politics and the city environment, organizations - formal and informal, official and voluntary, secular and religious - ensured relative social stability and continuity. It is argued, therefore, that an understanding of the character of such organizations and of the activities and issues in which they were involved, is an essential step in a process of definition and analysis of the physical and psychological profiles of the middle class.

The organizational or institutional manifestations of class were identified by Weber as one of the most significant elements of social formation - an overt index of status, lifestyle and group identity.¹ Veblen, in his analysis of leisure as an index of status also points to the significance of organizations. Leisure, defined not as indolence or mere pleasure seeking, but as a non-economically productive use of time, was frequently circumscribed by and directed through organizations.² With an expansion in the leisure time available to the middle classes as the nineteenth century progressed, organizations for the direction of leisure activities became

¹ H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (eds) From Max Weber - essays in sociology (1967)

² T. Veblen 'The theory of the leisure class' in R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds) Class, status and party (Glencoe Illinois 1953) 35-45

increasingly significant.³ For the growing and progressively more wealthy urban middle classes, without access to many of the traditional, often informal forms of leisure institution - such as the 'season' - that were enjoyed by the aristocracy and rural gentry, new types of leisure organization were particularly important. The expanding city population and consequent decline in opportunities for 'leisure' direction through informal means or personal contacts, also demanded a greater array of formal organizations as the century advanced.⁴

The development of organizations is strongly associated with the growth of cities and evolution of increasingly complex urban environments. For Mumford, the expansion of the city from the nineteenth century, with the accompanying congestion and human misery, was only redeemed by the coming into existence of 'corporate associations and societies of like-minded persons, pursuing special interests that covered every aspect of human life.'⁵ In previous centuries, when cities were relatively small and most activities conducted through personal and informal contacts, the only organizations to exist were the church - an agency of national power - the university, the school, the guild and structures of city government. But from the late eighteenth century, following in the wake of modern economic development and urban population growth, there was a rapid proliferation of societies and organizations to pursue politics and religion, charity, education and social management, art,

³ H.E. Meller Leisure and the changing city 1870-1914 (1976)

⁴ D. Timms The urban mosaic (Cambridge 1971) p126

⁵ L. Mumford The City in History (1961) p628

culture and entertainment - 'though the congestion of the metropolis has tended to suppress or destroy the organic tissue of neighbourhoods and smaller communities, it has helped to create new organs of a more specialized and more selective nature, made possible by their accessibility to an unusually large population.'⁶

In general, urban organizations, both formal and informal, and particularly the new local organizations of the nineteenth century, were associated with the middle classes above all other social groups. This is as true today as it was in the nineteenth century, with membership and powerholding tending to be dominated by middle aged, middle class men.⁷ The working classes, with different cultural norms and a more highly localized and informal social orientation, tended not to form or join organizations - except in a few instances such as the friendly societies. Unless emulating the middle classes or aspiring to challenge entrenched centres of middle class power, most organized working class effort can be seen as 'counter-institutional'.⁸ The upper classes, being a smaller group with a national orientation, conducted their activities through informal organizations and the family, and through national institutions of traditional power such as parliament and court. Any analysis of nineteenth century local urban organizations, is therefore, concerned

⁶ *ibid*; R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies and the British urban elite 1780 - 1850' Historical Journal 26 (1983) 89-109

⁷ N. Babchuk & A. Booth 'Voluntary association membership: a longitudinal analysis' American Sociological Review 34 (1969) 1-45.

⁸ R. Gray The aristocracy of labour in nineteenth century Britain 1850-1914 (1981) - the most important organizations of the working class were trade unions, but only a small minority of workers ever belonged to stable union groups.

essentially with one aspect of the middle class profile.

In this examination of the middle classes in Glasgow, attention will be given initially to the largely traditional and established organizations of official, legal, economic and municipal management and also to the church and political bodies. Their development is explored against a background of rapid changes in social structure, urban lifestyles, and political and religious outlook. But the main emphasis is on the emergence and impact of an array of secular voluntary organizations which developed from the later eighteenth century and which have come to be most closely associated with the evolution of a powerful urban middle class.⁹ It will be argued that in the face of radical and rapid developments in the nature of urban life and economy from the late eighteenth century, the established centres of middle class power and authority, notably the municipal government and church, were unable to respond sufficiently quickly to the changing situation. They experienced and provoked considerable tension and conflict within the middle classes and consequently saw their positions of exclusive power undermined. To supplement a vacuum in urban social management and institutional initiatives, and to compensate for a decline in middle class confidence in the capacities of many of the traditional centres of organized power, flexible, democratically managed, 'target orientated' voluntary organizations were formed. While many were linked to the older institutions, particularly the church, they were subject to secular administration, and therefore mark a new departure in the character of middle class organizational experience.

⁹ R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies and British urban elites, 1780-1850: an analysis' The Historical Journal 26 (1983) 95-118

The voluntary organizations addressed a vast array of economic and social concerns - charitable, reforming, educational and organizing. They disseminated middle class values and consolidated power while other traditional power sources were being eroded. But towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the limitations of the voluntary system increasingly recognized, the nature and functions of such bodies began to change. Power was returned to some of the traditional organizations, particularly those of municipal government now reformed and consolidated to better meet the needs of modern urban society. In a country where centralized power and strong, even 'authoritarian' local government was traditionally accepted, the Glasgow middle classes willingly abandoned direct involvement in the most difficult areas of social management. The main initiatives in housing, mass education, sanitation and poverty relief among others were increasingly taken by the now reformed municipal authorities and also by an array of central government institutions, which had emerged to deal, on a national scale, with some of the major problems of the period. Thereafter, middle class organizational initiatives were less problem orientated, or highly specific in their problem solving, and tended to be more concerned with such things as the direction of middle class entertainment or culture.

3.2 Traditional organizations

City based, middle class dominated organizations were traditionally of three broad types; each tended to be circumscribed by long established legal rights and privileges. There were those that existed to direct the economy and to control trade, industry and access to the professions. There were the organizations that existed to manage and administer the city as a functioning unit, and represent the political interests of the city and city elites both locally and to the world beyond. Finally, there were the organizations and institutions of the church and of indirect and direct religious, social and associated educational control. In all situations within the locality, there were considerable contacts and overlaps between these multiple organizations and in all cases they were dominated by the elites of the urban setting. As a whole they formed a focus of entrenched and co-ordinated political, religious, legal, economic and social power which facilitated control of the city, and also of much of the hinterland beyond. Exclusive power was to be considerably eroded with the development of modern economic and urban structures. But in a city like Glasgow, with a number of long established institutions founded within a distinctively Scottish historical tradition, bodies such as these continued to exist and play an important role in projecting middle class identity and consolidating

middle class power into the nineteenth century.¹⁰

Economic organizations for the control of trade, professions and crafts were strong in Glasgow following the Reformation, when the institutional power of the church had been undermined. The most significant were the Merchants House, an elective corporation, chartered in 1605 and acquiring a Letter of Guildry in 1672, and the Trades House, a more ancient institution, divided into fourteen trades, though only chartered in 1605 and also granted a Letter of Guildry in 1672.¹¹ The burgh constitution of Glasgow of 1605 gave the power of electing the city council to the two houses - with representation almost equal divided between the merchants and tradesmen. This was an unusual situation in Scotland, as merchants generally dominated power in the major burghs. It had arisen because Glasgow in the early seventeenth century, unlike Aberdeen or other cities, was not a well developed commercial centre. Reflecting the power of the Trades House, there were easy means of transfer from craft to merchant activities. This led to an economic flexibility that may have contributed to the trading dynamism of the city from the eighteenth century.¹² The rights to control the local economy and

¹⁰ B. Dicks, 'The Scottish medieval town, a search for origins' and R. C. Fox 'Stirling 1550-1700: the morphology and functions of a pre-industrial Scottish burgh' both in G. Gordon & B. Dicks Scottish urban history (Aberdeen 1983) 23-51, 52-70; E. Lampard 'The nature of urbanizations' in D. Fraser (ed) The pursuit of urban history (1983) 3-53; L. Mumford The city in history ch.12. (The process of evolution of city institutions was not just a phenomenon of the modern era. Established medieval institutions had also faced tension and erosion before giving way to the new bodies of mercantilist and capitalist society in the great European cities from the fifteenth century.)

¹¹ J. Tweed Bibliographical sketches of the Hon. Lord Provosts of Glasgow (Glasgow 1883) Appendix pp17-25

¹² T. C. Smout A history of the Scottish people 1560 - 1830 (1969) p.149; D. Daiches Glasgow (1977) p.17.

restrict individual access to particular areas of trade and craft continued to exist, though in a modified and increasingly less powerful form, until the 1830's, when the privilege of electing council members was abolished under the municipal reform acts, and the 1840's, when the status of burgess was abolished. But though denuded of much of their earlier formal power within the municipality, the Merchants and Trades houses retained significant semi-official roles in representing the members of the various sectors of business.

The Merchants and Trades Houses were the organizations of the business community. There was also a group of powerful traditional Glasgow institutions that represented the professional bodies of the city. The Faculty of Procurators had been formed in the seventeenth century and elected into a corporation by Royal Charter in 1796, to regulate the practice of law in the West of Scotland. It was an autonomous body that existed as a focus for the social and public activities of those involved in the profession.¹³ The powers of the Faculty were, however, gradually undermined from the early decades of the nineteenth century as the control of the Scottish legal profession became more centralized and based in Edinburgh. Official local functions and rights of professional control were finally abolished in 1873 when the exclusive privileges of a number of incorporated bodies in Scotland were abolished.¹⁴ The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, established by Royal Charter in 1599 to examine and maintain the standards of all those entering the medical profession in West of Scotland, was a similar traditional professional body, providing similar facilities

¹³ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow (1816) p207-214

¹⁴ J. Tweed Lord Provosts Appendix p9-11

and controls on its membership. Though it continued to hold a right to examine those entering the profession into the 1870's, it is clear that from the late eighteenth century the powers of the Faculty were being undermined, most notably by a dramatic court case of 1834, which, though won by the Faculty, signalled the eventual demise of its formal authority and the rise of examining medical schools within the universities.¹⁵

Other professional bodies were formed in the city in the nineteenth century, such as the Institute of Accountants and Actuaries in Glasgow, chartered in 1855, but had neither the traditional power nor the established wealth of these two great professional faculties. Associated with, and to a certain extent a rival to the professional organizations, was that other traditional institution of Glasgow, the University, established in 1451. It had initially been an ecclesiastical body, but from the Reformation had become more secular in orientation and enjoyed a close relationship with the economy and society of Glasgow. In the eighteenth century it had been one of the centres of the Scottish Enlightenment, attracting scholars from throughout Europe, but by the nineteenth century it was catering largely for local educational needs, both informal and formal, unlike the ancient universities of England.¹⁶ The actual membership of the University at any given time, was small - the academic body in 1837 consisted of a Lord Chancellor, Lord Rector, Dean, Principal and nineteen professors, two lecturers and just over one thousand

¹⁵ L. Saunders Scottish democracy p339; J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow pp207-21

¹⁶ L. Saunder Scottish Democracy ; R.D. Anderson . Education and opportunity in Victorian Scotland (Oxford 1983)

students.¹⁷ But the influence and prestige of the institution within the city was considerable, and most members of the local elite attended the University, if only for a few sessions.

These traditional urban institutions of the middle classes, representing the business, professional and academic interests of the city, had much in common in their experience of the nineteenth century. Formal, localized but exclusive powers were progressively eroded and challenged by new groups and organizations: traditional institutions were less and less able to call upon the might of the law to support their traditional privileges. But while formal powers were to disappear, to be systematized or taken over by national bodies, incorporated into the general law or subject to reform in the interests of democracy, informal powers and prestige were being enhanced as the city and the middle classes expanded. Due to their long existence and former great powers, traditional urban organizations had accumulated considerable levels of wealth, which were used in many ways to further the aims and status of themselves, of their middle class membership and of the city in general. The Trades House, for instance, gave large contributions to the University to help clear the massive debts that were incurred in the move to a new site in the west of the city in 1870, and the Faculty of Procurators endowed a Chair of Conveyancing in 1861.¹⁸ Both the Trades and Merchants Houses and the Faculty of Procurators built impressive new headquarters in the city during the latter half of the

¹⁷ J. B. Hay Inaugural addresses by Lord Rectors of the University of Glasgow to which are prefixed an historical account of the present state of the University (Glasgow 1839) pLXXII

¹⁸ J. Tweed Lord Provosts Appendix p9-25

nineteenth century and thus contributed to Glasgows reputation as an outstanding centre of Victorian architectural achievement.

The Trades House owned large areas of land to the north-east of the city on which it was instrumental in creating a new burial ground - the prestigious Necropolis - in the early part of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Indeed, the ownership of land by all the traditional institutions, gave them considerable powers to dictate the way in which the city was to be developed and also provided a notable source of income and realizable wealth. The charitable and philanthropic activities of the various institutions were also significant. There had always been such a role in the support of their own members and members families - but from the nineteenth century, following the lead of the new middle class voluntary organizations, these initiatives were extended to address some of the wider problems of urban life. The Trades House ran a school for the children of the poor from 1806 to 1872, at which date, following the Education Act, it was deemed to be no longer necessary. The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons established a free Vaccination Centre in Glasgow in 1800 and the University was active in the University settlement movement of the later nineteenth century.²⁰

Above all, the traditional organizations contributed to and enhanced

¹⁹ From the second decade of the nineteenth century there was considerable debate on the desirability of burial grounds within the bounds of the city - a debate that intensified following the 1832 cholera crisis and led to the creation of a number of 'garden cemeteries' on the city outskirts. The Necropolis, the most magnificent of these was said to be modelled on Pere Lachaise in Paris.

²⁰ J. Tweed Lord Provosts Appendix pp7-25

the informal prestige of their urban middle class members - for they were social as well as economic institutions, whose membership was circumscribed by particular professional or business qualifications that conveyed exclusive and elite status. By the nineteenth century, individuals of considerable wealth and power occupied all the most senior positions within these institutions - this was so even of the traditionally more humble sections of the Trades House. They often provided exclusive facilities, resembling gentlemen's clubs, for cultural or leisure pursuits, and frequently spawned associated organizations such as volunteer militia regiments.²¹ Prestige and position was reflected in the role of these organizations in civic functions. At notable events such as the first visit of Queen Victoria to the city in 1849, the visits of other dignitaries or the laying of stones for bridges and public buildings, the traditional institutions played significant roles at the receptions, carriage processions and formal dinners.²² The prestige of such bodies was recognized and acknowledged even when real legal rights and privileges had been abolished. The traditions and regalia of these organizations, the splendour and spectacle they gave to public events, enhanced the general status and standing of the city as well as the middle classes who made up their membership.

But though they played a public role within the city, important for the continuity of middle class experience and for the generation of

²¹ For example, the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons had an associated Medical Club for senior practitioners, providing social facilities and a library, and in the period 1800-1814 raised a large volunteer force. G. Strang Glasgow and its clubs (Glasgow 1864)

²² Visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to the City of Glasgow on 14 August 1849 (Glasgow 1849)

individual status and civic esteem, by the nineteenth century such organizations had lost the initiative in middle class institutional action. This had passed to other, more modern bodies and new, emerging groups of the middle class - groups who often did not have access to the traditional organizations. This pattern of development was occasionally resisted and resented, especially where new groups infringed on formal powers, but generally it was accommodated and accepted. The older organizations, representing established groups of the middle class were usually prepared, after initial periods of adjustment, to follow the lead of the new - and by so doing ensured relative continuity and stability to the urban middle classes.

The most significant traditional urban middle class organizations were those directly associated with the administration and government of the municipality. Before the reforms of the mid 1830's, the Town Council was a self perpetuating body, with thirteen councillors elected by the Merchant House and twelve by the Trades House. These councillors in their turn elected the Lord Provost and other officials.²³ The Municipal Reform Act abolished these selection privileges of the ancient guild bodies and introduced an electoral system based on five electoral wards, with six representatives in each, making twenty councillors in all. As in the earlier nineteenth century, the councillors were responsible for electing the Provost and city officials. By the 1840's the expansion of Glasgow had led to the creation of sixteen wards, with three representatives in each, making forty eight locally elected council members.²⁴

²³ The Statistical Account of Scotland vol VII Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire (facsim. ed. Wakefield 1973, original ed 1791-1799) p289

²⁴ J. Tweed Lord Provosts pp30-34

The Council, in a city with no resident aristocracy, was the focus of civic social activity and policy initiatives. It provided the pagentry of official functions, generated rapid growth in civic pride and promoted and enhanced the prestige of the city. The Provost and councillors enjoyed considerable status throughout the century and took precedence in local affairs.²⁵ Following municipal reform, the Council in Glasgow was generally progressive and reforming.²⁶ Yet though the focus of legally vested civic control and initiative, and always occupying a major position in the organizational consciousness of the middle class, it is clear that in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, prior to reform, the Council experienced protracted crisis and loss of public confidence. Its position and prestige were weakened by an inability to cope with and respond quickly enough to the pressures of rapid urban expansion and the emergence of new economic and social structures. In its unreformed condition the Council and associated Magistracy, along with the vested traditional interests and middle class groups these tended to represent, was increasingly unpopular, and through a number of poorly conceived political initiatives and acts of repression contributed to social tension at a time of considerable instability. This tension was manifest in local political aggression and increased levels of political dissent. Most notably, it was seen at the famous Thrusgrove political meeting of 1816 - a meeting that the Council tried to prevent. Here the grievances of the new middle class - concerning taxation, the role of the monarchy and standing army and above all concerning political representation, both local and national - were articulated in public for the first time in Glasgow.²⁷

²⁵ An analysis of the occupations and backgrounds of individuals who were Provosts and Councillors is given in section 4.

²⁶ G. Best 'The Scottish Victorian City' Victorian Studies 11 (1967-8) 329-358

²⁷ Account of the proceedings of the public meeting of the Burgesses and inhabitants of the City of Glasgow held on the 29 October 1816 respecting the distress of the country (Glasgow 1816) p.4-5

In the years from 1815 to the 1820's, national and local politics were a major focus of middle class activity and group antagonism in Britain as a whole, but particularly in Glasgow. The frequency of public demonstrations of opposing political views, through meetings and petitions, was especially notable when compared with the years before 1815. It was an era of massive political rallies, well planned and organized, at which figures of national reputation expressed their views. There were also numerous smaller meetings, called on an impromptu basis from within specific social and economic groupings, to discuss particular topics of grievance and mount campaigns of action. In the words of one Herald correspondent, writing on 'political meetings' - 'amidst the many changes in the mode of thinking and acting which distinguish us from our fathers, none is more conspicuous than the thirst for public meetings...everything serves for an occasion to draw men from their business and their families and to press them up in an ill-aired room for hours, to shout and hiss and play the mountebank'.²⁸

Such willingness by the new and expanding middle classes openly to express countering views to those of the established elites who dominated the organizations of traditional power, inevitably led to tensions. Nowhere was this more evident than in Glasgow in the immediate post war-period. The agitation surrounding parliamentary and municipal reform in the early 1830's was, in Scotland and Glasgow in particular, both moderate and muted.²⁹ The reasons for this are to

²⁸ Herald Dec 14 1832

²⁹ F.A. Montgomery 'Glasgow and the struggle for Parliamentary Reform 1830-1832' Scottish Historical Review 61 (1982) 130-145

be found, in part, in the very dramatic events that focused on Glasgow of the years 1816 to 1821. These were events which demonstrated to all the corruption and widespread unpopularity of the older traditional centres of organizational power, and led to the beginnings of autonomous change and reform.

The Thrusgrove meeting, though instigated by an increasingly powerful new middle class, responding to a period of great economic distress in Glasgow, had also attracted the sympathy and support of many of the higher merchant middle classes. There was a widely held antipathy, throughout society, to the entrenched organizational power, both at national and local level, of a seemingly corrupt Tory elite. This antipathy was intensified in Glasgow in 1817 following the disclosure of a number of highly questionable, even illegal, means being employed by local and central government to retain control and suppress opposition from all groups. The use of political spies and agitators was thought to have been particularly entrenched in the city, under the manipulation of Kirkman Finlay, Member of Parliament for Glasgow and former Lord Provost, who had close political ties with Lord Sidmouth, Secretary of State. In Britain as a whole, 1817 was a year of widespread alarm, with many anti-royal riots in London. This had led to an attempt by Government to introduce measures to suppress seditious meetings and suspend Habeas Corpus, a move that was strongly resisted in Parliament, until the Lord Advocate of Scotland read out the secret oaths of Glasgow radicals - based on evidence supplied by Finlay's spies. Thereafter, there was great concern in London that 'Glasgow was hatching all over with plots, stratagems and conspiracies

against the Government.³⁰

The corrupt manipulation of the Scottish legal system by representatives of Government, supported by local municipal leaders, was also a source of great anxiety. This was particularly so among members of the legal profession, led by powerful new Whig groups in Edinburgh, who were concerned for the integrity and traditions of Scottish law. An attempt by government officers, with the connivance of Glasgow magistrates, to bribe witnesses during the Edinburgh trial of Andrew McKinlay, a Glasgow weaver accused of high treason after signing a secret oath, was a major scandal in Scotland in 1817. Respect for Scottish law was only preserved, in the eyes of many of the middle class when the High Court judge dismissed the case.³¹

Events such as these, allied to the continued economic distress within the country, provoked a sympathy for reform among many within the rising and increasingly wealthy groups of the new middle class, long excluded from power by the traditional systems of burgh organization and national political representation. The manifest corruption and partiality of government at all levels could even arouse the criticism of individuals who were generally supporters of the established order in country and city - such as Samuel Hunter, editor of the Glasgow Herald (in the late 1820's also a magistrate) who remarked -

'while the general conduct of His Majesty's ministers is approved by a majority in Parliament and we believe by a majority in the nation at large, there is occasionally some little act, some petty piece of patronage, which vexes and distresses their friends, while to their

³⁰ H.W. Meikle Scotland and the French Revolution (1912) pp 222-3; P. MacKenzie Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland (Glasgow 1867) vol 1, p113

³¹ P. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 pp124-5

enemies it provides a source of exultation and triumph.³²

The general feeling of dissatisfaction was brought to a head in Glasgow in 1820. Events which were to assume a national significance were centred on the city. At the beginning of the year the Herald had identified two matters of importance which it considered symptomatic of a general state of unease and therefore likely to have a profound impact on the country. The first was the ambiguous situation of Queen Caroline following the accession of George IV, which 'threatened to be the cause of much agitation, both in Parliament and out of it.'³³ The second was the Cato Street Conspiracy, the threat and attempt to assassinate members of the Government - widely interpreted within the Tory press as part of a radical attempt to overthrow the whole social, political and economic structure of Britain. It was with some disappointment that the Herald later reported that there was no apparent connection between Thistlewood and the conspirators of Cato Street and radicals in manufacturing areas such as Manchester or Glasgow.³⁴

The Cato Street affair and the implied threat of bloody revolution disturbed the middle classes throughout Britain. Anxiety was intensified in Glasgow on the first day of April 1820, a Sunday, when on emerging from the city churches, following the morning services, the population was faced with posters and bills calling on the working

³² Herald May 19 1820 - by this stage open criticism of government, local and national, though the press was widespread. The 1820's was a decade of major growth in the Glasgow press, from three publications in 1820 to ten by 1832 - political equivocation and moderateness had given way to intense factional rivalry.

³³ Herald Feb 25, 1820

³⁴ Herald Feb 28, 1820

classes to take to arms - 'Friends and countrymen - roused from that state in which we have been sunk for so many years, we are at length compelled from the extremity of our sufferings and the contempt heaped upon our Petitions of Redress, to assert our rights at the hazard of our lives.'³⁵ It was claimed through the proclamation - later proved to have been fabricated by political agitators hoping to drive a wedge between the working class and the radical and reforming middle class opposition to governing elites - that England had taken to arms for the overthrow of the established order, that troops were on their way from France and that a provisional government had been formed and needed the support of the Scottish working class.

The result was a minor uprising of weavers in Glasgow, with some groups engaged in what appeared, to concerned onlookers, to be military drilling in the streets. There was a strike of working class operatives, particularly weavers, spinners and foundry workers, and a small group of radical youths marched out of the city to join what they thought was to be a revolutionary army assembling at Carron. The working class responses to the false declarations of revolution were not dramatic - the reactions of the middle class and particularly those in official organizational authority were, however profound. There was a widespread belief and fear, throughout the city for nearly a week, that England was in a state of insurrection and that Glasgow was about to be attacked by ten thousand Paisley radicals. The Council and Magistrates called over five thousand troops into the city to provide protection and a local militia of sharpshooters was quickly formed to support the regular army. All the valuable plate and

³⁵ P. MacKenzie Reminiscences Vol 1 p.129

treasures of the city were lodged in the vaults of the Royal Bank, under military guard and a curfew was set at seven o'clock - by six o'clock all non-residents had to have quitted the city boundaries.³⁶

After a few days and following the safe arrival of the London mail it was recognized that the fear of a national revolution had been unfounded. Yet the Battle of Bonnybridge, in which the radical youths who had left Glasgow to join the non-existent revolutionary army at Carron, were seized, after a brief struggle with the military, was still greeted as a victory, with general rejoicing among the middle classes. Even when it was realized that the April 1st proclamations were probably the work of political agitators, there was a widespread belief that the responses by the working classes had revealed the dangerous character of those who sought radical reform.³⁷

The middle classes of Glasgow, as a whole, had been in fear of a working class uprising. The alliance between the radical working class and the reforming middle class was never again to be as close as it had been at Thrushgrove. Even dedicated reformers like the young Peter MacKenzie - by the 1830's a major newspaper editor, who was involved in exposing the Kirkman Finlay spy system and who later in 1820 was to launch the local agitation in support of Queen Caroline - was quick, along with his colleagues, to join the regiment of Glasgow Sharpshooters, the local militia formed under the leadership of the leading Tory, Samuel Hunter, to protect lives and property against radical insurrection. Similarly, the reaction by manufacturers to the

³⁶ P. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 pp130-8; Herald April 7 1820

³⁷ Herald April 7 1820

radical strikes of 1820, united Tories, those in city organizational power, and those who had given support at Thrushgrove. Kirkman Finlay, in conjunction with the Town Council, successfully demanded that measures be introduced 'to prevent the employment of those who have obeyed the command of a treasonable confederacy to desist from their ordinary labour.'³⁸ It is notable that fear of a radical uprising promoted two forms of middle class response. Those groups who had few links with the working class through employment, assumed militaristic and physical means to protect their interests. The Glasgow Sharpshooters was dominated, in its officer ranks, by bankers, writers and their clerks and government, particularly tax and customs, officials. But few manufacturers joined the Sharpshooters - their preferred response was one of economic punishment and pressure on their employees within the workplace.³⁹

The events of early April 1820 consolidated a badly divided Glasgow middle class in support of authority and traditional centres of organized local power, with the united aim of protecting property and law. But the excessive reactions of the Council and Magistracy, again a result of weakness and an inability to deal with dissent, once order and peace had been restored, dissipated the apparent unity. James Turner, the wealthy and much respected tobacco merchant who had allowed the use of his estate at Thrushgrove for the 1816 political rally, was arrested one Sunday night in late April, while in bed at home, by the military under the instigation of the Council and Magistrates. He was imprisoned first in the Barracks, later at the

³⁸ Herald April 7 1820

³⁹ P. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 pp226-7

Bridewell in Glasgow, where he was held for several weeks, never charged or brought to trial, along with a number of other respectable middle class reform leaders. On the Monday following the mass arrests, the military, again under direction from the Lord Provost, instituted a minute search of numerous properties throughout the city for weapons and seditious writings.⁴⁰

Such officially orchestrated assaults upon the persons and property of elements within the middle class, once again generated considerable antipathy towards traditional Tory power organizations. This was intensified by the trials and subsequent executions, in the summer of 1820, of some of the Glasgow rebels of Bonnybridge, for whom great public sympathy had developed when it became known how they had been duped by agitators. The jury in one of the cases had petitioned the Secretary of State for mercy, but this had been rejected.⁴¹

Opposition to and clashes with entrenched power organizations within Glasgow again erupted in the autumn of 1820, over support for Queen Caroline. In September a petition in support of the Queen and against the 'infamous junto' of Government and her husband, George IV, who had introduced the 'execrable Bill of Pains and Penalties', was signed by over thirty-five thousand individuals in Glasgow - it was the largest petition that had ever been raised in Scotland.⁴² In Glasgow, as elsewhere the Queen was strongly identified with middle class reform. Her personal response to the petition from the Barony parish of Glasgow declared - 'the people have, hitherto, forgotten their own

⁴⁰ P. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 pp.233-241

⁴¹ Herald Sept 1 1820

⁴² P. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 p267

internal divisions in their profound sympathy with my sufferings...should the Union which now so happily prevails among the middle and subordinate ranks of the community not experience any disastrous interruption, the Queen is not only safe, but the cause of the constitution must triumph over that of corruption and the interests of liberty be established upon a rock.⁴³

The withdrawal of the Bill of Pains and Penalties was greeted in Glasgow with unofficial illuminations - widely condemned by the Town Council - carousing and some minor rioting, which was quickly put down by the thousands of troops still quartered in the city.⁴⁴ The Council launched a counter petition, signed by two hundred sympathizers, in support of the King - a move that was condemned as rash and inflammatory at a time when 'party spirits run high'.⁴⁵ This was immediately countered by another meeting of 'the leading magnates in the city...scarcely calling themselves Reformers, but imbued with the most liberal principles' (among whose number were many who had combined with Finlay and the Town Council in April to attack the striking radical operatives) to launch yet another petition to the King in support of the Queen. They sought to hold a rally and applied to the Chief Acting Magistrate, as was required under the restrictive laws on public meetings, for the use of one of the city owned halls. The request was refused and an illegal meeting was held in the John Street Church.⁴⁶ This and the subsequent petition became a vehicle for

⁴³ Herald Nov 3, 1820

⁴⁴ Herald Nov 17, 1820

⁴⁵ Herald Dec 15, 1820

⁴⁶ Herald Dec 25, 1820; P. MacKenzie Reminiscences p308

a comprehensive attack on a range of government inadequacies, both local and central, including the fiasco of the Queen, high taxes, a failure to retrench and the repeated assaults upon the 'constitutional and liberal principles of the people'. It was an attack launched by powerful and influential individuals, including top bankers, merchants and manufacturers and increasingly vociferous members of the legal profession. The prestige and status of these groups, clearly dissaffected by traditional centres of power and organized authority, aroused considerable and widespread respect and support. By this stage even moderate Tories were thoroughly exasperated by the inept Government handling of the 'Queen business', which had been pursued with a total disregard to its effects on social stability and economic confidence. This exasperation, voiced by Samuel Hunter, was intensified when the King and Government refused to grant the Queen a royal residence -

'a married woman is not to lie in the streets, and if her own husband is not bound to give her lodgings, we should be glad to know who is. But, even if the Queen has no right to a royal residence, for God's sake give her one for peace sake and allow the country a little breathing time'.⁴⁷

Political antagonism between elite groups and antipathies toward institutional centres of civic authority within Glasgow continued strong into 1821, though specific sources of friction, following the death of Queen Caroline and amelioration in economic conditions tended to diminish. In the words of Peter MacKenzie - 'politics in those days rose to the highest pitch of excitement, nay fury. A Whig would scarcely speak to a Tory and a Tory would scarcely speak to a Whig, if he could help it. The rules of common civility were some times

⁴⁷ Herald Nov 24, 1820.

grossly invaded - to the spitting actually in each others faces, as we have seen done in the old Tontine Coffee Room, leading to actions of damages and assyhtment.⁴⁸

Gradually however, tensions were reduced and antipathies became increasingly institutionalized and expressed through new formal political organizations such as the Pitt and Fox clubs, which enjoyed great popularity in the 1820's.⁴⁹ This tension was further dissipated by positive moves from central Government to reform some of the major areas of corruption and concern in Scotland. There were reforms of the Scottish legal system, particularly in the area of jury trials and commitments for sedition. The Tory government of the late 1820's also made considerable concessions to the Whig elites of Edinburgh, to give them greater say in the political management of Scotland.⁵⁰

There were changes also in the character of the Glasgow middle classes, and the growth of an array of new and powerful 'target oriented' voluntary organizations tended to dissipate political polarity and tension. The new elites of manufacturing, shopkeeping and trade experienced increased prosperity and status within the city. The entrenched and exclusive seats of institutional power that had been previously occupied by the old merchant Tories alone, began to collapse in their solidarity and significance. It is notable for instance, that in 1820 the Town Council held effective control over much of the Established Church in Glasgow through patronage. Most

⁴⁸ p. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 p.367

⁴⁹ N.B. Penny 'The Whig cult of Fox in early nineteenth century sculpture' Past and Present 70 (1976) p95

⁵⁰ H.W. Meikle Scotland and the French Revolution pp233-4

clergymen were Tories and it was difficult even to find a minister willing to officiate at the Fox dinners.⁵¹ But the growth of evangelicism within the Church of Scotland, introduced to Glasgow in 1816 by Thomas Chalmers (an appointment that was made despite opposition from within the Council) and the development of a vigorous anti-patronage movement and the expansion of dissent (in itself an indication of middle class disaffection) tended to introduce a more politically diverse and critical clergy.⁵² Ministers were more vociferous in town affairs and more willing to question the established order, particularly when that order was shown to be inept in dealing with the growing social problems of urban life. Institutions concerned with the legal profession and education also tended to become more pluralist in outlook as they expanded and responded to religious changes and legal reforms. In the wake of these changes and in anticipation of eventual victory, the middle class reform movement in Glasgow became more moderate in character. This was demonstrated symbolically in 1832 when, following the presentation of a Political Union petition to the King in support of the Reform Bill - a petition said to have been favourably received - Peter MacKenzie, the ardent reformer of 1820, supporter of Queen Caroline and vociferous campaigner against the King and Government, styled himself the 'Loyal Reformer' and launched his electioneering newspaper under the title the Loyal Reformers Gazette⁵³

⁵¹ p. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 1 p461

⁵² S.J. Brown Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland (Oxford 1982) pp.91-2

⁵³ p. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 2 p235

By the early 1830's, high Toryism was a residual phenomenon within Glasgow - a political stance, represented by the old political clubs and social organizations, of ageing men, progressively less in contact with the everyday economic life of the city. This group of former colonial planters and elite Atlantic merchants with landed connections, had great wealth and influence still, but it was a fading generation, under considerable attack from anti-slavery and anti-West Indian groups. The moderate Toryism of the new merchants of the industrial era, those in commerce and banking, and major manufacturers, which was essentially receptive to limited constitutional and municipal reform, was now dominant. These groups were anxious to promote the prestige and influence of the city and were particularly dissatisfied with the existing system of political representation in which Glasgow shared a single Parliamentary seat with Dumbarton, Renfrew and Rutherglen - each of which had power in the selection of the Member of Parliament, equal to that of the metropolis. The fiasco of the election of 1830, following the death of George IV, when there was considerable dispute as to which candidate had been legally elected, underlined the dissatisfaction and urged Glasgow men to seek better glory and status for the city through reform.⁵⁴ In the months prior to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 there was little vociferous opposition to reform within the city. On the eve of Reform a massive public meeting on the Green, sanctioned by the Town Council, was held in favour of the Bill - at which the Lord Provost was one of the main speakers. All the official and traditional institutions of the city gave public support to Reform and when finally put into law it was greeted with official illuminations

⁵⁴ p. MacKenzie Reminiscences vol 2 p235

and the largest official procession ever seen in Glasgow.⁵⁵

One of the factors underlying the acceptance, by moderate Tories, of the principle of reform was a belief that through a skillful manipulation of their power and status they could secure the election, both to parliament and local reformed government, of individuals sympathetic to their outlook. This was achieved, in the short term - prior to the formation of effective Whig political organizations in the city - when in December 1832, in the words of the editor of the Chronicle - 'the Reform Bill has produced the same result in Glasgow as in other places - the return, namely, of the two wealthiest and most influential candidates...the candidate supported by the Tories is at the top of the poll.'⁵⁶

There had been six candidates for the two seats allocated to Glasgow. The Whig reformers, represented by the Fox club and Political Union and the newspapers the Glasgow Chronicle and the Loyal Reformers Gazette, gave their support to Sir D.K. Sandiford, Professor of Greek at Glasgow University and John Douglas of Barloch, a lawyer and part owner of the Chronicle. In the poll these candidates came, respectively third and fifth.⁵⁷ High Tories, represented by the old elite social and political clubs and the Friend of the People, gave their support to John Crawford, an East India merchant and James Oswald of Shieldhall, a merchant and landowner. The former came

⁵⁵ ibid p. 239; Herald May 14 1832

⁵⁶ Glasgow Chronicle Dec 19, 1832

⁵⁷ The Glasgow electors of 1832 (Glasgow 1832) p139; R.M.W. Cowans The newspaper in Scotland - a study of its first expansion 1815-1860 (Glasgow 1946) p80

fourth in the poll and the latter came second and was elected to Parliament.⁵⁸ The last two candidates were Joseph Dixon and James Ewing. Dixon was a Dumbarton manufacturer and Member of Parliament under the old electoral system. He attracted some Tory sympathy, but had little support within the press and came bottom of the poll. Ewing, a retired merchant and manufacturer, who eventually topped the poll, had been Dean of Guild and Lord Provost of Glasgow in the late 1820's, when the Council was adopting a more reformist stance. His moderate espousal of reform and great personal prestige attracted a broad base of support that cut across the political parties and ranged, within the press, from the Tory Courier to the moderate Whig Scots Times and the evangelical Scottish Guardian.⁵⁹

Ewing clearly ran the most effective and non-controversial election campaign; and his declaration of the qualities which he felt made him suitable to represent Glasgow, indicates those elements that inspired voters, and give a flavour of what was to be the nature of politics, organizational and civic institutional values from the 1830's to the 1860's. -

'Born and bred in Glasgow, all my aspirations have been for its welfare...acquainted with the general policy and practical details of mercantile and manufacturing business' [he had been a delegate to London in the fight for free trade to the East Indies] 'I have felt it my duty to take a zealous, but liberal part in all your public institutions. There are few of your charities of which I have not been a Director - still fewer to which I have not been a contributor...almost none of your Commercial Associations of which I have not been a member.' 'I have uniformly advocated liberal principles' - including parliamentary and burgh reform and the repeal of the Corn Laws, and he was prepared to aid any scheme of emancipation in the West Indies, 'consistent with the rights of the Colonists', supported a judicial reform of the legal system and the removal of tithes and abuses within the Church establishment.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ ibid

⁵⁹ ibid pp.81-82

⁶⁰ Herald July 16 1832

After twelve years of political turmoil and dissent, culminating in Parliamentary Reform in the early 1830's, the years 1832 to the 1860's saw relative political calm, consensus and unity within the middle classes. The major national political events of the period generated limited active involvement or initiative from Glasgow, when compared with that of other great cities such as Manchester. Political organizations and movements such as the Anti-Corn Law agitation provoked moderate levels of support across the political spectrum, but few passions were roused. Corn Law Reform was, after all, an area in which there had been general agreement for decades in Scotland.⁶¹ A public meeting in December 1845 in support of the abolition of the Corn Laws, promoted by the Lord Provost and other local leaders attracted four to five thousand people, a good but by no means spectacular attendance by Glasgow standards: 'the assemblage apparently comprising citizens of various grades, the working men, not a few of their employers and the middle classes generally'.⁶² After 1832, reforming middle class groups were not totally inactive - a major petition in support of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 was signed by thirty-thousand.⁶³ But middle class political activities, particularly the responses to national events, tended to become institutionalized and non-aggressive. The Reform Association, established in 1835 under the chairmanship of William Dixon, a notable coalmaster, to counter the growth of new moderate Conservative organizations in Glasgow, such as the Peel Club, was a manifestation

⁶¹ F. Montgomery 'Glasgow and the movement for Corn Law repeal' History (1979) p.378

⁶² Herald Dec 12, 1845

⁶³ Herald Aug 21, 1835

of this trend.⁶⁴

Following the defeat of James Ewing in the parliamentary elections of 1835 - Ewing, elected on a personal popularity ticket had not lived up to expectations - Toryism ceased to be a fighting force in Glasgow (and elsewhere in Scotland where the Conservatives also did badly) for several decades. Moderate Whig domination and the general prosperity of the city (despite the economic crises of the 1840's) inevitably reduced major conflicts within the middle classes. Old Tories like Samuel Hunter (editor of the Herald to 1836) would still make occasional jibes at the activities of the reformers, which he claimed 'approach very near to the style of procedure in the French Clubs at the period of the first revolution' and warned 'in whatever prosperous towns these clubs were formed they soon drove away all the manufacturing and merchantile capital out of the place'.⁶⁵ But the mood was essentially for moderate change and municipal policies that would enhance the prestige of the city.

Consensus and relative political unity between official organizations of municipal government and other groups of the middle class was shown in 1835 in the petition and deputation, supported by all political parties, in honour of Peter MacKenzie for his role in exposing the Richmond Spy Scandal in Glasgow.⁶⁶ A testimonial of 1840 in honour of Wellington was also widely supported on all sides.⁶⁷ But the most

⁶⁴ Herald Jun 19, 1835

⁶⁵ Herald Jan 3, 1835

⁶⁶ Herald Mar 9, 1835

⁶⁷ Herald Jan 24, 1840

notable display of political harmony was seen in the response to the visit of Daniel O'Connell to Glasgow in the autumn of 1835. A public meeting in his honour on the Green, attended by over one hundred thousand, followed by a civic reception attended by notables from all political persuasions provoked little controversy and was deemed, even by the Herald, after early misgivings, to have been a success -

'the O'Connell exhibition has passed over very pleasantly, a great number of our citizens having been gratified with seeing and hearing a man who has made much noise in the world and they have at the same time shewed that they can acquit themselves with perfect propriety in situations where a relaxation from sobriety and decorum is frequently indulged in - and now that the affair is over, we do not see that Mr O'Connell's progress through Scotland is likely to be attended with advantage to one party or injury to the other.'⁶⁸

The moderation of local party politics was such that by 1845 the principal characteristic of elections was apathy, with many local seats uncontested - 'were it not for forms sake the subject is not deserving of any notice, as the citizens themselves do not seem to take the slightest interest in the affair.'⁶⁹ Certain matters of local political concern did cause friction, most notably issues raised by the extension of local government powers and new poor law provisions, concomitant increases in rating and changes in the rating system.⁷⁰ But overall the desire was to maintain harmony and consensus. Having achieved political power within the local forum and with the economic

⁶⁸ Herald Sept 21, 25, 1835

⁶⁹ Herald Nov 3, 1845

⁷⁰ The rates issue has generated conflict for years between those who favoured the traditional Scottish system based on 'means and substance' - equivalent to a tax on income and wealth - and those who wanted the more modern system of rating based on the value of property. The latter, which tended to favour the rich, was finally established in a uniform manner in 1855 following the Scottish Burgh rating reforms.

status of Glasgow on the ascent, the Glasgow middle classes tended to avoid conflict.

