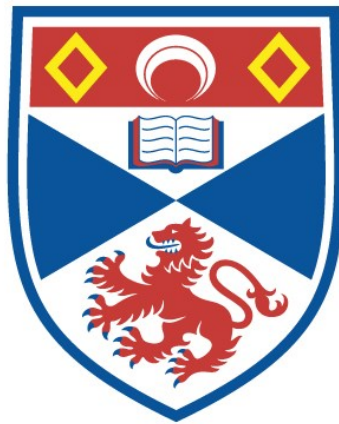


NEGOTIATING THE URBAN TERRAIN :
REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW IN
THE VISUAL ARTS

Venda Louise Pollock

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Negotiating the Urban Terrain:
Representations of the City of Glasgow
in the Visual Arts

Volume I: Text

Venda Louise Pollock

University of St Andrews

Ph.D. Thesis

2003

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Abstract

This thesis analyses representations of the city of Glasgow in visual culture.

Given the absence of any coherent study of Glasgow images the primary method is empirical. The thesis explores how the dynamic of change in the urban environment has been rendered in visual media by gathering together paintings, photographs, prints and journal illustrations. In order to contextualise the visual material within the social and historical circumstances that affect its character, this material is considered in relation to pertinent history and theory. Consequently, the disciplines of social and economic history, sociology, philosophy and urban studies are employed.

The developing discourse of the city as a visual phenomenon is charted in a broadly chronological manner. Rather than a simplistic historical narrative, this highlights the unfolding connections between the ambitions of Glasgow's 'governors' and the ideological pattern of related images. The thesis opens by revealing the associations between Enlightenment philosophy and the visual interpretation of the increasingly commercial urban environment. It then analyses changes incurred by the projection of a 'municipal' consciousness and shows how the impact of industrialisation was visualised in relation to prevailing artistic styles. Furthermore, it considers the effect of the aesthetic climate on the creation and reception of urban imagery. The thesis then argues that, after the industrial heyday, there was a sense that the essence of Glasgow lay not in its monuments, but in its populace, particularly the working class. Finally, there is a close study of post-industrial Glasgow, accenting patterns of decline and highlighting resistance to commercially inspired and culturally directed 'official' visions.

This thesis finds that there was a complex discourse between Glasgow's material reality and its visual representation. It gives full voice to the network of mediating factors and presents a highly specific case study in the aesthetic manifestation of urban life.

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Acknowledgements

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I must, however, mention a number of individuals and organisations to whom I am particularly obliged for enabling and assisting my research. Much of this thesis took shape whilst working in the Glasgow Collection of the Mitchell Library. I am exceptionally grateful to Enda Ryan and her staff for their dogged persistence in searching the stores and the advice that allowed me to make the most of their extensive resources. Likewise, the assistance of Anne Dulau at the Hunterian Art Gallery, Jennifer Melville at Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum, and the curators of Greenock's McLean Museum and Art Gallery and Glasgow's Art Galleries and Museums has been much appreciated. I would like to thank the staff at the National Library of Scotland and the Special Collections departments of Glasgow and St Andrews University Libraries for the help I received whilst using their resources. I am particularly grateful to the Inter-Library Loan staff in St Andrews for their invaluable service. This research was undertaken with financial support from a Major Scottish Studentship granted by the Student Awards Agency for Scotland/Arts and Humanities Research Board, to whom I am grateful for affording me this opportunity.

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Illustrations

Chapter 1: Imaging the Mercantile City in the Enlightenment Era

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2. John Slezer, The Colledge of Glasgow, illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*, first published London 1693, plate 18. Illustration from 1718 edition held in St Andrews University Library.
3. John Slezer, The Prospect of ye Town of Glasgow from ye North East, illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*, first published London 1693, plate 16. Illustration from 1718 edition held in St Andrews University Library.
4. Map Cartouche from James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver), A Plan of the of the City of Glasgow (1797), accompanying Chapman, Stewart and Meikle, *An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and its Suburbs*, Glasgow 1797 and 1798. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
5. J. & D. Nichol, Plan of Glasgow (1841) in J. & D. Nichol *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty One Views*, Montrose 1841. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
6. Foulis Academy (Robert Paul), View of Glasgow Cathedral (c.1760), engraving in *Glasgow Views 1756-1770*, Glasgow n.d., plate 10, 24 x 41 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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9. James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver), View of Glasgow from the South (1797), engraving in *The History of Glasgow and Suburbs*, Glasgow 1797, 9.3 x 16.2 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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11. Joseph Swan, View of Glasgow from the Farm of Shields (1828), engraved illustration to *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9.3 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