The focus of passionate political initiative had passed to the radical working classes during this period. Glasgow Chartism was a far more notable phenomenon than Glasgow middle class Anti-Corn Law agitation. The activities of the Chartists were in many respects both disruptive and distasteful to the middle classes. The commonly employed technique of mass, uninvited Chartist attendance at middle class public meetings, and the attempts to overthrow such meetings so as to air Chartist demands, caused great concern among many of the city elites. At a meeting called by the Lord Provost in early December 1840, to launch a vote of congratulations to the Queen on the birth of her first child, some three hundred 'gentlemen' were overwhelmed by the unexpected presence of nearly a thousand Chartists. Despite the pleas from the Provost that the meeting should be 'conducted with propriety, when their object was so loyal, so generous and so British-like', as on other occasions, the original aims were abandoned in order to put forward working class grievances.⁷¹ But though disrupted and disturbed by such activities, the Glasgow middle class view of local Chartist politics was essentially accommodating. This reflected not only the relatively moderate nature of Glasgow Chartists, but also the political confidence of the middle classes. The solid middle class groups of the Anti-Corn Law Association made considerable efforts, with some success, to maintain friendly relationships with working class radicals.⁷² Official measures taken

⁷¹ Herald Dec 4, 1840

⁷² F. Montgomery 'Glasgow and the movement for Corn Law repeal' p373

by the Provost and Council, through the agency of the Police, to curtail radical activities were limited, and even where there was condemnation this tended to be relatively muted and more often sardonic than aggressive. Thus a large assembly of the Glasgow Chartists in May 1840 was reported in the following typical manner -

'the secretary of the Gorbals Chartists spouted a bit of special patriotism in which the nymphs of freedom, slavery, chains, bread, poetry, labour and potatoes, were beautifully jingled together to the great edification of the meeting...the meeting was kept up till nearly 12 o'clock and was really productive of a good deal of fun and merriment and despite the horrifying details of political degradation, chains, oppressions and taxes, which the orators conjured up [they] seemed determined to enjoy themselves and laugh at everything.'⁷³

The years 1850 to 1870 saw many continuities in political perceptions and activities with the two decades before. Political affairs were essentially moderate, without great controversy or conflict. Moderate liberals, strongly supported in the articulated views and values of the Herald - from the 1830's increasingly associated with the now dominant Whig elite factions - held power in the local council and in the Parliamentary representation. Elections, except in certain unusual circumstances, were barely considered to be newsworthy and many local council seats were uncontested. Political apathy was rife and it was considered that 'there is a want of practical political questions by which electors may test the candidates who come before them.'⁷⁴ In the view of the Herald, 'in former times, when Whig stood on one side and Tory on the other, or when a "Rental" man did battle with an adherent of "Means and Substance", there could be no mistake as to what they were after' - now political issues and organizations

⁷³ Herald May 25, 1840

⁷⁴ Herald July 10, 1865

were unclear in their purpose, and less polarized.⁷⁵ In politics, Glasgow like Scotland as a whole was led by initiatives and institutions generated in England. There was a certain level of jealous resentment directed towards the dynamic 'Manchester Men' (though this dynamism was probably a myth), and constant complaints about Scotland's mediocre national political representations and political organizations. But at the same time there was considerable pride in Scottish stability and political moderation, particularly when comparisons were made with the increasingly turbulent situation in Ireland -

'the position held by Scotland in the Empire at this moment is so honourable that no sensible Scotchman thinks it necessary to be voluble on the subject...there is a great influence on Colonial and National affairs...[while] Ireland is the dread, the difficulty, the warning of English politicians, Scotland is the rule, the precedent, the model.'⁷⁶

The period in Britain as a whole saw the introduction of a number of significant social and political reforms, most of which received general, if not vociferous, support among the Glasgow middle classes and middle class dominated civic institutions. An Administrative Reform Group, allied to and initiated following representation from a similar named body in London, was formed in 1855 under the chairmanship of the Lord Provost, with the support of many Council members and prominent elite leaders of civic institutions.⁷⁷ The activities of the Glasgow association were neither dramatic nor influential within the national movement. The same was true of the movement for Parliamentary reform from 1860 to 1867. The Glasgow

⁷⁵ Herald Nov 2, 1855

⁷⁶ Herald Mar 29, 1870

⁷⁷ Herald Nov 5, 1855

middle class, represented by the Council gave moderate support to the extension of the franchise, were euphoric in their response to the visits to Glasgow by Gladstone and other national popular radicals, but not particularly active in promoting the Reform Act. A large Reform rally was held in the city in 1866, but was not dramatic or disruptive in impact - as one upper middle class contemporary, Michael Connal a leading merchant, noted in his diary -

'On Tuesday last the great Reform demonstration in Glasgow. I think that Mr Gladstone's measure should have passed: it would have settled the question for twenty years at least. These political questions inflame many minds, but they don't bear on the progress of the country. Education, economy etc etc go quietly and surely on...' ⁷⁸

Political consensus and relative harmony with radical working class organizations, middle class support for city institutions and civic organizational stability from the 1830's onwards, were, however, in direct contrast to the debates and bitter controversy that were to occur over the subject of church and religion.⁷⁹ The church, a major traditional institution dominated in its hierarchy and power structures by the middle classes, underwent considerable change during this period.⁸⁰ Religious conflicts became the focus of aggression and factionalism in a way that had not been seen in Glasgow since the Reformation. Before the 1820's the church in Glasgow - dominated by the Church of Scotland - was a highly conservative and uncontroversial body, dependent, through patronage, on the Tory Town Council, and

⁷⁸ J.C. Gibson (ed) Diary of Sir Michael Connal (Glasgow 1895) p129

⁷⁹ Religion in the nineteenth century city was undoubtedly a 'political' issue - see D. Fraser 'Politics and the Victorian City' Urban History Yearbook 1979 p32

⁸⁰ See C. Brown 'Religion and the development of urban society: Glasgow 1780 to 1914' Ph. D. Glasgow 1981

tending to give support to and be closely associated with the existing traditional institutions of the city. A pattern of moderation and relative stability, that had existed since the eighteenth century, began to crumble in the decades following 1815. Religion and the church were to dominate the thoughts and activities of many. The significance of religion during the period is indicated by the 'target meetings' chosen by Chartists for disruption in the 1840's, most of which were associated with the Church debate and Church linked organizations and therefore could expect large middle class attendance.⁸¹ Religious issues and organizational activities increasingly impinged on economic considerations and were often a source of tension with the working classes. The clergymen who led the various religious factions and movements came to be seen as popular personalities for adoration or derision in much the same way as the politicians of the day.⁸² The greatest Scottish cleric of the day, who also had strong associations with Glasgow, was Thomas Chalmers, an eloquent preacher whose sermons were treated as a sort of exclusive entertainment. A visitor to the city wrote in 1819 -

'Such is the intense interest attracted to this preacher, that a hotel in Glasgow could not pretend to be complete in all its establishment, without having attached to it a spacious and convenient pew in this church [St Johns] for the accommodation of visitors. As for trusting, as in other churches, to finding somewhere a seat unappropriated, this is a thing which will by no means do for a stranger who has set his heart upon hearing a sermon of Dr. Chalmers.'⁸³

⁸¹ Herald Feb 31, 1840 - describes a large Non-Intrusion meeting interrupted by Chartists. Herald Dec 7, 1840 - a major Sabbath Observation Society meeting also disrupted by Chartists.

⁸² See Anthroposophus Clerical sketches or pulpit preaching in 1840-1-2 being descriptive portraits of clergymen, churches and scenery in and around Glasgow (Glasgow 1842).

⁸³ J.G. Lockhart Peter's letters to his kinsfolk (Edinburgh 1819) vol 3 p.267

It is notable that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland annual meeting of 1832 was the last time at which the moderate party was to hold a decided majority among the clergy. Thereafter the evangelicals, at the height of power from the late 1830's to the end of the 1860's, with their new brand of 'aggressive christianity', and overwhelming faith in the ability of 'individual salvation' to cure the social evils of the world, were the most significant force within the religious establishment and particularly notable in Glasgow.⁸⁴ The activities of the evangelicals, more than the policies of the political reformers in Glasgow, were to provoke the ire of old moderates and conservatives like Samuel Hunter - 'the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland is carrying all before it in the General Assembly...all their late acts seem to have had for their chief if not exclusive object the humiliating of the moderate party.'⁸⁵ The frequent calls by evangelical leaders for official days of 'general humiliation and fasting' were a source of friction not only with the moderates but also with the working classes.⁸⁶

A number of issues which before the 1820's had been accommodated within the church with relative harmony were now intensively divisive. In Glasgow, as in the rest of Scotland, the church patronage debate, though moderated by the passing of the Veto Act in 1835, re-emerged in the late 1830's - eventually culminating in the 1843 Disruption - with the Non-Intrusion controversies that followed a number of important

⁸⁴ W.G. Enright 'Urbanization and the evangelical pulpit in nineteenth century Scotland' Church History 47 (1978) pp403-6

⁸⁵ Herald June 1, 1835

⁸⁶ Herald June 26, 1835

court cases.⁸⁷ There was intense concern among Glasgow evangelicals with the perceived problem of inadequate church provision and the deleterious effect this was having on working class morals. The initial response was to launch a Church Building Society, with the aim that through private subscriptions an additional twenty churches could be provided for Glasgow. But by 1835 only a quarter of the eighty thousand pounds required for the project had been raised.⁸⁸ An inquiry was launched in an attempt to establish the precise scale of the inadequacy of church provision in the mid-1830's. This was accompanied by a call to government to provide official funds for the building of Establishment Churches, since it was claimed by evangelicals within the establishment that they were the only group who were really concerned with the plight of the poor.⁸⁹ Inevitably, the responses of the non-established churches were unfavorable. Not only did they vociferously reject the criticism of their policies towards the poor, they also went to considerable lengths to demonstrate that far from being in want of church places, Glasgow had too many, principally in the Established Church, that were unoccupied due to high seat rents.⁹⁰

Relationships between the establishment and dissenters were particularly tense from the late 1830's, after decades of relative peace in Glasgow. Antipathies were revealed in numerous acts of petty aggression between the churches. Such was seen in April 1835 when the

⁸⁷ Herald Jan 17, 1840

⁸⁸ Herald May 8, 1835

⁸⁹ W. Collins Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow, Barony and Gorbals (Glasgow 1836)

⁹⁰ Herald Mar 30, 1835

patrons of the Hutcheson Hospital, an establishment foundation, decided that a congregation of dissenters, who had been occupying an upper hall for years, were to be ejected, as they 'did not teach the doctrine of the Church of Scotland.'⁹¹ Events following the Disruption were also acrimonious. There were extensive legal controversies, provoked particularly by the question of ownership of the funds and buildings that had been raised by the Church Building Society, most of whose members (dominated by wealthy manufacturers) had gone over to the Free Church. A court decision in 1845 settled the matter in favour of the Establishment.⁹² Inevitably by the late 1840's, having recognized their paralleled interests, the Free and Dissenting Churches sought to promote a new unity and harmony between their organizations.⁹³ In 1850, after nearly two decades of conflict, the damage to the position of the Established Church was clear. Of one hundred and forty-three places of worship in Glasgow, only twenty five were of the Church of Scotland.⁹⁴

One of the areas in which religious controversy was most intense in Scotland, and most directly in conflict with some of the central values of the business middle classes, was that of sabbatarianism. The development of the sabbatarian debate was notably centred on Glasgow in the agitations surrounding the Sunday operation of the

⁹¹ Herald April 3, 1835

⁹² Herald Aug 4, 1845

⁹³ Herald May 8, 1835

⁹⁴ J. Strang Report on the Census of of 1851 (Glasgow 1851) p41

Glasgow to Edinburgh railway.⁹⁵ It was also closely associated with temperance reform and the question of legislative control of outlets for the sale of spirits. A Sabbath Observance Society had been formed in Glasgow in 1840.⁹⁶ But in the face of powerful vested business interests its activities had limited real impact within the city. By 1850 meetings of the society were only poorly attended and most agitation within this area, though centred on Glasgow as the most important city of Scotland and the focus of religious debate, was initiated from outwith the city, particularly by individuals of a rural background, where sabbatarianism was more strongly entrenched.⁹⁷

In the 1860's also, church organizations and debates were the main focus of institutional conflict and middle class tension within Glasgow. The teetotal movement, in its tactics always an aggressive body, became more closely associated with extreme evangelicism and sabbatarianism - particularly in agitation in support of the Forbes MacKenzie Act. Candidates for the Parish and City Councils were promoted by this lobby to fight the powerful drinks trade.⁹⁸ Indeed the conflicts promoted by these religion orientated debates were among the few real areas of issue seen within municipal institutional affair during the middle years of the nineteenth century. As the period progressed and main-stream, and in particular, upper middle class support for total abstinence and complete Sabbath protection began to diminish, the activities of organizations in these fields became more

⁹⁵ C.J. Robertson 'Early Scottish railways and the observance of the Sabbath' Scottish Historical Review 57 (1978) p 150

⁹⁶ Herald May 18, 1840

⁹⁷ Herald July 5, 1850

⁹⁸ Herald Oct 17, 1855

extreme.⁹⁹ A number of powerful Sabbatarians within the Free Church launched a final fervent attack in the mid-1860's against Sunday railways and other areas of business in which Sabbath breaking was prevalent, notably the newspaper press. It was a matter that provoked considerable controversy for several years until the Sabbatarians were finally defeated by the powerful railways interests in 1870.¹⁰⁰

There were other highly divisive religious issues and organizations to develop in the latter part of the period. Bigotry seemed to be on the increase, with the growth, particularly among the lower middle class and working class of the Orange movement, and frequent attacks by local Churchmen against the Irish Catholics in the city after several decades of relative harmony with these groups. It was a source of much disquiet to many that the main issue to be raised, and fervently debated from the floor, at the 1865 annual address to the city of the Glasgow Members of Parliament, concerned a then current bill to give Roman Catholic prisoners access to their own priests.¹⁰¹ Religious bodies and the clerical establishment in general, by engaging so frequently in seemingly petty arguments and fruitless inter-denominational battles, were fast losing the respect and adherence of many within the Glasgow middle class. In the opinion of the Herald

⁹⁹ See W. Garvie Lecture on the evils of intemperance (Glasgow 1856) - for aggressive and extreme views on the subject.

¹⁰⁰ C.J. Robertson 'Early Scottish railways and the observance of the Sabbath' p 167. The Herald engaged in a notable clash with religious zealots over the sabbatarian issue. The local Free Church presbytery excommunicated one of the chief reporters on the Herald in the early 1860's for his determination not to cease Sunday work - the matter was widely discussed and pursued to the General Assembly. Herald March 2, 1865; A. Phillips Glasgow's Herald pp76-77

¹⁰¹ Herald Jan 13, 1865

'is the mind of God to be confounded with the opinions of a narrow sect?..It is time indeed, that Dr Gibson [notable Free Church evangelical and sabbatarian] and such men should know that the debates and decisions of their petty ecclesiastical courts, whether Established or Non-Established, have long ceased to have any practical influence on public conduct and that the views of the Christian public are neither formed at their dictation nor held at their discretion.'¹⁰²

Confidence in the church was also increasingly undermined by what many members of the middle class regarded as a manifest failure to provide adequate solutions to the numerous social problems of urban life. In the closing week of 1870, while reflecting on the progress of the city, the editor of the Herald was vociferous in his condemnation of the petty rivalries of the Church organizations and personalities of theological extremists - because of the lack of co-operation between the denominations, conditions of privation, brutality and disease still thrived in Glasgow.¹⁰³ The church, it was felt, had not gone out to meet the people and was progressively withdrawing to its existing, often comfortable and unconcerned congregations.¹⁰⁴ As outlined in greater detail below, this failure of confidence in the Church may have contributed towards a middle class willingness to accept state legislative intervention in certain areas of social urban problems.

The apparent failure of the Church as an organization in Glasgow was underlined in 1851 following the Religious Census of that year. The Census, (though subject to modern criticism for a tendency to over-

¹⁰² Herald Feb 3, 1865

¹⁰³ Herald Dec 27, 1870

¹⁰⁴ See R. Yeo Religion and voluntary organizations in crisis (1976) esp pp296-7, which discusses the decline in confidence in the church in late nineteenth century Reading.

estimate church attendance¹⁰⁵), revealed that less than half of the population of the city attended a Church on a particular Sunday and vast numbers of church seats remained empty. By contrast, early nineteenth century contemporary estimates (though subjective and probably over optimistic) suggested that most of the population did attend Church.¹⁰⁶ A more objective and reliable Glasgow survey of 1881, conducted by the Glasgow United Evangelistic Society, revealed that only 16% of the the adult population attended Church on a particular Sunday.¹⁰⁷ Clearly, the middle classes were more likely to be Church-goers than the majority working class - though the Catholic church had a strong and active working class membership. But developments from the 1850's in the religious institutional affiliations of the Glasgow middle class, particularly among the wealthy, also indicate a new relationship and perhaps a decline in religiosity. The United Presbyterian Church, formed in 1847 as an amalgam of groups who had seceded from the Establishment before 1843, saw a remarkably rapid growth in Glasgow during the mid-nineteenth century and also in other big Scottish cities, at a time when it was in decline in rural areas. The Religious Census of 1851 revealed that the United Presbyterians had the highest ratio of attendance to seats of all the main churches in the city.¹⁰⁸

United Presbyterianism was particularly patronized by the wealthy, who

¹⁰⁵ A.L. Drummond & J. Bulloch The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh 1973) pp111-112

¹⁰⁶ Census of Great Britain 1851 - Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854) p27

¹⁰⁷ Drummond & Bulloch The Church in Scotland p113

¹⁰⁸ Census 1851 - Religion in Scotland p27

built a number of elaborate and highly decorated Church buildings in the West End, notably Lansdowne Church, opened in 1863.¹⁰⁹ One of its main attractions was the great power held by laymen within the sect, for, unlike the Established and Free Churches, clergymen had only limited involvement in the management of the Church as an organization and were highly subject to the patronage of the membership. There was very little missionary or aggressive charitable enterprise and no theological extremism, and generally, it has been claimed, clerics were selected for their powers of oratory or social connections above their religious zeal.¹¹⁰ The popularity of United Presbyterianism among the wealthy and powerful elites of Glasgow was perhaps the most notable indication of middle class disaffection with certain aspects of the traditional church. By the 1870's the church no longer held the power and influence that it had during the early part of the century. In the face of urban growth, social change, and in particular the evolution of modern secular voluntary organizations, its role had been recast. The nature of that role, and the roles of other traditional urban organizations, relative to the emergence of an array of new organizations of the middle class are now considered.

¹⁰⁹ United Presbyterianism in Glasgow had much in common with Unitarians and Congregationalists in the great English cities. See E.P. Hennock Fit and proper persons: ideal and reality in nineteenth century local government (1973)

¹¹⁰ Drummond & Bulloch The Church in Scotland p47-48

3.3 New organizations

The significance within the urban middle class consciousness of the existing and traditional organizations of city life - the municipality, the church and the institutions of economic control - was great. But from the late eighteenth century, urban expansion, the advent of new economic patterns, and development of intense social problems led to considerable changes in the nature of these organizations. Middle class confidence in their abilities to cope with and adjust to the evolving situation was variable - development was not always easy. The existing organizations of the city were faced with both a reorientation of their own functions, and a need to recognize the role of an array of new middle class organizations, that had developed from the late eighteenth century to deal with some of the many problems of modern urban life. These new organizations, some with very close and amicable ties with the traditional bodies, some acting in opposition, were the most notable element of middle class organizational identity in the period 1800 to 1870. They were significant in protecting and projecting middle class identity and interest at a time of rapid change and considerable instability. They represented interests locally, but more importantly, they sought to represent interests on a national level through the gradual formation of a network of formal contacts between local organizations of a similar character.

Glasgow saw the growth of a number of new organizations to protect and circumscribe trade and industry in the new era of economic development. Before the late eighteenth century the economic well being of the city, and of individuals in business, had been protected by the traditional bodies of Trades and Merchant Houses. There were also informal organizations such as the Tontine Coffee Room and adjacent Stock Exchange, which in the small and relatively compact

city of the eighteenth century was a forum for business contacts and information dissemination. But these bodies were both specialized and localized in nature, a set of institutions that developed to support a relatively isolated city economy. With the evolution of more widespread industry and trade, and a need to better represent the general interests of the city and regional economy in the broader sphere, specific new economic organizations were formed.

The most notable was the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, the first to be established in Britain, formed in 1783 at the instigation of Patrick Colquhoun, a local merchant with landed connections. As chief Magistrate in Glasgow he proposed -

'to the Traders of Glasgow, Paisley, Port Glasgow and Greenock, that they should form themselves into a body, with view to watch over and take charge of matters relating to their common commercial interests and be the organ of all communications with His Majesty's government, or with the legislature, on subjects connected with the trade of the district.'¹¹¹

The Chamber acted as a pressure group for trade and industry both within the locality and nationally - Colquhoun later in life settled in London where he represented the interests of the Glasgow Chamber.¹¹² It was concerned with matters of trade and transport, especially shipping and railways, tariffs and port developments, monopoly trading companies and general areas of legislation that affected business such as currency reform, bankruptcy law and limited liability. It also maintained close links with the Faculty of Procurators, who prepared

¹¹¹ Origins, rules and constitution of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers of the city of Glasgow (Glasgow 1833) pp5-6

¹¹² J. Tweed Lord Provosts Appendix p12

reports on specific legal matters.¹¹³ It lobbied Parliament and sought to establish links with similar Chambers formed in other British cities. (Though the strength of such localized bodies was clearly limited before 1860 when there was the formal establishment of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.¹¹⁴) The Chamber tried to promote unity of purpose with other industrial and trading cities. But there was often disagreement over the specific actions to be taken in particular situations - which obviously weakened the ability of such bodies to influence government. This was seen in 1833 when the Manchester Chamber of Commerce called upon Glasgow for support in protests against the exportation of textile machinery to foreign countries, where rival textile industries were being established. The Glasgow reply revealed the influence of the local iron and engineering industry on the Chamber -

'The construction of machinery they consider to be a branch of the productive industry of the country, as much as the articles which the machinery was constructed to produce. therefore it is unjust and impolitic to prevent the machine maker, any more than the manufacturer of other commodities, from availing himself of every opportunity to facilitate the sale of his products.'¹¹⁵

The Chamber was recognized as an important body within the local community. Its members were some of the wealthiest and most influential businessmen in Glasgow. Thus it quite quickly assumed a general social and cultural role, which gave the Chamber a wider function than just the protection of local economy. Deputations were

¹¹³ Mitchell Library Glasgow. MS. Chamber of Commerce Papers Files 1-33

¹¹⁴ A.H. Yarmie 'Employers organizations in mid Victorian England' International Review of Social History 15 (1980) p222.

¹¹⁵ G. Stewart Progress of Glasgow - a sketch of the commercial and industrial increase of the city during the last century as shown by the records of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce (Glasgow 1883) pp71-72

represented for instance at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1855¹¹⁶. While the major charitable initiatives usually appealed to the Chamber for funds and support, as in 1847-8, when a number of members with railway interests who were involved in the provision of make-work schemes for the poor, lobbied the Chamber for support.¹¹⁷

Associated with the Chamber, representing specific members in specific economic areas, were a number of related organizations - some often short lived to meet particular crises or problems. Organizations such as the East India and West India Associations, which sought to represent the interests of overseas traders and lobby Parliament to reform trading restrictions in those parts of the world. In the struggle to achieve free trade to India and China in the years up to 1815, these bodies were very active in uniting with similar organizations from Liverpool and other great ports. A pattern of co-ordinated, national, middle class action was being established by individuals and organizations that represented the most powerful elements in the British economy. The aims of the groups were advertised in the London press and across the country. Personal deputations were sent to London and a national liason committee was established to monitor the progress of the eventual bill that was introduced to reform Indian trade, on its passage through parliament in 1814.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Mitchell Library Glasgow MS Chamber of Commerce Papers - Box 1855 File 17

¹¹⁷ Ibid Box 1847 File 33

¹¹⁸ Report of the Glasgow Committee to the subscribers for the object of obtaining a Free Trade to India and China (Glasgow 1813)

This pattern of nation-wide, co-ordinated middle class action, based initially on new commercial organizations developing from the late eighteenth century, was to provide a sound foundation for continued action after 1815. This was seen particularly in the agitation of that year following Government attempts to introduce more stringent Corn Laws and new taxes - policies which generally provoked the antipathies of all elements of the urban middle class, Tory elites and the new middle class alike. In the wake of these government proposals, numerous meetings were called in Glasgow and publicized in the press. A deputation from the Council and Chamber, led by the then Lord Provost Henry Monteith a yarn merchant, and William Stirling a calico printer for the Chamber, was sent to London to represent the interests of Glasgow and liase with similar delegations from other cities.¹¹⁹

There were various employers' organizations such as the Association of Master Cotton Spinners of Glasgow and Vicinity, who were active in attacking strikes within the industry in 1824 and 1825 and who lobbied the Chamber, of which many individuals were also members, for support in attempts to pressure Government for legislation.¹²⁰ Other specific types of economic organization were formed in response to the many problems of criminality within the increasingly large city and expanding economy. One such was the Detecting Society, formed by manufacturers and calenderers to pursue textile thieves and those engaged in acts of petty vandalism against bleach and dye fields.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Herald March 3, 1815

¹²⁰ MS Chamber of Commerce Papers Box 1824 file 5

¹²¹ Glasgow Advertiser Nov 10, 1800

New formal economic organizations, usually with close contacts with older traditional bodies, were a significant development of the period. But the most notable organizational innovations in Glasgow, as elsewhere, were seen in the evolution of numerous middle class voluntary associations, formed mainly to deal with the growing problems of urban life. Many of the traditional organizations, and also a number of private institutions, had long been concerned with the social problems associated with the city. The Town Council and Church were the established agencies for the support of the poor, the sick and the elderly and for the maintenance of social order and control. The older economic organizations had charitable functions and there were a number of ancient private foundations and bequests, as in all cities, for the funding of poor hospitals and schools. But these were the organizations of a small, traditional burgh in which change was gradual. Though they continued to exist and play a role into the nineteenth century, it was increasingly clear from the late eighteenth century that they were not able, alone, to deal with the conditions that prevailed in an era of rapid modern industrial growth and urban expansion.

In the history of the middle classes, voluntary organizations are of considerable importance. Their major growth from about 1780 was a response to changes in the social environment, particularly in towns. They were autonomous, adaptive and a basic element in the formulation of middle class identity at a time of 'fragmented political and religious structures'.¹²² In Glasgow in 1800, though many organizations existed, the voluntary societies that were to typify the nineteenth

¹²² R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies' p96

century middle class had barely begun to be formed. In responses to the major social crises of 1800, crises that developed out of poverty and grain shortages, most initiatives were taken by the traditional burgh organizations of Provost and Council, Merchants and Trades Houses, and by the Church. When these traditional burgh structures found that they could not cope with the scale of the problem (and there is some indication that this was the case by the end of 1800) outside help was sought from wealthy, influential individuals rather than other organizations. An appeal was made by the Council in 1799 to buy grain to help the poor at a time of dearth. Among the first to subscribe was the Buchanan Society which gave £300 from its funds and the Universal Highland Society which gave £30. The Faculty of Procurators gave £400, the Thread Manufacturers Society gave £100, and even the Rowley Powley Club, a small Tory convivial organizations gave £5. But the largest sums were given by private individuals of great wealth, or donated at special church collections held in the first week of January 1800, which raised £713 (the largest contribution of £118 from St Enochs). In a second call for subscriptions to help the poor later in 1800 it was found that most of the existing organizations, such as the Buchanan Society, had no more funds available and again rich individuals were relied on to give generously.¹²³

The few middle class voluntary organizations that did exist in 1800 had been established mainly in the early and mid eighteenth century, in response to the first period of urban and economic expansion in Glasgow. Notable among these were the many societies, formed by

¹²³ Advertiser Dec 1 1800

migrants to the city and which cut across the classes, to promote relationships between Glasgow and other areas of Scotland. Such was the Glasgow Highland Society (established in 1725) which provided social contacts and help for individuals of Highland background and funded apprentices in the Highlands.¹²⁴ There was the Buchanan Society (established in 1723) and the Graham Society (established in 1759), whose aims were to give relief and support to people, or their families, with those respective names.¹²⁵ There were specialist organizations, such as the Glasgow Society for the Sons of Ministers of the Church Scotland, established in 1790 for the benefit of children of the clergy. Or the Humane Society, formed in 1790 along the lines of that in London, to rescue the drowned from the Clyde.¹²⁶ Eighteenth century convivial organizations, with select membership often associated with a particular political outlook, such as the Rowley Powley Club or Hodge Podge Club, thrived.¹²⁷ There were also the Militia Societies, formed in a wave of enthusiastic preparations for war.¹²⁸

Only two voluntary organizations of the kind that came to typify the urban middle classes in the nineteenth century had been formed by 1800. Neither had existed in 1793 when the authoritative

¹²⁴ C.W.J. Withers 'Kirk, club and culture change: Gaelic chapels, Highland societies and the urban Gaelic subculture in eighteenth century Scotland' Social History 10 (1985) 171-192

¹²⁵ The Statistical Accounts of Scotland by Sir John Sinclair (Edinburgh 1793) vol 5 p.524

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ G. Strang Glasgow and its clubs (Glasgow 1864)

¹²⁸ Advertiser April 4, 1800 & July 4, 1800

Statistical Accounts, which recorded all educational, religious, social and charitable organizations in Glasgow, was compiled. They were the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Glasgow Female Society.

The Glasgow Missionary Society was established in 1796 as a 'society for sending the Gospel to Heathen lands'. It demonstrated one of the principal features of nineteenth century voluntary organizations in that it attempted to unite diverse groups from within the middle classes - 'though of different religious denominations, yet possessing one faith in the great leading doctrines of Christ.'¹²⁹ The Society had close contacts with the similarly named bodies in London and Edinburgh - it remitted, in 1797, over £100 to London to be used by the Moravian Missions and the Baptist Missions of Hindoostan.¹³⁰ But it was more than just a provincial manifestation of a London organization, formed in a wave of fashion for such things, as was often the case in the nineteenth century.¹³¹ Initiatives were taken to send Glasgow missionaries into Africa, though not with any lasting success, and in 1799 plans were being made to establish a missionary training centre in the city.¹³²

The second notable voluntary organization of the nineteenth century type to be seen in 1800, was the Glasgow Female Society. An advertisement for a charity sermon in the Shuttle Street Meeting House in November 1800 notes that it was established in 1799, since when it

¹²⁹ Glasgow Missionary Society, Directors Report for 1799 (Glasgow 1799) p.1

¹³⁰ Report of the Directors of the General Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Missionary Society (Glasgow 1797) p. 2

¹³¹ R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies' p98

¹³² Glasgow Missionary Society Report 1799 p.4

had distributed £200 to 'indigent and sick females' and had eighty families under inspection.¹³³ It was a society run by women, for the benefit of poor women and their children - a relatively informal organization of women engaged in visits to poor families. It kept no formal accounts or records of its activities, but it was not just an isolated instance of such formations - for a similar named body with similar functions also existed in Edinburgh. It is not surprising that this sort of poor visiting organization should be among the first to be formed, not only in Glasgow but in other cities also. Their activities were merely a slightly more formal extension of the activities in which rural middle class women had been involved for generations, and continued to be involved with into the nineteenth century.¹³⁴ The role of the Glasgow society can be inferred from the early nineteenth century diary account of an unknown young woman who belonged to the Edinburgh body, and recorded her family visiting. Such visits were mainly with religious, reforming and personal relief aims - as she records of one family -

'I was impressed with the idea I ought to go and endeavour to instruct Peter Nicholson, a smith whose family have been reduced to great distress by his drinking and neglect... I found the man in the house alone with some of his little children, I had often visited his wife but never saw him before. He received all I said to him in good part and promised to think of it. Oh Lord, grant if it is for thy Glory, that I may be permitted to carry the message of Salvation to this

¹³³ Courier Nov 1, 1800

¹³⁴ See Jane Austin's numerous heroines, especially Emma. The development of female philanthropic activity is traced in F.K. Prochaska Women and philanthropy in nineteenth century England (Cambridge 1980) esp ch.6; A similar pattern in an area of nineteenth century France is described in B.G. Smith Ladies of the leisure class: the bourgeoisie in northern France in the nineteenth century (Princeton 1981)

family.¹³⁵

Although a number of middle class organizations and voluntary societies existed in 1800, few were of the type that came to characterise the middle classes of the nineteenth century. By 1820, however, there had been a massive growth in such bodies, reflecting a trend seen in other British cities and in the cities of other advanced western countries.¹³⁶ In London, which was a little ahead of provincial cities, in the years 1780-1800 three times as many medical, religious, educational and moral charities were formed as in the previous twenty years. In the period 1800-1820 there were five times as many as in the previous twenty years. For the whole of the period 1800 to 1850, the decade 1810-1820 saw the highest level of charity formation in London.¹³⁷ Smaller British towns also experienced similar patterns of organizational formation, though often not as early in the century as that seen in the bigger cities. Cardiff, a town with little industry and consequently less in the way of severe industry related social problems, had a chronology of middle class organizational formation that was twenty to thirty years behind that of Glasgow.¹³⁸

The rapid growth of urban voluntary organizations in the first two decades of the century was in response to a number of pressures.

¹³⁵ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. MS 1658 - Anon, MS Diary of an Edinburgh lady, January to March 1813.

¹³⁶ An equivalent pattern of formation to that seen in Glasgow has been traced in the city of Philadelphia in the United States - see S.B. Warner The private city: Philadelphia in three periods of its growth (Pennsylvania 1968).

¹³⁷ T.W. Laqueur Religion and respectability - Sunday schools and working class culture 1780-1850 (Yale 1976) p2.

¹³⁸ N. Evans 'Urbanization, elite attitudes and philanthropy: Cardiff 1850-1914' International Review of Social History 27 (1982) 290-323

Voluntary organizations of a certain type - usually subscriber democracies - were quickly seen to be a highly efficient, flexible and responsive way of organizing middle class effort to deal with the social problems of the age. They unified disparate and sometimes contradictory values within their broad-based secular aims. Furthermore, through the many links between the organizations, they formed an effective system of inter-locking activities within towns in which the problems of urban life were increasingly intense and beyond the solutions of existing formal burgh organizations.¹³⁹ The rate of formation of new voluntary bodies reflected the declining confidence in the existing formal organizations of the city, at a time of considerable urban middle class anxiety and conflict. The new voluntary organizations gave structured control, without the need to introduce formal systems that might have posed a threat to the middle classes. In the words of one commentator, on the occasion of the formation of the Lock Hospital -

'such...is the repugnance of our Free country to a rigid system of police, that very often the protection of property from depredation and the suppression of certain immoralities, instead of being entrusted to the vigilance of the Magistracy, are undertaken by local voluntary associations.'¹⁴⁰

Such was the scale of voluntary association formation in Glasgow in the first two decades of the century, that Cleland, in his 1816 analysis of the rise of the city (printed for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary), described the functions, aims and financial receipts of most at great length. The following is a list, ranked according to subscription income in 1815, of the main medical, educational, moral

¹³⁹ R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies' pp 109-110

¹⁴⁰ Herald Feb 15, 1805

and reforming organizations of the period - excluding charities based on private bequests.

Table 3.1 - Glasgow charities in 1815.

Royal Infirmary	£3593
Auxiliary Bible Society	£1199
British and Foreign Bible Society	£751
Magdalene Asylum	£552
Society for the Deaf and Dumb	£500
Female Society	£467
Lock Hospital	£451
Lunatic Asylum	£443
Benevolent Society for clothing the poor	£340
Benevolent Society	£325
Old Mans Friend society	£314
Aged Women Society	£219
Society for Gaelic Schools	£218
Sabbath Evening School Society	£191
Humane Society	£164
Religious Tract Society	£161
Assoc. for Translation of Scriptures	£160
Sick and Destitute Strangers Society	£155
Lancastrian Schools Society	£136
Anderston & Calton Sabbath Schools	£93
Ruth Society	£93
Sunday School Society	£80
Glasgow Dispensary	£31
Charity Sewing School	£6

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The types of organization seen in Glasgow, and the chronology of formation, reflect aspects of evolving middle class values. The first and most important group of locally orientated voluntary associations of the early nineteenth century, were those linked to the hospital

¹⁴¹ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow Vol 1 p253. There is no equivalent detailed listing for the later nineteenth century, but an account of charitable receipts in the mid-1840's indicates that the medical charities, headed by the Royal Infirmary, were still the most significant - see J. Smith The Grievances of the Working Class (Glasgow 1846) p99

movement - a movement that reflected a pre-occupation, within the urban context, with matters of health and concern over the growth of the poor working classes. High levels of press advertising of patent medicines in the early nineteenth century suggest that the middle classes were particularly sensitive to the health risks associated with residence in an expanding industrial city.¹⁴² In Glasgow, as in the other great cities, hospitals were founded, usually by subscription, by an elite of local laymen, acting in concert with the emerging medical profession.¹⁴³ In 1794 the Royal Infirmary, the wealthiest, most important and influential charitable organizations to exist in Glasgow in the nineteenth century, was founded. The Lock Hospital, an enclosed building in the Rottenrow for the cure and reform of 'unfortunate females' was founded in 1805 and opened in 1809.¹⁴⁴ The Lunatic Asylum was opened for patients in 1814, but unlike the Infirmary did not provide free treatment to all. Individuals paid according to their ability and needs, receiving appropriate accommodation and attendance in return.¹⁴⁵ There was the Dispensary for free vaccinations, established by doctors. Also, formed in Glasgow in 1814 as an auxiliary to the Edinburgh based organization founded in 1810,^{was} a mixed medical treatment and teaching charity for Deaf and Dumb children.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² See discussion in Section 4 page .

¹⁴³ B. Abel-Smith The Hospitals 1800-1948 (1964) p5

¹⁴⁴ Herald Feb 15, 1805

¹⁴⁵ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 p253

¹⁴⁶ Short account of the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor (Edinburgh 1814) p9

The second major group of subscription based voluntary organizations of the early nineteenth century, was associated with the Missionary movement. Unlike hospitals, these were not founded initially in response to specific locally perceived problems. They represent a reaction, evident among the middle classes throughout Britain, to what were regarded as inadequacies in the dissemination of Christian knowledge through the uncivilized world. The organizations that were created were derived from the perceptions of evangelical religion (easily accommodated within the Church of Scotland), and an increased colonial and economic penetration by British trade overseas. There were a number of such organizations in Glasgow - a city with notable overseas trading connections - and they tended to be well supported financially, as shown in the Cleland list of subscriptions. Most were dedicated to taking the scriptures to heathen countries. They paid for translations, for the conversion of aliens, including Jews and Catholics, they established overseas missions and education centres for the training of missionaries.¹⁴⁷

Associations in this area tended to have remarkably sophisticated national organizational structures. These were usually based on a London centred parent body, to which some funds were remitted, with auxiliaries in the main provincial cities, and associated local branches. The strength of such national organizations was derived in part from close contacts with existing traditional church bodies, with which most bible and mission societies had some formal or informal link. Typical was the structure of the Glasgow Bible Society, founded in 1812 as an auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible

¹⁴⁷ Third Annual Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society (Glasgow 1815)

Society. The latter was established in London in 1804, and earlier had been connected with Glasgow through David Dale.¹⁴⁸ It was part of a massive organization that was particularly strong in Scotland - in 1815 there were 281 branches in England and 77 in Scotland. Of the Scottish branches, 31 were associated with the Glasgow Auxiliary.¹⁴⁹ There was also a network of international contacts. Through this structure, the Bible Society organized national conventions, touring lectures and preaching campaigns.¹⁵⁰

Based on a powerful local and national organizational structure, the Bible and Missionary societies were an effective mechanism for the promotion of middle class unity. When, from the decade 1810 to 1820, they were to turn their attentions to home missions and the circulation of the scriptures among the urban working classes, in response to a perceived growth of irreligion and moral vice in the cities, their powers were to be increased. Through links with the church and other local organizations, such as the Sunday School Societies, Gaelic Schools, Female Society and Benefit Societies - who were supplied with bibles - there was a considerable informal co-ordination of local effort by members of the middle classes in their dealing with the expanding working class.¹⁵¹

The third major group of middle class voluntary societies to be established in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century were

¹⁴⁸ O. Checkland Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh 1980) p.40

¹⁴⁹ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 p244

¹⁵⁰ Herald Jun 12, 1815

¹⁵¹ Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society pp15-19

dedicated to aiding the poor. Initially, they were based on home visiting and aid through personal contacts, a form of charity traditional to the rural gentry. As with other areas of voluntary activity, they represented a response to the first growth of the modern urban industrial working classes and were seen throughout the country.¹⁵² Most gave aid to individuals, who though 'respectable and industrious', were not able to claim relief from official agencies within the city. Women were particularly active during this period in the formation of poor aid charities based on visiting. There was the early Female Society, described above, the Aged Women's Society (established in 1811), the Ruth Society (1809) for the aid of poor and destitute girls and the Benevolent Society for Clothing the Poor (1812), all of which were organized and administered by women.¹⁵³ But the ability of women alone to remain active in such work, in the changing circumstances of the industrial city, was under threat. As early as 1810, it was clear that unsuitable applications for aid were tending to compromise the visiting principles on which these middle class women's organizations were based. The ladies of the Female Society warned of the dangers of impostors - they urged that 'subscribers will be as careful as possible to avoid recommending any whose characters are such as to preclude the possibility of their being regularly visited by members of the society personally, without a violation of the feeling of propriety.'¹⁵⁴

Linked to the poor aid societies were a number of associations for the education of poor children, many of which, as with the Sunday School

¹⁵² M.B. Simey Charitable effort in Liverpool in the nineteenth century (Liverpool 1951) p.21

¹⁵³ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 pp260-267

¹⁵⁴ Herald Feb 26, 1810

Societies, were based on powerful national organizations.¹⁵⁵ In Glasgow, the latter was dedicated to the 'everlasting salvation of children', with the secondary aim of 'keeping the children from playing in the streets and fields on the Lord's day, and committing depredations on people's property - cultivating their minds and making them better members of domestic and civil society.'¹⁵⁶ There were also the Lancastrian Schools, the Sewing Schools for poor girls and the Gaelic Schools.¹⁵⁷ A desire to introduce a programme of moral reform to the working classes, was evident in these numerous charity schools founded in the period 1800 to 1820. It was widely believed that through the education of the young, the growth of immorality and vice could be arrested. There were also organizations specifically aimed at the moral reformation of adults, though the formation of agencies in this area was still in an early stage. The sexual immorality of women and the criminality of youths were the main spheres of concern for the Society for the Encouragement of Penitents, which founded the Magdalene Asylum in 1815.¹⁵⁸ Moral reform was also one of the main principles behind the Provident Bank, founded in Glasgow in 1815.

'Much profusion, vice and misery, among the lower orders is to be attributed to the want of a situation where they might lodge their surplus earning with facility, safety and profit'. [Through the bank there would be a promotion of] 'habits of industry, frugality and economy to correct moral depravity and check the progress of improvidence, poverty and misery.'¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ See - A.P. Wadsworth 'The first Manchester Sunday Schools' in M.W. Flinn & T.C. Smout (eds) Essays in Social History (Oxford 1974) 101-122.

¹⁵⁶ Report of the United Sabbath Day Schools of Glasgow and its Vicinity (Glasgow 1914) p6

¹⁵⁷ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 p 258

¹⁵⁸ Report of the proceedings of the general meeting of the subscribers to the Glasgow Society for the Encouragement of Penitents (Glasgow 1815)

¹⁵⁹ Herald March 10, 1815

During the 1820's there were many continuities in the nature of middle class organizational initiatives with the first two decades of the century. Yet the rate of formation had begun to slow down and some organizations had lost their earlier dynamism as they became entrenched in the social routines of the established middle class. The Herald wryly remarked of a meeting of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society to hear a lecture on religious conditions in Russia - 'the Hall was exceedingly crowded and a majority of the audience was composed of well dressed females.'¹⁶⁰ Certain bodies, including the previously flourishing Female Society, were by the early 1820's under great financial strain. There was a fall in support, and (due to changes in the character of working class areas) an increased inability by the middle class women who made up this organization, to engage in home visiting of the poor.¹⁶¹ But despite difficulties in some areas, there was considerable innovation in others.

One of the main problems of the decade was a feeling that due to rapid and uncoordinated formation, there had been a dissipation of middle class effort and finance into an array of often overlapping and frequently inefficient voluntary organizations. This had led to condemnation from certain quarters and a relative decline in new society formation in the 1820's. Thomas Chalmers was particularly critical. After breaking all his connections with such bodies he instituted his scheme to revive the parochial ideal in Glasgow - which he, and other evangelicals, felt was under threat from the new

¹⁶⁰ Herald Aug 18, 1820

¹⁶¹ Herald Feb 14, 1820

societies.¹⁶² Concern over the fall in support for some initiatives, the need for a better organization and coordination of effort, particularly in the area of fund raising, and a desire by the churches to become more formally involved, led to the establishment, in the late 1820's, of the Religious and Charitable Institution House in South Frederick Street. Twenty-seven societies, mostly with overt, though non-denominational religious aims, such as the City Mission and Bible and Tract Societies, Infant School Society, and Sabbath Preservation Society, but also non-overtly religious bodies such as the Temperance society and benevolent organizations, were provided with rooms in which they could meet, library facilities and permanently employed staff to aid administration.¹⁶³ It was an initiative that preceded by over forty years the creation of the Charity Organization Society in Glasgow.¹⁶⁴

Although the 1820's were not as dynamic in middle class voluntary society formation as the preceding decade, there was the creation of several organizations and movements which were to be of great significance in the future. In particular there was the development of a number of bodies formed to act as pressure groups in support of specific legal or political changes. This was seen within the church establishment from the early 1820's with the development of the debate over church patronage in Scotland. The Society for the Improvement of

¹⁶² S.J. Brown Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland (Oxford 1982) pp.99-100

¹⁶³ J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and county of Lanark (Glasgow 1832) p. 44

¹⁶⁴ Handbook of the Glasgow Charities compiled by a committee of the Association for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity (Glasgow 1876) - Preface.

Church Patronage was especially successful in bringing about the introduction of the Veto Act in 1833, whereby parochial members had greater influence in the selection of ministers.¹⁶⁵ In 1823 a Society for the Relief of Destitute Imprisoned Debtors had been formed in Glasgow, as part of a co-ordinated nationwide organization. It aimed to bring relief to and secure the release of poor, small debtors, while also obtaining changes in the law to prevent the imprisonment of individuals for debts of under five pounds (which was achieved by the 1830's).¹⁶⁶ There were numerous slave emancipation societies, established in the late 1820's and early 1830's. In addition, there were local organizations that used the law to protect commonly held rights against encroachment from big business and urban development. Such was the Society for the Preservation of Public Footpaths, a lower middle class organization formally constituted in 1832 after several years of dispute between certain interested individuals and a number of chemical and iron works owners to the east of the city.¹⁶⁷

Most new forms of middle class voluntary organization established during this period were, however, a response to the increasingly disturbing problem of middle class relationships with the working class, and poverty. The question of poverty, a form of human misery which menaced political and social stability, was a particular area of concern from the second decade of the nineteenth century. This anxiety, stimulated by the intensity of the economic depression in the

¹⁶⁵ Herald Dec 9, 16, 1825; S.J. Brown Thomas Chalmers pp227-8

¹⁶⁶ First Annual Report of the Committee of the Society in Glasgow for the Relief of Destitute Imprisoned Debtors (Glasgow 1825)

¹⁶⁷ Journal of the Society for the Preservation of Public Footpaths (Glasgow 1833) Vol 2 pp46-7 - the organization was dominated by tradesmen, shopkeepers and a few professionals.

Scottish cities following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, was reflected in the Parliamentary Poor Law Inquiry and Church of Scotland Investigations of 1817. In the latter there was an attempt, for the first time in Scotland, systematically to survey the state of the poor through a comprehensive collection of local details on the extent of church and private charitable relief and the role of legal assessment. The character of poor relief recipients, the availability of saving bank facilities for the working class and the education of the poor were also investigated.¹⁶⁸ The debate was intensified in Glasgow by the contributions of Robert Owen and Thomas Chalmers to the solution of working class poverty, and concern was further heightened by the political crisis of 1821. But although the Owenite and Chalmersian systems were received with interest - both were frequent speakers at such middle class organizations as the Glasgow Commercial and Literary Society - and saw considerable coverage in the press, their respective approaches to the question of poverty, except among a minority of dedicated supporters, had little tangible or lasting impact upon the Glasgow middle class.¹⁶⁹

The menacing problems of an alien and discontented working class, and the seemingly intractable spread of poverty continued to be approached mainly through ad hoc official provisions at times of great distress, such as the make-work schemes of 1820 or Board of Health soup kitchens during the cholera crisis of 1832. Yet voluntary association initiatives were becoming increasingly significant. Middle class

¹⁶⁸ Queries and answers respecting the poor in Glasgow Church of Scotland (Glasgow 1817)

¹⁶⁹ List of essays read by the members of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow from session 1806 to session 1830 (Glasgow 1831)

voluntary activity directed towards the working classes, was focused on three major fronts. The development of working class education, the pursuit of religious and moral reform (both of which had antecedents in the years prior to 1820), and a new area of concern, one that was to have considerable importance in the years after 1830, the reform of working class intemperance.

The provision of facilities for the education of the working classes expanded considerably in the 1820's. The Sunday School movement, established in the second decade of the nineteenth century was given further impetus, inspired to a great extent by Thomas Chalmers and his concern for parochial Sunday Schools in the St John's parish of Glasgow.¹⁷⁰ But it was clear that the middle class aim of socialization and working class reform through education was not to be achieved by this means alone. 'What is a two hours' Sabbath evening instruction, when put into comparison with the contaminating influence of a whole week?' - particularly when those who attended the schools were 'not the most neglected, but those whose parents had some respect for Christianity.' The inadequacy of the Sunday School was reinforced by the fact that children were not admitted unless they could read and were usually over eight years of age, by which time they had 'acquired many rude and bad habits...[and]...when brought under a Sabbath evening's influence much of the Teacher's time is often spent in reducing their unruly propensities into something like quiescence.'¹⁷¹ The response to this perceived inadequacy was the establishment of the Infant School Society in 1827, to create model schools of a similar

¹⁷⁰ S.J. Brown Thomas Chalmers p.103

¹⁷¹ J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of Glasgow p39

character to those, which had been visited by members of the society, in Spittalfields. By 1831 there were five Infant Schools in Glasgow, built by subscription, each accommodating up to one hundred and fifty children and charging two pence per child per week. It was recognized, however, that the provision of such facilities was less than one tenth of that required to cover the city as a whole.¹⁷² There were also some attempts, though with less success, to establish Adult Schools in the city, 'for the instruction and improvement of the lower classes' - it having been acknowledged that 'if parents are ignorant and immoral, what can be hoped for from their offspring.'¹⁷³

One of the major preoccupations of the middle classes in the 1820's and beyond, was with the links between working class poverty and immorality and irreligion. There was concern that the church was failing to expand its physical accommodation and provision of spiritual leadership to meet the growing needs of the city population. This led to the development of Church Building Societies from the late 1820's.¹⁷⁴ It also contributed to the reorientation of many of the earlier missionary and bible societies from overseas matters to a concern with the local urban scene. This trend was demonstrated at the meeting of the Auxiliary Bible Society in 1820, when Mr Robert Stevens of London, formerly of Glasgow, the principal speaker at a lecture on religion in Russia, declared that -

'he hoped they would not consider him unfriendly to Bible Societies...[but] there was some danger of being so far influenced by foreign relations as to forget the duties they owed to their own

¹⁷² ibid pp.40-41

¹⁷³ Herald Feb 18, 1820

¹⁷⁴ Herald Dec 17, 1820

country...the changes in the manners of the people in his native city, led him to think that they still had much to do in their own country.¹⁷⁵

Pressure for new initiatives to counter immorality and vice within Glasgow led to the establishment in 1826 of the City Mission for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor. The Mission instituted a programme of local preaching in homes and halls, tract and bible distribution and religious education for adults. Like the earlier overseas mission societies, it had a sophisticated and efficient organizational structure. There were eight paid agents in 1826 and twenty-two by 1832, mostly students of theology or young preachers. The organization was supported extensively among the wealthy elites of the city, particularly by the manufacturing community. The firm of Charles Tennant & Co, chemical manufacturers, contributed half of the cost of a paid agent in the St Rollox area of the city.¹⁷⁶ But despite great efforts to establish a network of preachers, the problems to which the City Mission was dedicated were continually growing beyond the capacity to produce solutions. In the view of James Cleland in 1831, as with the Infant and Sunday Schools, the influence of Missions 'is much weakened, being scattered over vastly too wide a field'.¹⁷⁷

The immensity of the problem of working class poverty and vice inevitably led some within the middle classes to attempt to find a new

¹⁷⁵ Herald Aug 18, 1820

¹⁷⁶ Herald Jan 13, 1832; Fifth Annual Report of the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity or the Glasgow City Mission (Glasgow 1831); J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of Glasgow p45

¹⁷⁷ J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of Glasgow p40

approach. The most obvious means whereby this could be achieved was to identify and eradicate specific sources or causes of poverty and immorality. Thus began the attack on drink abuse. A concern with intemperance among all levels of society had been evident from the second decade of the nineteenth century, particularly among evangelicals. Drink was associated with sexual immorality, physical abuses on wives and children, the disintegration of family life, a disregard of church and religion, and even with political sedition. In 1820 Thomas Chalmers deplored the lack of religion in the 'higher classes of society' and the adverse impact that this was having on the working class, in part due to the influence of drink - 'when men of affluence were in the habit of resorting to immoral places on the Sabbath, it was no matter of surprise that the lower ranks should also have their Bacchanalian haunts of sedition and immorality'.¹⁷⁸ The influence of evangelicism on the formation of temperance organizations was particularly evident in Glasgow. William Collins, the most eminent of the Glasgow based leaders of the movement, had been an early acolyte of Thomas Chalmers.¹⁷⁹

Concern with the extent of the drink problem led to attempts in 1820 by the Magistrates of Glasgow - in the event largely unsuccessful - to restrict the licensing of outlets for the sale of spirits. The move was generally approved by the middle classes, anxiously watching the growth of political unrest among the poor. In the view of one commentator - 'till the number of our change houses are reduced and

¹⁷⁸ Herald May 8, 1820

¹⁷⁹ S.J. Brown Thomas Chalmers p60 - Collins was also launched in his successful publishing career by an early business association with Chalmers.

only men of character allowed to keep them, you may rest assured that the poverty with which we are now surrounded will always be on the increase...radicalism will always spring up among a dissipated and vicious community.¹⁸⁰ Attacks against drink tended to decline with the diminution of political tension immediately after 1821. But the continued growth of poverty, vice and crime, the expansion of spirit drinking in Scotland and increased concern among evangelicals with the problem of Sabbath breaking, led to the establishment of the first British temperance organization in Greenock in 1829 and a few months later in Glasgow.¹⁸¹ Temperance was a notable movement in Scotland in the early 1830's, though as in England its popularity was to wane in the mid-1830's before a strong resurgence in the latter part of the decade. Several middle class voluntary associations formed auxiliary organizations in support of temperance. One such was the Society for the Preservation of Public Footpaths, which strongly associated its aims of promoting healthy recreation, through public access to the countryside, with the principles of temperance. This society also gave support to a call, initiated from within the evangelical temperance movement, for the creation of Sabbath Police. The police would arrest those found drunk on Sundays and use the fines to help finance the general police establishment, which was considered a large tax burden on 'the sober part of our citizens'.¹⁸²

The 1830's and 1840's saw considerable buoyancy in institutional

¹⁸⁰ Herald Aug 11, 1820

¹⁸¹ O. Checkland Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh 1980) pp91-2; B. Harrison Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England 1815 to 1872 (1971) p87

¹⁸² Journal of the Society for the Preservation of Public Footpaths Vol 2 pp46-7

formation, after the relative stagnation of the 1820's. But though an array of middle class organizations were founded to address the still increasing difficulties of urban life, it was during this period that the limitations of voluntary and private action were also gradually recognized. Increasingly organizations, particularly those formed to address the problems of poverty, acknowledged failure and turned to central and local government - now reformed and more efficient - to provide financial or legislative assistance. Although little positive government action was taken prior to 1850, in Glasgow, with a tradition of 'civic authoritarianism', this trend and the changing attitude of the middle classes, was earlier and more pronounced than in other great cities.¹⁸³

The great medical and relief charities and the mission societies, now established as the backbone of modern middle class organizational consciousness, continued to function in much the same general fashion and tended to dominate public attention and subscription funding during the middle decades of the century. The new organizations however, rather than aiming to provide a blanket provision of relief, aid or reform, as did the established bodies, increasingly operated through the identification of 'target' problems and 'target' groups, which became the object of intense organizational activity. It was hoped that by dealing with a specific, major and easily identifiable problem, general benefits would accrue and the individual would be more receptive to the moral influence of broader agencies such as the Mission Societies and Church. From the late 1820's, drink abuse had

¹⁸³ See G. Best 'The Scottish Victorian city' Victorian Studies 1967-8 p341 - for speculations on the impact of 'civic authoritarianism' in Scotland.

been the main focus of this approach. In the words of the Temperance leader William Collins, - 'Temperance Societies, by restoring a drunkard to sobriety, put him in a better condition for deriving benefit from the ministrations of the Gospel.'¹⁸⁴ From the 1830's there was also considerable attention given to the problems of child pauperism and criminality, and poor working class housing. Allied to the attack on specific 'targets' was a desire within organizations to investigate and identify problems in a scientific and statistical manner, to overcome the danger of waste or misappropriation of resources and effort. The period was one in which formal surveys and statistical reports abounded.¹⁸⁵

The Glasgow temperance movement in the years up to 1850 was essentially concerned with the desire to bring voluntary moral reform to the working classes - rather than reform through policing and more stringent licensing laws, as had been the unsuccessful aim in the 1820's. There was some attempt at initiate pressure for legislative change, but, true to the evangelical spirit, 'individual salvation' was regarded as the most effective way forward.¹⁸⁶ Temperance organizations were popular, aggressive and vociferous in Glasgow. Most of the middle classes were not, of course, active within the movement, but it undoubtedly had an impact on perceptions. The

¹⁸⁴ W. Collins On the harmony between the Gospel and Temperance Societies (Glasgow 1836) p 5

¹⁸⁵ See particularly W. Logan The moral statistics of Glasgow (Glasgow 1849) - a survey by a major temperance figure; Also J. Smith The grievances of the working class (Glasgow 1846), which followed the debate and surveys surrounding the reform of the Scottish Poor Law in 1845.

¹⁸⁶ O. Checkland Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland p93

Christmas celebrations of 1839 were described in the following manner - 'the streets were crowded with well-dressed people, who seemed to enjoy their holiday with sober pleasure and those in whom "the malt was aboon the meal" were fortunately confined to a very small number. This is exceedingly creditable to our operative population, when we consider that all the factories and extensive public works were closed and the period is usually devoted to jollity and mirth. During the day the tee-totallers of the city and suburbs moved in processions through the streets and altogether their appearance was highly respectable and we have no doubt their efforts have been so far instrumental in imparting an ameliorating feature to a period which in former times was wont to be characterized by painful excess.'¹⁸⁷

The tactics of the temperance organizations in Glasgow became progressively more sophisticated during the 1840's. Initially they were content with moralizing meetings and the circulation of tracts on the evils of drink. By 1845, aware that in order to influence the working classes it was necessary to provide an attractive alternative to the culture of drink and the public house, they were promoting new forms of working class entertainment and social activity. The Glasgow Fair, a traditional period of drunken carousing became a major object for attack. A tee-total soiree at Hamilton Palace, under the patronage of the Duke of Hamilton, was organized for the annual Glasgow holiday. There were special railway trips to Edinburgh and steam boat excursions. It was the aim of the movement to attract young people and take them out of the city during a period of potential moral danger - 'drawing away our youth from the debauching influences

¹⁸⁷ Herald Jan 3, 1840

which hang around our annual festival, and often lead the unwary from the paths of rectitude and sobriety.'¹⁸⁸ The movement was particularly notable for the use of processions and marches to put over its message at any opportunity. At the opening of the College grounds to the public for the first time in June 1850, a banner carrying procession of two thousand 'juvenile tee-totallers' marched around the gardens.¹⁸⁹

But not all elements within the middle class approved of either the views or methods of the temperance movement. There was obvious opposition from those with economic interests in the spirit and brewing trade. Although the temperance movement had some success in Glasgow in influencing the allocation of spirit sales licences, bodies like the Glasgow and Suburbs Spirit Trade Protection Society, formed in 1845 and chaired by Hugh Tennant, were powerful in mitigating their impact.¹⁹⁰ There was also general opposition from the medical profession - who had a long standing interest in the use of alcohol as a cure and stressed the benefits of moderate drinking.¹⁹¹ Other middle class organizations, who like the temperance societies, had chosen to concentrate on one particular area of difficulty, were also ill disposed towards the movement, associated as it was with religious extremism. In the late 1840's William Logan, the Commissioner of the Scottish Temperance League, launched a 'statistical investigation' of the character of drink abuse in Glasgow. Under the patronage of the Lord Provost he approached a number of charities and institutions in

¹⁸⁸ Herald July 21, 1845

¹⁸⁹ Herald Jun 3, 1850

¹⁹⁰ Herald Aug 1, 1845

¹⁹¹ Herald Jan 6, 1840 quotes a letter from a doctor on the benefits of moderate alcohol intake.

the city to seek out their views on the scale of the problem. Most were willing to give their help, but the Night Asylum for the Houseless and the House of Refuge (Hugh Tennant was a notable supporter of the latter), both of which were new phenomenon of the period, refused all assistance.¹⁹²

The provisions of reforming educational facilities for pauper children was another area in which there were several major institutional initiatives during the 1830's and 1840's. Facilities for the education of working class children had been developed during the 1820's, notably by the Sabbath Schools and the Infant Schools. But it was quickly realized that these were having a limited impact within such a large and expanding city as Glasgow. It was revealed by Logan, for instance, that of seventy-eight young prisoners, male and female, awaiting trial at the Circuit Court of Justiciary in Glasgow in 1848, sixty-two had attended Sabbath Schools at some time in their earlier life.¹⁹³ Clearly there was a need for more direct action to undermine criminality through the positive reform of pauper children. The initial response, following a public meeting in 1833 to discuss the problems of 'the young who have fallen into crime' was to establish the Glasgow Society for the Repression of Juvenile Delinquency. This organization opened a House of Refuge for delinquent and criminal boys under the age of fourteen in 1838. Inmates, referred by the courts if first-time

¹⁹² W. Logan, W. The moral statistics of Glasgow pp30-1, p 47

¹⁹³ W. Logan The moral statistics of Glasgow p 58

offenders, were clothed, educated and instructed in a craft.¹⁹⁴ The costs of running the House of Refuge were inevitably great, the problem to which they were addressed inevitably expanding, so much so that within a few years the organization was in serious debt and actively petitioning government (unsuccessfully) for financial support through the rates.¹⁹⁵ The Industrial or Ragged School Society, established in Glasgow in 1848, aimed to go further than the House of Refuge. By providing free educational facilities, clothing and daily food (but not housing) for all pauper, vagrant or destitute children who required them, it was hoped that the criminality of the working class poor would be stemmed.¹⁹⁶

Another area in which a number of major institutional initiatives were begun during this period, was in the reform of working class housing. Poor housing conditions were of course associated with the debate, from the late 1830's onwards, on the sanitary conditions of large cities and the concomitant problems of urban health. But inadequate housing was also seen actively to promote the conditions in which immorality, pauperism, vice and crime flourished. In a period in which the comfortable 'home' was to develop as a central image in the middle class perception of family stability, the poor housing of the working classes was clearly to be an area of concern - 'a wretched dwelling, one which has no tidiness or sweetness about it has a most humbling and debasing influence upon its occupants.'¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Report by the Directors of the Glasgow Society for Repressing Juvenile Delinquency (Glasgow 1839)

¹⁹⁵ Herald July 24, 1840

¹⁹⁶ Herald May 10, 1850

¹⁹⁷ Herald Aug 17, 1840

The problem of poor housing and of no housing facilities at all for certain of the very poor, led to the formation of the Night Asylum for the Houseless in 1838 and such organizations as the Glasgow Association for Establishing Lodging Houses for the Working Classes, founded in 1847. The former provided free food and accommodation on a nightly basis. All were admitted except drunks, prostitutes, the very sick and beggars. In the year 1841 over twenty-five thousand night inmates were accommodated - most of whom were women and children.¹⁹⁸ The facilities of the Lodging House Association were not free, but were cheap, and family rooms were eventually provided for the respectable working classes.¹⁹⁹ Given the scale of housing inadequacy in Glasgow, these initiatives were little more than palliatives and quickly realized as such. By the 1850's and particularly in the 1860's, central government sanctioned (though locally initiated and funded) measures were introduced to deal with the problem in a more effective manner.

The 1830's and 1840's, then, saw the formation of many organizations to deal with the growing problems associated with urban life, poverty and the working classes. Of equal significance, however, was the creation of a number of bodies for the promotion of middle class culture and entertainment, and to deal with certain problems associated with the well being of the Glasgow middle classes. There was a major growth in hobby and sports clubs, amateur music associations and horticultural societies. Older bodies like the

¹⁹⁸ Fifth Annual Report of the Glasgow Night Asylum for the Houseless (Glasgow 1842) p6

¹⁹⁹ O. Checkland Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland p285

Philosophical Society or the Botanic Society - amateur provincial scientific organizations that were expanding rapidly from the 1830's throughout Britain - were given an impetus by new forms of social activity such as the soiree or conversazione, at which women were admitted for the first time.²⁰⁰ Local branches of national organizations like the Statistical Society or the British Association were particularly popular among educated and wealthy groups. The annual meeting of the latter was held in Glasgow in 1840 and proved to be the major social event of the year. An array of internationally famous academics and public figures were attracted to the city. There were numerous well attended exhibitions, lectures, demonstrations, dinners and balls - 'the demand for lady's tickets having exceeded all expectations'.²⁰¹

Many who were active in initiating and supporting organizations such as these were young, single middle class men. Often they were born outside the city, attracted to Glasgow by the opportunities for advance through business - opportunities which were not available in the rural areas or smaller towns from which most had migrated. Due to the character of the Glasgow economy, it was inevitable that the city should be numerically dominated by young people. This was particularly true of young women, attracted to the textile industry. In 1831 21% of the female population was in the age group twenty to thirty years old - the largest single age category. In the same year 16% of males were in the age group twenty to thirty years - a category

²⁰⁰ Herald Jan 6, 1845; I. Inkster & J. Morrell (eds) Metropolis and Province, Science in British culture 1780-1850 (1983); R.H. Kargon Science in Victorian Manchester (Manchester 1977)

²⁰¹ Herald Sept 11, 18, 25, 1840

only exceeded by male children under the age of five.²⁰² By 1851 23% of females were in the age group twenty to thirty years, while the figure for males had risen considerably to 21%.²⁰³ From Census sources it is not possible to give specific data for the number of single, migratory, middle class men in the city - though it can be estimated that the number of native born among the middle class as a whole was no more than about one third of the total.²⁰⁴ Subjective sources suggest that the scale of migration was considerable, and by the 1840's was beginning to be viewed as an area of concern. At a public meeting called in 1847 to raise a subscription to found the Atheneum it was stated -

'Glasgow is absolutely overflowing with young men, and these the most able, active and enterprising: the flower of the rising generation who have flocked thither from all parts of the country in search of employment...it is unnecessary to speak of the temptations to which they are exposed in the midst of such a city as this and at a distance from the watchful eye of parents and guardians.'²⁰⁵

Concern with the morals of young, middle class men was the motivating force behind the Early Closing organizations in Glasgow from the early 1840's. Initially it was the aim of the movement to 'urge the propriety of early business hours, in order to afford time for the moral and intellectual improvement of young men engaged in shops and warehouses'.²⁰⁶ In this they were relatively successful, achieving by

²⁰² J. Cleland Enumerations of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow p 221

²⁰³ Census of Great Britain of 1851 (1854) vol 2

²⁰⁴ Estimated from the 1861 Record Linked Sample

²⁰⁵ J. Lauder The Glasgow Athenaeum: a sketch of fifty years work 1847-1897 (Glasgow 1897) p3

²⁰⁶ Herald Nov 7, 1845

1850 a general closing time of 7 o'clock in offices and shops, where 10 o'clock had previously been the norm.²⁰⁷ Later they were to turn their attention to a general reduction in working hours and the Saturday half-holiday for the working classes.

The Glasgow Atheneum, established in 1847 and modelled on the similar institution in Manchester, was another response to the problem of young, unattached, middle class men - in this case initiated from within that group. One of the founders was Moses Provan from Killern. He had come to Glasgow in 1837 at the age of sixteen (after a parish education) to take up employment as a clerk to a bookseller. At the age of eighteen he entered the counting house of D. & A. Cuthbertson, chartered accountants, where many years later he was to become a partner.²⁰⁸ He, and other of similar sentiment, with financial support from the middle classes in general, felt the need for a permanent institution for young men, with library, coffee room, gymnasium, baths, educational facilities, popular lectures and concerts. Something 'midway' between the Mechanics Institutes and the University was sought. 'There are multitudes of young men who would come to such an Institution, some for instruction, some for amusement, not a few to ward off that depression of spirits which sometimes comes across the breast of every man.'²⁰⁹

Also indicative of the high rate of middle class migration to the city, was the massive growth from the 1830's of organizations to

²⁰⁷ Herald March 8, 1850

²⁰⁸ J. Lauder The Glasgow Atheneum p 3

²⁰⁹ ibid p.5

promote cultural and charitable links with other areas of Scotland. There were a few bodies of this kind formed in the eighteenth century, such as the Highland Society. But the functions of the latter had changed considerably since its early days. By the mid-nineteenth century it was a nationwide organization, centred on Edinburgh with noble patronage, for the encouragement of general Scottish culture, art and industry. Typical of the new local organizations were the Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society, founded in 1835 and the Glasgow Caithness Benevolent Association, founded in 1837. The latter had originally been an informal body, a meeting of countrymen 'being strangers in a strange land' and when originally constituted was 'merely for the cultivation of acquaintance and good fellowship'. But attention was soon directed to benevolent aims - 'fellow countrymen, having been worsted in the fight, were reported to be in need of assistance.'²¹⁰

The Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society provided discretionary relief to those born in Perthshire, or their relatives, as well as a forum for social activity. The subscription was one guinea a year for the first four years of membership, the funds of the society being lent on heritable security or invested in heritable property. In 1840 there were two hundred and eighteen members, over half of whom were engaged in commercial or mercantile pursuits.²¹¹ There was a similar organization, the St Georges Society founded in 1844, for Englishmen resident in Glasgow.²¹² There was also a Native Benevolent Society for those born in the city. The social, cultural

²¹⁰ Glasgow Caithness Benevolent Association - Historical Sketch 1837-1897 (Glasgow N.D.) pp.5-6

²¹¹ List of the Members and Rules and Regulations of the Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society (Glasgow 1840) pp.8-11

²¹² Herald April 25, 1845

and convivial functions of such organizations were undoubtedly their dominant activities among the Glasgow middle classes. But though their charitable funds were not vast, they evidently acted as a safety-net for those 'who have seen better days and whose feeling of self-respect and independence makes it preferable to them to suffer in silence rather than apply to the parish amongst the hordes of thankless paupers.'²¹³

²¹³ Herald Dec 23, 1850

The development of middle class institutions and organizations continued to be dynamic during the two decades following 1850 - though in character there had been changes since the early nineteenth century. Just as confidence in the ability of the church to solve social problems had been eroded, general faith in the ability of voluntary associations to cope with the multiple difficulties of urban industrial life was on the wane. Most of the reforming or charitable societies formed prior to 1850 continued to exist during this period, but criticism of their activities and a decline in monetary and organizational support were constant themes. The Relief Committee for the Unemployed, active in 1855 was concerned not only by a low level of subscriptions, but also by a general lack of involvement or interest in the work of the Committee by most members of society - 'a few gentlemen who form the Relief Committee [are] being held responsible for meeting the wants of a suffering population at a time like this'.²¹⁴ Several charities experienced notable scandals concerning their management. The Boy's House of Refuge in Duke Street, for instance, was investigated by a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the subscribers to look into irregularities in the running of the house and in the allocation of funds.²¹⁵

There was a lower level of social receptiveness to new reforming organizations - particularly when associated with attempts to impose minority held moral prescriptions on the population as a whole. By the late 1860's, the Herald was loud in its condemnation of such organizations, especially those that sought to 'meddle with the

²¹⁴ Herald March 21 1855

²¹⁵ Herald May 18, 1860

affairs of the working man', as this, it was felt, was resented by the independent and self-reliant.²¹⁶ Extremist temperance and sabbatarian organizations were notably subject to attack - of one it was remarked -

'the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association has as good a right to live and flourish as any "United Metropolitan Improved Hot Muffin and Crumpet Baking and Punctual Delivery Company" that was ever projected by the philanthropic motives and sagacious forethought of the toddy-hating and tea-drinking children of men. The society is active, energetic and big with its own importance. Like all similar institutions, it has a grand mission to fulfill in this wicked world and therefore sets about its great work of eradicating whisky shops and drunkenness with a downright honest goodwill and complacency which are perfectly charming, and this despite a national membership of less than three thousand.'²¹⁷

The decline in confidence in the activities of voluntary associations, and suspicion of the motives of extremists, inevitably added to the willingness of the Glasgow middle class to support state intervention in local social issues. Although local governmental controls were still considered to be desirable, most notably in the agitation for compulsory education, problems were increasingly regarded within a national rather than local context. Many of the organizations in which the middle classes were active also reflected this trend and nation-wide institutions assumed an increasingly prominent profile among the Glasgow middle class. The National Education League meeting of February 1870 was chaired by the Lord Provost of Glasgow and attended by many individuals from the city, but held in Edinburgh.²¹⁸ Convenient railway connections and an issue of national implications eroded the significance of localized institutions. Even where local

²¹⁶ Herald March 7, 1865

²¹⁷ Herald Sept 29, 1865

²¹⁸ Herald Feb 1, 1870

organizations still flourished - decline was, of course, only relative to their earlier levels of power - annual meetings and social events were often attended by popular national figures, specifically invited to give prestige and publicity to their aims.

The decline in middle class confidence in the ability of the church and voluntary organizations to deal with the many city based crises of the period, and the equivalent rise in the prestige and standing of reformed local government from the 1840's, led to a reorientation of views on the nature of state involvement in social problems. The Glasgow middle class and that of Scotland as a whole, tended to hold significantly different attitudes to those displayed generally in England, on the question of extension of government controls in social and economic affairs. Much of the reform agitation and debate of the period was concerned generally with this issue. Factory legislation, sanitation laws and in particular education legislation were all areas of contention in England without being so in Scotland. This was particularly so of the movement in support of a system of compulsory national education. The existence over many centuries of a state and church structure of Scottish national education in the form of parochial schools, albeit no longer effective, ensured that the middle classes were favourably disposed to a reformed state system, whereas in England in the 1850's such views were radical.²¹⁹ In Glasgow as early as 1855 a public meeting had been convened by the Lord Provost to call on government for a bill to provide education for the people of Scotland (following the manifest failure of the parochial school

²¹⁹ R.D. Anderson 'Education and the State in nineteenth century Scotland' Economic History Review 2nd ser 1983 p533

system in the great Scottish cities) - 'the government was bound to educate the people'.²²⁰ The exact mechanisms for control of national education in Scotland was, of course, debated. But among the middle classes of Glasgow, for up to fifteen years before the success of the Forster Bill, it was generally agreed that a compulsory, state funded, though locally administered system was required -

'A certain degree of statutory compulsion or regulation is necessary...National Education embodies the leading principle that the State ought to take a positive surveillance as to the moral and mental elementary training of those who must otherwise be left abandoned in that essential respect.'²²¹

A similar willingness to accept broad, local government intervention was shown in the ease with which the City Improvement Scheme of 1866 was introduced - 'by far the largest and most comprehensive single undertaking of this kind in the nineteenth century.'²²² Except for the vast cost of the plans, there was little opposition or intellectual debate in the city over the need for such a development. In 1870 the Herald wrote, following Council department reforms to allow the better administration of the scheme, 'we are at last to have a thorough reform or revolution rather, in the administration of sanitary affairs in the city...the reign of laissez-faire and plausible excuses for doing nothing is to cease...'.²²³ Local government control of the first developments in the tramway system in Glasgow were also accepted without dispute - 'in all probability the proposed scheme would be better managed in the interest of the public if the Police Board were

²²⁰ Herald April 27, 1855

²²¹ Herald July 30, 1860

²²² C.M. Allan 'The genesis of British urban redevelopment with special reference to Glasgow' Economic History Review 2nd ser 18 (1965) p604

²²³ Herald Jan 4, 1870

to take it up.²²⁴ There was even considerable receptiveness to local government intervention in housing provision for the working classes following inner city clearances, though there were only limited developments in this area before 1870. -

'There is much to be said against the authorities becoming house-builders in the suburbs on an extensive scale, because such a movement is calculated to paralyse private efforts and would be attended with enormous expenses. On the other hand, we must not forget that Imperial as well as Local Governments are compelled to set aside the laws of political economy when human life is at stake.'²²⁵

In Glasgow, as in other great cities, the activities of charities were the subject of much contemporary debate.²²⁶ As has been indicated, several were investigated following concern over mismanagement. There was also a fear that indiscriminate charitable subscribing could be a source of danger, likely to undermine the general self-reliance of the population because of the suspect nature of some organizations - 'a wise discretion is therefore necessary in those who are inclined to give with a liberal hand.'²²⁷ As early as the 1820's there had been attempts to organize and control certain related charities through the agency of the Religious Institution House, which continued to operate during this period. There was also the creation of a branch of the Charity Organization Society in Glasgow in the early 1870's. But the latter was never as influential as it was in London and other cities.

²²⁴ Herald Feb 5, 1870

²²⁵ Herald March 29, 1870

²²⁶ See G.S. Jones Outcast London esp. pt. 3, 'Middle Class London and the Casual Poor' which discusses the role of the Charity Organization Society in the Capital: also M.B. Simey Charitable effort in Liverpool in the nineteenth century (Liverpool 1951) pp. 92-3 on the Central Relief Society.

²²⁷ Herald Jan 5, 1865

In Glasgow, the perceived decline in the capacities of voluntary charities and reform agencies was accommodated not by attempts to organize such institutions, but by a reorientation of emphasis towards government intervention.

Certain charities assumed a commercial aspect to ensure efficient management and a high level of support. Notable in this respect was the development from the mid-1860's of 'Cooking Depots' to provide good quality but very cheap food (a meal for 1d per serving) for working men in large self-service, 'canteen-like', halls in industrial districts.²²⁸ By 1872 there were twenty-eight branches of the Cooking Depot, serving up to twelve thousand individuals a day and returning healthy annual profits. They had been founded by Thomas Corbett, a local businessman and abstainer, as a means for keeping the working man out of the pub and way of providing food without charity to the poor. In the words of one commentator 'he was a philanthropist of the most practical kind' who did not 'distribute his means like milk spilled upon the ground.'²²⁹ The provision of lodging house accommodation for the working classes also saw an infusion of commercial enterprise to what had formerly been a charitable activity. The Model Lodging House Association was formed in 1847 as a subscription charity - by 1849 it had raised a building fund of £3460. But as a charitable organization, it found it very difficult to stimulate sufficient financial involvement to meet its aims. So in 1856 debentures valued at £6500, yielding 5% annual interest, were issued and a powerful patronage was attracted. By 1861 three large

²²⁸ Herald March 20 1860

²²⁹ Quoted in O. Checkland Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh 1980) p.98

and financially successful model lodging houses had been created in Glasgow - and by the early 1870's a certain level of working class accommodation of this type was being provided by the civic authorities following the city centre clearance schemes.²³⁰

Despite a relative decline in support and confidence, certain middle class voluntary organizations did flourish during the years 1850 to 1870. There was a growing perception within Glasgow of the importance of international affairs and many ad hoc and often very well supported associations were created to meet the exigencies of international crises. There was an active Garibaldi Benevolent Association in the early 1860's, and many support committees for the victims of the Crimean and Franco-Prussian Wars. There was also strong support for African Mission organizations, particularly that of Livingstone who had local connections.²³¹ Indian Missions, again due to numerous local connections and an increased awareness of the value of the Empire, were also popular.

Specific local economic crises tended, as in the past, to provoke a high level of short term organizational activity. The impact of such crises on certain areas of female employment was a particular area of concern during this period and stimulated involvement by many middle class women's organizations. In the spring of 1855 a Ladies Association for the Relief of Unemployed Needlewomen was created. A workshop, with employment for over ninety girls of 'good character', was established. Employment in other areas, particularly as domestic

²³⁰ S. Laidlaw Glasgow Common Lodging Houses and the people living in them (Glasgow 1956) pp22-23

²³¹ Herald March 20, 1860

servants, was also provided through the Association.²³² There was the development of the Mill Girls Religious and Industrial Society in the mid-1860's, part of a nation wide, largely female organized movement to provide help during industrial crises and facilities for moral and household training.²³³ The House of Shelter for Women and the Magdalene Asylum expanded their activities during these years, as society became increasingly aware of the problems that underlay the growth of prostitution in big cities.²³⁴ As shown below, the economic plight of working girls in Glasgow was an area of intense debate and newspaper concern in the 1860's, and this contributed to a generally more sympathetic middle class view of the difficulties faced by the poor.

New charitable associations tended to be addressed to increasingly specific areas of concern, following a trend that had been established prior to 1850. Large scale social problems and overt moral reform were largely abandoned by the new formations of the period. Solutions to the difficulties faced by poor or orphaned children were one area of new institutional concern. In particular there was the creation of bodies that aimed to take children out of the city - such as the Cumberland Training Ship for boys and from the early 1870's the Quarrier Orphan Homes.²³⁵ The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals became active in Glasgow during these years and

²³² Herald May 11 1855

²³³ Herald Sept 26, 1865

²³⁴ J.D. Bryce Glasgow Magdalene Asylum - its past and present (Glasgow 1859) pp9-10

²³⁵ O. Checkland Philanthropy in Scotland pp260-261

engaged in many widely reported court prosecutions against cases of abuse. New Year Dinner Table charities sprang up, as did various initiatives in the provision of specific types of medical aid.