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18. Joseph Swan, View of Carlton Place from Clyde Street, Glasgow (1828), illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9.2 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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22. Joseph Swan, View of Lunatic Asylum, &c. (1828), illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.4 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

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23. John Clark, The City of Glasgow, drawn on the spot in 1824, print in black with original hand colour, 14.1 x 17.8 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
24. Thomas Sulman, Glasgow (1864), illustrated supplement to *The Illustrated London News*, 26 March 1864 with key. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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33. David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer), View of the Depot of Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway View of the Depot Looking South (1832), lithographed illustration to *View of the Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway*, Glasgow 1832, 31 x 43 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
34. William Simpson, Old Sugar House, 138 Gallowgate circa 1845 (1890s), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 23 x 16.7 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 11. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
35. William Simpson, New Quay on the South Side or Widening of the harbour, 1847 (1890s), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 19.8 x 33.2 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 29. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
36. William Simpson, Barclay and Curle's Slip Dock 1845 (1890s), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 19.8 x 29.7 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 34. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
37. William Simpson, View of Dixon's Iron Works, Glasgow (c.1850), reproduction of watercolour as illustrated in Simpson, *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, Glasgow 1871, 7.5 x 12 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
38. William Simpson, Old Bridge Over the Kelvin, at Great Western Road, 1888 (1898), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 31.6 x 26.9 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 43. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
39. John Willox (author), J. Stewart (artist) and W. H. Lizars (Engraver), View of Broomielaw (c.1850), engraved illustration in *Glasgow Tourist*, Glasgow 1850, 8.5 x 16.5 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
40. John Fleming (artist) and Joseph Swan (engraver), View of Clyde Street, Broomielaw, Carlton Place, illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9.2 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
41. John Gullan (author) and John Scott (artist and engraver), View of Broomielaw, Glasgow (c.1834), engraved illustration in *Glasgow Illustrated in a Series of Picturesque Views*, Glasgow 1834, 8.8 x 13.5 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
42. J. & D. Nichol, Broomielaw (c.1841), lithographed illustration in *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty-one Views*, Glasgow 1841, 26.8 x 41 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

43. Glasgow 'present' and 'future', illustration in *The Northern Looking Glass*, 1 (8) 1825, 28. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
44. Thomas Annan, Endrick Valley Looking South (1859), photograph from *Views on the Line of Loch Katrine Waterworks*, Glasgow 1859, 21.5 x 28 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
45. Thomas Annan, Aqueduct Bridge No.1 near Culegarton (1859), photograph from *Views on the Line of Loch Katrine Waterworks*, Glasgow 1859. 21.5 x 28 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library
46. Thomas Annan (after), Loch Katrine Waterworks, illustration to *The Illustrated London News*, 15 October 1859, cover. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
47. Anon., Hudson's Soap Advertisement, *Quiz*, Summer Number 1889, 21. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
48. Charles Marville, Impasse des Bouronnais (View from the rue de la Limace and the rue des Bourdonnais (n.d.)), photograph, 35.3 x 27 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
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50. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 136 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877), photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series, 1871: 21.3 x 28.7 cm, 1877: 21.9 x 28.1 cm; 1900: 17.5 x 21.7 cm, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
51. Charles Marville, Rue de Hautefeuille (Looking toward the rue Serpente) (n.d.), photograph, 27.4 x 20.8 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
52. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 118 High Street (between 1868 and 1877), photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series, 1871: 21.3 x 28.7 cm, 1877: 21.9 x 28.1 cm; 1900: 17.5 x 21.7 cm, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
53. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 28 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877), photograph, from *Old Streets and Closes* series, 1871: 22.8 x 28.2 cm, 1877: 22.7 x 28 cm, 1900: 18.4 x 22.5cm, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
54. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 46 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877), photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series, 1871: 22.2 x 27 cm, 1877 and 1900: 23 x 28.3, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
55. Horatio Thomson, Ship Bank Building, Saltmarket (1903), watercolour over pencil on paper, 41.6 x 30.5 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