But the most active area of institutional development, again following a trend established before 1850, was in the provision of social and entertainment facilities for the middle classes. Small, socially exclusive gentlemen's clubs like the New Club founded in 1869, or literary dining societies like the Waverly Burns Club founded in 1862, had no aim other than to provide entertainment facilities for the wealthy.²³⁶ A popular photographic society was established in 1860 and musical organizations flourished.²³⁷ Societies that reflected a general interest in the development of the natural sciences, particularly botany, and in artistic, architectural and archeological matters were successful among the rich and educated. National debates provoked by the work of Darwin and other scientists generated many local pseudo-scientific organizations, some of an excentric character such as the Society for the Acclimatization of Animals, Birds, Fishes, Insects and Vegetables, formed by a few enthusiasts in Glasgow in 1860 in the hope that it would become a national movement. At the inaugural meeting the Lord Provost was in the chair, but was anxious to dissociate himself from the aims of the group - as he stated -

'his appearance as Chairman on the present occasion did not arise from any interest he had taken in the society hitherto, or from any information he had to communicate on the subject to be brought before them. He had presided at the request of a few gentlemen...'²³⁸

²³⁶ See An alphabetic list of the members of the New Club, Glasgow (Glasgow 1871); also Mitchell Library, Glasgow, MS 211 391557 Minute book of the Waverly Burns Club 1862-1882

²³⁷ Herald Sept 26, 1860

²³⁸ Herald Aug 11, 1860

National educational and scientific bodies such as the British Association and the Social Science Association flourished among the middle classes. The latter held its annual meeting in Glasgow in 1860, stimulating considerable interest among those of wealth and leisure, particularly women, who attended the meetings, lectures, soirees, conversazione and exhibitions in great numbers.²³⁹

Most notable of all the new social movements of the period was the Volunteer Force, founded nationally in 1859 in a response to fears of French invasion - though with many links and antecedents with the equivalent forces of the earlier nineteenth century.²⁴⁰ Volunteer regiments rapidly became a focus of middle class male entertainment activity. Drilling and rifle practice, the uniforms, bands and parades were popular among the numerous participants and spectators alike. The Edinburgh Review of Scottish Volunteers in August 1860, when 21500 Volunteers marched down Princes Street, was an occasion for a general holiday in Glasgow, with most works, warehouses and offices closed.²⁴¹ The Volunteer movement was not only regarded as a source of entertainment: it was seen to have positive moral and social benefits, particularly for young middle class men. These goals brought general

²³⁹ National Association for the Promotion of Social Science - Glasgow meeting 1860 (Glasgow 1860) p4

²⁴⁰ H. Cunningham The Volunteer Force: a social and political history 1859 - 1908 (Connecticut 1975); P. Morton 'Another Victorian paradox: anti-militarism in a jingoistic society' Historical Reflections 1981 p171; A survey of Volunteer Regiments formed during the Napoleonic Wars shows a remarkable series of parallels with those of the 1860's. There was a 5th Regiment or Grocers' Corps raised in 1803 with a direct equivalent in 1861. Similarly there was a Canal Volunteer Corps based on the heavy industry works to the north of the city with an exact parallel in 1861. There was also an Anderston Corps in both 1803 and 1861.

²⁴¹ Herald Aug 11, 1860

approval, for in the words of the editor of the Herald -

'the introduction of military exercises as a national sport must be looked upon with considerable satisfaction. Independently of the moral influence which the nation acquires by means of the Volunteer movement, the exercises are calculated to have a most beneficial effect. The patriotism of the people will be cultivated by the formation and continuance of bodies of men whose very pastimes are for the future, to remind them of the noble purposes for which these pastimes have been instituted... [There will be] the promotion of a national military union among the people for the protection of their birthright against ruthless invasion...[and it] will instill into its members habits of regularity and self government and check the growth of that spirit of selfishness which is almost necessarily connected with the rivalry of the working world. The exercise seems especially adapted for the inhabitants of our large towns, whose general occupations may have a tendency to cramp their energies and weaken their frames. Drooping chests and loose limbs speedily disappear before the wholesome influence of the rifle drill.'²⁴²

Volunteer regiments were particularly attractive to young men, and were supported by a massive and diverse middle class membership within Glasgow. But as indicated below, not all voluntary organizations drew so active and wide a participation from all sections of the class.

²⁴² Herald July 11, 1860

3.4 Role and impact of organizations

It is clear that the numerous organizations that flourished in the nineteenth century city had a major function in articulating middle class values and providing a mechanism whereby stability and control could be retained in a situation of great volatility and change. The range and scope of organizations increased as the century progressed. Not all members of the middle class, however, had contacts with all organizations. There is every indication that certain individuals were active in many societies and associations, while others of similar wealth or social background had little or no involvement in this sphere. An analysis of directors, members and subscribers to an array of organizations - described in greater detail below in the discussion of values and patterns of association - indicates that not all elements within the middle classes espoused all the organizations that developed within the city. Variable membership profiles reflected variations in the aims and values of different groups. The powerful and wealthy hospital organizations, for instance, tended to have a membership profile that reflected the power and status hierarchies of the city as a whole. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century the old elites of Atlantic traders and top professionals dominated these bodies - later it was the new merchant elites and major wealthy manufacturers. Influential and established groups like the Bible Societies were dominated by old elites also, though the local branches, based in the different geographical parts of the city, had membership profiles that tended to reflect the economic activities of their area, with many shopkeepers and tradesmen

in positions of authority.²⁴³ Bodies like the Provident Bank - established in 1815 with the hope of reforming working class financial habits - were largely promoted by big businessmen, particularly those in trade, banking and insurance and a few prominent individuals from cotton manufacturing.²⁴⁴ Most of the city missions, and working class education and reforming associations were organized and largely promoted by members of the new elite groups, particularly those from manufacturing, the rising shopkeepers and tradesmen. The Lancastrian School movement, for instance, was initiated by manufacturers, who established the first two schools in 1810 in temporary premises adjacent to cotton factories.²⁴⁵

Members of the wealthier middle classes were more likely to be directly active in and associated with a range of voluntary and formal organizations than the less wealthy or lower middle classes. Membership of an organization was often expensive and active participation made considerable demands of the time of an individual. Both of these acted against direct involvement by the latter groups, though there is every indication that the lower middle classes attended the social activities and functions of voluntary organizations in large numbers, if not actually participating in their management and decision making. Women also were less likely to be involved directly in voluntary organizations than men. But through the church in particular there could be an indirect contact, for men

²⁴³ Third Annual Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society (Glasgow 1815) p111

²⁴⁴ Herald March 10, June 23, 1815

²⁴⁵ Herald Nov 5, 1810 - the schools were established at Dunns cotton mill in Tobago Street and Houldsworths mill in Anderston.

and women, upper and lower middle class alike, with a considerable number of related voluntary organizations or societies. This ability of the urban middle classes to establish a network of connections between organized structures, both within the locality and increasingly on a national basis, gave considerable strength to their practical aims and their capacity to disseminate values. A survey of the mid-1840's shows the links between specific church congregations and other bodies. Usually this link took the form of fund collecting in their support, an activity in which women were often very prominent. The St George's congregation supported Sabbath Schools at which two hundred children were taught, and also two Female Schools of Industry. It collected for the Ladies Clothing Society and supported a City Missionary. It was also associated with the Glasgow Ladies Colonial Association, The Glasgow Ladies Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India and the Glasgow Ladies Association for the Education of Jewish Females.²⁴⁶ Greyfriars' Church in Albion Street supported five missionaries at the City Mission. It also raised funds for the Dorcas Society, a Sewing School, the Society for Religious Purposes, a Foreign Mission and the London Missionary Society.²⁴⁷

Though the role of organizations in the lives of the Glasgow middle classes was clearly variable, the detailed activities of four individuals, who wrote of their experience during the nineteenth century, gives an indication of the significance of the church, municipal bodies, societies and other formal associations on a day to

²⁴⁶ J. Smith The Grievances of the Working Class (Glasgow 1846) p83

²⁴⁷ *ibid* pp. 91-92

day basis.

Michael Connal, a wealthy middle aged merchant and shipping agent in the middle decades of the century, was born in Stirlingshire and spent part of his early life in India. He was a prominent member of a number of business organizations, including the Trades House and Chamber of Commerce, had contacts with the Town Council and was also engaged extensively in University and secular educational affairs. He joined the Free Church in 1843, and by the 1850's was a church elder at Free St James' and active in ecclesiastical politics at the highest national level. He was engaged in a number of social, organizational and spiritual concerns associated with the Church and highly respected as a consequence. But the main focus of his intellectual and institutional affiliations, and much of his social activity, existed outside the Church. His charitable effort, for instance, was largely conducted through the agency of the Glasgow Stirlingshire Society, of which he was a leading member for many years.²⁴⁸

Mrs Elizabeth Gourlay, was the wealthy middle aged widow of a distiller, and a member of the United Presbyterian Church in the late 1860's and early 1870's, when she kept an account of her household spending and activities. In the late 1830's she had been a member of the Establishment. She belonged to and regularly attended two separate congregations, that of the United Presbyterian Church at Springburn, near her home at Cowlairs in the north-east of the city, and the Wellington Street Church in the west-central area. The latter was the focus of United Presbyterian wealthy elite social activity in Glasgow. But beyond regular church attendance, social and

²⁴⁸ J.C. Gibson (ed) Diary of Sir Michael Connal (Glasgow 1895)

entertainment contacts with members of the two congregations and involvement in organizing a testimonial to the minister at Springburn in 1870, most of Elizabeth Gourlay's activities were secular. Except for church service collections and a single donation to a United Presbyterian City Mission, she appears to have had few contacts with religious based organizations. Indeed, she was not particularly active in any formal institutions, pursuing a social life that revolved about her children, with many visits to a married daughter living in Helensburgh and to relatives elsewhere outside Glasgow. But where she was associated with organizations or charities, through subscriptions, they were mainly secular and concerned with health, education and the welfare of young women and children. Thus during the course of 1871 she made donations to the Infirmary, the Highland Schools Society and the Dorcas Society.²⁴⁹

John Smeaton, was a young, single, master wright and builder, employed in the late 1860's and early 1870's as an overseer in the large building company of R. Whyte of McFarlane Street - in later life Smeaton was to be an employer in his own right. He was not a native of Glasgow and had no close relatives living nearby. Possibly for this reason, nearly all of his extensive social and organizational activities were focused on the church - the Gorbals Parish Church - which was close to his lodgings in South Wellington Street. He

²⁴⁹ Glasgow University Archives, MS D64/3/1 - Housebook of Mrs Gourlay of Cowlairst 1838-40, 1870-72. Though she had few contacts with formal organizations in 1870, she had considerably more in this later period of her life than in the late 1830's, when first married. At this stage her only organizational affiliation was with the church, and all charity giving, which was recorded in the 'housebook', was of a personal nature to individually known poor recipients.

attended services twice on Sunday and on Sunday evenings was a teacher in the Sabbath School. He was a delegate from his parish to the Glasgow Church of Scotland Sabbath Schools Association and active throughout the early part of 1872 (when he kept a diary) in the organization of a Sabbath Association Soiree, held in the City Hall on March 6 of that year. He also attended Teachers Tea Parties and other social functions connected with the Sabbath School. Smeaton was a regular weekly member of the Gorbals Church Psalmody Class (every Wednesday evening), which seems to have been a focus of his social relationships and contacts with young ladies of the parish - the latter were mainly the daughters of shopkeepers or small craft employers. He also sold tickets to raise funds for a Volunteer Regiment associated with the Church - though was not a Volunteer himself. The only institutional activity that Smeaton was involved in outside the Church was membership of the Joiner's Association, where again he was involved in organizing an annual Soiree.²⁵⁰

The final example of the role of organizations in the lives of the Glasgow middle class, is drawn from the 1872 diary of a young Kirkcaldy man (name unknown) who was employed at the Glasgow wholesale clothes warehouse of Hardie, Thomson & Co, as a clerk and trainee traveller. Like Smeaton, he was unmarried, lived in lodgings and had no family nearby - but he had a very different relationship with the church and other formal bodies. He clearly had had a religious/church orientated upbringing, for he expressed a sense of guilt on the few occasions he failed to attend a Sunday service. But during the period chronicled in the diary he formed no permanent links with any single

²⁵⁰ City Archives, Glasgow - MS TD 109/1 - Diary of John Smeaton 1872

denomination or congregation. In March, for instance, he attended the Gorbals Parish Church on the third of the month; Alexander Park United Presbyterian church and the Methodist Chapel on the tenth; and St Andrews Square Church and the City Halls (to hear a visiting preacher) on the seventeenth of the month. His most regular attendance was at the City Halls, where touring, often very prestigious clerics of all denominations gave evening sermons. Most of the social activity of the Kirkcaldy man revolved about his workplace and work colleagues. The only formal social event he attended during the period of the diary (about eight months of the year) was the Mathie & Bell soiree and ball in January 1872 (a drapers and house furnishing warehouse company with whom he probably had business links.) He was a member of a Volunteer Regiment, as an adjutant, which was also associated with his employment and work contacts; and during the summer of 1872 joined and became very active in a photography club.²⁵¹

These several examples demonstrate some of the many aspects of middle class institutional association in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The formal organizations of the church were a major focus of day-to-day activity, particularly for women and the lower middle classes. Through the church there were links with associated charities, both religious and secular, and opportunities for organized socializing. To the young migrant without family contacts in the city, like Smeaton, or the widow, like Mrs Gourlay, the latter must have been of particular significance. The rich, however, had many organizational affiliations outside the church; and many of the numerous young men who flocked to the city spent most of

²⁵¹ Mitchell Library, Glasgow - MS 891079 Diary of a Karkcaldy man employed in Hardie, Thomson & Co. 1872

their time in secularly directed associations, frequently linked with the work-place. Though there was great variation in organizational contacts at the individual level, in total the array of organizations that were seen in the city represented the most vigorous and vocal articulations of middle class group consciousness in the nineteenth century. They were the foundations of urban power and managerial direction, acting in parallel with power that was economic in base. Though there was some initial tension between the old and new organizations of the nineteenth century Glasgow middle classes, they experienced a pattern of development that was essentially free from major crisis. This factor, a testimony to the flexibility and accommodation of the evolving groups who composed the middle class, was also the major source of urban middle class strength at a time of great social turmoil and economic change. Urban organizations were not only the arena for the direction of middle class authority, they also articulated middle class values and provided the main forum for the development of middle class hierarchy and patterns of association. In the following analysis of class psychology, the organizations of Glasgow, traditional and new, secular and church based, are shown to play a vital role in the evolution of middle class power, status and consciousness.

4. The psychological profile of the Glasgow middle class

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Power, status and patterns of association

4.3 Outlook, attitudes and values

4.1 Introduction

The final element in this analysis of the multi-dimensional aspects of the Glasgow middle class, explores the psychology of the group - the necessary complement to the physical and organizational manifestations examined in sections two and three. Class psychology is examined within a subjective context relative to the previously defined objective boundaries. There are two main aspects to the analysis. The evolution and articulation of values and ideals specific to the middle classes is one focus of concern. Within this broad area, particular attention is given to the formation of values associated with the emergence of class and the development of inter-class and intra-class relationships. There is also an examination of values associated with the development of the urban environment and the municipality - the principal sphere of nineteenth century middle class activity - and additionally, an examination of developing attitudes and ideals related to the economic interests of the group. Initially however, the psychology of the middle classes is approached through an analysis of the evolving structures of power, status and patterns of association - areas of concern that can be described as manifestations of the middle class psyche 'in action'.

4.2 Power, status and patterns of association

Power and status were identified by Weber as important elements in the formation and identification of class.¹ Patterns of association, the social and familial connections between groups and individuals, can be seen as the physical enactment of power and status mechanisms. They define and circumscribe the 'middle class in action', the articulation of group relationships and consciousness.² The three are closely linked, and in their turn are associated with and influenced by the economic determinants of objective class.

In complex modern cities, social networks help to define status and provide a mechanism whereby access to power is controlled and circumscribed. Social networks or patterns of association can be informal and based on personal contacts, or formal and directed through the medium of specific organizations. The latter proved increasingly important in the nineteenth century as urban expansion progressively de-personalized city based society.³ Social networks were influenced by traditional criteria such as the family and place of birth. They were also subject to the influence of factors such as modern work patterns, which increasingly acted in parallel to, and in certain circumstances replaced, the family in the social consciousness of the nineteenth century urban middle classes.

In conjunction with status hierarchies, power - the ability to make

¹ A. Giddens The class structure of advanced societies (1973) p44

² P.N. Stearns 'The middle class: towards a precise definition' Comparative studies in society and history 21 (1979) p 382.

³ D. Timms The Urban Mosaic p 126

decisions, command authority and affect the actions of others - is a central element in the Weberian analysis of class. Power was directed through both formal and informal agencies. It was vested in the traditions of social deference, and in new power holding patterns that emerged with the evolving modern economy. In both power and status there was a similar multi-dimensionality of character. Both were based on a subtle series of distinctions derived from very complex evaluations, at individual and group level, of the activities and consequent esteem of other individuals and groups.⁴ In Glasgow, a city with no resident aristocracy, the middle classes were the traditionally dominant group. The nature of that group, the manner in which power was wielded and status regarded did however change considerably as the period progressed.

Contemporary views and evaluations, though inevitably highly personal and subjective, provide a simple means of gaining an initial understanding of local status, power and association patterns. Though Scotland, and especially the Scottish cities of the later nineteenth century, were strongly influenced by the myth of a golden past of egalitarianism in which an 'open society' flourished, in reality the country had a long established, highly structured and hierarchical social profile.⁵ Not surprisingly therefore, early nineteenth century views on the character of Glasgow life, past and present, stressed the nature of local formal hierarchies and the manner in which these were eroded. In the words of James Cleland, the most perceptive

⁴ F. Bechhofer 'Social class - necessary concept or needless baggage' (Unpublished Seminar Paper; University of Edinburgh 1982) p.1

⁵ A.A. MacLaren (ed) Social class in Scotland: Past and Present (Edinburgh N.D.) p.2

commentator on Scottish urban life of the period -

'Previous to the breaking out of the American War, the Virginians who were looked up to as the Glasgow aristocracy, had a privileged walk at the Cross, which they trod in long scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs, and such was the state of society that when any of the most respectable master tradesmen of the city had occasion to speak to these Tobacco Lords, he required to walk on the other side of the street, till he was fortunate enough to meet the eye of the patrician for it would have been presumption to have made up to him... [but] since the opening of the public coffee room in 1781, the absurd distinction of rank in a manufacturing town has disappeared. Wealth is not now the criterion of respect, for persons even in the inferior walks of life, who conduct themselves with propriety, have a higher place assigned to them in society than at any former period of the history of the city.'⁶

According to Cleland, certain exclusive trading rights, which brought great wealth and economic influence to a relatively small group of individuals engaged in specific areas of the colonial trades, dictated the means of access to the highest positions of local power and esteem. These were also reinforced by highly circumscribed and formalized patterns of personal and group association.⁷ With the relatively sudden demise of a previously powerful trading system based on a single product, tobacco (though other colonial trades continued to be significant) and the rise of a more complex urban economy, these formalities - which had only existed for a relatively short period anyway - were undermined and eventually collapsed.

Thereafter, formality, exclusivity and tradition no longer dictated power and status in the same way that they had in the late eighteenth century. New groups in new areas of economic and social activity, had

⁶ J. Cleland Statistical facts descriptive of the former and present state of Glasgow (Glasgow 1837) p39

⁷ T.M. Devine 'An eighteenth century business elite' Scottish Historical Review 57 (1978) 40-67 - Appendix 1 shows the extent to which Glasgow merchants engaged in the West Indian trade were related and inter-connected by business and social links.

an increased potential to manipulate power and command esteem. In the eyes of contemporaries such as Cleland, old social prejudices and restrictive social activities had been replaced by a more open system in which individuals were valued for their inherent moral worth. But despite the view that inherited wealth, family background and traditional position were no longer socially significant - that individuals of modest birth and limited economic power were capable of securing high public esteem - it is clear from other sources that these factors continued to play a role. In particular, the possession of great personal inherited wealth was still an important means of securing power and status during the period 1800 to 1870. Traditional perceptions and hierarchies still existed and operated within a system of closed and relatively exclusive patterns of association.

Numerous late nineteenth century published works on the lives of notable local people help to identify the contemporary views which individuals held on status and power. Such publications (which gave brief biographies of local men who were deemed to have made a special contribution to the city) abundant in late nineteenth century Glasgow, as elsewhere, formed part of an overall pattern of pride in the achievements and people of the city. Though they indicate those elements of individual character that commanded power and status, these collections must be viewed with some caution, for they tended also to be both nostalgic and proselytizing. Their aim was as much to provide an example to the young and indulge in sentimentalized local

history, as demonstrate the greatness of Glasgow.⁸ For example, in the preface to a collection of sketches that had originally appeared in The Evening Star in the late 1860's and early 1870's, it was stated that the biographies were formed with the aim of-

'gratifying an increasing and perfectly legitimate anxiety on the part of the public to know more of the antecedents, the struggles and triumphs, of the men whom they recognize as leaders: and the other, that of reminding a younger generation, from a contemplation of the lives of great men, that they too may leave behind them "Footprints on the Sands of Time"'.⁹

But despite these reservations, such collections do provide a valuable insight to contemporary perceptions.

One of the most significant of these works, and one of the least sentimental, was a memoir published in 1886 of one hundred notable Glasgow men who had died in the previous thirty years. 'Their genius and skill, their enterprise and daring made it [Glasgow] famous and combined with their wealth and their worth, have made Glasgow the Second city in the Empire'.¹⁰ It is a more objective work than many of the type in that it was compiled and written by several people, under the initiative of the publisher James Maclehose. It does not, therefore, reflect the prejudices of one individual alone. Though published in the late 1880's - the years that saw the peak of Glasgow

⁸ Scottish newspapers of the later nineteenth century contained a great many historical articles and sketches. They generally referred, in a sentimentally parochial manner, to exciting local events, curios and colourful characters of the past. They were very popular, and their authors, such as Senex (John Reid), who wrote regularly for the Herald - most notably a long series from the 1850's entitled 'Glasgow in Olden Times' - were regarded as local personalities.

⁹ J.S. Jeans Western worthies, a gallery of biographical and critical sketches of West of Scotland celebrities (Glasgow 1872) p1

¹⁰ Memoirs and portraits of one hundred Glasgow men who have died during the last thirty years, and in their lives did much to make the city what it is now (Glasgow 1886) pV

achievement as characterized by the spectacular First International Exhibition of 1888 - the men described were active largely in the period 1840 to 1870, and therefore significant to this study. The occupations of the 'One Hundred Men' are given in Table 4.1 (The occupation in which greatness was achieved is employed, though it is clear that many had been engaged in others during their lives, as well as those for which they were renowned.)

Table 4.1 Status and Power - One Hundred Glasgow Men.

<u>Merchant/Commercial</u>	total 26
Shipping line owners/merchants	4
Bankers	2
General merchants	10
Grain merchants	1
Wood merchant	1
Stationer/publisher	5
Insurance broker	2
Merchant/accountant	1

<u>Manufacturing/Industrial</u>	total 25
Brewer	1
Coal/iron master	4
Coal/iron manufacturer	1
Chemical manufacturer	4
Coach builder	1
Calico printer/dyer	6
Tobacco manufacturer	1
Engineer/Shipbuilder	5
Engineer	2

<u>Manufacturer/Merchant</u>	total 9
Oil colour manuf/merchant	1
Textile manuf/merchant	8

Table 4.1 cont...

<u>Professionals</u>	total 32
Writer	9
Minister	8
Surgeon	5
Academic	3
Teacher	1
Accountant	3
Civil Engineer	2
Architect	1
<u>Shopkeepers</u>	total 1
Draper	1
<u>Tradesmen</u>	total 1
Builder	1
<u>Clerk/Officer</u>	total 1
Local Government officer	1
<u>Transport</u>	total 1
Omnibus Company owner	1
<u>Others</u>	total 4
Newspaper owners/editor	2
Artists	2

The occupations of the twenty-five individuals described in a similar work of the early 1870's - a work that outlines the lives of men

deemed to have been 'Western Worthies' - show many parallels.¹¹ Indeed, most who appear in this volume also appear among the 'One Hundred Glasgow Men.' Though among the 'Western Worthies' there was a greater representation from those who held more formal positions of status and power, such as Scottish noblemen and Parliamentary representatives, and additionally those in senior positions in the judiciary. Ministers and notable individuals involved with higher education in Glasgow are also prominently featured. The 'Western Worthies' represented elites based on position and reputation, as well as those based on wealth and economic power who tended to dominate the 'One Hundred Men'.

One of the major points to emerge from these works is the relatively equal relationship between the manufacturing and industrial sector and those involved in trade and commerce. Both economic areas, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, had the capacity to convey high status and secure recognition among the public at large. This was unlike the situation which prevailed in the late eighteenth century, when certain areas of overseas trade dominated the allocation of public esteem. Not only were industrialists richer by the second half of the nineteenth century (though commerce still dominated wealth structures), they were also heavily engaged in prestigious charitable activity - the public face of the middle class in action - which was one of the most frequent sources of overt status. Of significance also was the presence of professionals, particularly those holding formal status positions in the church, in education and the law. Notably, in works compiled for a largely middle class readership - and often, as

¹¹ J.S. Jeans Western Worthies - such works inevitably include only men, women never appear in their own right.

in the case of 'One Hundred Men', published by subscription - United Presbyterian ministers featured prominently. Of the twenty-five 'Western Worthies' there were six ministers, of whom three belonged to the United Presbyterian church. There was also in the latter collection an acknowledgement of the status and power of the nobility - in the form of the Duke of Argyll; though no hereditary nobles appear among the 'One Hundred Glasgow Men'. Also of note, was the relative absence of individuals from the tradesman or shopkeeping sectors.

The criteria by which status and esteem were allocated, and consequently the reasons why these particular individuals were singled out for comment are shown in the text of the various memoirs and biographies. Certain elements were stressed repeatedly and were clearly, therefore, deemed to be significant by contemporaries. The primary emphasis was on individual wealth, enterprise and personal economic success. All of the individuals described had been very successful in their chosen areas of economic activity and through this has achieved wealth and the material trappings of status. Personal wealth was of importance even among those groups, such as the clergy, not overtly involved in profit making.

There appears to be little concern in the biographies and memoirs with 'rags to riches wealth'. This was an established middle class elite of great confidence, unlike the confidence-lacking, aspiring lower middle classes who took solace in the 'Smilesian syndrome'.¹² Thus,

¹² R.J. Morris 'Samuel Smiles and the genesis of self-help: the retreat to a petty bourgeois Utopia' Historical Journal 24 (1981) 89-109

although these volumes were in part aimed at providing role models for the young, it is clear that the higher levels of the middle class were not particularly concerned, by the later part of the nineteenth century, with this aspect of status and wealth seeking. Indeed, there is some indication that where an individual was of a modest family background, this aspect of his profile was played down. Such tendencies were, of course, very different to those seen in the earlier nineteenth century, when tales of the spectacular rise of the 'self-made man' were common. A French visitor to Glasgow in 1828 reported some of the many stories of locally famous and powerful self-made men that were then current; men like William Dunn, a former blacksmith, who made a fortune as an iron master and was reputed to be worth nearly half a million pounds.¹³

The manner in which wealth was consumed and displayed - through fine housing, entertaining, a glamorous social circle, cultural activity, a generally opulent life-style, and particularly through financial generosity in support of city institutions and charities - was repeatedly stressed. Involvement in culture, education, literary creativity and scientific endeavour was seen as particularly important since it contributed to the greater achievements of Glasgow as a centre of beauty and intellectualism. Thus Archibald McLellan (died 1854), a notable and very wealthy coach builder, was renowned most for his great activity in promoting the fine arts and in establishing the McLellan Galleries, which he later bequeathed to the city.¹⁴ John

¹³ A French sociologist looks at Britain: Gustave d'Eichthal and British society in 1828 Trans and ed. by B. Ratcliffe & W.H. Chaloner (Manchester 1977) p89

¹⁴ Memoirs and portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men p205

McGavin (died 1881) was a major grain miller and merchant, but also notable as an art patron and a founder of the Fine Art Society in Glasgow.¹⁵ Walter Crum F.R.S. (died 1867), a member of the famous textile merchant manufacturing family the Crums of Thorliebank, was also an accomplished chemist, an activity that fueled his interest in dying and printing.¹⁶ Henry Glassford Bell (died 1874) and Archibald Alison (died 1867), were Sheriffs of Lanarkshire also known as major writers and literary commentators.¹⁷ John Matheson (died 1878) was a wealthy calico printer and dyer but also a great music patron who established the Glasgow annual music festival in 1860.¹⁸ Several of those listed were artists or architects, indicating the importance of the visual arts and material display in Glasgow - though there were no novelists or musicians.

Financial generosity towards, and active involvement in the service of the public were also frequently stressed. The seeking and acquiring of formal positions of power in themselves conveyed status and esteem to those of great wealth. Individuals who had achieved economic success and not pursued public office were spoken of in a faintly disparaging tone: the rich were generally expected to take a lead in society. Involvement in the major formal city institutions of trade and municipal government was particularly significant: most of those described had held office in the Town Council, Trades and Merchant Houses, Chamber of Commerce or professional bodies. More important in

¹⁵ *ibid* p. 191

¹⁶ *ibid* p.93

¹⁷ *ibid* p.29, p.1

¹⁸ *ibid* p.219

conveying esteem and status, however, was philanthropic activity, especially personal generosity. David Stow (died 1864) was a wealthy merchant manufacturer, but better known for the fact that he established the first normal seminary for the training of teachers in 1836.¹⁹ There was also Thomas Corbett, who created the famous working-man's Cooking Depots - from which he made a fortune as well as secured a reputation as a great philanthropist.²⁰ William Logan was another notable philanthropist to make a fortune through his charitable and social activities, particularly the successful temperance hotels and dining rooms.²¹

Many of the individuals listed in these collections of notable men had an ancestry rooted in the old Glasgow merchant aristocracy. Family background, traditions and connections - however tenuous - were considered important throughout the nineteenth century in conveying status, and as a consequence were usually outlined in great detail. A number were members of the famous wealthy Glasgow dynasties of the period, while the elites of new wealth often married into such families. The Crums, the Tennents, the Lumsdens, the Grahams, or the Ewings were families who over several generations had made their mark in the city through involvement in trade, industry and the urban institutions. Even an artist such as J. Graham Gilbert (died 1866), famous as a portrait painter in the West of Scotland, was described initially in terms of his family background in West Indian trade, and

¹⁹ One Hundred Glasgow Men p.303

²⁰ J.S. Jeans Western Worthies pp184-190

²¹ One Hundred Glasgow Men p. 177

early life as a clerk in his father's merchanting warehouse.²² Family background was usually in the most prestigious areas of Glasgow business or the business orientated professions. Clergymen, writers, professors, sheriffs and parliamentary representatives - though no longer active in trade or manufacturing - often enjoyed higher esteem if they could trace their connections back to early commercial enterprise. Thus Robert Dalglish, William Graham and George Anderson, all Members of Parliament in the mid-nineteenth century, had family connections with the early nineteenth century Glasgow textile trade and industry - though not involved themselves.²³ When an individual's roots were not Glasgow based, a background in the rural farming or the small gentry classes was generally evident, underlining the many links between Glasgow and the rural hinterland, with its traditions of the landowning gentry elites. Immediate family members and relationships were also regarded as important in conveying status and social position. Those men who did not marry and have children tended to be thought of with pity. Notable connections through marriage were stressed repeatedly. Marriage, a formalization of patterns of association, reaffirmed and consolidated power and status among the elites. It allowed the integration of old and new wealth, and was also a means whereby business relationships were made more secure.

Published contemporary evaluations of those local individuals who commanded social esteem provide a yardstick by which to assess other measures of status and power. But they are subjective and to an

²² One Hundred Glasgow Men p. 145

²³ J.S. Jeans Western Worthies pp36-56

extent nostalgic - representing the views and values of an increasingly history conscious elite, looking back on the glories of a recent past at a time of great civic pride. A more objective interpretation of power and status can be derived from an analysis of formal and official power positions and status mechanisms. The most important focus of local official power holding, and consequently of status allocation, was the Town Council. The locality, the city in particular, tended to circumscribe middle class social and economic life. Thus, more than national politics and power institutions, local government and local political affairs were the spheres in which the nineteenth century urban middle classes tended to be most directly active and closely associated.²⁴ As a consequence, very few of those involved in local government ever sought access to national political representation, and most members of parliament were not involved with day-to-day local municipal affairs.²⁵

Membership of the Council was often an important element, particularly in the early and middle decades of the century, in determining the highest levels of personal success and the allocation of status.²⁶ It was generally accepted in middle class society that individuals who

²⁴ J. Garrard 'The middle classes and nineteenth century national and local politics' in J. Garrard et al (eds) The Middle Class in Politics (Farnborough N.D.) p 36

²⁵ The only exception to this was Kirkman Findlay, Lord Provost in the early nineteenth century and Member of Parliament in the 1820's. Of post-reform Provosts, only one, Sir James Campbell, stood for election to a Glasgow parliamentary seat, on two occasions without success in the 1830's and 1840's. While Sir James Anderson, Lord Provost in the 1840's, was successful in seeking election to the Stirling constituency in the 1850's.

²⁶ See E.P. Hennock Fit and proper persons: ideal and reality in nineteenth century local government (1973) for an exploration of the nature of local public office holding.

were wealthy and esteemed in their business activities should be encouraged to seek public office. These were individuals, after all, with proven acumen and enterprise, to whom the affairs of the city could be trusted.²⁷ The fact that very often individuals of sufficient ability and note were not prepared to enter local politics, more so as the period progressed and municipal government became more complex and time consuming, was a source of concern expressed repeatedly in the press.

The importance of commercial interests in Glasgow, as opposed to manufacturing, is reflected in the composition of the power elites who made up the Town Council and occupied the position of Provost during the course of the nineteenth century. Prior to reform, municipal government in Glasgow was dominated by merchant representatives. This was due to the strength of the Merchant House in the elective process and the traditional commercial functions of the city. The cotton industry, an important element in the local economy, was represented, but not to an extent that reflected its significance in local employment. There were twelve Lord Provosts from 1798 to 1833. Of these, seven were described broadly as merchants (five involved in the lucrative West Indian trade and two general merchants). There were four individuals in the textile industry (two merchant manufacturers and two cotton manufacturers), and one individual was a West Indian planter and landowner.²⁸ In the period 1833 to 1883 there were eighteen Lord Provosts, mainly drawn from an old elite

²⁷ See John Galt's The Provost for a precise exposition on the privileges, rights and benefits of those who entered local politics.

²⁸ J. Gourlay (ed) The Provosts of Glasgow 1609 - 1833 (Glasgow N.D.) pp.109-130

background. Of these, five were involved in publishing or stationery enterprises - an area in which Glasgow had developed a considerable reputation by the middle decades of the century - and four were involved in the textile industry (three were cotton merchant manufacturers). There were three general merchants, two iron masters, a writer, with an early involvement in the chemical industry, an insurance broker, with subsidiary interests in railways and shipping, a stock broker with early grain merchant interests and a flour and grain merchant.²⁹

The family and business profiles of those who held this major position of local power show much in common. Political party, especially in the middle years of the century, was less important than other aspects of personality and circumstances. Though the council was dominated throughout the period by the Whigs, there were also Conservative Lord Provosts, selected by inter-party consensus for their suitable backgrounds. In many respects the circumstances of the Provosts reflect and parallel those of the elites described in volumes such as 'One Hundred Glasgow Men'. Considerable levels of established wealth and economic success, a background in traditional areas of Glasgow trade or professions, a family history rooted in local elite or rural gentry society, and notable family connections through marriage, were all important elements in the personal profile of the Lord Provost, as is illustrated in a few short biographies.

Robert Graham (1759 to 1851) was the first Lord Provost of the reformed council from 1833 to 1834. He was a successful writer by

²⁹ J. Tweed Biographical sketches of the Hon. Lord Provosts of Glasgow (Glasgow 1883)

profession, son of a notable Glasgow writer. (One of his brothers was a major advocate in Edinburgh, the other a Glasgow manufacturer). His sister married a distant relative, Archibald Grahame of Dalmarnock, partner in the Thistle Bank. His first wife, from Cupar in Fife, was a relative of Scott Montcrieff, manager of the Royal Bank in Glasgow, in whose house they had met. His second wife was the widow of a famous Scottish general. A cousin was James Hill of Busby, head of the Sasine Office in Glasgow and Dean of the Faculty of Procurators in the 1820's. One of his sons married the daughter of Kirkman Findlay, member for Glasgow, former Provost and notable merchant and manufacturer. Grahame was a liberal reformer and active as defence agent in the political trials of such individuals as James Wilson in 1820. He was an eminent member of the legal profession, had family connections in banking, manufacturing and among the landed gentry, was an original partner in the Charles Tennant & Co chemical company and also had extensive involvements in early canal companies. He provides a good example of power holding and status based on established family wealth and connections, consolidated by a wide range of local economic activities.³⁰

Sir James Campbell (1790 to 1876), Provost in the 1840's, supplies another example of the importance of business success and notable personal connections. He was born into a modestly wealthy landed family at Port of Menteith and came to Glasgow in 1805, where he entered the services of a tailor and clothier's firm. In partnership with his brother he quickly established a very successful and extensive manufacturing, retail and wholesale clothing firm. Through

³⁰ J. Tweed Lord Provosts pp.12-21

business connections in England, he met and married the daughter of the wealthy Henry Bannerman of Manchester. Later in life he attempted to enter national politics and though not successful in gaining parliamentary election, he was an important figure in the Scottish Conservative Party. Several of his children, however, were to be eminent at the national political level, most notably Henry Campbell Bannerman who was born in 1836 and was member for Stirling for many years and eventually Prime Minister.³¹

Peter Clouston, Lord Provost in the early 1860's, a marine insurer, was the son of a Glasgow ship's master. He was associated with the firm of Bennett, Browne & Co. along with a cousin, J. Browne who was one of the original partners in the Cunard Company. Clouston remained head of the firm for many years and was later joined by John Burns MacBrayne, also a distant relative, who established the MacBrayne shipping company. Clouston was married to the daughter of a notable writer in Glasgow, and two of his daughters married into the firm of Bulloch Bros & Co. of Rangoon and London, owners of the Bay Line of ships trading in the Far East.³²

Personal wealth, traditional and prestigious economic interests developed over several generations, and notable family connections were clearly important elements in the allocation of power and status

³¹ J. Tweed Lord Provosts pp.68-69

³² *ibid* pp. 214-217

positions. This was especially true in the early nineteenth century. But these patterns were evident also in later decades, for though the expansion of Glasgow and development of new economic and social groups had widened access to power, traditional power and status groups were still held in high esteem as they ensured a sense of continuity. This generalization evident for the Lord Provosts, also holds for those individuals elected as Town Councillors, though here there is greater evidence that as the century progressed a wider social group was gaining access to these positions of local power. The occupational interests of the whole Town Council in selected years is shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Glasgow Town Council in 1848, 1862, 1869 and 1900.

	1848	1862	1869	1900
Merchants/Commercial				

Broker/Agent	1	1	2	1
Provision Merchant	3	2	2	3
Grain/Flour Merchant	0	3	2	4
Wine/Spirit Merchant	0	0	1	1
Iron Monger	1	0	0	0
Coal Merchant	0	0	0	1
Textile Merchant	3	0	1	0
Leather Merchant	0	1	1	0
Glass Merchant	0	1	0	0
Slate Merchant	0	1	0	0
Warehouseman	1	2	1	0
General Merchant	7	16	12	11
Ship Owner	0	1	0	3
Publisher/Stationer	2	2	1	0
Total	18	30	23	23
% of total Council	56%	60%	46%	31%
Manufacturers/Industry				

Ship Builders	0	0	0	2
Iron Founders	2	0	1	2
Coal Masters	0	0	0	1
Coach Builders	1	0	0	2
Textile Manufacturers	3	2	1	0
Glass Manufacturers	0	0	2	0
Paper Manufacturers	0	1	0	0
Wrights	1	1	1	0
Brewer	1	0	0	0
Engineers	0	2	3	0
Unnamed Manufacturers	1	5	6	11
Total	9	12	14	19
% of Council	28%	24%	28%	26%
Professionals				

Doctor	0	1	3	4
Accountant	2	1	0	3
Writer	1	1	0	1
Teacher	0	1	1	1
Total	3	4	4	9
% of Council	9%	8%	8%	12%
Others				

Shopkeepers	1	1	3	10
Clerks/Employees	0	0	0	9
Unknown	1	4	6	4
Total	1	1	3	19
% of Council	3%	2%	6%	26%
Absolute total	32	50	50	74

The importance of the commercial community and traditional high status occupations in local government is clear. As late as 1862 over half of the Town Council was drawn from this sector, though by 1900 the representation had declined considerably. Following municipal reform, the manufacturing sector tended to have a stable representation over the period and never reached the position of dominance that had been held by commerce - though individual manufacturers held considerable power within the Council as Committee leaders. Thus in 1869 manufacturing and industry represented nearly one third of civic leadership at a time when over two thirds of the local population was employed in this sector - though significantly, the presence of manufacturers within the Council was greater than their representation within the middle classes as a whole. The commercial groups by contrast, though falling in significance, still formed nearly half of the civic leadership at time when only ten per cent of the local population derived a living from this sector.³³ The professions were a rising group, represented far in excess of their numbers and far more in evidence in local positions of power in Glasgow than they were in other British cities such as Leeds or Birmingham.³⁴ This reflected the traditional power and autonomy of professionals, and professional institutions, within the Scottish municipal system and in Glasgow in particular.

As the period progressed, individuals from low status occupations, notably shopkeepers, entered the Town Council in greater numbers.

³³ W. Watson Report on the vital, social and economic statistics of Glasgow for 1865 (Glasgow 1866) p66

³⁴ E.P. Hennock Fit and proper persons: ideal and reality in nineteenth century local government (1973) pp 350-352

Power and status within the community were becoming generally more egalitarian and diversified. But this was happening at a time when the power of the Council itself was also starting to be eroded, as local autonomy and decision making began to collapse in the face of national legislation, and nation-wide administrative bodies.³⁵ As the period progressed, certain of the major wealth elites, particularly those who had abandoned active involvement in business, tended to look to the wider forum for opportunities to establish and manipulate power and status. They thus created greater opportunities for power seeking by the less wealthy, who earlier in the century had been excluded from the upper tiers of civic leadership. But though in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century the lower middle class did not generally form part of the Town Council, official positions of power and status, at a lower and more localized level, were available to these groups. The election of local ward Commissioners of Police in 1832 reflects this. Of fourteen successful electoral candidates, there were two manufacturers, six shopkeepers, three tradesmen, two teachers and one tavern keeper.³⁶ Through the availability of localized official positions of power and status, lower middle class disaffection with the entrenched and slow changing hierarchies of civic leadership was stemmed.

³⁵ The erosion of local power, seen most notably from 1845 following Scottish Poor Law reform, was often resisted and resented by municipal government. A. Paterson 'The Poor Law in nineteenth century Scotland' in Fraser, D. (ed) The new Poor Law in the nineteenth century (1976) 170-193

³⁶ Herald Aug 3 1832

Despite the rise of the new middle class, and the developing power of the lower middle class, it is evident that official power holding within the municipality, throughout the period, was mainly accorded to those groups with the highest status and esteem. Power equalled esteem and esteem was equivalent to power. These in their turn were highly determined by tangible measures of status and power such as wealth and economic position. Family connections and business links were also important. The whole system through which official power and status were allocated was subtly influenced by complex patterns of personal association. But what about less formal and unofficial aspects of power and status holding - that which was evident within the many voluntary organizations that helped to form middle class consciousness and directed much of middle class activity in the nineteenth century?

It has already been asserted that one of the functions of voluntary organizations was to provide a mechanism, in the face of entrenched and often unpopular power holding traditions, whereby new elites could seek status and public recognition and engage, in an informal and unofficial sense, in the management of the city. Membership of and public subscription to a voluntary organization reflected the values and status of an individual: the holding of positions of organizational power - usually by virtue of election by subscribers - was a means of securing status and prestige. Charitable and organizational subscription lists were published, and individuals who aspired to power or public recognition were expected to contribute to the more notable and uncontroversial of these. An indication of the importance of this is seen in the fact that individuals seeking election to Parliament or Local Government usually featured

prominently in such lists.³⁷

Official burgh power structures prior to the reforms of the 1830's, were based on traditional perceptions that gave emphasis to the old commercial and professional elites. But, though the period saw a major rise in the aspiration to and realization of power by the new middle class groups - particularly through the voluntary organizations - it is clear that even in this informal context, the old elites could still retain power and command the highest status. A brief survey of power holding in organizations outside the formal burgh structures in 1800 demonstrates this. An analysis was undertaken of the occupations³⁸ of individuals who were Directors of the Royal Infirmary or subscribers of over £2.00 per annum (a level which gave voting rights and therefore a certain measure of power), those who were Tax officials (an honorary local position), Officers of the Volunteer Regiments, Directors of the Missionary Society, the Humane Society, and the Militia Society. These were the main nineteenth century type of voluntary associations to be seen in 1800, excepting the Female Society whose officials could not be identified. The results are given in Table 4.3.³⁹

³⁷ See subscription lists of the year 1832 - when a number of local candidates were fighting for parliamentary election - notably for the Glasgow Scott Monument Herald Nov 2 1832

³⁸ As far as it was possible to do this through linkage to the generally inadequate Directories of the period.

³⁹ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow (Glasgow 1816); Glasgow Missionary Society - Report of the Directors for 1799 (Glasgow 1800); The Sixth Annual Report of the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow for the year 1800 (Glasgow 1802); The Glasgow Chronicle

Table 4.3 Glasgow Middle Class Voluntary Organizations - Power and Status in 1800.

205 individual occupations identified

Commercial	-	85	(41.5%)
Industrial	-	48	(23.4%)
Manuf/Merch	-	5	(2.4%)
Professional	-	36	(17.6%)
Shopkeepers	-	14	(6.8%)
Tradesmen	-	7	(3.4%)
Independent	-	10	(4.9%)

This pattern of power and status, in which the established and traditional elites of commerce and the professions held the most dominant positions clearly reflects the wealth distribution patterns identified for 1800. It was a structure of power and status that was further mirrored in the 1815 mass subscription, launched in Glasgow, for the Victims of Waterloo.⁴⁰ The occupations of the Committee elected by subscribers is given in Table 4.4 and that of individuals who contributed £10 or more to the fund, with the average value of subscriptions for each occupational group, given in Table 4.5. Significantly, the traditional elites and those of independent means not only dominated power positions: they also contributed by far the highest levels of subscription, a reflection of the relative wealth of these groups. The lower middle class occupations were barely represented at this level of prestigious civic charitable activity.

⁴⁰ The subscription for the Victims of Waterloo was the largest ever raised in Glasgow to that point in time - Herald July 10 1815 - July to Sept for daily lists of subscribers.

Table 4.4 Committee of the Fund for the Victims of Waterloo, 1815.

38 occupations identified - from 44 committee members

Commercial	-	26 (68.4%)
Industrial	-	8 (21.0%)
Manuf/Merch	-	1 (2.6%)
Tradesmen	-	1 (2.6%)
Independent	-	2 (5.3%)

Table 4.5 Subscribers of over £10 to the Fund for the Victims of Waterloo, 1815 - with average subscription for each occupation group.

67 occupations identified

Commercial	-	37 (55.2%)	£42
Industrial	-	18 (26.9%)	£17
Professional	-	4 (6.0%)	£10
Independent	-	8 (11.9%)	£38

Such voluntary organizations as the Royal Infirmary, or charitable subscriptions like that in aid of the Victims of Waterloo, though employing new methods of middle class organization, were generally non-controversial and inherently prestigious. It was inevitable therefore that they should attract and be dominated by established high status groups. It was in organizations of a more innovative, controversial or radical nature - particularly those formed to deal specifically with the problems and needs of the urban working classes - that new, lower status middle class groups were initially to play their most significant role in the early nineteenth century. Bodies like the City Missions or the Parish Schools - established in the first three decades of the century to address the manifest problems of an alienated city poor - were dominated in their organizational structures and subscription funding by the new manufacturing classes, shopkeepers and tradesmen. Though the traditional elites frequently gave financial contributions to such bodies, they rarely played an

active part in their management or initiation. This is shown notably in the subscriptions to the Glasgow Mechanic's Institute of 1825, in which, from a total of sixteen contributors of over £5, twelve were manufacturers mainly involved in the cotton textile industry.⁴¹

The role of the new middle class, particularly the major manufacturers, in attempting to provide solutions to the difficulties of the growing working classes, and of urban poverty, was notable. It was quickly realized by the established elites, that these new groups had a particularly close relationship with and understanding of the increasingly distant urban poor. Through employment in factories or workshops, or through the provision of retail services, manufacturers, tradesmen and shopkeepers were in daily contact with the working classes in a way that was not experienced by the commercial and professional elites. As concern about the problems of poverty and urban growth increased, this pattern of contacts between the classes became progressively more significant as a means whereby the potentially dangerous social alienation of the poor apparently could be avoided. Manufacturers and large employers were acknowledged to hold a unique position in that they were able to negotiate relationships between the classes. In the view of one contemporary social commentator - 'Our manufacturers wield a mighty influence on the morals of the population...'⁴² Because of this influence, and a willingness to initiate and participate in voluntary association activity targeted on social problems, they gradually assumed a high level of public esteem, status and power. These in turn were consolidated by existing strong business links and connections through

⁴¹ Herald Jan 21 1825

⁴² J. Smith The grievances of the working class (Glasgow 1846) p 111

marriage.⁴³

By the 1860's a different picture of society was becoming evident. The emerging groups of the middle class, those engaged in the new economic activities of the urban industrial era, had secured considerable levels of personal wealth and business influence, and as a result of this and their role in negotiating relationships with the working classes, had achieved both a high level of status and power. There were, however, still many parallels with the situation that had prevailed in the early nineteenth century. To indicate the character of non-official status and power in 1861, an analysis was made of subscriptions to the three most important medical charities in Glasgow - the Royal Infirmary, the Eye Infirmary and the Lying-in Hospital - all relatively prestigious and non-controversial in their aims.⁴⁴ The Royal Infirmary was the longest established of the three, founded in 1794, and the single most important charity of any type within the city. It had a massive subscriptions list, with over 1600 named individuals or businesses making contributions in 1861. The Eye Infirmary, established in 1824, had just over 350 private subscribers in 1861. In the same year the Lying-in Hospital (established in 1835) had just over 400 private subscribers. The occupations and domestic

⁴³ The consolidation of manufacturers power was notable from 1815, when they combined both locally and nationally to fight taxes that imposed particularly heavily on factory buildings - see Section 3.2.

⁴⁴ The sixty-seventh annual report of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, for the year 1861 (Glasgow 1862); The thirty-eighth annual report of the Glasgow Eye Infirmary (Glasgow 1862); The twenty-seventh annual report of the Glasgow Lying-in Hospital and Dispensary (Glasgow 1862)

details of a sample of the subscribers are given in Table 4.6.⁴⁵

Table 4.6 Glasgow Middle Class - Medical Charity Subscriptions, 1861.

	A	B	C
Merchant/commercial	9	11	28%
Manufacture/industrial	6	7	18%
Manufacture/merchant	5	2	10%
Professional	3	8	15%
Shopkeeper	0	6	8%
Tradesman	0	5	7%
Clerk/officer	0	2	3%
Manager/foreman	0	1	1%
Transport	0	1	1%
Domestic (hotels)	0	2	2%
Independent	0	4	6%

A = company subscriptions (based on one partner per company) N = 23

B = individual subscriptions N = 49

C = % of total, combining both company and individual subscriptions

Average rooms in house of subscribers 10.1

Average ratable value of house £60.0

Average number of servants 2.4

(36% of households had servants in named categories, eg ladies maid, butler etc)

Average value of commercial property £292.0

Average age of sample individuals 51.5 yrs

The occupations and domestic profiles of the subscribers corresponds closely with the profile of high wealth and status individuals who lived in households of two or more servants. This demonstrates yet again that status, as articulated by public charity subscriptions, was strongly related to objectively measured indexes of wealth.

⁴⁵ The subscribers were too numerous to examine the occupations of each. Therefore the 1861 Record Linked Sample was employed, and linked to the subscription lists. Seventy-two individuals were identified in this manner, of whom twenty-three were linked via company subscriptions. Of the total, only one of the subscribers was a woman.

Unlike the equivalent subscriptions for 1800 or 1815, manufacturers and those from areas that were traditionally seen as part of the lower middle class, such as shopkeepers or tradesmen, were more obviously present in 1861, reflecting the increased levels of personal wealth to be gained through these economic activities. Such groups also now held positions of power within the management of the prestigious city charities. But the traditional elites were still powerful and significant by their presence, as shown in some of the details of subscriptions. The largest company subscriptions were from a notable firm of commission merchants, William Connal & Co, followed by the cotton goods merchants, J.R. Cogan & Co and the firm of writers, Couper & McKenzie. Commercial and professional companies tended to subscribe more highly than those in manufacturing or industry - implying the higher status or status seeking aspirations of the former. Among private subscribers, however, the balance was more equal.

The rise of new middle class groups to positions of power and status is shown also in the occupations of officers of the Volunteer Regiments that were formed throughout Britain in the late 1850s, in the wake of fears of a French invasion.⁴⁶ The creation of the Volunteers was very much a response to an urban middle class dissatisfaction with the aristocratic mismanagement of the regular army. It was therefore highly middle class dominated, particularly in its early years.⁴⁷ In 1861 there were a number of successful and

⁴⁶ P. Morton 'Another Victorian paradox: anti-militarism in a jingoistic society' Historical Reflections (1981) p171

⁴⁷ H. Cunningham The Volunteer Force: a social and political history 1859 - 1908 (Connecticut 1975) p2

buoyant Volunteer regiments in Glasgow. The corps tended to be formed by groups of friends, and consolidated, often in an initially informal manner, into regiments or battalions on the basis of personal and friendship contacts. Officers were usually elected by the corps members, on the basis of personal popularity and social esteem.⁴⁸ An analysis of volunteer regiments, as in Table 4.7, is capable, therefore, of showing aspects of power and status and also the detailed mechanism of patterns of association.⁴⁹

Table 4.7 Glasgow Middle Class - Volunteer Force, 1861.

N = 179

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Merch/commercial	20	15	16	6	4	3
Manuf/industrial	0	5	11	4	1	19
Manuf/merchant	5	1	1	0	8	0
Professional	1	16	6	5	7	3
Shopkeeper	1	0	2	1	0	0
Tradesman	1	3	2	2	2	0
Transport	0	1	5	0	0	0
Others	0	0	2	0	0	0

A = 2nd Administrative Battalion L.R.V.

B = 1st Regiment L.R.V.,

C = 2nd Regiment L.R.V.

D = 3rd Regiment L.R.V.

E = 4th Consolidated Battalion L.R.V.

F = 5th Consolidated Battalion L.R.V.

⁴⁸ *ibid* p.53

⁴⁹ The Glasgow Directory printed the names and addresses of all commissioned officers in Lanarkshire. Six of the regiments were Glasgow based and the occupations, home and work addresses of most of those concerned can be traced through the Directory. Due to the relatively small numbers involved, all Volunteer officers were examined - 210 individuals in all of which 179 could be clearly identified.

A number of points of note can be drawn from this analysis of Glasgow Volunteer regiments. As shown elsewhere, the highest power and status positions were allocated to those of greatest personal wealth, economic influence and traditional prestige. Commercial occupations were numerically dominant among the officers as a whole. But though the colonels and majors, generally elected by their fellow officers, were mainly notable merchants, there were also some who were eminent industrialists and professional men, or the occasional distinguished public employee, such as the Manager of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway who was the Major (second-in-command) in the Second Regiment Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers.

The most significant point to emerge however, is the vast importance of work situations in determining patterns of association for active middle class men - those in the age group twenty to forty-five years who dominated the officer class. This was a situation unlike that seen in the earlier nineteenth century when family connections and tradition based links between groups, such as place of family origin, were the most important factors in association. This is not to imply, of course, that family contacts or place of birth were no longer important by 1860 - the continuing significance of these elements is shown in the personal profiles of elite individuals described above, and in the growth of the numerous Scottish county voluntary organizations that flourished in Glasgow in the middle decades of the century. What was new however, was that numerous middle class men, many of whom had migrated to the city, were increasingly finding that most of their social activity revolved about their work situations. This was a consequence of new patterns of work, and middle class employment in city centre offices, that were divorced from direct

contact with the family.⁵⁰

The importance of work situations is shown in the occupation profiles of specific regiments, and in the spatial distribution of the home and work addresses of the officers involved. The Sixth Consolidated Battalion Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers was perhaps the most occupationally homogenous of the regiments, with nineteen of the twenty-five officers identified involved in some aspect of the iron and engineering industry. There were eight from engineering and shipbuilding, six from iron forging companies, three from engineering firms, one iron and coal master and one iron merchant. The residential addresses of the regiment were scattered in the main elite areas of the West End of the city - work addresses however were concentrated on two distinct points. The first and primary concentration was on the Anderston district, to the south-west of George Square, where there were many ship yards and engineering works. The second was on the main business office centre to the immediate west and south-west of George Square.

Other regiments were highly occupation specific and show a similar work address concentration. The Second Regiment Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers was dominated by individuals in the heavy industrial sector and those in the transport industry, particularly railway employees. Work addresses were mainly in the south-west and north-west industrial zones of the city. The First Regiment Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, though dominated by those in the commercial occupations, particularly elite merchants and bankers, had a very high representation of

⁵⁰ On the separation of home and work and its impact on the middle class family see - L. Davidoff & C. Hall Domesticity and capitalist enterprise in England, 1780-1850 (SSRC Report G11/23/0073 1983)

professional men, with no fewer than five University professors among the officers, also four writers, four accountants and three surgeons. While the Second Administrative Battalion Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers was distinct for the number of individuals involved in trading in and the wholesale or processing of wine, grain, groceries, oil and leather.

Through this analysis of power, status and patterns of association the significance of tradition in the experience and perceptions of the nineteenth century urban middle class is again underlined. Continuity in the groups and occupations who directed power, both official and informal, and held social esteem was vital for maintaining stability and authority within the changing city. Traditional means, such as marriage and family contacts were significant throughout the period in consolidating that continuity. Areas of wealth generation that were traditional to Glasgow secured some of the largest fortunes and greatest prestige both in 1800 and 1870. New wealth, and the new middle classes, were not however excluded from the hierarchies of power and status. The strength of the traditional elites lay in their flexibility and gradual accommodation of the new. In particular the established middle classes quickly recognized the role of the new, especially those involved in industry, in negotiating relationships with the expanding working class. Flexibility was seen in the way that new work routines and association patterns were absorbed into the traditional structures of the middle class: and as shown in the following analysis of attitudes and outlook there was also considerable accommodation by the old middle class of the innovative perceptions and values of the new.

4.3 Outlook, attitudes and values

The psychology of the middle classes is best interpreted through an analysis of the values and ideals of the group. Values and ideals, attitudes and outlook are an essential element in the formation of class identity and in the articulation of class consciousness. Class-specific values encompass a vast number of areas, many of which have been examined in depth.⁵¹ It is suggested here, however, that the British urban middle classes of the nineteenth century were particularly characterised by an evolving array of values and attitudes related to three specific areas of experience. These areas, which were inevitably inter-connected, concern the relationships between the social classes, both at a local and national level, attitudes towards and arising out of the development of the urban environment and the perceived economic role of the middle classes.

The development of values and outlook in these areas was particularly evident in the creation of a middle class consciousness in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. This was a period notable for the galvanizing of urban middle class power, and the formation of values and perceptions that were to characterize the group and remain dominant for many decades beyond. It was a period when the middle classes emerged as a distinct entity with a specific identity and psychology that separated it from the working classes and from the upper classes alike. During these years, as the city of Glasgow gradually developed as a significant force in national affairs, civic

⁵¹ Notably attitudes to the family, to leisure, the nature of work and the 'gentleman', and attitudes concerning gender roles. See references in Section 1.1

pride and civic identity were forged. Within a national forum and at the city level, the new urban middle classes created organizational structures which, when paralleled by new political aspirations, were to generate an unprecedented strength and unity, and set the foundation for the struggle for political power that was to culminate in the events of 1832.

In the Scottish context, this development has been charted at length. The events of 1815 in particular, and those of the early 1820's in Scotland, have been seen as vital indicators to the emergence of a 'class society'.⁵² The analysis of Glasgow casts considerable light on the process of emerging middle class consciousness. But, contrary to Perkin's argument that the years up to 1815 represent a delay in the 'birth of class' - a delay founded in the pressures of war - it can be shown that from the late eighteenth century a number of related trends ensured that the dramatic events following the end of the French wars were to generate action from a middle class already psychologically coherent and aware.

In many respects, the Glasgow middle class of the late eighteenth century was an identifiable reality, structurally well formed and largely united behind the leadership of an established elite of Atlantic merchants and traders. It did not, however, demonstrate a psychological unity, nor was it a fully developed 'class' in the nineteenth century sense. It was numerically small and intensely hierarchical group, with wealth concentrated on a few groups involved in particular areas of prestigious economic activity. Contacts with,

⁵² H. Perkin The origins of modern English society 1780-1880 (1969) esp pp208-9

and values derived from, the traditional rural systems of familial property holding and patronage were still significant. At the upper end of the hierarchy, links of a cultural and psychological nature with the country gentry and aristocracy were more notable than links with the middle and lower levels of the middle class. At the bottom of the hierarchy, meanwhile, there were many close contacts with the lower classes. The sense of urban identity and civic pride was undoubtedly weak. The new middle classes, particularly those who emerged with the growth of modern industry, had yet to establish power and group perception. But the foundations of a coherent middle class social structure had been established, and these were to be further developed by the events and pre-occupations of the period of the French wars.⁵³

The later eighteenth century had been a period of economic prosperity and advance - and consequently, one also of social change and instability. Continued rapid economic modernization, and in particular the growth of towns in the early nineteenth century, further hastened this trend, which - when added to the considerable levels of social strain engendered by the uncertainties of war - forced new modes of social thinking into existence. The extent to which the French wars, and domestic events associated with them, provoked anxiety, especially among the middle classes, has been underemphasized. The anticipation of international conflict, and consequent disruption of expanding trade and nascent industry, was considerable and unsettling, even when there was no actual fighting.

⁵³ R.S. Neale Class in English history 1680-1850 (Oxford 1981) pp.80-82

A mood of pessimism prevailed among the Glasgow middle classes, reflected in a poem by 'A.B. Gorbals' published in the local press in late 1800.

'Presaging darkness veils Britannias Isle,
With Wars alarms her rocky shores resound,
And languid Commerce, with feigned smile,
Distrustful plows the briny deep profound.'⁵⁴

Local newspapers, a major index of middle class social thinking, were dominated by the war news. National newspapers were eagerly awaited as the main source of information on outside events. In a period when road communications were still very poor, even cities as large as Glasgow were isolated from immediate contact with national affairs. At a time of crisis this sense of local isolation was keenly felt, and when, for whatever trivial reason, there was a delay in the arrival of the national newspaper or post, apprehension and fear were quickly generated.⁵⁵

Though there was no warfaring in Glasgow, the city was thoroughly disrupted by military mobilization in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century. A number of Scottish regiments were temporarily stationed in Glasgow, and prior to the building of the new barracks men and officers alike were billeted in the private homes of the middle classes, much to the chagrin of householders.⁵⁶ The presence of many glamorous regiments was in one sense a social asset, for military

⁵⁴ Advertiser Dec 1 1800

⁵⁵ The last significant case of such hysteria in Glasgow occurred in 1820 at the time of the Bonnybridge uprising - see Section 3.2.

⁵⁶ Only female headed households in which there were no adult males escaped the imposition of billeted soldiers - who were allocated according to the ratable value of the property.

styles dominated local middle class entertainment of the period.⁵⁷ But it was also a source of lawlessness, and added strain to a city already under pressure from an increasing lower class population, drawn to the metropolis in search of work and to escape widespread rural dearth.

The cost of fighting the war also fell heavily on the urban middle classes in the form of the very unpopular income tax, first introduced in 1798, and the onerous post-war assessed taxes. The former were a particular burden on those whose income depended on variable commercial profits as assessments were based on the income of the previous year. The unpopularity and resentment of the income tax was such that despite attempts by the Tax Commissioners to appeal to the patriotic spirit of the population, evasion was rife and elaborate ruses, designed for avoidance, were applauded with glee. In one case reported in the Glasgow Courier -

'A gentleman in this county, in his return of his income to the Commissioners, claimed an abatement in terms of the Act for three children...on inquiry it appears, that the ages of his three children, taken together amount to one hundred and eighty one years!'.⁵⁸

Local social, economic and even individual household disruption, constant anxiety and a degree of resentment against the forces of government, combined to forge urban middle class psychological unity. This was strengthened in certain respects by the aggressive patriotism which pervaded the population as a whole, and the urban middle classes in particular. 'Patriotism, reinforced by paternalism' has been identified by one notable commentator as an important factor in the

⁵⁷ For a literary description of the impact of a regiment on local society see Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice (1814)

⁵⁸ Courier Sept 5, 1799

delayed development of overt class consciousness during the course of the French wars.⁵⁹ From the Glasgow case, however, it seems that early nineteenth century patriotism was often allied to a desire to overthrow paternalism, and together they helped to form middle class perceptions and unity.

Demonstrations of popular patriotism, at mass meetings, marches, public dinners and civic celebrations, were a common political device of the eighteenth century - a means of focusing national pride and countering radicalism and discontent.⁶⁰ By 1800, however, the inevitable expense that such events incurred against the local public purse, and increased fears of the threats they posed to the maintenance of law and order in the larger towns, had led to some questioning and abolition of the more vociferous manifestations.⁶¹ But though many traditional forms of popular patriotism were fast disappearing from the cities, intense articulations of patriotic sentiments were still a major feature of early nineteenth century society. In the words of one commentator, there was a 'patriotic, military spirit, which happily at this time pervades all Ranks of His Majesty's loyal subjects.'⁶² It was a new form of patriotism, however, one that was generated from within the urban middle classes at the local level, rather than by the upper class, national governing

⁵⁹ H. Perkin The origins of modern English society pp208-9

⁶⁰ L. Colley 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, Royalty and the British nation' Past and Present 102 (1984) p111; P.J. Corfield The impact of English towns 1700 - 1800 (Oxford 1982) p161

⁶¹ See J. Galt The Provost pp31-36, - in which Provost Pawkie leads the attack on traditional unruly King's birthday celebrations.

⁶² Courier Oct 1 1799

elites. Its projection was closely allied to the militarism of the period, and demanded active participation and initiation from within local society, rather than mere passive responses. The activities and organizations associated with the new patriotism provided a forum within which middle class solidarities and psychological unity could be developed.

In Glasgow, the first dynamic and positive patriotic middle class response to the French Revolution and War, was the formation of Volunteer Regiments in the period 1794 to 1797 and again in 1803, after the collapse of the Peace of Amiens.⁶³ Volunteer Regiments allowed, possibly for the first time in a formal organizational sense, different sections of urban industrial society to be united within a distinct structure in which status was formally ascribed. The middle classes were distinguished in power and authority as officers, generally elected by ballot from within their own numbers or appointed by outside, middle class dominated public bodies such as the Town Council. The selection of officers by democratic means - an implied rejection of the noble patronage that dominated the regular army - and the fact that officers often provided the equipment and uniforms for their own regiments, meant that the Volunteers, though a response to patriotism, played an important role in generating local urban identity and middle class unity. It was a structure of patriotic initiative that existed outside the paternalism of the national upper-classes. The Volunteers were a form of patriotic entertainment and a public reassurance in case of invasion. But they also provided a context in which modern urban status could be determined and inter-

⁶³ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 pp.277-297

class relationships formalized.

The significance of new forms of organized patriotism in the generation of middle class awareness is also shown in certain specific responses to the events of the war. The death of Nelson in 1805 had a particularly dramatic effect on the provincial urban middle classes, notably in Glasgow. Following his death, a number of Nelson's friends and colleagues in government and the forces decided to raise a national subscription to build a monument in London to the fallen hero. Initially, the elites of Glasgow were happy to subscribe to this. But in December, a number of individuals in positions of local power, headed by the Lord Provost, took the initiative to build a memorial to Nelson of their own. Though Nelson had no special connections with Glasgow, this was to be sited in a prominent place in the city - 'to transmit to future ages the grateful remembrance of the citizens of Glasgow for his eminent services and rouse the youth of succeeding generations.'⁶⁴ Though motivated by patriotism and a sense of national pride, events like the Nelson Monument subscription, or the similar mass subscription of 1815 for the Victims of Waterloo - both of which were highly publicized in the local press - acted as vehicles for the formation of local middle class status and values, and generated a sense of identity with the city.

Strong patriotism and militarism was often linked, somewhat ambivalently, to expressions of traditional Scottish nationalism. The coupling of these values to a growing sense of dissatisfaction, among certain of the urban middle classes, with the Government and aristocratic leadership was demonstrated in the 'toasts' given at the

⁶⁴ Herald Dec 9 1805

annual dinners of an organization, formed in Glasgow in 1810, in honour of Charles James Fox. At the Black Bull Inn in January 1810, ninety-one gentlemen, their identities unfortunately unknown, described as 'Friends of Constitutional Principles in Glasgow' celebrated Fox's birthday.⁶⁵ The dinner was accompanied by the usual 'national and patriotic airs by an instrumental band' and followed by a number of toasts including -

'The King' - 'The glorious and immortal memory of Charles Fox' - 'The Prince of Wales' - 'The Navy' - 'The Army and may its valour never be frustrated by ministerial incapacity' - 'the House of Hanover and may they never forget the principles which seated them on the Throne' - 'the Rights of the People, which Fox defended' - 'The Liberty of the Press' - 'Magna Carta and may the nobility ever find their truest interest in protecting the Rights of the People' - 'Lord Grenville and may the Kingdom soon be really united by his liberal policy to the Catholics' - 'The Duke of Norfolk and the Whigs of England' - 'The memory of Wallace and may our countrymen ever cherish the cause in which he bled' - 'Clerk of Edinburgh, the inventor of the Naval manoeuvre of breaking the line, and may British science ever guide British valour'.⁶⁶

At the dinner five years later the toasts were much the same, though all mention of the King and Prince of Wales was abandoned - the only Royal Toast was to Princess Charlotte. There was also a call for the 'universal abolition of the Slave Trade'.⁶⁷

In addition, therefore, to existing processes of economic and urban change, the primary elements in the formation of a distinct middle class consciousness in the first three decades of the century were opposition to upper class vested interests and national power structures, and anxieties arising out of an expensive and disruptive

⁶⁵ There were, of course, also equivalent dinners within the Tory faction in Glasgow.

⁶⁶ Herald Jan 26 1810

⁶⁷ Herald Jan 27 1815

war. Yet more important than national affairs were local developments, particularly those associated with the economic expansion of Glasgow, the emergence of the city as an important symbolic unit of civic pride and identity, and the role and evolution of the urban working classes. With a population growth of over 60% in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century Glasgow was no longer a small country town of less than a mile from one end to another. New streets, particularly to the north-west of the city were being developed rapidly and thriving industrial satellite villages were merging with the metropolis. The increased needs of the city led to the complete rebuilding of the town jail, public offices, the Guard House, Post Office and city slaughter house.⁶⁸ All were new and splendid buildings, promoting a quickening sense of civic pride that was to develop further, with continued high levels of official building, to a peak in the mid and later nineteenth century.

The pressures of growing trade and expanded industry led to a massive effort from 1800, by the Council and Navigation Trust, to develop the shipping capacities of the Clyde. Dredging and widening programmes were introduced, and in 1811 the harbour at Broomielaw was extended nine-hundred feet westwards.⁶⁹ Improved shipping and other transport facilities such as canals and roads, allied to new manufacturing techniques, focused economic activity on the city itself, rather than in the smaller lower Clyde ports and industrial villages of the

⁶⁸ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 pp.40-41

⁶⁹ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 pp.40-41

hinterland.⁷⁰ This concentration of enterprise inevitably heightened a sense of unity and created the circumstances for powerful middle class action to counter government assaults, in the form of new taxes, on the interests of the group. Industrial and commercial power was gathered into and concentrated on the city - generating a regional economic structure of which Glasgow was the primary and dominant focus.

There was a strong awareness among the middle classes of economic and scientific progress centred on the city. A forceful civic image was increasingly and consciously projected in petitions and public meetings. Despite political tensions between elements of the middle class, where the improvement of Glasgow or the interests of Glasgow vis-a-vis other areas were at issue, there was consensus. This was demonstrated in 1815 during discussions and petitions for a new Glasgow to Carlisle road: the poor condition of the old road was seen by all as a source of disadvantage to the city and 'great inconvenience to trade and industry.'⁷¹ Civic pride was especially strong in 1815, the year that saw the visit to Glasgow of the Princes of Austria, accompanied by a number of British nobles. This was the first of many subsequent royal and notable tours of the city, which invariably attracted massive press coverage, spectacular official ceremony, and great public enthusiasm. The itinerary, covering almost the whole panoply of local achievements, included the Town Jail, the Royal Infirmary, Cathedral, Lunatic Asylum, Harley's Baths

⁷⁰ A trend that was to be partly reversed in the later nineteenth century when the shipping and engineering industries migrated out of the city to the then more convenient lower Clyde ports.

⁷¹ Herald Sept 22 1815

and the famous Dairy at Willowbank (with which the Princes were particularly impressed).⁷² They saw dyeworks at Barrowfield, chemical works at St Rollox, cudbear (dye) works and engine factories at Tradeston and the cotton mills at Blantyre, which were lit by gas. They sailed down the river and voyaged on the Forth and Clyde Canal.⁷³

There was considerable pride in the achievements of Glasgow - in her economic greatness and famous progeny - a pride which contributed towards the formation of middle class unity. But there were also negative elements in the development of the city as a primary forum for the articulation of middle class values and identity. Although in certain respects these negative factors generated conflict between some middle class groups, they also helped to galvanize a consciousness of specific and unified interests in the face of adversity. Two primary and related areas of urban difficulty imposed on the psychological development of the emerging middle classes from the early nineteenth century. The city was clearly developing as a focus of local pride, wealth, economic splendour and growth - but the corollary to this trend was a rapid deterioration in certain physical features of the urban environment. Similarly, while the new towns and urban-based economy generated the foundations from which a powerful middle class consciousness could emerge, it also created the situation in which a new and often alien working class was to develop

Civic pride was considerably tempered by an awareness of a decline in

⁷² In a city better known for spectacular industry, the dairy was a remarkable achievement of the day. Two hundred cows were internally housed, fed and milked on scientific principles - milk sales, with an annual turnover of £10500, were five times those of the nearest local rival. J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow p370

⁷³ Herald Dec 1 1815

the amenity of the urban environment. One correspondent to the Herald in 1815, while impressed by the progress of the city, was alarmed at the noise and dirt of the 'great number of public works, furnaces, steam engines etc ... an evil that was daily increasing and taking its march westward with the fashionable world!'. The dilemma of the situation was clear - 'it will be said that these are fresh proofs of the rising trade and opulence of the place, they are so. But is there no mode of reconciling the health, beauty and convenience of the place with its real interests?'⁷⁴ The disadvantages of rapid and unbridled growth were seen in over-crowded churches, in dangerous traffic on the streets, and in changes in the character of the working class, with the alarming attraction of poor to the city.⁷⁵

As the period progressed, middle class attitudes to the development of the city became increasingly ambivalent. In the 1820's there were many demonstrations of public satisfaction at the economic and physical expansion of Glasgow. Statistics on the development of steam power, the further growth of the gas and water companies, the scale and dynamism of the modern building industry were described in great detail through the local press.⁷⁶ The ancient and modern institutions, the beauty of Glasgow and the countryside beyond and the often cited economic advantages over other urban centres, provided a source of middle class self-congratulation. But economic expansion, in particular the development of urban industry, was also increasingly

⁷⁴ Herald June 16 1815

⁷⁵ Topics that were all widely discussed by correspondents to the local press in 1815.

⁷⁶ Herald Feb 18, March 4, March 25 1820

seen to damage the facilities of the local environment. There were repeated calls for restrictions on the nuisance of factory chimney smoke within the city, for regulations to prevent the pollution of streams and the river and for controls on road traffic. The development of large-scale industry on the periphery of Glasgow, particularly along the banks of the river, which was often accompanied by restrictions on the use of common walkways and environmental pollution, was a source of notable conflict between different elements of the middle class. Such problems gave rise to the Society for the Preservation of Public Footpaths, formed in 1832 after protracted legal disputes between local lower middle class tradesmen, shopkeepers and professionals and a number of chemical and iron works owners to the east of the city.⁷⁷

Attempts in 1825 to extend the navigable area of the Clyde eastwards, from the Broomielaw to Carmyle - with the necessary dredging operations and construction of docks and quays - were a focus of particular dispute. The Clyde Navigation Company, a joint stock organization made up of wealthy and influential manufacturers and coal owners was behind the scheme, which, it was claimed, would benefit the population by bringing cheaper coal into Glasgow.⁷⁸ There was vociferous opposition however, both from other economic organizations, such as the water companies, who feared that the developments would damage fresh water supplies from the upper Clyde, and from the press and private individuals. The Herald, which had a particular dislike of speculative joint stock companies, declared

⁷⁷ Journal of the Society for the Preservation of Public Footpaths vol 2 1832 p40

⁷⁸ Herald Feb 11, 18, 1825

'there never came before the public a company with such arrogant pretensions and such an insolent contempt for the rights, privileges and comforts of others.'⁷⁹ A private correspondent to that paper was prompted to write -

'every person must have often felt and enjoyed, in passing from the bustle and noise of the Broomielaw to the peaceful banks of the river along the Green the delightful contrast betwixt the two scenes. But it would seem that this is too great a luxury for this trading population: and that notwithstanding all the avenues to the city, which ever teem with supplies of coal, the only retreat which remains from the smoke and din of manufacturers must be sacrificed as a channel for bringing the Duke of Hamilton's coal to Glasgow.'⁸⁰

Criticism was such that the Provost and Council opposed the Navigation Bill in Parliament and the company was forced to withdraw.

A similar focus of dispute, with conflict between economic interest groups, the Council and private individuals erupted in 1832 over plans for bridges in the city. Once again, powerful economic interests, who favoured a series of new bridges rather than the simple improvement of those that existed, were forced to retreat, when opposed by private groups and the Town Council.⁸¹ Plans by shopkeepers and merchants to enclose the piazza outside the Exchange in Trongate, and speculative attempts to purchase land at the centre of George Square for building purposes were also successfully blocked, particularly by the Dilettante Society, for aesthetic as well as environmental reasons.⁸²

The changing city brought changes in the character of the working

⁷⁹ Herald March 14, 1825

⁸⁰ Herald Feb 25, 1825

⁸¹ Herald Aug 17 1832

⁸² Herald March 11, 1825; May 7 1832

classes - and the need to establish a new structure of inter-class relationships. Concern generated by the difficulties of the urban working classes was one of the greatest areas of middle class value articulation. With what was usually a precarious economic existence, the urban lower classes had always been a source of potential conflict and anxiety to the city elites - though this was generally containable through personal contacts and traditional institutional means. But with an expansion of the working classes, the introduction of new alien groups, such as the Irish, in large numbers, and the evolution of a working class economic position that was often more uncertain than it had been before the onset of industrialization and urban growth, opportunities for conflict were enhanced. New systems of urban control had to be developed and new relationships negotiated by innovative social groups and organizations such as the voluntary societies.

Many of the urban social concerns of the middle classes and, in particular, their increasingly tense relationship with the working class, were to come to the surface during the cholera crisis of 1832. The initial response to the threat of approaching cholera in late 1831 was much the same as that seen in earlier social crises, such as dearth or unemployment. An organization, the Board of Health, was mobilized to deal with the anticipated problem and a public subscription was launched to raise funds. But unlike earlier disasters, the hand of central government was strongly evident and to a certain degree resented by the local middle classes. Central government was involved both in the formation of the Board of Health following a directive from the Privy Council, and in the imposition of an additional Cholera Rate Assessment once it was realized that the funds raised by private subscriptions were not going to be

sufficient to meet the enormity of the crisis.⁸³

Though inadequate, the sums raised by subscription in Glasgow were vast and there was considerable debate as to how they should be spent. Indeed, heated debate was provoked by most of the activities of the Board of Health. Long before cholera had appeared in the city the Board was faced, in early 1832, with a massive typhus epidemic, exacerbated by widespread poverty and unemployment. Initially there was strong resistance against the use of Board funds to establish soup-kitchens or provide help for the unemployed. Rather, the Board dedicated its efforts to the relief of fever victims, the publicizing of means whereby disease could be averted and the removal of nuisances in poorer districts. With the appearance of cholera in the city, a number of local area committees were established to co-ordinate efforts to counter the spread of the epidemic. Although under the control of the Board, they were soon taking autonomous action to establish soup-kitchens for the poor, convinced that weakness resulting from hunger was bound to make the problem worse. At the same time there were numerous press attacks on the Board, which was regarded as a closed, self-elected body, without real representation and unresponsive to the real needs of the situation.⁸⁴ Inevitably the Board had to give way to pressure and sanction the use of funds for poor relief.

The spread of cholera, from its initial outbreak in the north-east of England, via the Borders and Edinburgh to Kirkintilloch and finally

⁸³ Herald Feb 13 1832; R.J. Morris Cholera 1832: a social response to an epidemic (1976) p25

⁸⁴ Herald Jan 2, Feb 6, Feb 13 1832

its first appearance in Glasgow in February of 1832, was followed with anxious anticipation. Cholera was so dramatic and sudden in its impact (death would often come within twelve hours of the initial symptoms and mortality was almost fifty percent) that it was initially viewed with great alarm by the middle classes. There were numerous press advertisements for patent remedies for cholera and for tracts and publications, some scientific some moralistic, for its prevention and cure. When the epidemic first appeared in Kirkintilloch, its transfer to that village was blamed on a cargo of bones, bound for the Campsie Alum Works along the Forth and Clyde Canal. There was a series of letters to the press condemning this 'dangerous traffic', with round denials of responsibility from the Alum Works owners. Noddy hirers advertised the fact that they did not allow their carriages to be used for the transfer of fever victims to the hospitals. Churches were shut, children and servants were kept indoors at night. Electioneering activities were abandoned and the celebrations at the passing of the Reform Act postponed. When members of the wealthy elite died of the epidemic, their names and circumstances were reported in great detail, though this practice was soon abandoned, 'as it is painful to the feelings of surviving relations to have the causes of the deceased (sic) brought prominently before the public'.⁸⁵

Though viewed initially with great horror (in anticipation of the crisis) when it appeared in the city and even while it was at its height in early August, it became clear that the impact of the epidemic on the middle classes was to be limited. Most of those who

⁸⁵ Herald Aug 6 1832

suffered and died were from the poorer sections of the population. None-the-less, there was an intense suspicion of the working classes as the promoters of cholera, which was regarded as the consequence of immorality, vice and intemperance. Major attacks on working class entertainments and institutions, such as the 'penny reels' and pubs and taverns, were launched through the agency of the Board of Health and the Police.⁸⁶ In their turn, the working classes were immensely suspicious of the motives and activities of many from within the middle classes, particularly those acting on behalf of the Board of Health. Initially, the threat of cholera was treated with contempt by many of the poor - it was regarded as a form of middle class coercion, a way of allowing official agencies to impose new regulations on activities like street selling and to inspect housing. Some individuals from the radical working class, even elements from within the reforming middle class, saw the threat of cholera as a government orchestrated ploy to divert attention from the reform question.⁸⁷ When the full enormity of the crisis became evident there was unrest among the working classes, particularly following the activities of the Board of Health, which attempted to force the sick to enter fever hospitals and insisted on the early burial of the dead in special cemeteries.⁸⁸ This was a period of concern, in the West of Scotland, with the problems of grave robbing and anatomical experimentation; the often insensitive actions of doctors and the agents of the Board of Health promoted a number of local riots and disturbances in poorer

⁸⁶ Herald July 2, Oct 1 1832

⁸⁷ R.J. Morris Cholera 1832 p97

⁸⁸ J.A. Lawrie First report of the Cholera Hospital Albion Street, Glasgow (Glasgow 1832)

areas of the city.⁸⁹ Relationships between the classes at the end of the crisis were in a state of considerable tension - a tension that was relieved only by the successful and popular passing of the Reform Act.

It was inevitable that the multiple problems of urban life should have a profound impact on the psychological development of the nineteenth century middle classes. There was considerable anxiety, particularly in the first three decades of the century. The resolution and undoubted strength of the group was balanced by uncertainty and a lack of confidence in a number of significant areas. The character of life in the city provoked many fears, especially regarding health and social mixing. At a time of considerable turmoil and change, it was inevitable that this should be so. In the decades after 1830, with the middle classes generally more attuned to urban life and more confident of their social and political position, such anxieties were to decline among many elements of the group. Concern with ill health was particularly strong - a major preoccupation exhibited in the editorial and advertising of the local press. The city's physical expansion (quickly outstripping the traditional sewerage systems), the increase in poor and diseased working people attracted to the city, and the industrial pollution of air and water supplies, rapidly undermined the health of the population. Anxiety was not, however, provoked only by epidemics or disease at home. Such problems abroad, in areas where Glasgow had trade contacts, also aroused fear. There was considerable concern for instance, over the raging yellow fever in New York in the early part of the century, which claimed the lives of

⁸⁹ Incidents of local body snatching were reported in Herald May 21 1832

several Glasgow merchants and their connections.⁹⁰ Attempts by the merchant community to allay fears of illness overseas were evident in job advertisements, particularly for situations in the West Indies.

Preoccupation with general health was evident in the numerous newspaper advertisements for patent medicines - one of the first types of manufactured goods to be subject to nationwide advertising and the use of brand names.⁹¹ In the early part of the century the major causes of mortality in Glasgow were consumption, small pox, fever and bowel disorders.⁹² Yet patent medicines rarely addressed these serious conditions, and aimed instead at more nebulous complaints - many of which would be regarded today as the effects of stress, to which the urban middle classes were undoubtedly subject. The most frequently cited conditions were 'general bodily debility' and nervous complaints, skin disfigurements, coughs and colds.

Concern for health, and particularly fear of epidemics and fevers, was one of a number of reasons underlying the changing pattern of middle class social contacts and entertainⁿments during the first three decades of the century. In 1800 public entertainment and social events, of a character likely to attract the middle classes - as opposed to the more popular traditional forms, which were under attack in Glasgow as elsewhere for their cruelty or disruptive influences on the masses -

90 Courier Oct 17 1799

91 N. McKendrick (et al) The birth of a consumer society: the commercialization of eighteenth century England (1982)

92 Courier Jan 4 1800

were widely advertised in the press.⁹³ There were four main categories, theatricals, public balls, concerts and exhibitions.

A number of theatrical entertainments, provided mainly by touring companies, were seen in Glasgow in 1800. Many were standard popular plays, such as the Tragedy of Pizarro or Lover's Vows.⁹⁴ Others were more spectacular in character, such as Sieur Boaz's 'Hurlophusicon and Thaumaturgic Demonstrations', held in Hemmings Great Ballroom in the Star Hotel - which seated three hundred. At a price likely to exclude all but the relatively well-off (2s per head), though providing little more than a magic show, Boaz was sensitive to the requirements of his middle class audience -

'these performances are truly calculated for the genius of the British nation, being more apt to improve the mind than effect the senses: and in an age and country less enlightened would inevitably appear supernatural. They will comprehend a fund of innocent and elegant entertainment, and convey to the mind important instructions and improvements and will be found a most useful lesson to Youth against the pertinacious and fatal consequences of gambling.'⁹⁵

Public balls took place during the winter season of January to March, usually in the New Assembly Rooms, Ingram Street. Often they were combined with other entertainments, such as an exhibition of fencing by a master and his pupils, followed by a ball in the Trades Hall, Glassford Street. On this occasion, music was provided by the 5th Battalion Royal Glasgow Volunteers and the entry fee was 3s per head.⁹⁶ Musical concerts were also performed by touring companies, or were by subscription and held fortnightly 'during the season' in the

⁹³ R.W. Malcolmson Popular recreation in English society 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973) pp150-51

⁹⁴ Lover's Vows also features in Jane Austins Mansfield Park (1816)

⁹⁵ Advertiser March 3 1800

⁹⁶ Advertiser March 3 1800

Concert Rooms, Ingram Street.⁹⁷ Another very popular form of public entertainment was the 'panorama exhibition' of large spectacular paintings. A 'grand perspective panorama of London', on 3500 feet of canvas, was seen in Glasgow for an entry fee of 1s per head.⁹⁸ There was also the panorama of the 'burning of his Majesty's ship The Boyne, of 98 guns', a 'grand but awful subject', painted on 2464 square feet of canvas - 'good fires at all times' were available in the exhibition rooms in Ingram Street.⁹⁹

Public entertainments of the type described above were clearly very popular among all levels of the middle classes. Private entertainments are not so easy to gauge through the newspaper. Yet the recollections of family life within the Scottish professional classes of Cupar in Fife give some indication of the character of private entertainments among the urban middle classes. By comparison with spectacular public occasions, these family events were very modest.

'At social gatherings the entertainments were reasonably free from extravagance. Dinner parties were comparatively rare, and the guests were mostly confined to men...the prevailing form of gaiety was what was styled "tea and supper"...the company did not often exceed five or six couples. The gentlemen not infrequently omitted the first part of the programme, but they came in time for the amusement provided - whist at sixpenny pints.'¹⁰⁰

Lavish and numerous public occasions, contrasted with relatively

⁹⁷ Advertiser Feb 1 1800

⁹⁸ Courier May 1 1800

⁹⁹ Advertiser Dec 5 1800

¹⁰⁰ H. Keddie Three Generations - the story of a middle-class Scottish family (London 1911) p.81. Though this example is from Fife, Keddie was a notable Glasgow novelist and chronicler of middle class ways in the big Scottish cities.

humble private festivities, were the typical experience of middle class entertainment in the earliest years of the century. For scale of coverage, the advertising space given over to entertainment in local newspapers was much the same in 1815 or 1830 as in 1800. But by the latter dates the types of public entertainment offered to the middle classes had altered considerably. Concerts of sacred or classical music and the classic plays had replaced popular farces, comedies and magic shows. Increasingly, entertainments were mounted with charitable fund-raising as their object, either to aid a particular organization or even for specific individuals.¹⁰¹

The decline of theatrical entertainments as a form of middle class leisure was particularly notable, and is well demonstrated by the Theatre Royal financial disaster. The theatre was opened in Queen Street in 1804, built at a cost of £18500, raised through subscription shares of £25 each. In its first year the annual lease was set at over £1000, but profits were so poor, audiences continually declining, that within a few years this had fallen to £400 per annum - at which price it was still difficult to attract lessees. The theatre was sold, within a decade of its construction, for under £5000, at a considerable loss to the subscribers.¹⁰² Such a trend in the fortunes of public theatres was seen throughout Britain. Even in the small town of Cupar in Fife a theatre built in the early nineteenth century, for the entertainment of the middle classes, was, within twenty years, abandoned for its original purpose and taken over as a school

¹⁰¹ Herald May 26 1815 - describes a private charity concert for the benefit of Abraham Langhorn, former guard on the Carlisle coach and bedridden for several years.

¹⁰² J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 2 p142

room.¹⁰³ Cleland, Superintendant of Public Works in Glasgow, believed the change was in part due to longer hours being spent by members of the business classes at their places of work, precluding attendance at the theatre. But more particularly it was the result of -

'a considerable proportion of the respectable part of the community view[ing] theatrical entertainments as tending to weaken the moral and religious principles of those whose minds have not been sufficiently fortified against romantic speculations'.¹⁰⁴

The decline in the theatre was in many respects paralleled by the rise of middle class evangelicalism.

It is also probable that the change in habits was due to a growth in the working class population of the city, elements of which could afford, if irregularly, to attend such entertainments. The move away from the popular theatre would have represented a tendency, increasingly seen among the urban middle classes, towards the formal defining of physical space and social distinctions - something that was not possible in a public forum to which access was uncontrolled. This desire for social exclusivity and restricted or controlled social contacts was seen in a decline in public balls and exhibitions - a trend noted with wistful regret by the editor of the Herald, Samuel Hunter, a bon viveur of the old school.¹⁰⁵ It was also evident in the rise of lavish private entertainments, especially formal dinner parties, which from the 1820's began to include women.¹⁰⁶ A wish to circumscribe physical space is shown in a letter to the Herald on

¹⁰³ H. Keddie Three Generations pp.33-34

¹⁰⁴ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow p142

¹⁰⁵ Herald March 17 1820

¹⁰⁶ J.G. Lockhart Peters Letters to the kinsfolk vol 3 pp172-4 - an amusing description of a Glasgow dinner party

charity sermons - increasingly regarded as a form of popular entertainment, particularly attractive to the middle classes. The correspondent complained that when famous preachers came to the city sermons were 'mobbed' by the poorer classes who were unable or unwilling to give to charity, whilst many who were able to donate were turned away at the door. As a remedy, it was suggested that high entrance fees be imposed for charity sermons and once those who were able to pay were in their places, the poor be let in and seated at the back of the church.¹⁰⁷

The rejection of theatricals, public balls, exhibitions and concerts was paralleled by a shift towards religious, educational or instructional entertainment. Since this type of leisure was not likely to appeal to the masses, its initial promotion was a form of cultural elitism, a means of defining intellectual space and the separateness of the middle class from other groups. One of the main attractions advertised in 1815 was Harley's Dairy at Willowbank, which held regular charity open-days.¹⁰⁸ Factory and charity institution visiting was also popular, especially among middle class women. Instructional entertainment was seen in the formation of such bodies as the Glasgow Observatory on Garnet Hill, established by public subscription in 1810¹⁰⁹ and the new Hunterian Museum, which generated great interest and attracted many curious donations from the middle class public.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Herald June 26 1815

¹⁰⁸ J. Cleland Annals of Glasgow vol 1 p370

¹⁰⁹ ibid p.98

¹¹⁰ Herald Jan 8 1815

The exclusivity of many middle class leisure pursuits and cultural events continued to be evident after the 1830's. Though new relationships were developing with elements of the upper working class, which resulted in an encouragement of the artisan elites to take part in some of the improving entertainments that had previously been closed to them, there was also a broadening of the groups that made up the middle class, and with greater confidence in their role within the urban environment this led to a widening of the activities in which they were to partake. The popularity of the theatre among many of the middle class was on the increase from the mid-1830's; a new and spectacular Theatre Royal in Dunlop Street was opened in 1840.¹¹¹ With National and even internationally famous theatre stars, seat pricing policies that excluded the poor, theatre design that ensured class distinctions, and productions that were unlikely to appeal to any but the educated, the theatre had found a new respectability. Many of the notable performers, particularly singers, also gave private concerts in the homes of the middle class elites.¹¹² Educational entertainment was still considered important. But the growth of middle class clubs purely for non-instructional leisure, such as sports, again indicated the broadening of perceptions of respectable behaviour.

Relationships between the classes continued to be a major area of middle class value formation after 1830. But unlike the turmoil of the first three decades of the century, repeated social and economic

¹¹¹ Herald March 9 1840

¹¹² J.C. Gibson (ed) Diary of Sir Michael Connal (Glasgow 1895) Oct 11 1848 p73 - an account of a private concert in the Connal household by Jenny Lind.

crises and the growth of an increasingly alien poor was not to have so severe an impact. With their political position within the locality ensured, and aided by new organizational mechanisms for negotiating class relationships and dealing with the exigencies of the age, the Glasgow middle classes displayed an growing confidence in their contacts with the majority of the working class. It was only the very poor, the diseased 'residuum', that were now feared and avoided.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, relationships between the classes - viewed from the middle-class perspective - were determined largely by personal contacts, physical proximity and a considerable element of paternalism. The very poor were a source of problems and difficulties, but these were perceived to be containable and capable of relief through personal and private initiatives, with only minimal official intervention. The rapid growth of the city, and the turbulent events particularly of 1815 to 1825, undermined this balance; by the early 1840's the situation had changed considerably. Personal contacts between the very poor and most members of the middle class were becoming progressively less common, while contacts with the upper working class were on the increase. The worsening conditions and circumstances in which the poor lived, and their changing character following the influx of the Irish, presented a massive gulf between the classes - 'year by year the distance between the rich and the poor is increasing'.¹¹³ Family visiting, the favoured tool of the early nineteenth century charities, particularly those run by women, was no longer considered possible by most members of the middle class.

¹¹³ Herald Aug 17 1840

Contacts between private charitable institutions and the poor were increasingly passed to the hands of paid officials or the dedicated few. Even members of the Church were unwilling to engage in activities in this area. One Glasgow witness to the 1843 Scottish Poor Law Inquiry, when questioned on the failure of the Chalmersian system at St. John's declared -

'it would be very difficult to get Elders to attend to the poor efficiently in the worst parts of Glasgow. It can hardly be expected to get gentlemen to do it.'¹¹⁴

The social and perceptual gulfs between the middle classes and the very poor were intensified by the greater geographical distances between them. The residential developments in the west and south of Glasgow and the gradual movement of commercial centres westwards isolated the poor in the older parts of the city. There was an increased sense among the middle classes that certain areas were dangerous and not to be ventured into. The fireworks celebrations on the Green in 1840, following the marriage of the Queen, underlined this. Mobs of up to four-hundred 'young ruffians', in the areas around the Green, London Street and Monteith Row, attacked those who were well dressed including 'various highly respectable females', stealing hats, bags and cloaks.¹¹⁵

By the 1840's it was generally acknowledged in Glasgow that many of the problems concomitant with urban expansion and the industrial city could not be solved by voluntary and private action alone. There was

¹¹⁴ Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Law in Scotland (Edinburgh 1844) p340

¹¹⁵ Herald Feb 14 1840

a well established rating system for the support of the Police and the city poor, (largely on the outdoor system), which though a source of debate over the manner in which the rates should be assessed, was largely accepted by the middle class population.¹¹⁶ But the scale of the poverty problem in Glasgow, intensified by the economic crises of the late 1840's - which raised the cost on the rates of support for the register poor from nineteen thousand pounds in 1846 to over forty-three thousand pounds in 1849 - was a source of considerable disquiet.¹¹⁷ In the words of one correspondent to the Herald, signed 'a Rate Payer', the whole system of poor relief in Glasgow did little more than -

'minister to the vicious tastes of the scum of our wynds and closes while the necessities of their living have still to be met by overburdened ratepayers in the shape of contributions exacted by importunate street beggars and the petty delinquencies of backdoor thieves.'

At the base of all these problems was the 'jog-trot miserable, inefficient management of our city Parochial Board.'¹¹⁸ A desire for more extensive, and, a fortiori, more efficient local government to solve this and other major problems of urban life, was to be a major and largely unifying feature of middle class perceptions in the decades following the 1840's.

The intense reaction of the irate 'Rate Payer' to the question of poverty and poor relief, though provoked in the first instance by

¹¹⁶ A debate between those (dependent on rentier income and the lower middle class) who wished to retain the traditional Scottish system of rating based on 'means and substance' - an assessment of the overall wealth of an individual - and those (particularly the big businessmen) who favoured a system based on the value of fixed property.

¹¹⁷ S. Nenadic, 'The Scottish Poor Law debate - Glasgow in the 1840's' (B.A. Dissertation, Strathclyde University 1981) Appendix 3

¹¹⁸ Herald Sept 8 1848

financial considerations, was also symptomatic of a general change in the middle class perception of poverty. Attitudes gradually hardened as personal contacts diminished and many failed to understand the underlying causes of the apparently overwhelming poverty. Two incidents illustrate this trend. In 1835, a public outcry was provoked by the case of a sick and destitute Neilston man who had been refused entry to the Royal Infirmary because he had no settlement in the city. A clergyman intervened in the matter and the Infirmary quickly admitted him. In the words of the Herald-

'would it not look marvellously ill to see a human being dying of disease on the open street and in view of such a splendid specimen of benevolence and philanthropy as our Royal Infirmary exhibits.'¹¹⁹

Ten years later the same paper reported one of many similar cases in which a poor woman was found dying in the streets and taken up by the Police - with her was a dead child and sick baby. It was revealed that she had been refused aid by the Barony parish because she had an able-bodied husband, and besides was a known drunk and therefore accounted to be the architect of her own misfortune.¹²⁰

In contrast, however, to the hardening of middle class attitudes to the very poor or 'residuum', was the development of a new set of relationships with elements of the more prosperous and apparently more 'respectable' working classes.¹²¹ The growth of workers' soirees and testimonial dinners in the 1840's, widely reported in the press, at which members of the workforce of large prestigious factories were entertained by their employers and vice-versa, was only one of the

¹¹⁹ Herald April 3 1835

¹²⁰ Herald Sept 12,15 1845

¹²¹ See also a similar trend in J. Foster Class struggle pp.203-238

many signs of a new rapprochement between the middle classes and elements of the working class after the difficulties of the 1820's and early 1830's. In this the role of manufacturers and industrialists was clearly significant, and gratefully acknowledged by other elements from within the middle class. Typical was the soiree at the Templeton carpet works at Mile-end in January 1845, at which six hundred workers were entertained by James Templeton - 'the good feeling that seemed to prevail between "employers and employed" could not but be gratifying to all concerned.'¹²² Moves by more prosperous working men to develop their own educational and social facilities were also greeted with approbation. By comparison with these new 'respectable' groups the pauper classes appeared very alien indeed.

In the 1850's and 1860's, despite the continuing problems of poverty, crime and 'moral degeneration', the relationship between the middle class and respectable working class was increasingly harmonious and accommodating. The perceived distinctions between the 'decent' working classes and the dissolute 'residuum' were intensified - resulting in more persistent and organized attempts to undermine the latter and promote the former. Though the mid-nineteenth century saw periodic economic distress, an absence of major social disturbances in Glasgow reflects the easing of relationships between social groups. The event with the greatest potential for danger, a 'mob meeting' of over ten thousand unemployed on the Green in 1855, was peacefully terminated by the police following an address from the Lord Provost and head of the Relief Committee.¹²³ This was clearly in contrast to social relations

¹²² Herald Jan 3 1845

¹²³ Herald March 2 1855

in some big cities, notably London, where a series of local riots in the late 1850's, and a major outbreak of political violence in 1866, significantly undermined the confidence and moderation of the middle classes.¹²⁴

The middle classes, particularly those in positions of local power, made considerable efforts to encourage the aspirations of the respectable working man. On certain occasions there was great surprise at the response to these efforts, as in October 1855 when five thousand attended the first opening of the Corporation Galleries to the 'industrial masses', at a much reduced price of 2d. 'An experiment to try if the masses could enjoy the high class gratification which galleries of this sort give to those experienced in the study of fine art'.¹²⁵ More often however, the Glasgow elites demonstrated an air of patronizing self-satisfaction at the achievements of the respectable working class, particularly where these appeared to reflect an adoption of middle class values and a recognition of middle class social leadership -

'in all the great movements of the working classes, with perhaps the exception of the trades unions, we find them inviting the most prominent members of the upper and middle classes to lend a helping hand and to occupy the seats of honour at public meetings. This is a hopeful sign of the times and it is likely to be strengthened instead of weakened by the late extension of the franchise'.¹²⁶

The Working Mans Exhibition of 1865, at which members of the elite judged and gave prizes for craft exhibits was such an instance¹²⁷; the

¹²⁴ G.S. Jones Outcast London (Oxford 1971) p241

¹²⁵ Herald Oct 15 1855

¹²⁶ Herald Jan 15 1870

¹²⁷ Herald Sept 16 1865

art gallery 'experiment' described above was another. But this attitude was also coupled to a widely held desire, expressed frequently through the press, to accord recognition and respect to distinct and self-motivated working class values and institutions. The development of working mens clubs in Glasgow from the mid-1860's, which received a high level of elite approbation, shows this side of middle class outlook.¹²⁸

A desire to acknowledge the role and aspirations of the working classes was also seen during the 1860 Glasgow meeting of the Social Science Association when special sessions were held for working class attendance and discussion on social and economic matters. There were over twenty thousand applications for the 3500 tickets made available - 'on Wednesday evening, perhaps the largest and assuredly the most representative, meeting of working men ever assembled in Glasgow was held in the City Hall under the presidency of Lord Brougham. Resolutions in accordance with the objects of the Association were moved and spoken to by several of the leading members of the Association, and by working men of the city...this remarkable meeting [was] among the most gratifying features of the Congress'.¹²⁹

The Gladstone tour of Glasgow in 1865 also saw a major recognition by members of the local elites of respectable working class political and social institutions and aspirations.¹³⁰

The working classes were gradually becoming a focus of legitimate and recognized political and economic power in Glasgow - and whilst it would be an exaggeration to say that such power was seen to complement

¹²⁸ Herald Feb 21 1865; R. Price 'The Working Men's Club movement and Victorian social reform ideology' Victorian Studies 15 (1971) pp120-122. Unlike the early clubs in London, those in Glasgow were not initiated or funded by wealthy patrons.

¹²⁹ Social Science Association - Glasgow meeting 1860 p6

¹³⁰ Herald Nov 2 1865

that of the middle classes, it was clearly no longer regarded by most as a threat. Reports, even in a relatively conservative newspaper like the Herald, of trade union activities and of strikes reflect this trend. A protracted strike of building workers in 1870 generated the following editorial comment -

'we have no inclination to express an opinion on the merits of the question at issue. We have given both parties a fair hearing in our columns and if the public are not well acquainted with the points in dispute it cannot be for want of ventilation'.¹³¹

The respectable section of the working classes in Glasgow were perceived to deserve the passing of political reforms in their favour - and when implemented they proved themselves to have merited middle class trust. The Herald had always given moderate support to electoral reform and after it had been in operation for a few years the air of self-applause was unmistakable -

'since the passing of the late Reform Bill we have heard a great deal of cant and sophistry in connection with the proper representation of the working classes in the House of commons, but the working classes themselves are content with they system as it is and do not return working men despite obvious opportunities to do so in the big liberal cities like Birmingham and Glasgow'.¹³²

Other reforms of the late 1860's such as the Education, Irish Land, Mines Inspection and Insurance Companies Acts provided further opportunities for self-congratulation - 'for a middle-class assembly the present House of Commons has shown itself wonderfully generous of its time towards the working classes'.¹³³ The mid-nineteenth century working classes of Glasgow were not regarded as a political threat. Indeed the only working class group within the city that demonstrated

¹³¹ Herald March 23 1870

¹³² Herald Jan 15 1870

¹³³ Herald Feb 25 1870

a political dynamism capable of impinging on middle class perceptions were the nascent Irish Nationalists - but before the late nineteenth century their activities were sufficiently circumscribed to be little more than a focus of disapproval rather than real anxiety.¹³⁴ There were no radical uprisings or significant cases of working class disturbance, and as a consequence the middle classes were moderate and accommodating and tended to be politically passive.

But while the conditions and attitudes of the respectable working man had become an object of middle class approbation, the state of the poor continued to be a focus of concern. The very poor in the central districts of the city were truly an alien group in middle class eyes. Few members of the middle class were prepared to venture into the areas that housed the poor. When they did, for philanthropic reasons or merely out of curiosity, they often described their visits in terms analogous to those of the exploratory expeditions then taking place in Africa. Exposés of the conditions in which the lowest classes lived were common in newspapers and pamphlets of the period - in effect a form of sensationalist middle class entertainment.¹³⁵ In a Glasgow 'high society', romantic novel of the late 1850's - a group of wealthy young men decide to investigate the 'great question of the Condition of the People' for themselves. In the words of one of the party, -

'It is very wonderful this nation within a nation, these wild races of whom we know less than of the Hottentots, the men who garotte us and the boys who pick our pockets, the thugs and the Pariahs of the High Street and the Saltmarket...Let us investigate these people for ourselves. I vote that we start on an exploring expedition "down East"...It is Friday night and the Great Unwashed will be enjoying

¹³⁴ Herald Nov 12 1860

¹³⁵ See for instance Midnight scenes and social photographs, being sketches of life in the streets, wynds and dens of the city of Glasgow by Shadow (Glasgow 1858)

themselves. Let us dispassionately witness their amusements and then, for once, if I get into bad Company, it will be for strictly missionary purposes; and if I get drunk it will be by way of being philosophical'.¹³⁶

By the 1850s the problems of poverty in Glasgow seemed so vast, and the failure of church and voluntary secular solutions so manifest, that new and radical initiatives were being sought. There was considerable effort on the part of many of those concerned with the problem to try to understand the economic difficulties that underlay poverty - middle class forums for social debate such as the meeting of the Social Science Association encouraged this trend - and certain groups of the poor evoked a high level of middle class sympathy. The plight of seasonally or casually employed and poorly paid women was an area of much comment, investigation and institutional activity. In 1855 unemployed cotton warehouse and factory girls were the main object of concern. By the 1860s it was the conditions of millinery workers and dressmakers, whose meagre wages and exploitation by cruel masters could be linked to the growth of prostitution. Throughout the 1860's there were numerous attacks against the conditions that prevailed in the sweated trades and the tendency of this area of the economy to promote poverty and vice. The highly competitive aspects of the clothing industry, which resulted in low wages and excessive hours, was directly attributed by the editor of the Herald to greed and lack of concern among the wealthy, particularly women, who expected to have their clothing and services at low prices, without considering the costs to those who worked to provide them.

'It is not so popular a subject as 'Italian freedom' or 'abolition of slavery' but it seems to me equally deserving of our sympathy...with

¹³⁶ F. Arnold Alfred Leslie: a story of Glasgow life (Glasgow 1856) pp 158-9

the ladies of Glasgow rests much of the responsibility of the effects, moral and physical of this bad system'.¹³⁷

The solution to the problem was seen in terms of education of the middle classes in the factors that caused this type of poverty, but also in protective legislation - the acceptance of 'the principle that those who legally and practically were not presumed to have the power of acting for themselves should be placed under the broad shield of the state'.¹³⁸ The view was also expressed that the range of employment areas available to working class women should be extended through education and training to allow those who had to provide their own living a better opportunity to do so.¹³⁹

But whilst certain groups among the very poor evoked sympathy, the majority did not; they continued to be regarded as the focus of most of the problems of urban industrial life. Middle class acceptance of the need for state intervention in this area was clearly a significant development of the period. The agitation for a national education system reveals elements of this trend in Glasgow from the 1850's. The popular pursuit of education was a desirable asset to society as a whole,

'but there are those whom ignorance and vice have so brutalised that they see no value in learning and view their children just as so many additions to their workable stock, out of which they may draw a certain return of shillings and pence...[this]...was an effectual bar to any voluntary system, for it would be necessary to force intelligence into the fathers before they could appreciate the value of it for their children.'

The 'unprincipled and debased of the lower orders' had to undergo a

¹³⁷ Herald June 14 1860

¹³⁸ Herald June 25 1860

¹³⁹ Herald April 4 1870 - the late 1860's saw many press comments and letters on the subject of training for working class girls - to create better wives and mothers, as well as better domestic servants.

process of moral reform and this, it was perceived, required legislation and compulsion.¹⁴⁰ Legislation and government action was also seen as necessary in order to destroy physically the residential centres in which the 'unprincipled and debased of the lower orders' flourished. The 1866 City Improvement Act, a legislative move 'calculated to strike and even fascinate the imagination...a municipal miracle' dramatically illustrates this view. Along with the sanitary innovations of the period, the act was an expedient perceived by the local middle classes as of great urgency by the mid-1860's, following the spread of cholera in Europe. There were fears that if the epidemic reached Glasgow the vast city centre slums would be a threat to the community as a whole.¹⁴¹

Attitudes towards, and relationships, with the urban working classes were perhaps the most significant areas of middle class value articulation in the mid-nineteenth century. But there were also major perceptual and psychological developments arising out of the changing character of the middle class itself. Following considerable levels of tension within the middle classes in the first thirty years of the century, the divisions and conflicts of latter decades seemed modest by contrast; intra-class problems were evident however. The middle classes were largely unified, confident and strong within an urban environment to which they were now fully adapted. But lifestyles were changing, and there was a developing gap - social, economic and residential - between the very wealthy elites and the mass of the lower middle class. Certain areas of social fragmentation were more

¹⁴⁰ Herald March 9 1860

¹⁴¹ Herald Aug 25, Nov 4 1865

apparent than in the past - though by contrast there were also many events and trends that reinforced unity through common experience.

The movement of the wealthy to the west of the city, and the trend toward upper middle class ownership of country or coastal homes, in some respects eroded the sense of middle class unity. Religious congregations were also more socially divided with the building of the big and prestigious West End churches. Certain of the rich were less involved in the day-to-day affairs of the city and the sense of a simple 'Glasgow identity', as projected in the 1830s and 1840s, was diminished.¹⁴² Civic pride was becoming in many respects 'regional pride'. Elites would still, however, congregate in Glasgow during the spring to attend events associated with the 'season', the image of which became more definite during the 1850's.¹⁴³ Simple civic unity was further undermined by the creation of new, largely lower middle class burghs on the outskirts of the metropolis.

The availability in the West End, before the rest of Glasgow, of superior public utilities, notably the Loch Katrine water supply, and the creation of exclusive, civic owned recreational facilities such as the Kelvingrove Park and official buildings such as the Corporation (McLellan) Galleries, heightened social divisions. Resentment was provoked among members of the lower middle class resident in central and southern Glasgow, and local intra-class political tensions were precipitated. The most notable focus of tension was the West End (Kelvingrove) Park, purchased by the City Council in 1852. When the

¹⁴² Herald Feb 22 1860

¹⁴³ A trend that was reinforced by the migration of some areas of Glasgow industry out of the city to the wider region beyond.

park was eventually opened to the public in the late 1850's, access was restricted to certain times of the day and to footpaths only. This provoked the ire of a number of 'rate payers', led by James Moir, a tea dealer and City Councillor, resident in the High Street (formerly a leader of the Glasgow moral force Chartists), who petitioned the Provost for 'fair and reasonable use of the surface of Kelvingrove Park'. Despite repeated calls for a lifting of restrictions that were seen by many as a simple ploy by the 'city magnates' to prevent the 'motley throng' invading the west, and demonstrations in the park, the agitation was resisted - Moir had very few allies in the Council.¹⁴⁴ Eventually the issue was dissipated by the creation of public parks in the south of Glasgow.

Increasingly, upper middle class social functions were held in the Corporation Galleries in Sauchiehall Street rather than central facilities like the City Hall, which became the venue for largely lower middle class and respectable working class entertainments. Important civic social events also tended to divide the middle classes and provoke resentment. An exclusive celebratory banquet for the victories of the Crimea was held in October 1855 at a charge of 15s per head, and there were angry letters to the press as a consequence - 'seeing that the aristocracy of the city have had their public banquet, why not some show for the rest at less cost...fifteen shillings is a sum that not only could the poor not afford, but a large proportion of the middle classes.'

Eventually a second Crimea official celebration, a soiree and tea at 2s a head, was held in the City Hall.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ See Herald Jan - June 1855; July - Aug 1860

¹⁴⁵ Herald Oct 31 1855; Nov 23 1855

The movement of the richer middle classes to the West End and to the country was a pattern to be observed in many of the great industrial cities of Britain.¹⁴⁶ Given the conditions that prevailed in such cities of the mid-nineteenth century and the obvious attractions for health and the welfare of families that the countryside provided, it was inevitable that the wealthy should behave in this way. The less wealthy, the lower middle class and the working classes, engaged in versions of the same activity to the extent their resources would allow. The seaside holiday of the lower middle class family - a few weeks during the summer in a rented furnished cottage - or day trips to coastal resorts for the working classes, were both major developments of the period. In the year 1870, on the two main days of the Glasgow Fair in July, 124000 people left the city for day excursions by river and rail.¹⁴⁷

But the movement to rural areas by members of the Glasgow elite was not simply a reflection of a pattern to be seen elsewhere in Britain. Often it involved a return to the areas of their birth by individuals who had come to Glasgow as young men to make their fortunes through business. For this reason such a move would often have great emotional significance and evoked the understanding and sympathy of those who did not have the riches to buy a country home. Michael Connel, a wealthy Glasgow merchant born in Stirlingshire, illustrates this trend and its social implications admirably well. Through a financial failure, Connel's father had lost the family home of Parkhall (a small mansion with land) at Killearn, in 1828. Michael

¹⁴⁶ A. Briggs Victorian Cities (1968) p.71

¹⁴⁷ Herald July 19 1870

Connel was sent to work his way through business, which he did with considerable success, with an uncle in Glasgow, while his father went to India in an unsuccessful attempt to recover his fortunes. Throughout his life Connel held strong emotional and friendship ties with Stirlingshire - one of the organizations in which he was particularly active was the Glasgow Stirlingshire Society, which, along with other regional societies, flourished in the city. In 1859, in middle age and after many years building up his wealth, Connel repurchased the estate of Parkhall for his family. From his diary, it was clearly one of the most significant events of his life, for it allowed him to install his elderly mother in the home she had lost, gave him the opportunity to enjoy the countryside of his birth and recreate old friendships, and to act as host for less wealthy members of the Glasgow Stirlingshire Society who were frequently invited to the house.¹⁴⁸

Connection with the land and with rural areas beyond the city had a considerable psychological importance to the Glasgow middle classes and acted as a force for unity. But it also gave rise to a form of social pretentiousness that provoked many amused comments and even ire. The use of the term 'esquire' was frequently condemned as meaningless, but the adoption of property titles after the name, a common phenomenon in Scottish social listings was 'simply ridiculous'. 'Personages whom we at first believe either to be proprietors of large estates, or at the very least gaudy farmers' are nothing of the kind, 'all but strangers know that these titles are no more than the cost of the little paint with which they were inscribed on either side of the

¹⁴⁸ Diary of Sir Michael Connal p.X, 115, 126

wicket gate, the entrance to a two-storey "villa" surrounded by a small patch of ground, which served for the cultivation of cabbages and prize dahlias.¹⁴⁹

Other factors acted to promote social unity and counter some of the disunifying trends described above. The re-emergence of militarism and vociferous patriotism from the mid-1850's, following the events of the Crimea and other European military and diplomatic crises, was one such. An awareness of the details of personal involvement in an overseas war was greater during the Crimea than at any time previously, through numerous letters to the press from local soldiers and officers. This awareness and the traditional militarism of Scottish society, allied to the events of the war, inspired a major outburst of patriotic feelings within the city. The Provost led an unsuccessful delegation to London in 1855 to request the Government to sanction the formation of a Volunteer Force in Glasgow - to supplement the absent regiments and to respond to the 'infusion of a military spirit among the population.'¹⁵⁰ Though refused at the time, when the Volunteers were eventually formed in the late 1850's, the local middle class response was remarkable. The National Patriotic Fund, launched in 1854 to help the victims of the Crimea, also saw massive response from Glasgow - and it was reported with great pride that while Manchester had subscribed only £29000, Glasgow had raised £45000.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Herald Jan 21 1860

¹⁵⁰ Herald Feb 16 1855

¹⁵¹ Herald April 16 1855

The level of business instability and threat of financial failure also acted to promote class unity. The economic vulnerability of the lower middle class has been an area of much recent historical analysis.¹⁵² But it is also evident from the case of Glasgow that the wealthier middle classes could be faced with the consequences of business failure. There was, in general, great commercial prosperity in Glasgow during the 1850's and 1860's, and even the years of the American Civil War were not regarded as excessively damaging - for by 1865 it was clear that 'cotton had been conclusively proved not to be King'. 'The resources of our vast Empire in India have been developed, and the national accounts for this year have closed with a balance on the credit side.'¹⁵³ By 1870 commercial prospects for the future looked very bright -

'the referable cause of our prosperity...[is] to be found in the rapid increase of shipowning in Scotland, the extension of our foreign relations and the requirements of owners generally who have all along been our customers.'¹⁵⁴

But despite general optimism, the period of the mid-nineteenth century was also one of considerable anxiety over the way in which businesses were being conducted. Local financial disasters, the most notable of which was the 1857 Western Bank collapse, generated instability and fear and undermined confidence at all levels. The Herald, the main commercial newspaper of the West of Scotland, recorded, often in great detail with editorial comment, numerous cases of business chicanery and fraudulent bankruptcy during the 1860's - the consequence of

¹⁵² G. Crossick 'The emergence of the lower middle class in Britain: a discussion' in G. Crossick (ed) The lower middle class in Britain 1870-1914 (1977) p23

¹⁵³ Herald March 3 1865

¹⁵⁴ Herald Jan 1 1870

business expansion, the greater anonymity of commercial relationships and a lack of controls, all of which gave opportunities to the unscrupulous. This was seen as a dangerous development, creating anxiety among all sections of the middle classes. But it also acted as a force for unity: the Western Bank disaster, for instance, was followed by a large subscription within the city to help those who suffered the worst losses¹⁵⁵ Such fiascoes encouraged a general wish to retain business integrity and confidence at all levels through such organizations as the Glasgow and West of Scotland Society for the Protection of Trade, formed in 1860 to detect and advertise cases of fraud.¹⁵⁶

A desire to improve the city environment, and develop and promote the image of Glasgow and the West of Scotland within the national forum was also a unifying factor after the disputes of the 1820's and early 1830's. The mid-nineteenth century was a time of massive population growth in Glasgow, which accommodated by 1871 almost 15% of the total population of Scotland.¹⁵⁷ The number of distinct, rated properties in the city had expanded by nearly one fifth in the five years from 1845 to 1850. In 1844 there were twenty-one miles of main sewers, by 1850 this had doubled.¹⁵⁸ In 1835 there were 2888 street lamps lit by gas

¹⁵⁵ Herald July 5 1860 - £12373 was raised to help 131 cases of total penury following the collapse.

¹⁵⁶ Herald Dec 8 1860

¹⁵⁷ A. Gibb Glasgow: the making of a city (Beckenham, 1983) p 124

¹⁵⁸ J. Strang The progress of Glasgow in population, wealth and manufacturers (Glasgow 1850) p12

in Glasgow, by the 1850's there were three times as many.¹⁵⁹ The scale of building from 1835 onwards was a constant source of interest to contemporary commentators. Just as there was a sense of wonderment at the scale of poverty in Glasgow, contemporaries were amazed by the scale of wealth as manifest in spectacular new buildings. As the city expanded so too did the functions of local government. In 1844 the council chambers were removed from Jail Square to new City and County Buildings in Wilson Street. In 1846 the administration of the police, statute labour, watching and lighting were all transferred from separate elected committees to the Town Council. In the same year the boundaries of the city were extended by the annexation of Anderston, Calton and Gorbals. From 1855 the supply of water was vested in the city and the Loch Katrine Scheme began. From 1852 to 1859 the provision of city parks and galleries was assumed as a civic function. 1866 saw the foundation of the City Improvement Trust. In 1869 the provisions of gas to Glasgow and districts beyond was taken on by the municipality and in 1870 corporation tramways were authorised.¹⁶⁰

There were many calls and pressures for the council to undertake new aspects of urban administration and management. Particularly following the debates on the sanitary and health conditions of the city and the plight of the poor, a constant source of criticism was that the existing municipal machinery of administration was both 'niggardly and inefficient'. The demand was for centralization, wider

¹⁵⁹ J. Strang Report on the mortality bills of the city of Glasgow and suburbs for 1851 with illustrative social statistics (Glasgow 1852) p.12

¹⁶⁰ Municipal Glasgow - its evolution and enterprise (Glasgow 1915) pp.27-8

powers and in particular for greater efficiency.¹⁶¹ Consequently municipal developments of the character described above, aimed at improving the quality of urban life, were generally accepted with enthusiasm by the middle classes - despite the cost to rate payers. Continued urban and industrial growth inevitably brought an intensification of many of the difficulties and tensions of city life. But civic and regional pride was a considerable force among the middle classes and faith in continued achievement was great. Though urban environmental conditions were often grim, for commentators of the period the many and dramatic municipal innovations seen in Glasgow bode well for future decades:

'No teeming crowds of wretched poor will then crouch together in the unseemly dens of wynds and alleys, for wide airy streets will have sprung in their place and a certain number of square yards of breathing room will be allowed to every sleeping citizen. No longer will dense clouds of smoke eclipse the morning sun and mixing with the city air, choke the lungs of the people and induce the housemaids to close up the windows to prevent the dirty ventilation...[and] the Clyde will no more sneak through the city, like a venomous and slimy reptile, breathing out on every side the city curses of typhus, cholera, small pox and diphtheria'.¹⁶²

By 1870 the general outlook of the middle classes, as demonstrated in the above passage, was one of great confidence of optimism. There had been massive social problems in the city, these problems still existed, but there was faith that that through pragmatism and innovation, the right solutions were being found and put into action. The middle class psychological profile in 1870 was very different to that seen in 1800. During those years the middle class had emerged as a distinct entity with a specific urban identity and group consciousness. Power and authority within the city had been

¹⁶¹ R. Cowan Vital statistics of Glasgow (Glasgow 1840) p35

¹⁶² Herald Feb 4 1860

consolidated, and from an economically important geographical base, the Glasgow middle classes were able to command respect and exert influence within a national forum. In the development of middle class values and psychology, three aspects of nineteenth century experience have been shown to be of vital significance. The first was economic by nature. The character of business, and the employment areas in which the middle classes engaged were notable influences in the foundation of middle class hierarchy and social structure, and in the formation and articulation of group attitudes. Economic anxieties and conflicts in the first two decades of the century helped to form nascent middle class consciousness. While the major growth and success of Glasgow's broad based economy thereafter undoubtedly contributed to the flexibility of established social hierarchies, the general willingness to accommodate new values, and the sense of optimism that largely characterised the age. Integral to economic success, was the developing character of the city, which formed the second major aspect of psychological experience. Though links with the countryside played an important role throughout the period, middle class values were essentially urban oriented. City based social problems galvanized the group into coherent action and generated specific attitudes, while civic pride promoted a unified group identity. The urban industrial environment gave rise to the nineteenth century middle class; it also created the conditions for the development of the modern working classes. Inter and intra-class relationships were the last and probably most important factors in the formation of the middle class psychological profile. Class anxiety and the social problems of the poor provoked innovative organizational activity and generated new group perceptions. Through contacts with the working class - charitable, paternalistic, aggressive or accommodating - the middle classes reinforced their own class

consciousness and unity. In combination these three aspects of experience - economic, civic and class based - largely created the conditions for the rise of the urban middle class. The middle class was a relatively small body of men and women, but none-the-less it was the most powerful, influential and innovative social group of the nineteenth century.

5. Conclusions and implications

5. Conclusion and implications

Nineteenth century class structures were complex, a fact that past analysis has often failed to acknowledge. This study, above all, has sought to understand and interpret the nature of one element of historical class development from a perspective that incorporates and recognizes this complexity. It has aimed to show class as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, from the context of social theory and relative to contemporary view points. The study is of a specific element of nineteenth century class within a defined locality. Yet the implications of the research are broad, and the methodology and approach can be employed widely. Thus it is hoped that the present work will contribute towards a foundation for a more complete analysis of class in the future.

The complexities of the nineteenth century Glasgow middle classes have been examined against a broad-based theoretical background derived from Weber. It was suggested that among social analysts, Weber alone is capable of providing a theoretical construct sufficiently sophisticated to incorporate all elements of class, and in particular, that his model is well suited to a study of the middle classes.¹ Marxian theory has not been rejected in totality - economic class does, after all, form a large element in Weberian class structures - but the polarization of the Marxian view has been shown to be singularly unsatisfactory in an understanding of the developing middle classes of the nineteenth century. This is especially true where the middle classes are interpreted from a context that is

¹ As suggested by R.J. Morris Class and class consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780 to 1850 (1979) pp 62-68

focused on the evolution of the working classes in the nineteenth century, as in J. Foster's pioneering work on three English towns.² The Weberian approach is little used by historians of class - the simplicity of Marx has tended to be preferred to the apparent disparateness of Weber. However, this study has put forward a means of interpreting class from a Weberian viewpoint that is complex and multi-faceted in its capacities yet relatively simple in overall structure. Three complementary aspects of class are identified - the physical, the psychological and the organizational profiles - aspects that broadly correspond with the Weberian elements of class, status and party. It is suggested that an analysis based on such a structure presents a complete and dynamic foundation for class interpretation. This is the first time that the multi-dimensionality of class has been so minutely interpreted at the group, sub-group and individual level. The subjective and the objective are compared and juxtaposed. Social theory is not allowed to overwhelm the realities of contemporary perception and the social group in question, the Glasgow middle class, is examined within the environment in which it developed, thrived and established a basis of power - the town.

The town or city is clearly a vital element in the formation of social class. The character of the local economy is also crucial, as is the relationship between town and country beyond, as indicated in a number

² J. Foster Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution (1974)

of recent studies of particular towns.³ So vital is the nature of the town, that it has been argued that although the British nineteenth century urban middle classes (the working classes also) present many elements of consistency from area to area, there were also considerable local variations and distinctions, derived from the differing nature of urban centres. Interpretations of the evolution of class that do not accommodate this fact, particularly those based on a national perspective, are often deficient since they tend to stress aspects of experience that were seen in some geographical areas, as though they were typical of all.⁴ Just as deceptive, however, are single, narrowly based local urban studies that claim to represent total experience. Differences across Britain, between regions and within localities were dictated by historical experience, but particularly they were a consequence of economic developments. Locational distinctions and variety were seen in the structural nature of the middle classes, in the ways in which they organized their activities and power, and in their attitudes and values. To understand this richness of nineteenth century experience it is necessary to undertake local studies that encompass the several aspects of class - this has been termed a multi-dimensional approach.

Glasgow in the nineteenth century displayed one of several basic types of urban middle class structure that were seen in Britain, and

³ See notably J.L. Field 'Bourgeois Portsmouth: social relations in a Victorian dockyard town, 1815-1875' Ph.D. Warwick University 1979; C. Reid 'Middle class values and working class culture in nineteenth century Sheffield' Ph.D. Sheffield University 1976; T.S. Koditschek 'Class formation and the Bradford Bourgeoisie' Ph.D. Princeton University 1981

⁴ See especially H. Perkin The origins of modern English society 1780-1880 (1969); M. Wiener English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit 1850-1980 (Cambridge 1981)

had many of the characteristics necessary for a coherent local case study. These types can be defined as metropolis (London and possibly Edinburgh), large commercial and industrial city (Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds), smaller commercial town (such as Bristol, York and Portsmouth) industrial town (notable Bradford, Oldham, and Dundee) and finally small ruralized towns or villages, which could be industrial or commercial. The Glasgow middle class was large, rapidly evolving and powerful. It presented a broad and fully formed class profile, in all its complexities - as did other major cities of the period, though even between big cities of similar character there were significant variations. The economic history of Glasgow had ensured, by the late eighteenth century, an existing large middle class created by commerce and trade, onto which was grafted a more modern middle class born out of nineteenth century industry and a growing service function. Few other British cities of the period are able to show this progression with such clarity.

The study of large cities - though clearly presenting difficulties of scale - gives a broader and more complete understanding of class than the study of more highly individualistic small towns. Most members of the nineteenth century British middle class did not, of course, live in cities the size of Glasgow or Manchester. But it is only through these that a complete and rounded class profile can be identified. By examining the large and complete, towards which the others were progressing insofar as they too expanded in size and function, (for it is possible to show, as in the case of voluntary organization formation, that what the middle classes of large cities did in one decade was followed in smaller towns later) a standard or gauge can be established from which smaller towns can be assessed, and

local variety indicated.⁵

The present work has examined in depth three elements of the evolving Glasgow middle class profile in the period 1800 to 1870. Broadly derived from Weber, these elements correspond to the physical, the organizational and the psychological features of middle class development. The three elements complement one another - in a multi-dimensional analysis, no single facet alone is sufficient to indicate the nature of class. The physical profile is, however, the basis of an understanding of the more subjective and complex psychological manifestations of the middle class, and the two are linked by an interpretation of the organizational presence of the group

It has been intended that this study should provide a theory based methodology for interpreting the nature of nineteenth century class. Specific class indices have been identified and correlated, and the statistical analysis, especially as applied to the physical profile, is felt to be innovative and capable of transference to other case studies. The use of sampling theory and in particular the application of alphabetic cluster samples is one way of successfully resolving the difficulties posed by the scale of the sources and limitations of research time. The research design - described in detail in the appendices - might be applied to other towns and cities with only minor alteration. While clearly the methodology is one that is better suited to the middle classes than to the mass of the population - who were not likely to appear in many of the social listings employed - with adaptation it could be applied to an analysis of working class

⁵ It is the intention of this researcher to pursue such a path in future work

profiles. As a result of developments in computer technology - in particular accurate and accessible forms of machine entry of manuscript data - it is likely that the processes of record linkage will be quickened and simplified.⁶ In such a situation, the capacity to apply the methodology and approach to other cases will be enhanced, and desirable comparative local data made possible.

The physical, concrete and measureable aspects of the Glasgow middle class were numerous, but the most significant were economic in basis. Class has been shown to be an objective and economic reality. Indeed, relative to the urban middle classes, it was the economic aspect - represented particularly by occupation and wealth - that was the most fundamental and basic element of class identity, and increasingly so as the period progressed. But though this area was vital, it has been acknowledged that other non-economic features of class and aspects of individual background - particularly family and tradition - also imposed on and dictated the nature of the Glasgow middle classes.

Most adult male members of the urban middle classes engaged in definable occupations for most of their active life. As with the working classes, work situations were a central element in class identity. But the array of middle class work areas to be observed in Glasgow were clearly distinct from those of the working class, both in their innate character and psychological implications. Traditional

⁶ The KDEM (Kurzweil Omnifont Data Entry Machine) systems which currently exist cannot machine read manuscript data onto magnetic tape, they also have difficulty with nineteenth century type faces. But they are being developed at Glasgow and Cambridge and it seems likely that in the future they will be of use in transferring historical data, quickly and cheaply, to machine readable forms.

middle class occupations, though highly influenced by the nature of the local economy, had a capacity to survive and adapt to the major economic trends which imposed change on the urban landscape and altered the nature of working class employment. There was considerable continuity in the local occupational profile from the late eighteenth century to the 1870's - a continuity that ensured relative stability and harmony. The same occupational groups were evident in similar proportions, despite the development of Glasgow as an industrial centre, and the undoubted rise of industrial employment among the working classes. The middle classes, though demonstrating many notable areas of industrial employment, largely remained a class of merchants, professionals, tradesmen and shopkeepers. Consequent upon this tradition, certain occupations commanded high levels of social prestige and wealth throughout the period. This continuity of experience, which has been one of the central themes of the study, underlines the similar trends observed by W.D. Rubinstein.⁷ Though criticized for an over-emphasis on London and south-east England, Rubinstein has shown that old wealth and wealth based on commerce was far more significant than new industrial wealth. The same was largely true of Glasgow, for though there were several major industrialists of great wealth, these were atypical. Prior to 1870, commerce and family based riches dominated the local wealth and prestige hierarchies.

An understanding of occupation was the first vital step in the physical profile. But it was insufficient, in isolation, as an index of class consciousness, since it cast limited light on the detailed

⁷ W.D. Rubinstein Men of Property (1981)

character of individual, family and household structures, wealth and property, or the development of life-styles. Analysis of these multiple areas demonstrated the great diversity of middle class experience, and again they indicated the many instances of continuity across time. Variety in individual circumstances was shown in the differential age ranges of specific occupations and in the tendency of certain occupations to be typified by particular household and family structural patterns. Variety was also evident in distinct life-cycle differences among individuals and families. Older families tended to have smaller households than young families, while those households engaged in work areas that involved wife and children as well as husbands, such as shopkeeping, were larger than those where only the husband worked outside the home, as among clerks. In general, households tended to be of a small and nuclear type, and significantly it was among the lower middle class groups that family restriction patterns were shown to be the most notable. This runs counter to the view, initially presented by J. Banks, that early developments in modern family planning came from the upper middle classes.⁸ In Glasgow the richer groups tended to have larger families than the poor. Servant keeping within households was closely related to occupational prestige and other concrete indexes of wealth such as house size and value. Yet the nature of Scottish urban middle class housing patterns - dominated by tenements - and the number of adult females in the family also had an impact on the capacity for keeping servants. Only half of middle class households included resident domestic servants; in urban Scotland before 1870, the perceived

⁸ J. Banks Prosperity or parenthood (1954)

relationship between servant keeping and middle class gentility was not so completely assimilated as in some parts of England. It may be, as suggested by E. Higgs, that among the middle classes servant keeping was not always equated with gentility.⁹ A closer analysis of the middle classes in other big cities may reveal similar patterns to those in Glasgow.

Family and individual circumstances were highly influenced by occupation. So too was the nature of middle class wealth and property holding. In a rapidly expanding and changing urban environment, social perceptions of wealth were significant - the middle classes demonstrated an aggressive seeking after wealth and placed great emphasis on high levels of material consumption. Patterns of wealth holding were a vital element in the construction of class consciousness and had major implications for status hierarchy. Individual wealth patterns could change considerably over a lifetime with a progression from generally active to more passive investment forms. There were differences between the wealth of men and women, the latter tending to be more closely circumscribed by family controls. Specific occupation areas also dictated the nature of wealth. For instance, manufacturers and shopkeepers, by the nature of their work interests, invested more in the fixed structures of business than other groups.

Overall, it was shown that the wealth and income of the Glasgow middle classes expanded considerably during the nineteenth century - though enrichment for the very rich was more notable than for the relatively

⁹ E. Higgs 'Domestic servants and households in Victorian England' Social History 8 (1982) 201-210

poor and fast growing lower middle classes. The extremes of wealth between the rich and the relatively poor middle class were great, but because of the existence of a definable hierarchy of graduated wealth, there was little obvious polarization. This compares with a situation in a less economically buoyant or industrial town such as Portsmouth, where there were few extremes of wealth, and wealth structures were dominated by only modestly rich professionals, retired men and widows. Or the case of industrial towns with relatively simple economic structures such as Oldham, ¹⁰ where there was little gradation, and wealth was dominated by industrialists.¹⁰ The Glasgow case demonstrates, as suggested by H. Perkin, that all elements of the middle classes enjoyed increasing living standards over the period concerned. Some groups were experiencing greater prosperity than others, but, contrary to the findings of J. Banks and more recently P. Branca on the lower middle class after 1850, no group suffered a significant downturn in their economic fortunes.¹¹ Greater wealth, coupled to general price reductions and the availability of cheap luxury goods had implications for enhanced consumption patterns. There was an increasing desire to display status through material possession, but because wealth was increasing this did not impose on general living standards. Wealth tended to be more concentrated on the town than countryside, as had been the case in the eighteenth century, and became more complex in character as the period progressed. But yet again there were continuities in experience, and many common factors in individual and

¹⁰ J.L. Field 'Bourgeois Portsmouth' p122-131; J. Forster Class Struggle ch 6

¹¹ H. Perkin The origins of modern English society p 135; J. Banks Prosperity or parenthood; P. Branca Silent sisterhood, middle class women in the Victorian home (1975) pp48-50.

group wealth profiles. Throughout the period and at all levels of personal riches, wealth in the form of business commitments and family domestic requirements were the most significant. Income-producing investments were generally conservative, stable and local in destination. These two points have important implications for the current debate on the decline of middle class entrepreneurialism since 1870, since it is clear that in Glasgow, a highly innovative and economically buoyant city, personal investment decisions were rarely adventurous.¹² The growing service oriented city and new industrial functions undoubtedly enhanced the wealth holding capacities of certain new middle class groups, and particular individuals from these sectors had accumulated massive personal fortunes. But in 1870 as in 1800, traditional elites commanded the highest wealth levels. They also commanded the highest prestige, but developments in the post-1870 period (yet to be examined in depth) suggest that the new elites of the non-traditional middle class were fast gaining in both status and fortunes.

Through the analysis of the multi-dimensional physical aspects of the Glasgow middle class, it has been possible to establish the details of inter-class and intra-class hierarchy. Hierarchy was shown not to be a simple linear system, as commonly interpreted, but a series of complex and evolving relationships between sub-groups.

¹² M. Wiener English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit; The conservative character of personal wealth in Glasgow prior to 1870 had many similarities with that observed in Scotland generally from 1870 to the first world war - see W.P. Kennedy & R. Britton 'Portfolio behaviour and economic development: the evidence from Scottish Probate Inventories 1876 - 1913' (unpublished paper, 1982)

Class dynamics were clearly more than just a conjunction of broadly defined groups. However, a basic three-tier middle class - defined in occupation, wealth, income, consumption and household patterns - could be identified in Glasgow during the period. It consisted of a small but powerful and expanding upper-middle class, a central core of 'solid middle class' and a large and growing lower middle class. The first was rooted in the great trading riches of the eighteenth century, supplemented by the major industrial giants of the nineteenth century, particularly those that developed with heavy industry and shipbuilding. The second was a stable and comfortable group, composed of prosperous professionals, tradesmen, small manufacturers and major shopkeepers, largely developing with the growing role of Glasgow as a regional centre of consumption and services. The last was the biggest and most rapidly growing element of the middle class, the most marginal and vulnerable. It was diverse in its occupational character - developing with the service functions of the city, with trade and later with industry. This model of a middle class with three distinct elements draws on specific interpretations of the character of the lower middle class, as made most notably by G. Crossick.¹³ It is informed by the five-class model of R.S. Neale, though the tendency to described the upper middle class as deferential is not followed, and Neale's 'middling class' is seen to incorporate two separate elements.¹⁴ It also acknowledges the influence of recent urban elite

¹³ G. Crossick (ed) The lower middle class in Britain (1977)

¹⁴ R.S. Neale Class in English history 1680 to 1850 (Oxford 1981)

studies.¹⁵

The physical and objective realities of individual experience, and that of groups and sub-groups, underline any understanding of the nineteenth century middle class. But before one can attempt to define the nature of class psychology one must consider the principal manifestation of class in action - the organizational profile. The urban middle classes, it has been argued were the supremely powerful social group of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ They developed a class consciousness that was early, positive, strong and localized - a base from which a national consciousness was to develop in the later nineteenth century. One of the essential reasons for this power was an ability and capacity to direct individual and group effort through organizations both formal and informal, official and voluntary, secular and religious. The Glasgow study underlines the importance of organizations in the nineteenth century city, as has been identified by R.J. Morris.¹⁷ Traditional and established urban organizations were developed and transformed to meet modern needs. New and flexible 'target oriented' organizations were created to address the growing problems of nineteenth century city life. These processes

¹⁵ J. Garrard Leadership and power in Victorian industrial towns 1830-1880 (1983); E.P. Hennock Fit and proper persons (1973); R.H. Trainor 'Authority and social structure in an industrialized area: a study of three Black Country towns, 1840-1890' (D.Phil. University of Oxford 1981).

¹⁶ This point is not accepted by all historians of nineteenth century class, especially those who approach the subject from a Marxist perspective such as J. Foster Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution; E.P. Thompson The making of the English working class (1963)

¹⁷ R.J. Morris 'Voluntary societies and the British urban elite 1780-1850' Historical Journal 26 (1983) 95-118

were not always easy - at a time of great social turmoil, urban expansion and economic change. But the strength of the Glasgow middle classes lay in the fact that problems were quickly resolved and there was a general desire to establish an accommodation between groups and group aims. There was also a willingness, when the need became apparent, to relinquish organizational power and initiative to official agencies of local government and the state.

The network of local middle class organizations, the multiple links between them and with national bodies, was the main source of power within the locality. Positional elites tended also to have the highest informal prestige. The numerous organizations that flourished in the nineteenth century city had a major function in articulating middle class values, creating a structure through which status could be determined and providing a mechanism whereby stability and control could be retained in a situation of great volatility. Perhaps their most significant function was to negotiate and circumscribe relationships with the working classes - a function that was perceived to be increasingly necessary as the city expanded and individual contacts were de-personalized. The importance of this function is suggested by the emphasis it has received in analyses of the middle class, particularly in industrial cities.¹⁸ But, it has been suggested, they also existed to regulate relationships within the middle class itself. As previously indicated by G. Stedman Jones in his work on London or by J. Treble writing on poverty in Britain, this negotiation of inter-class and intra-class contacts was a vital aspect

¹⁸ See C. Reid 'Middle class values'; T. Koditschek 'Class formation'

of life in large cities.¹⁹

Organizations were the pivotal link between the physical and psychological profiles in this Weberian analysis. Class psychology was particularly identified through an examination of power, status, and values within specific areas that were vital in the defining of middle class consciousness. Again, there was much evidence of continuity and consequent stability. Groups and occupations of traditional prestige and wealth held the highest authority, and the traditional values of the eighteenth century retained an influence well into the industrial era. It was a continuity which, as suggested by T.R. Tholfsen, made considerable contributions to the political and social stability of the middle years of the nineteenth century.²⁰ Status and power were consolidated by often traditional means, such as marriage or family and business contacts. Individuals of new wealth and new values - those that broke with tradition - were not, however, excluded from the system. Power hierarchies were open, social mobility was a reality and new values were accommodated. Class mechanisms in Glasgow were flexible. Through this, powerful but evolving social networks were established. They were consolidated within a locality, and extended to areas beyond. Although the highest positions of power and status were retained by those of great wealth or traditional prestige, there was clearly a localized and lesser structure of power and status available to those of the middle and lower middle classes.

¹⁹ G. Stedman Jones Outcast London (Oxford 1971); J. Treble Urban poverty in Britain 1830-1914 (1979)

²⁰ T.R. Tholfsen 'The intellectual origins of mid-victorian stability' Political Science Quarterly 87 (1971) 57-91

All elements were incorporated into an adaptive hierarchy of organizational authority that extended through the city and helped to defer lower middle class disaffection against elite power blocs.

It was shown to be significant that in a city of traditional wealth based on commerce, the rise of new middle class groups born out of industry and modern services was accommodated with relative ease and harmony. Mechanisms were quickly enacted whereby such individuals were allocated a measure of prestige, and new value systems were partly assimilated by the old. The most obvious and consistent factor in this accommodation was an established and continuing respect for personal riches. It was never the case in Glasgow, as suggested by H. Perkin of nineteenth century Britain as a whole, that there was a struggle between an 'entrepreneurial ideal' of modern capitalism and an older ideal founded in patronage, land, and gentry values - a struggle that ended in the success of the former.²¹ Nor did Glasgow professionals demonstrate a distinctive 'ideal' or array of values, since in a commercial and industrial city their fortunes were highly dependent on market forces. Traditional ideals in Glasgow included a combination of patronage, gentility, landed values and strident capitalism founded in successful commerce. The modern industrial middle classes introduced new elements to this array of values, in particular the psychological identification with the town rather than countryside.²² But the commercial ideal of the eighteenth century remained in many respects unchanged and dominant throughout the

²¹ H. Perkin Origins of modern English society ch 7

²² A. Howe The Cotton Masters 1830-1860 (Oxford 1984) p314

period. Again this has implications for the current debates on the decline of middle class enterprise and the apparent gentrification of industrialists in the later nineteenth century as suggested by M. Wiener.²³ From the Glasgow perspective, nineteenth century businessmen in commerce or industry were never as single-mindedly entrepreneurial as Perkin or many other analysts have suggested. A recent examination of the cotton masters of Lancashire underlines the existence of an urban elite ideal based on cultural patronage and philanthropy - a 'nobler form of authority'.²⁴ The character of the British economy after 1870 was influenced less by the assumption of a series of new gentrified values among the business classes, than by the fact that businessmen of all types had never lost their eighteenth century adherence to patronage, the love of land, high culture, education and other traditional ways and precepts. As a result of this failure to develop as true entrepreneurs, the British economy began to suffer when faced with competition from new economies that were more fully entrepreneurial in their business classes, notably those of Germany and the United States. Despite the great economic growth of Glasgow in the later nineteenth century, the seeds of eventual failure in the twentieth century were already evident in social structure and perceptions.

Personal wealth was a primary feature of status allocation in Glasgow, both within the old ideal of the eighteenth century and the modern and evolved ideal of the nineteenth century. There was, however,

²³ M. Wiener English culture; P. Payne British entrepreneurship in the nineteenth century

²⁴ A. Howe The Cotton Masters p. 314

another significant mechanism underlying the respect for and accommodation of new men - a mechanism derived from relationships with the urban working classes. Individuals from new wealthy middle class groups, especially the large manufacturing employers, were consciously perceived by traditional elites to be the vital arbiters of relationships with the expanding urban industrial working class. They played particularly active roles in new voluntary organizations and religious bodies specifically aimed at working class reform and control, and were given status and recognition accordingly. To an extent, this status offset the lack of prestige and authority in other areas.

Glasgow was a city of great economic diversity and wealth, the middle classes were prosperous and because of economic diversity were never polarized in particular work areas. All occupation groups were progressively able to generate individuals of great wealth and consequent social prestige and power. There was, therefore, considerable contact between economic groups - contact that was enhanced by social patterns associated with the traditions of Scottish background and descent. From a position of intra-class consensus and stability, it was possible for the middle classes to deal efficiently and relatively harmoniously with the working classes - the mass of the population in the increasingly industrial city. In examining the psychology of the urban middle classes it was proposed that an understanding of attitudes and relationships with the working class is vital. The middle class was the first modern group to have a distinct class consciousness. But this consciousness was heavily dependent on the existence and development of the working classes. Dealing with the working classes was the object of much of the organizational activity of the middle classes. Concern and anxiety

over the nature of the working classes was one of the greatest areas of middle class value articulation. For this reason much recent analysis of local middle class activity had tended to concentrate on heavily on this aspect of the middle class profile.²⁵ A wish to avoid contacts with the undesirable lower classes led to the development of patterns of middle class social exclusivity and isolation. Concern with the manifest problems of poverty accelerated a willingness to accept a certain level of state intervention in local affairs. Meanwhile as the working classes became progressively polarized into a respectable upper layer - made in the image of the middle classes - and massive unrespectable residuum, city elites were galvanized into action to deal with the perceived problems of urban industrial life.

The middle classes were primarily urban and economic phenomena, and in seeking to outline the basic elements of class psychology the development of attitudes to the city and to the modern economy were central. Here it was shown that attitudes could be ambivalent. For while certain values and perceptions served to reinforce class unity and helped to form an early class identity, others could be divisive and worked against consensus and harmony. The industrialization and concomitant pollution of the city environment occasioned sharp intra-class dissent. So too did the perceived trend towards differential access to civic amenities like parks and modern water supply. Such factors served to drive a wedge between elements of the Glasgow middle class. They were not, however, so great as to cause lasting

²⁵ J.L. Field 'Bourgeois Portsmouth: social relations in a Victorian dockyard town'; T.S. Koditschek 'Class formation and the Bradford bourgeoisie'

disharmony. Nor were they sufficiently significant to undermine those elements that created class consensus and unity. Notable among the latter was an early and growing sense of civic identity and pride in the economic achievements of the city. The role of the city environment in shaping class values and perceptions was a vital feature of the nineteenth century, as suggested in the recent revival in urban history.²⁶ There was also pride in many of the traditions of the Glasgow and Scottish people - even though these traditions were often romantically perceived. There were powerful feelings of nationalism, militarism and patriotism - elements of class value that remained strong from 1800 to 1870.

In examining the multi-faceted character of the evolving Glasgow middle classes, contrast has been drawn between the forces of continuity and those of change. Against a background of urban expansion, social turmoil and economic advance, established perceptions and structures retained their power and strength. Commerce and commercial values, rooted in the eighteenth century, were a vital element in the character of the middle classes. Though there was the rise of modern industry, which generated both personal fortunes and prestige - and also overthrew established relationships between the classes, causing new class-negotiating structures to come into being - traditional commerce and related professions, dominated wealth, authority and status structures. This was a manifestation of continuity, despite the great changes of the period. Continuity of experience, it has been argued, ensured relative harmony, strength and class consensus. The middle classes were the pivot of social and

²⁶ D. Fraser & A. Sutcliffe (eds) The pursuit of urban history (1983); G. Gordon & B. Dicks (eds) Scottish Urban History (Aberdeen 1983)

political power in the nineteenth century city. Their early, city based and organizationally focused class consciousness had a vital role to play in the development of working class identity and in the evolving role of the upper classes. A broad middle class, with a large and economically diverse array of lower middle class sub-groups (believing in upward mobility, as was evident in Glasgow), was stable and confident.

Only through detailed case studies of major cities, in which a range of social and economic activity is represented, can the nature of the middle classes be identified. This analysis of Glasgow, based on Weberian theory and a multi-dimensional approach, goes a considerable way towards outlining some of the main aspects of the evolving character of the group. With additional studies, using complementary methodologies that encompass the middle class in other urban centres (large and small), which look at the relationships between the urban and rural middle classes both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and examine the middle class within the context of general evolution of social structures in Britain and elsewhere, the nature of nineteenth century class, in all its complex and variable forms, will become more fully evident.

6. Appendices

6.1 Sources

6.2 Research Methodology

6.3 Occupations

6.4 The Glasgow Herald 1800-1870; advertising trends.

6.1 Sources

The nature of the main data sources employed in this study and some of the difficulties associated with their use are described below.

a. Census

The manuscript Census Enumerators Books and published Census abstracts are widely used in studies of social class.¹ For the year 1841, the Census gives information on occupation and residence, and from 1851 also on education, servant keeping and lodgers - which have all been used as surrogate measures of status and wealth.² Of particular value, the 1861 Census of Scotland also includes details on the size of house occupied by each household (defined by rooms with windows of a certain size). This information was sought following contemporary concern with the problem of overcrowding in the Scottish cities.³ Additionally, for Glasgow, there is the extensive published Cleland Census of 1831 and the population enumeration of 1819 - both pioneering social surveys of the day - which give important supplementary details to the inadequate early national censuses.⁴

¹ R. Lawton (ed) The Census and Social Structure (1978)

² See particularly K. Cowland 'The identification of social (class) areas and their place in nineteenth century urban development' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 4 (1979) 239-257

³ Census of Scotland (1962) vol 1, Introduction.

⁴ J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow for 1819 (Glasgow 1820); J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and County of Lanark for the Government Census of 1831 (Glasgow 1832) - the Enumeration of 1819 was instigated by the Magistrates and Council and carried out by Cleland, then Clerk of Works and City Statistician. Household details of a similar character to those sought in 1831 were collected. Unfortunately, though published abstracts of the 1819 survey exist, the original Enumerators Books have been lost.

The census is an important source, but though it gives significant information on the total population, in the analysis of a relatively small section of the total, such as the middle class, the value of the census, used in isolation, is limited. Problems are also manifest in a lack of accuracy or consistency in some aspects of compilation such as womens occupations, the nature of lodgers and visitors, and the definition of 'house'. The latter is significant in the Scottish urban context where flat dwellings were common.⁵

The availability, in computerized form, of a two percent national sample of the 1851 Census is potentially valuable.⁶ But also presents problems in a local case study analysis since the sampling unit employed has been the Census Enumerator's Book - a source of possible statistical bias - not the household unit. For Glasgow this has resulted in a sample of fourteen books, about 7,000 individuals in all - from a population of 329,097 - of which 1,400 or 20% can be broadly defined as middle class, residing in some 280 household units. A two percent sample, though involving vast numbers, is a limited base for generalizations on the nature of society as a whole, and on the

⁵ P.M. Tillot 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses' in E.A. Wrigley (ed) Nineteenth century society essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data (Cambridge 1972) 82-133

⁶ National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain held in the ESRC Data Archive; M. Anderson et al 'The National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain sampling and data handling procedures' Urban History Yearbook 1977 5-59; 'Preparation and analysis of a machine readable national sample from the Enumerators books of the 1851 Census of Great Britain' SSRC Report HR2066, 1980 - available from the British Library.

middle classes in particular within a relatively small locality.⁷ For this reason the computerized 1851 Census Sample has not been used in this study, and emphasis has been placed on the more useful 1861 Census.

b. Rate Books (Rentals)

Rate books give details on the value and character of property ownership and occupancy, and when linked to other sources, on the nature of wealth in general. Glasgow rate books are available for certain years of the nineteenth century, but unlike the Census do not give information on all households or individual household members. The rating system was reformed in Scotland in 1854, (Land Valuation Scotland Act) and from 1855 a complete annual listing of rates exists. The post-1854 system was nationally consistent and accurate, and allows comparisons between areas within Scotland. Post-1854 Scottish Rate Books give details on the character of property and for what purposes it was used, owner's name, occupation and address, occupier's name and occupation and the annual ratable value.⁸

The pre-1854 Glasgow rating system was complex: as each service providing body within the city imposed its own rates. But few records have survived. There are no listings of Poor Law rates, though these were imposed from the late eighteenth century. There is a series of Police Rate Books for the years 1800 to 1847. But records only exist

⁷ M. Anderson 'National sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain - The Sample' Information Sheet 2 p.1 (Unpublished - Dept Economic History, University of Edinburgh 1982)

⁸ Post 1854 Scottish Rate Books are available in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh - SRO V.R.102/85-94; see also G. Gordon 'Rateable assessment as a data source for status area analysis: the example of Edinburgh 1855-1862' Urban History Yearbook 1979 92-99

for one Police Ward per year (from over thirty Police Wards), without apparent rationale in the selection of the ward.⁹ The only useful pre-1854 Rate Book is the 1832 Special Rate imposed on the City Parish (there is no surviving equivalent for the Barony, Gorbals or Govan parishes) to provide funds to deal with the cholera crisis of that year. This source details the name of the occupier of each property, his occupation, the address and character of the premises and for what used, the rental valuation and the rate imposed, plus information on cases of appeal for reassessment or exemption.¹⁰

c. Poll Books and Elector's Lists

Elector's Lists for the years 1832 to 1867 record men who were qualified to vote as ten pound property holders. They provide useful additional or corroborative information to that found in other lists, but are rarely substantive data sources in their own right.¹¹ There is a single Glasgow Poll Book for the year 1832 which gives voting patterns as well as name, occupation, and address (in most cases).¹² From 1856 there is an annual printed list (by Electoral Ward) of qualified electors within Glasgow. This gives name, occupation, address of residence, and details of the property qualification which secured the right to vote - individuals were often entitled to vote in

⁹ Strathclyde Regional Archive, Glasgow. M.S. Police Rental Books 1800-1847

¹⁰ Mitchell Library, Glasgow. M.S. Cholera Rental Book, 1832

¹¹ P.M. Tillot 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses' p85 describes poll book occupation descriptions as usually 'succinct to the point of obscurity'.

¹² Glasgow Electors of 1832 (Glasgow 1832); The Glasgow voters manual, being a list of all those entitled to vote for members for the first Reformed Parliament, with the boundaries of the Borough as defined by the Reform Act (Glasgow 1832)

more than one ward.¹³

d. Directories

Nineteenth century directories were usually annual publications compiled by commercial organizations, private individuals or official bodies such as the Post Office. They do not include all individuals (or heads of household) resident within a town - and the inclusion of specific individuals was generally not based upon objective, consistent or easily identified criteria (though broad criteria can often be inferred).¹⁴ The Glasgow Directory claimed to be a list of the 'Merchants, traders, manufacturers and principal inhabitants' of the city. The first Glasgow Directory was published in 1787 - a private commercial venture. From 1828 to 1908 it was compiled and published by the Post Office (as in Edinburgh) under the patronage of the Secretary to the Post Office for Scotland. It was intended to provide information for the public, but also for Post Office officials. This is unlike the directories of most English towns, particularly those served by the Kelly organization, which claimed to be associated with

¹³ Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Printed 'Register of Persons entitled to vote in the election of members to serve in Parliament for the Burgh of Glasgow for the year 1861-62'.

¹⁴ P. J. Corfield 'Giving directions to the town: the early town Directories' Urban History Yearbook 1984 22-35; G. Shaw 'Directories as a source in urban history a review of British and Canadian material' Urban History Yearbook 1984 36-44; S. Kelly 'Giving directions to the town: status and occupation in eighteenth century town directories' (Unpublished paper presented to the Urban History Group Annual Conference, University of Kent, 8 April 1982).

the official Post Office, but was in reality a commercial body.¹⁵

The Directory is the only Glasgow data source available for every year of this study - 1800 to 1870. From 1800 to 1848 it consisted of a single alphabetic listing of individuals, companies and institutions, with appended general information. From 1848 there were three separate listings - a general alphabetic list as above, a listing of individuals by street, and a listing of individuals by occupation or trade. Entries (except for the earliest years which were not as detailed) give name, precise occupation - often also the firm for which the individual worked or owned - and address, with in most cases a distinction between home and work address. The Directory of 1800 has 1,870 entries (2.5% of the local population). That of 1832 has 8,640 entries (4.4% of the population of city and suburbs, 6.8% of the population over the age of fifteen years and 20.5% of all heads of household). By 1861 there were 16,800 entries (4.2% of the population).

The Directory is an important source of information on the middle classes as most of the majority working class population - except for certain artisan elite groups - were excluded. It also lists women -

¹⁵ London Post Office Directories 1846 PP 1846 (586) XLV 173. There was an inquiry into the association between Kelly and the London Post Office in 1846, after complaints from letter carriers that they were being exploited in collecting names for the London Directory for which they were not adequately paid. Kelly himself seems to have kept most of the profits of the enterprise, and following the inquiry lost his official contacts with the London Post Office. In Glasgow, the letter carriers who collected information for the Directory were paid commission on subsequent sales in their district. In Edinburgh a more equitable system of payment seems to have prevailed, with all those involved with the Directory paid a fixed sum according to their status in the Post Office hierarchy. P.P. 1845 XLVII 243; P.P. 1845 XLVIII 239. Though information on the financing of the Scottish Post Office Directories is available, no official statements on principles of compilation could be traced.

12-16% of entries. about half of these with specified occupations. Cleland estimated that in 1831 one in five households were headed by women - women are therefore under represented.¹⁶ But when compared with inadequate Census information on women's employment or the absence of women from Poll Books, the Directory is undoubtedly valuable.

e. Scottish Confirmation Inventories

One of the most useful sources available to this study was the confirmation inventory - a source unique to Scotland and therefore described in detail.

'Confirmation is the ratification by a competent court of an appointment of executors, made either by the deceased himself, or by the court and constitutes a title to uplift, receive, administer and dispose of the personal estate of the deceased person contained in an inventory given up by the executors and upon which the confirmation proceeds'.¹⁷

The Probate in England and Ireland corresponds generally with the Confirmation of Executors Nominate in Scotland - though there are minor variations in the treatment of property held on mortgage, and the character of the inventories are very different between the two countries. To secure a confirmation in Scotland it was necessary for executors to present -

'a full and true inventory of all the personal or movable estate and effects of the deceased already recovered or known to be existing, distinguishing what shall be situated in Scotland and what elsewhere, together with any testament or other writing relating to the disposal

¹⁶ J. Cleland Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow p.16

¹⁷ J.G. Currie The confirmation of executors in Scotland according to the practice in the Commissariat of Edinburgh (Edinburgh 1884) p1; Detailed lists of personal wealth in the nineteenth century do not exist in England and Wales. The Scottish Confirmation Inventories are housed in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. SRO SC36/48/46-48

of such estate or effects.¹⁸

The inventory, which detailed the precise value of the property held by the deceased, had to be presented to the courts within six months of the executors assuming responsibility for the estate.

Most individuals who died in the nineteenth century did not leave estates likely to be subject to the formal process of confirmation. There were 4373 adult deaths in Glasgow in 1861 but only some 450 confirmations recorded for the city during the same period. Only one in every six adult male deaths and one in every eighteen adult female deaths was followed by the confirmation procedure. The personal or movable estate of most individuals was small in value and simple in character, and disposed of in an informal manner according to tradition or the verbal wishes of the deceased. Confirmation was only necessary where the deceased had left a will, where the estate was in dispute, where the estate was complex, or in a form that required legal authority for it to be recovered. Prior to 1883 there was no lower value threshold below which an estate need not go through the full process of confirmation. Consequently many very small estates, which met the above conditions, were confirmed. The lowest observed for c.1861 was an estate valued at £3. From 1883 many estates of less than £100 value were allowed to pass to the representatives of the deceased without confirmation.¹⁹

As a result of legislation and evolving practice the character of confirmation inventories changed during the course of the nineteenth

¹⁸ W. Alexander The practice of the Commissary Courts of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1859) p50

¹⁹ J.G. Currie Confirmation of executors p117

century. Before 1808 partial inventories were the norm. A confirmation granted on only part of the estate was usually sufficient to secure the succession - and it was also an effective way of minimizing legal fees and stamp duty. By the Revenue Act of 1808 (48 Geo.III c149) all executors were obliged to lodge a full inventory in the local Commissary Courts. But loopholes existed which allowed partial inventories to continue until further legislation was passed in 1823 (4 Geo.IV c97). As late as 1858 brief forms of inventory were still possible, though the full value of the estate had to be recorded. The Confirmation and Probate Act of 1858 (22 & 23 Vict. c561) amended this final anomaly.²⁰

As a source on the Scottish middle class the confirmation inventory is important. In addition to precise details on the nature and value of movable property, there is information on occupation and on the business premises that the deceased occupied or owned. Home address is usually given. Land or property ownership is not included, but some indication of wealth holding in this area can come from the listing of rents in arrears.²¹ Business contacts can be inferred from the highly detailed book debts that are usually given. There is information on overseas business interests. Social networks can also be indicated by the occupations of executors appointed by the deceased. The source is not, of course, without problems. The absence of heritable property has far greater implications for certain occupational areas than for others and wealth holding at death cannot

²⁰ *ibid*; Scottish Record Office, Commissary Court Records, Preface SRO CC1-8

²¹ For details on what constituted movable property and heritable property see W. Alexander Practice of the Commissary Courts pp7-8

always accurately reflect the character of an individuals wealth at his prime. Problems also exist for women, particularly widows, since there is uncertainty as to how much the inventory reflects their own or their deceased husbands wealth.

f. Taxation records

Two types of taxation schedule, listing individuals by name, survive for Glasgow of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There are no equivalent records for later periods. These are the Consolidated Assessed Tax Schedules of the year 1798 to 1799 and the Income Tax Schedules of the year 1801 to 1802.²²

Assessed taxes were levied from the late seventeenth century on various items of property and types of establishment generally regarded as typical of the relatively rich rather than the poor. They are therefore useful in a study of the middle class. By the late 18th century the various Assessed Taxes were under the control of a single body, the Commission for Assessed Taxes, who imposed them in a uniform manner and maintained reasonably accurate and consistent records. The schedules of 1798-99 comprise a number of separate taxes brought together and charged as a whole on individuals. These include the Inhabited House Tax, Window Tax, Tax on Male Servants, Tax on Pleasure Carriages and Riding Horses, Tax on Carts and Horses and Mules used in business and Tax on Sporting and Domestic Dogs.²³

²² Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Assessed Tax Schedules. SRO E326/15/28; Income Tax Schedules SRO E326/14/2

²³ S. Dowell A history of taxation and taxes in England from the earliest times to the present day (1884) Vol III p 207; also P.P. 1810 (369) 11.507 Sixth report from the Select Committee on the Public Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom relative to the collection of Taxes in Scotland p 513

Assessed Taxes were levied yearly upon the maximum establishment of an individual in the previous fiscal year. Tax Surveyors visited and inspected each house to determine the number of windows subject to tax and the level of house duty (based upon a rateable value) and to leave a declaration form for the other taxes. There was some evasion, particularly by the very rich. But these were mainly taxes on concrete property (the most important elements being the Inhabited House and Window Tax) and therefore not easily evaded, especially by the late 18th century when effective legislation had been passed to prevent fraud by such means as the blocking up of windows. As a result Assessed Tax records can be assumed to be reasonably accurate and complete.²⁴

Though generally reliable, there are problems in the use of Assessed Tax Schedules, associated particularly with the definition of 'inhabited house'. An inhabited house was deemed to be any property where individuals slept overnight - so the list includes hotels and inns, usually identified by their large size, the occupation of the owners and the numerous male servants, waiters and barmen that they employed. Business and work premises that were directly attached to the house were charged House Duty, but not such premises if they were distinct and separate from the house.²⁵ The main problem, however, was that the Inhabited House and Window Tax, unlike the later rateable assessment, was not levied on separate household units such as flats within a block - the common domestic dwelling arrangement in the

²⁴ L.D. Schwarz 'Income distribution and social structure in London in the late eighteenth century' Economic History Review 32 (1979) p252

²⁵ S. Dowell A history of taxation vol III p207

Scottish cities - but on discrete properties that were also 'inhabited houses'.²⁶ The Glasgow schedules list c.5,230 inhabited houses at a time when the 1801 Census (which in Glasgow defined an inhabited house as that which was inhabited by a separate household unit) enumerated 20,276. Thus the Schedule is not a record of all heads of household but of property ownership and occupancy in certain circumstances.

The Glasgow Schedules are divided by Tax District - sixteen for the City parish, plus Barony, Gorbals and Govan. Tax districts covered a few streets, described in detail, with about 150 entries in each district. Individual entries give name, occupation in most cases, and precise information on the taxes imposed. Specific addresses are not given, but this can often be traced through linking the individual and his tax district to the Directory.

Income Tax was introduced to Britain in 1799 as a response to the financial exigencies of the Napoleonic Wars. The Tax was temporarily abandoned in 1802 at the Peace of Amiens but reintroduced within the year and continued in existence to 1815. It was abolished at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and permanently reintroduced in 1842. The availability of Income Tax Schedules - listed by named individuals - is extremely rare, unlike those of the Assessed Taxes which exist for much of Britain. The only detailed Income Tax records to survive are those for Scotland for the year 1801 to 1802 (not all areas are covered) and a variety of Schedules for the Midlothian area (mainly Edinburgh) for the period 1799 to 1815. The existence of these documents presents a paradox to the historian, for it is due

²⁶ P.P. 1797/8 XXVII 335 Bill (as amended in the Report) for granting His Majesty certain additional duties on the amount of certain duties charged by assessment - for a time to be limited p13

essentially to the ineptitude of the Tax collecting body in Scotland (which was separate from the English/Welsh office in London). At the end of the Napoleonic Wars the Scottish Tax Office in Edinburgh was under investigation for fraudulent activities, a failure to collect taxes, a failure to impose the tax schedule system enacted in 1803 and other inefficiencies. It is thought that the Midlothian records probably survived due to the need for evidence for an investigative inquiry.²⁷ That there are surviving records for other areas is probably just another testimony to the ineptitude of the Scottish Tax office, for in 1815, aware of the animosity aroused by the Income Tax, the Government had ordered all tax schedules to be burned.²⁸

Income Tax in Britain as a whole was badly designed and easily evaded in the early nineteenth century. Before the creation of the five schedule system, following the Peace of Amiens, incomes of over sixty pounds per annum were assessed with distinction only between 'income from commerce' and 'income from various sources'²⁹ As there were no qualified officials capable of assessing 'commercial incomes' this distinction (as shown by the schedules) was largely ignored. There was vast under-representation of income by many and complete evasion was common. In Glasgow, 748 names were listed for income tax, about 1% of all persons living in the city in 1801 or 3.6% of all heads of household. Specific cases of evasion are easily identified through comparison of the various tax records of individuals known to be

²⁷ Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Preface to the Income Tax Schedules SRO E326/14/2

²⁸ A. Hope-Jones Income Tax in the Napoleonic Wars (Cambridge 1939) p.19

²⁹ *ibid*

wealthy. John and Robert Tennant, the brewers, paid Assessed Taxes in 1798-99 in excess of twelve pounds (on property that included riding horses and sporting dogs, several carts and work horses and inhabited houses). On information derived from London Assessed Tax Surveyors³⁰ they would have had a joint annual income in excess of two hundred pounds. But neither of the brothers appear in the Glasgow income tax records for 1801-2, despite permanent residence in the city. The anomalies of the early Income Tax and problems inherent in the way in which Assessed Tax Schedules were compiled, inevitably circumscribe the use to which they can be applied in a study of the middle class.

In concluding the description of the major source employed in the present study, both their values and their defects, it should be stressed that in isolation each source presents many problems in attempts to identify the character and evolution of the middle classes (or indeed any social class). But when used in combination, through an analysis that focuses on particular years where the sources are known to be good, it is possible to compensate for specific deficiencies and provide a rounded picture of the group under examination.

³⁰ L.D. Schwarz 'Income distribution and social structure in London in the late eighteenth century'

6.2 Research methodology

a. Record Linkage

One of the main aims of this study is to present a statistical analysis of the changing character of the Glasgow middle classes in the period 1800 to 1870 - the physical profile. In measuring the middle class it was necessary to examine a wide range of the concrete elements that reflect the dynamics of class formation. To this end sources that identified specific individuals were used. Based on representative samples, these were linked on individual name. Due to the great variability of sources it was not possible to trace specific groups of named individuals or families over the period. What was possible, however, was to present a series of 'snap-shots' analyses for a number of single years, and by comparing these illustrate how the middle class evolved.

A 'key year' approach, involving the the selection of specific years for detailed examination, was used. These are 1800, 1832 and 1861, evenly spaced points in time and chosen also because of a favourable conjunction of sources. The focus of the statistical analysis is the year 1861, with which the other 'key years' are compared. 1861 undoubtedly has the finest sources, for range of information, accuracy and reliability.³¹ The sources for this year are also the most amenable to linkage of personal records - and record linkage is

³¹ In a study of the nineteenth century urban middle classes, 1861 is possibly the best year for sources. By 1871, following the Electoral Reforms of 1867, the character of the Electoral list had changed completely.

essential in a multi-dimensional approach.³²

Record linkage requires a base source (the first level of data to be linked to other sources) that as far as possible excludes individuals who are not middle class (broadly defined) and includes most of those who are (in terms at least of head of household).³³ Two sources potentially conformed to this requirement - the Electoral List (or Poll Book) and the Directory. The former has been used in a record linkage study of the Leeds middle class in the year 1832.³⁴ But, the Electoral List only becomes a viable source on the urban middle classes following the Reform Act of 1832. In a study that spans the period 1800 to 1870, one must initially rely on the Directory, the most complete source for year to year availability, but also one with potential problems of coverage.

The Glasgow Directory clearly does not represent the population as a whole, but does it represent the middle classes? As there were no specific rules of compilation the only way to show this was to compare the Directory with other sources, particularly those that list the post 1832 electorate (since ten pound property holding is the most often quoted definition of middle class membership).³⁵ The 1832

³² R.J. Morris 'In search of the urban middle class, record linkage and methodology: Leeds 1832' Urban History Yearbook 1976 pp15-20

³³ R.S. Schofield 'Sampling in historical research' in E.A. Wrigley (ed) Nineteenth century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data (Cambridge 1972) pp 146-190

³⁴ R.J. Morris The making of the British middle class 1815 - 1870 ESRC Reprt no G00/24/0007 October 1982

³⁵ Though it is clear from this study that ten pound property holding incorporated a group that was far larger than the middle class alone. See also J.R. Vincent Pollbooks: how Victorians voted (Cambridge 1967)

Glasgow Poll Book lists about 7000 men who were qualified to vote. The 1832 Directory lists 8640 individuals, of which 7000 were men. A pilot sample (systematic) of forty names drawn from the Directory of 1832 produced four women and thirty-six men. Of the latter, nineteen were listed in the Poll Book of 1832. Of those not qualified to vote there were 5 grocers/victuallers: 2 shoemakers: 1 spirit dealer: 1 beadle and coal agent: 1 grain merchant: 1 china merchant: 1 hairdresser: 1 upholsterer: 1 newspaper employee (exact job unknown): 1 Professor of Physic: 1 slater: 1 Sheriff Officer - seventeen in all. One of these individuals, James Anderson, China and stoneware merchant may well have been in the Poll Book, but no information is given of his home address, and as there were many James Andersons in Glasgow it is impossible to say with certainty.

From this limited sample it would seem that 52% of those in the Directory (men) were also in the Poll Book. Poll Book entries included all professionals except the Professor of Physic; resident in the college therefore not a domestic property holder, (1 Writer, 1 teacher and 1 factor/accountant). It also included three out of four of the men associated with named companies. A similar exercise for 1861 revealed that 64% of those in the Directory were also electors. In a survey of three of the twelve Glasgow Electoral Wards of 1832, 60% of individuals were in the Directory and 25% were not. (The remaining 15% were ambiguous due to insufficient information.) Those who were not in the Directory, but were listed in the Poll Book of 1832, were mainly involved in artisan occupations, notably weavers, resident in the central east end of Glasgow.

By comparing the two sources over a number of years it could be seen that about two-thirds of individuals who appeared in one source were also listed in the other. In general, one-third of individuals in

each source (including women in the Directory) did not appear in the other. The coverage of the two sources, though based on a substantially similar core, included two large peripheral groups. Of those in the Directory who were not electors there were women and men under the age of twenty-one years. There were also a number of men who were not property owners or occupiers and businessmen who owned their property beyond the Parliamentary Burgh boundaries, but were active in the city. Those who appeared in the Electoral List or Poll Book, but not in the Directory were mainly small scale businessmen, the retired and certain lower middle class employee groups such as clerks, managers and minor public officials. The two sources had slightly different coverage. Neither was ideally suited to be the 'base source' for initial sampling for the main, record linked, statistical study of the middle class in 1861. It was necessary therefore, to accommodate as wide a group of the middle class as possible, to devise a way of uniting the two to provide the 'base'.

The only way to resolve the above problem, and to deal with the difficulty inherent in the post 1856 electoral lists of multiple entries for those individuals who owned property in more than one ward, was to devise a sampling methodology that allowed one to bring together, with ease, all individuals distinguished by a particular characteristic. The characteristic had to be simple to identify and bear no relation to objective features such as occupation, residence, wealth or lifestyle. The only characteristic that potentially had these properties was the letter of the alphabet under which the individual's surname fell. It was therefore decided that a sample be taken using weighted alphabetic clusters selected by random numbers (weighted according to the proportion of the sample population whose

surname fell within each letter).³⁶ The only alternative to this approach would have been to redesign the sources and eliminate all multiple entries and thereby generate a new listing more suited to systematic sampling. This alternative would be so time consuming as to render it completely impractical.

The use of alphabetic clusters in sampling methodology has not been widely described. Most social sampling projects deal with modern populations and problems and do not have to face the idiosyncrasies of historical data. Cluster sampling has certain problems - though these are acceptable in the absence of alternatives in an exploratory analysis such as this.³⁷ The implications of alphabetic clusters are, however, largely unknown, though an alphabetic list is generally thought to be a random list.³⁸ The only obvious cases where it may not be random are associated with ethnicity. Those with names beginning with "Mc" are likely to be Scottish or of Scots decent and those with names beginning with "O" are likely to have Irish connections. In a study of nineteenth century Glasgow such reservations can be largely dismissed. There were of course many Irish in Glasgow, but very few in the middle class. The case of the "Mc's" is a little more complex as most, one would assume, were of Highland connection and this may have had some impact. But it is clear that there were proportionally

³⁶ J.A. Phillips 'Achieving a critical mass while avoiding an explosion: letter cluster sampling and nominal record linkage' Journal of Interdisciplinary History 9 (1979) 493-508 describes a similar cluster sampling project.

³⁷ For a discussion of the difficulties of cluster sampling see W.G. Cochran Sampling Techniques (1963) esp sections 8.5 'populations in random order', 9.1 'Reasons for cluster sampling', 9.9 'Sampling with probability proportional to size'.

³⁸ R.S. Schofield 'Sampling in historical research' pp153-4

as many "Mc's" in Glasgow in 1798, long before mass Highland migration to the Lowland cities, as there were in 1861 - indicating a large, long resident "Mc" population unlikely to differ in characteristics from the rest of the middle class. It is also evident from qualitative reports that Highlanders of recent migration were well integrated into society at all levels, therefore unlikely to have a distorting influence. This, however, is subjective. To demonstrate positively that the alphabetic distribution of the Glasgow middle class was random it had to be tested statistically. This was done for the year 1861, for which the sources were good, and also for 1800 to the extent the sources would allow.

For the year 1861, the methodology testing model involved -

1/the creation of an alphabetic frequency list of all individuals listed in the Directory (Mc and M were separated).

2/the creation of an alphabetic frequency list of all individuals in certain occupations listed in the Directory (only occupations with over seventy individuals listed were selected, less than seventy was insufficient for statistical testing). There were fifty-four occupations in all.

Each occupation was statistically correlated against the total population of the Directory to show if any single alphabetic distribution significantly differed from that of the whole.³⁹ The results were good with thirty-seven occupations having correlations coefficients of over 0.9. The lowest was 0.79 for the occupation group termed 'Dyers', of which there were only seventy individuals listed. It is clear from the results that the lower correlation

³⁹ The correlation test described here is the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient. Chi-square tests gave similar good results.

coefficients were strongly related to the occupations in which smaller numbers were involved. Even so 0.79 is a high positive result.

Using the above listings a second test involved correlating all those from each letter in all the listed occupations with the sum of the listed occupations - in order to show if any particular letter of the alphabet deviated markedly from the distribution of the whole. Eleven letters of the alphabet had results of over 0.9 (out of twenty-four letters, there being no individuals in the selected occupations with names beginning with X or Z). A further five had over 0.8. Of the remaining eight all were positive and only three fell below 0.6. A low correlation coefficient was distinctly related to the smaller numbers involved. For instance the lowest was of 0.33 for the letter V, of which there were only seventeen individuals spread over fifty-four occupations. This compared with the letter B with 0.96 based on 1053 individuals. The Mc's had a correlation coefficient of 0.92 on 1541 names, and the O's (of which there were very few "O'") had 0.65 on 81 names. It would seem therefore, that there was no relationship between occupation and alphabetic distribution within the Glasgow middle class of 1861.⁴⁰

A second methodology testing model, using the 1861 Electoral List, involved -

1/the creation of an alphabetic frequency list of all individuals in all electoral wards.

2/the creation of an alphabetic frequency list of all individuals in

⁴⁰ Though such a relationship might exist in other populations.

each of the sixteen individual wards.

Each ward was statistically correlated against the total for all wards. The numbers involved were large, in most cases over one thousand individuals in each ward and the correlation coefficients were very high. The lowest was 0.97 for the two smallest wards (Ward 7 with 580 individuals and Ward 9 with 551).

A second series of correlations was done. All individuals in each single letter of the alphabet in all wards were correlated against the total for all wards. Again the results were very good for letters of the alphabet which involved large numbers. Seventeen letters gave correlation coefficients of over 0.9. Another six had over 0.6. The poorest were 0.12 for the letter 'Q', of which there were only six individuals spread over sixteen wards and -0.1 for the letter V based on twenty-four individuals. These last two results, due to the small numbers involved, were not statistically significant. The 'O's' had a correlation coefficient of 0.68 based on 130 individuals - the 'Mc's' had 0.98 based on 2436 individuals. These results demonstrate that there was no relationship between alphabetic distribution and patterns of residence or property ownership/occupancy within that element of the Glasgow middle class who were entitled to vote in 1861.

An equivalent series of methodology tests for the year 1800 gave similarly good results. The use of randomly selected, weighted alphabetic cluster sampling was, therefore, justified.

The Samples

a. Record Linked Sample of 1861

The main 'record linked' sample was that of 1861. Samples for the other 'base years' were not 'linked' to the same degree due to the inadequacy of the sources. For this reason, the more usual systematic

rather than cluster sampling techniques were employed for 1832 and 1800.

In selecting the size of sample, 4-5% of the target population in 1861 (combined entries listed in Directory and Electoral List) - about 800 to 1000 individuals - was considered to be sufficiently large to illustrate the diversity of the group under analysis. A sample of this size could also be accommodated in the time and facilities that were available to the study. Using the alphabetic cluster sampling technique a 'base' sample of 894 cases was drawn from the linked Directory and Electoral List. Of this number, 408 (45.6%) individuals appeared in both the Directory and the Electoral List, 238 (26.6%) appeared in just the Directory, and 248 (27.7%) in just the Electoral List. The sample included 73 (8.2%) women. The personalized information was processed on an Osborne micro-computer using DBase II. DBase II is marketed mainly for accounting and inventory control purposes, but also proved to be well suited to the requirements of this study as data could be stored in both coded and alphabetic/numeric forms. Using the computer, it was possible to devise a semi-automatic system of record linkage. But inevitably, given the vagaries of the historical sources, much of the linkage was manual, based on personal knowledge of specific circumstances and 'informed but intuitive' judgements as to what was likely.⁴¹

A simple hierarchy of 'positive linkage criteria' was devised to aid and systematize the manual linkage process. All the sources gave three basic levels of information - name, occupation and address (home

⁴¹ For a more complex and systematic machine based linkage (directed at a larger population) see R.J. Morris 'In search of the urban middle class. Record linkage and methodology, Leeds 1832'

and work in some cases). A match on all three (ignoring minor variations in spelling) was deemed a positive link. A match on two - name and occupation or address - was also accounted a positive link if no information from other sources cast doubt on the linkage. A match on name only was generally treated as a negative link, again unless information in other sources, backed by reasonable judgements, suggested otherwise. As the linkage involved several sources, and some cross-checking with previous and subsequent years to 1861, a number of cases in which there was ambiguity in the initial link were clarified in subsequent stages of the sample creation process.

The 'base sample' was linked to the Glasgow Census Enumerators Books of 1861 in the following manner. An alphabetic sort of the sample, based on 'home address' was generated to give an alphabetic list of street names which could be traced in the Census Index. The result was a series of Census Enumerators Book and District numbers for each street on the 'alphabetic home address list'. Many streets crossed several Census Enumerators Districts - to allow a systematic survey of the Census, it was necessary, therefore, to construct a listing for each separate Enumeration District of the streets and street numbers that were being sought.

On the first complete scan of the Glasgow Census, 616 (69%) individuals from the 'base' sample were linked successfully - 39(4%) of the sample were not resident within Glasgow therefore not linked at this stage. Excluding the latter group, 239 (27%) of the sample had not been linked. The reasons for failure to trace specific names were several. There were problems of mistakes in recording the 'base' sample and errors in the original sources. There was a failure to identify all the street names and numbers as they appeared on the Census micro-film. There was also some inconsistency in street

names/numbers as used in the 'base' sample sources (Electoral List and Directory) compared with the Census. This was particularly evident in newly built areas of the West End of Glasgow, but also elsewhere. For instance the address '4 Steel Street' used in the Electoral List and Directory appeared in the Census as '165 Saltmarket' (the address was that of a corner tenement block, probably with two entrances.) Other difficulties were presented by the use of local terrace name rather than the name of the street in which the terrace occurred - thus '72 Alma Place' was also known as '72 Paisley Road'. The latter problem was solved through tracing the local name in the Post Office Directory which gave a list of Place, Row and Terrace names and the streets in which they were sited.

But the major cause of failed linkage was encountered in cases where the street and street number had been traced but the names sought were not found. In a few instances (11 cases) the specific individuals were not traced but their families were, and evidence was sufficient to assume that they did generally live at that address but for some reason were away from home on the night of the Census. This was apparent with several individuals who were seamen, merchants and travellers. More often however, the failure was because individuals had moved between the time of the Census in the spring of the year and the compiling of the Electoral List and Directory during the summer and autumn of the year. The address in the 'base' sample was the address to which they had not yet moved at the time of the Census. In order to establish this the individuals concerned were traced in the 1860-61 Electoral List and Directory. Some individuals could not be found in the earlier list, possibly because they did not live in Glasgow in 1860 or were not qualified electors at that time. Many however could be traced and their earlier address established.

Having identified and corrected mistakes, and created a list of revised addresses, a second scan of the Census was undertaken. On the information available it was established that 36 (4%) individuals could not be linked to the Census. The second Census scan yielded 72 (8%) further linkages. A third scan, again following a revision of details in the original 'base' sample gave 48 (5%) more linked individuals. At the end of the third linkage 775 (87%) names from the original 'base' sample had been linked to the Census Enumerators Books - this included the 39 cases not resident in Glasgow. There were 119 (13%) failed linkages.

Though further Census scans could have been undertaken, it was unlikely that all names in the 'base' sample would be linked. A certain level of failed linkage was acceptable if failure could be demonstrated as random and not the consequence of objective criteria that might influence results. To show this, the basic character of the linked group after the second scan (excluding those not resident in Glasgow) was compared with basic character of the small group linked after the third scan, to establish if the latter differed substantially from the rest of the sample and thereby to indicate whether the untraced element was likely to be different also. The results are given in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Details derived from the Census Linkage 1861.

A = 48 individuals in final link

B = 688 individuals in earlier sample link

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
Rooms in average household	4.6	4.9
Servants in average household	0.7	0.7
Households without servants	51%	52%
Adult males in average household	1.6	1.8
Adult females in average household	2.2	2.3
Children in average household	1.2	1.5
Households without children	38%	42%

Place of birth of sample individuals

Ireland	8%	7%
Local Counties	55%	57%
Others	37%	36%

The small size of the 'A' sample rendered it unsuitable for more detailed analysis. On aggregate results however the two samples compare well and suggested that the untraced element was unlikely to be very different. To establish this further, the occupations of individuals who were not traced were examined and compared with those who were traced. Again the parallels were considerable and validate the acceptance of a certain level of failed linkage.

The final major step in the creation of the 1861 Glasgow middle class sample involved linkage to the 1861 Rate Books. The easiest way of doing this was to record the details of all individuals with surnames in the relevant alphabetic span and then link those who fell within the sample. Information not only on sample individuals, but also on others who owned or occupied property in Glasgow in 1861 was therefore gathered. This included the working class and an important category of those who owned or occupied property valued at over £10 per annum - middle class by the most frequently applied criteria - but did not

appear in the 'base' sample. Of the latter group there were 113 women and 75 men, mostly associated with low value properties. The reasons why 113 women should have missed inclusion in the original 'base' sample are easily understood - women were not on the Electoral List and those in the Directory tended to be the very wealthy only. Why 75 male property occupiers should have missed inclusion is not so clear - some may have been under age and therefore not eligible to appear on the Electoral List, a few were foreign and not entitled to a vote, others were probably the victims of delays or mistakes in compiling the Electors List.

1103 separate items of information on property ownership or occupancy were linked to the 'base' sample. 597 (67%) individuals were linked to domestic property - this number constitutes 79% of those who from the Census linkage were shown to be heads of household and therefore rate payers. The shortfall was accounted for mainly by the fact that the Rate Books were for the Parliamentary and Municipal Burgh, and by 1861 the suburbs had spread beyond this boundary. This was significant only as it affected the large (measured by rooms with windows) domestic properties of the exclusive West End, which were slightly under-represented. To compensate, a small number of randomly applied dummy values were included in the linkage - the effect of which was to refine rather than alter the observable trends in domestic property occupation. 394 (44%) individuals were linked to business property. 112 (13%) were linked to investment property (property in which the individual concerned neither lived nor worked).

A final element in the creation of the 1861 middle class sample involved an attempt to link the 'base' sample to the confirmation inventories of the period 1861-66, to establish the wealth of sample individuals at death. But, as may be imagined, few individuals from

the sample were found to have died and had probates proved during this period - only 19 in all. Such a level of linkage was not satisfactory and it was not thought appropriate to pursue the confirmation link beyond five years from the original sample date due to the changes in circumstances that the passing years would have brought. Consequently, the confirmation inventories were sampled systematically in isolation, as described below. The detailed circumstances of the nineteen individuals who were linked from confirmation inventories are shown in Table 6.2.

To test the 1861 sample a number of small comparative samples were drawn. Based on different alphabetic clusters, and systematic sampling techniques, similar distributions of occupation and household characteristic were produced. As a result of these various tests one can be confident that the randomly selected, alphabetic cluster based sample of 1861 accurately reflects the character of the target population.

Table 6.2 - Middle class sample, 1861 - link to confirmation inventories of nineteen individuals who died between 1861 and 1865.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1. Fundholder	77	H	18	3	100	0	150	48134
2. Accountant	52	H	15	4	80	0	0	8057
3. Accountant	64	H	16	3	80	70	4137	7261
4. Merchant	59	H	6	2	40	0	108	2791
5. Merchant	53	H	7	2	30	45	0	2670
6. Annuitant*	65	H	9	2	48	0	0	1693
7. Book keeper	77	T	5	0	30	0	0	1481
8. Insurance broker	36	H	9	3	48	305	0	1428
9. Police Treasurer	58	H	13	1	50	0	0	1217
10. Insurance broker	55	H	8	1	40	25	0	1053
11. Architect	51	T	4	1	20	14	0	723
12. Wright	40	T	5	1	18	9	0	569
13. Grocer	49	T	3	0	15	30	0	444
14. Commission Merchant	36	T	5	1	26	0	0	406
15. Ships Captain**	-	T	4	0	15	0	0	379
16. Carver/gilder	51	T	6	1	30	0	0	194
17. Warehouseman	41	T	4	1	16	0	0	120
18. Glass merchant	96	T	4	1	12	4	0	103
19. Carter	62	T	1	0	17	4	0	45

A = age of sample individual

B = house or tenement dwelling

C = number of rooms in dwelling

D = number of servants

E = annual value of dwelling in pounds

F = annual value of work property of individual in pounds

G = annual value of Glasgow based investment property of individual in pounds

H = value of movable wealth at death in pounds

* Number 6 was the only woman out of the nineteen individuals.

** No information could be traced of number 15, William Collins, Ship's Captain of 23 Houston Street. In the census enumerators books of 1861 his flat, empty at the time, was indicated. Linkage to the the confirmation inventory explains why this was so. Collins was the Captain of the barque 'Farah' of Glasgow and he died, with his wife by his side in Georgetown, Demarrary (sic) in British Guiana in the summer of 1861. He and his wife were away from their normal residence (specified as 23 Houston Street in the inventory record) at the time of the Census.

b. Confirmation Inventory Samples

A 1:5 systematic sample (based on a randomly selected initial record) was taken of all confirmation inventories recorded in the Commissary Court of Glasgow from 23 February 1860 to 28 August 1862.⁴² (All additional inventories were ignored.) This yielded a sample of 247, 63 (25.5%) of which were women. In addition all inventories of over £2000 value were separately recorded, giving a sample of 193 cases, 32 (17%) of which were women. 33 cases appeared in both samples. In total the details of 407 inventories were recorded for 1861.

Two samples were also drawn from the confirmation inventories recorded in the period March 1832 to May 1835.⁴³ There was a 1:5 systematic sample (initial record randomly selected) of all inventories, ignoring additional inventories. This yielded a sample of 140 cases, 33 (24%) of which were women. Also a full sample of all inventories of over £2000 value, ignoring additional inventories. This yielded a sample of 125 cases, of which 11 (9%) were women.

A full sample was taken of all inventories recorded for the period 1804 to 1806.⁴⁴ (1804 was the first year when confirmation inventories in Scotland were separately recorded and deposited at the Sheriffs Courts). This yielded a sample of 50 cases, 10 of which were women. To illustrate further the discussion in Section 2.4 'Property, wealth and income', Tables 6.3 to 6.5 show the occupational profiles of those individuals who left the greatest levels of wealth at death in 1861. Those leaving over £2000, over £10000 and over £50000 are recorded and described in detail.

⁴² Scottish Record Office S.C.36/48/46 - S.C.36/48/48

⁴³ Scottish Record Office S.C.36/48/23-24

⁴⁴ Scottish Record Office S.C.36/48/1

Table 6.3 Confirmation Inventories 1861 - over £2000 wealth. Details of occupation groups.

A - Merchants

General merchants	=14
Cotton merchant	= 6
Silk merchant	= 1
Wool merchant	= 1
Grain merchants	= 3
Sugar merchant	= 1
Tea merchant	= 2
Iron/steel merchants	= 3
Coal merchant	= 1
Earthenware merchant	= 1
Leather merchant	= 1
East India merchant	= 1
West India merchant	= 1
Australia merchant	= 1
Canada merchant	= 2
Commission agents	= 3
Insurance brokers	= 2
Ship agent	= 1

total 45

B - Manufacturers

Manufacturers - unspecified	= 3
Engineers	= 3
Iron founders	= 2
Shipbuilder/engineer	= 1
Metal tube manufacturer	= 1
Bit & brace manufacturer	= 1
Iron/coal masters	= 2
Calico printers	= 3
Sewed muslin manufacturer	= 2
Calenderer	= 1
Silk bandana manufacturer	= 1
Muslin manufacturer	= 1
Dyer	= 1
Textile mill manager	= 1
Chemical manufacturer	= 1
Drug manufacturer	= 1
Brick/tile manufacturer	= 1
Preserved Provision manuf	= 1
Wooden boat maker	= 1
Road surveyor and builder	= 1

total 29

C - Merchant/Manufacturer

Merchant manufacturer unspecified	= 2
Iron founder/metal broker	= 1
Cotton spinner/cotton broker	= 3
Turkey red dyer/merchant	= 1
Muslin & collar manuf/merchant	= 1

total 8

Table 6.3 cont...

D - Professionals

Writers	= 11
Surgeons	= 6
Ministers	= 4
Accountant	= 1
Architect	= 1
Marine Engineer	= 1

total 24

E - Shopkeepers

Spirit dealers	= 7
Stationers	= 3
Grocers	= 3
Bakers	= 2
Flesher	= 1
Tobacconist	= 1
Pawnbroker	= 1
Draper	= 1

total 19

F - Tradesmen

Tinsmith/plumber	= 4
Cabinet makers	= 2
Saddle/harness maker	= 1
Book printer	= 1
Book binder	= 1
Wright	= 1
Smith	= 1

total 11

G - Clerks/Officers

Poor Rates Collector	= 1
Military officers	= 3

total 4

I - Others

Master mariner	= 1
Fencing master	= 1
Newspaper owner	= 1
Theatre owner	= 1
Auctioneer	= 1

total 5

Table 6.4 Confirmation inventories 1861 - wealth over £10000. Details of occupations.

A - Merchants

General merchants	= 4
Warehouseman/dra per	= 2
Cotton yarn merch	= 1
Silk merchant	= 1
Leather merchant	= 1
Sugar merchant	= 1
Metal broker	= 1
Canada merchant	= 2
W India merchant	= 1
Australia merch	= 1

total 15 (35%)

B - Manufacturers

Coal/iron masters	= 2
Iron founder	= 1
Metal tube manuf	= 1
Engineer	= 1
Brick & tile manuf	= 1
Drug manufacturer	= 1
Calico printer	= 1
Dyer	= 1
Sewed muslin manuf	= 1

total 10 (23%)

C - Merchant/Manufacturers

Cotton spinner/merch	= 2
Calico printer/merch	= 1
Muslin & collar man/merch	= 1

total 4 (10%)

D - Professional

Writer	= 1
Architect	= 1

total 2 (5%)

F - Tradesmen

Tinsmith/plumber	= 1
Cabinet maker	= 1

total 2 (5%)

H - Farmers/landed = 5 (12%)

I - Others = 2 (5%)

J - Independent = 3 (7%)

Table 6.5 Confirmation inventories 1861 - wealth over £50000. Details of occupations.

A - Merchants

General merchants	= 1
Warehouseman/dra per	= 1
Leather merchant	= 1
W. India merchant	= 1
Canada merchant	= 2

total 6 (55%)

B - Manufacturers

Iron founder	= 1
Iron/coal master	= 1

total 2 (18%)

C - Merchant/manufacturers

Cotton spinner/merchant	= 2 (18%)
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D - Professional

Writer	= 1 (9%)
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Used in conjunction, the main samples for the year 1861 - the Record Linked Sample and the Confirmation Inventory Sample - present a multifaceted interpretation of the objective character of the Glasgow middle class which is based on the identification of named individuals. Through comparison with equivalent, if less sophisticated samples drawn from earlier points in the nineteenth century it is possible to demonstrate the evolution of the middle class. Additionally, by employing such a methodology, the deficiencies of particular sources, as explored in Appendix 1, are largely overcome, since details of individual circumstance are cross-checked between sources.

6.3 Occupations

The occupation titles used in this study are based on the terms used in contemporary sources. The variable implications of these terms are described more fully in Section 2.2. The most comprehensive range of occupation terms was derived from the 1861 record linked sample. Principles of occupational definition generated by this sample were applied to the other 'key' year samples.

In examining occupation terms across the sources, and relating them to the types of business property to which the individual concerned could be linked, there was found to be a large degree of homogeneity. This allowed relatively precise decisions to be made as to the placing of individuals in work categories.

Most individuals defined as manufacturers had business premises described as 'factories' - by an independent rate assessor - or some similar term, that distinguished them from 'workshops', 'yards' or 'stables' which were the normal business premises of tradesmen. Other manufacturers were identified by the size, value or location of their business property or by the number of individuals that they employed (information derived from the Census). Those individuals who were described as merchants and who could be linked to business premises, operated their businesses from 'counting houses', 'offices' and/or 'warehouses' and 'stores'. This distinguished them from the individuals described as dealers or shopkeepers who generally ran their businesses from premises described as 'shops'.

Based on specific titles, it was possible to create a basic occupation hierarchy that incorporated elements of both occupational prestige and economic function as shown below in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Middle class occupation hierarchy

Large Business	Merchants Manufacturers Merchant/manufacturers
Professional	All professions
Small Business	Shopkeepers Tradesmen Transport
Employees	Clerks/Officers Managers/Foremen
Domestic	Domestic services
Independent	All Independent

Throughout this study, the merchant category refers to individuals described specifically as merchants - except where it is clear that they are not merchants and are using the term for 'occupation prestige' purposes, as described in Section 2.2. It also refers to all others in related areas of commerce and particularly banking. The manufacturer category refers to all those described as manufacturers or industrialists. In certain cases where highly detailed occupation information was available, a merchant/manufacturer category was identified. This incorporated a small group of major businessmen engaged in both manufacturing and extensive commercial activities. The above three groups constituted what is described as the 'Large Business' section of the occupation hierarchy.

In this study, the professional category is made up of individuals described as writers (solicitors and lawyers), ministers, teachers, accountants, surgeons, architects and veterinary surgeons.

The shopkeeper category included all those engaged in the running of a businesses from properties defined as a shops. Individuals involved in the production of goods which they also sold from their own shops - such as bakers or shoemakers - are additionally defined as shopkeepers. Restaurant and eating house keepers, who did not provide overnight accommodation, are in this category too. The tradesman group included all those involved in specific named trades and artisan activities who did not also engage in shopkeeping - usually their business premises were defined as 'yards', 'workshops' or 'sheds'. Transport involved carters and livery stable keepers and those engaged in seafaring, mainly captains and master mariners. The shopkeeper, tradesman and transport categories constitute the 'Small Business' section of the hierarchy

Clerks and officers were those described as clerks and all involved in office duties, such as cashiers. The group included local and central government officers and legal officers except where these were also members of specific legal professions. Managers and foremen were all those specifically described as such. Clerks/officers and managers/foremen constitute the 'Employees' section of the hierarchy.

The domestic category included lodging and hotel keepers, female house keepers and matrons in charitable institutions. Independent involved all who had no specified occupation - mainly women. Also all described as 'residents', 'portioners', 'fundholders', 'house proprietors', 'retired' or 'gentleman, gentlewoman'.

Table 6.7 Glasgow occupations 1861 - Male occupied population compared with male record linked sample - using the Booth/Armstrong classification. Absolute numbers with per centages in brackets

	Glasgow	Sample
Agriculture/breeding		
1.Farming	1012	2
2.Land service	2	0
3.Breeding	461	2
4.Fishing	25	0
	-----	-----
total	1500(1.1%)	4(0.5%)
Mining		
1.Mining	1302	0
2.Quarrying	342	0
3.Brickmaking	301	1
4.Salt/waterworks	91	0
	-----	-----
total	2036(1.5%)	1(0.1%)
Building		
1.Management	745	14
2.Operative	11165	69
3.Roadmaking	388	1
	-----	-----
total	12298(9.3%)	84(10.5%)
Manufacture		
1.Machinery	5091	5
2.Tools	861	13
3.Shipbuilding	1536	4
4.Iron and steel	10975	9
5.Copper, tin, lead	2019	7
6.Gold and silver	29	1
7.Earthenware	1885	12
8.Coals, gas	355	1
9.Chemicals	815	6
10.Furs and leather	477	1
11.Glue, tallow	236	0
12.Hair etc	170	0
13.Woodworkers	2645	5
14.Furniture	1983	11
15.Carriages/tack	786	2
16.Paper	274	4
17.Floorcloth	298	1
18.Woollens	1751	0
19.Cotton, silk	10725	24
20.Flax, hemp	993	1
21.Lace	112	2
22.Dying	3366	12
23.Dress	13655	35
24.Sundries	181	0
25.Food	362	1
26.Baking	2241	14
27.Drink	422	2
28.Smoking	792	5
29.Watches, toys	671	6
30.Printing	2113	4
31.Unspecified	1221	30
	-----	-----
total	69037(52.3%)	218(26.4%)

Table 6.7 cont...

Transport

1. Warehouses/docks	6832	19
2. Ocean going	2484	2
3. Inland water	196	0
4. Railways	1012	1
5. Roads	4115	15

total	14639(11.1%)	37(4.5%)
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Dealing

1. Coals	788	2
2. Raw materials	720	21
3. Cloth	33	9
4. Dress	2184	16
5. Food	4385	87
6. Tobacco	166	6
7. Wines, spirits	1765	50
8. Lodging, cafes	101	2
9. Furniture	361	5
10. Stationery	672	16
11. China, pans	676	11
12. General	917	8
13. Unspecified	2419	74

total	15187(11.5%)	307(37.3%)
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Industrial Service

1. Banking, Insurance accountancy	3267	41
2. Labour	6081	0

total	9348(7.2%)	41(5.0%)
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Public service/Professional

1. General admin.	592	9
2. Local admin.	225	6
3. Sanitary admin.	150	0
4. Army	1025	0
5. Navy	56	9
6. Police, prisons	772	1
7. Law	667	11
8. Medicine	1006	24
9. Art painting	450	11
10. Art music	206	2
11. Literature	177	2
12. Science	0	0
13. Education	667	13
14. Religion	632	13

total	6625(5.0%)	101(12.3%)
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Domestic service

1. Indoor	528	2
2. Outdoor	325	4
3. Others	319	7

total	1172(0.9%)	13(1.6%)
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Property owners

Independent	192(0.1%)	15(1.8%)
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The Glasgow Herald 1800-1870

a. Advertising trends

The background emphasis in this study of the Glasgow middle class in the nineteenth century has been on economic diversity, growth and the role of the city as a regional centre. An examination of newspaper advertising in the Glasgow Herald, employed in this instance as a broad index of general business activity in the years 1800 to 1860, gives a graphic illustration to these trends as shown in Table 6.8.

What is immediately striking is the vast rise in advertising coverage, a twenty-five fold increase over the period as a whole. Shipping was buoyant and important throughout. So also were property sales, industrial, agricultural and residential, both within Glasgow and in the region beyond. The rise of insurance services from the early 1830's is shown, and the vitality in business formation, peaking in 1845 with the railway boom, is evident. The range of goods offered for sale, through the medium of the newspaper was vast, and though the growing presence of iron ware is shown, textiles, wood, raw materials and livestock were always significant. (Most commodities sales, however, were advertised through specialist trade newspapers.) More important for the domestic market was the advertising and trade in household and luxury goods, and increasingly in food stuffs. Glasgow was clearly a centre for conspicuous consumption within the region. The functions of the city in the provision of education and entertainment facilities are shown through the Herald. While the massive rise of 'situations vacant' from the 1840's illustrates the attractions of Glasgow to middle class migrants.

b. The Glasgow Herald as a source

In this study the Herald has been employed as a primary source both on the events and activities in which the middle classes engaged, and the evolving views and opinions which they held.

The Herald was the main newspaper of the business community and the middle classes in general throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. Its circulation was vast (and geographically wide also) and never seriously challenged by the rival press within the city. Furthermore the Herald was the only local newspaper to have a continuous presence during the period under discussion.

Though the editorial views represented within the Herald underwent a series of changes during the course of the period - changes that were inevitable with the appointment of new editors - in general it promoted a stance that was liberal, independent and moderately reforming.⁴⁵ The opinions voiced in the Herald represented those of a substantial majority of the middle classes, and for this reason it has been used so extensively within the present study.

⁴⁵ R.M.W. Cowans The newspaper in Scotland - a study of its first expansion 1815-1860 (Glasgow 1946); A. Phillips Glasgow's Herald - two hundred years of a newspaper 1783-1983 (Glasgow 1982)

Table 6.8 The Glasgow Herald 1800 to 1870 - advertising trends.
Percentage subject coverage of advertisements with numbers in brackets.

1800 = 118 items
1815 = 248 items
1832 = 486 items
1845 = 1084 items
1860 = 2942 items

	1800	1815	1832	1845	1860
Property sales					
Urban mixed	11.0%(13)	17.3%(43)	15.4%(75)	9.7%(105)	18.3%(537)
Land/ farms	8.5%(10)	9.2%(23)	5.8%(28)	2.5%(27)	1.7%(49)
Estates & mansions	6.0%(7)	3.2%(8)	1.2%(6)	1.6%(17)	0.8%(24)
Commercial	3.5%(4)	4.4%(11)	4.9%(24)	5.3%(57)	8.4%(246)
Lodgings to let	0	0	1.2%(6)	1.0%(10)	4.7%(139)
Ships	0	1.2%(3)	0.4%(2)	1.1%(12)	1.3%(37)
Property wanted	0	0	0	2.1%(23)	1.2%(34)
Goods for sale					
Textiles	1.6%(2)	3.2%(8)	1.9%(9)	2.2%(24)	2.9%(85)
Iron ware	1.6%(2)	0.4%(1)	2.1%(10)	2.9%(31)	4.4%(129)
Wood	1.6%(2)	2.0%(5)	1.0%(5)	1.2%(13)	0.9%(26)
Medicines	13.6%(16)	1.2%(3)	0.8%(4)	1.3%(14)	1.4%(40)
Raw materials	1.6%(2)	1.2%(3)	1.0%(5)	1.7%(18)	2.1%(62)
Livestock	1.0%(1)	0	0.8%(4)	1.1%(12)	1.3%(39)
Books and Prints	1.6%(2)	5.6%(14)	9.3%(45)	8.9%(96)	3.0%(88)
Household effects	1.6%(2)	3.2%(8)	6.0%(29)	2.9%(31)	8.2%(240)
Food	1.0%(1)	3.2%(8)	2.3%(11)	0.8%(9)	2.7%(80)
Shipping	1.6%(2)	11.7%(29)	18.1%(88)	12.5%(135)	7.4%(218)
Education	1.6%(2)	3.6%(9)	1.4%(7)	5.7%(62)	3.1%(90)
Entertainment	1.6%(2)	1.6%(4)	0.6%(3)	1.8%(20)	0.7%(22)
Notices/ Council	7.6%(9)	3.2%(8)	3.5%(17)	0.2%(3)	0.7%(21)
Notices/ Govnmnt	6.7%(8)	1.2%(3)	1.6%(8)	1.8%(20)	0
Notices/ creditors	3.5%(4)	2.8%(7)	2.3%(11)	0.8%(9)	0.4%(13)
Business failure	1.0%(1)	2.8%(7)	1.4%(7)	0.6%(6)	0.6%(20)
Business formation	1.0%(1)	0.8%(2)	1.0%(5)	7.2%(79)	1.1%(33)
Price information	6.7%(8)	2.8%(7)	3.9%(19)	3.5%(38)	4.5%(134)
Societies/meetings	8.4%(10)	9.7%(24)	4.5%(22)	2.8%(30)	1.7%(51)
Lost/ found	3.5%(4)	1.6%(4)	0	1.6%(17)	1.8%(52)
Insurance	0	0	1.9%(9)	2.0%(22)	1.0%(30)
Situations vacant	1.6%(2)	2.0%(5)	4.1%(20)	11.4%(124)	10.3%(303)
Situations wanted	1.0%(1)	0.4%(1)	1.4%(7)	1.8%(20)	3.4%(100)

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