56. Horatio Thomson, Rabb's Close, Saltmarket (Occupied by Mr Lochhead) (c.1901), watercolour on paper, 35.4 x 25.2 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
57. David Small, 28 Saltmarket (1864), watercolour, 27.7 x 39.7 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
58. David Small, The Royal Exchange, Glasgow, postcard, Raphael Tuck & Sons 'Art' Postcard Series 791 "Glasgow".
59. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 30: "Princes Street" – now being removed (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 17 May 1893, 7. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
60. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 24: "The Old Fruitmarket, Kent St., Calton" (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 6 June 1893, 3. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
61. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 11: Old Buildings at Bridgeton Cross (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 6 September 1893, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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69. William Simpson, Corner of Stockwell and Briggate 1846 (1897), pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 20.7 x 34.3 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 15. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

70. William Simpson, Main Street Gorbals (1897), pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 20.9 x 33.7 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 20. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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72. J. Brown, Glasgow: Trongate in the Olden Time, postcard, "Caledonia" Series No. 154, postmarked 1906. This engraving was reproduced in T. Annan, *The Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1900.
73. Wat, Le Boulevarder – Rue de Trongate 19--?, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 26 February 1913, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
74. George Cruikshank, Frontispiece: Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs (1858), engraved illustration to *Shadow's Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, Glasgow 1858.
75. Massey, Glasgow, cover illustration to *Judy, or the Glasgow Satirist*, 30 May 1857. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
76. 'J. E.', Clyde Trust illustration to *Judy, or the Glasgow Satirist*, 30 May 1857. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
77. John Dall, Looking for a Job, illustration, *The Scots Pictorial*, 23 April 1898, 2 (56) 640. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
78. Muirhead Bone, Homeward Bound, *The Scots Pictorial*, 15 October 1898, 4 (81) 155. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
79. John Dall, A City Maypole, *The Scots Pictorial*, 16 April 1898, 2 (55) cover. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
80. Wat, The Hooligan Scare, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 18 March 1906, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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82. Alexander Shanks, The Trongate (c.1850), watercolour, 23.9 x 28 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
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85. Norman Maclean, Our Modern Transport Facilities, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 16 December 1896, 5. Glasgow City Libraries, Mitchell Library.
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88. Wat, Whit's Up? Our Streets, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 20 October 1909, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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90. David Young Cameron, Tontine Building (1892), etching, 13.2 x 20 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
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92. T. & R. Annan, Buchanan Street (c.1900), photograph. Annan Galleries.
93. Horatio Thomson, Buchanan Street (1902), watercolour over pencil on paper, 30.3 x 42.3 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

**Chapter 3: Representing the 'Second City':
Aesthetics and the Absent City**

94. Anon., Britannia on the Clyde, illustration, *Glasgow Today*, Glasgow '1909. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
95. Muirhead Bone, Kingston Rag-Store (1900), drypoint etching print: ink on white paper, 24.5 x 32 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
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97. Anon/William Graham, One of the First Official Pictures of Cunarder No. 534, William Graham Photograph Album 1, 155 image a. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
98. Muirhead Bone, The Dry Dock, drypoint print: ink on white wove paper, 23.8 x 18.7 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

99. Muirhead Bone, The Seven Cranes on the River Clyde (c.1918), lithograph on paper, 49 x 36.2 cm. National Museums of Scotland.
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104. James Anderson, View of Glasgow from Cross Steeple (1833), illustration in Simpson, *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, scrapbooks, n.p., Glasgow c.1871, 20.7 x 35.7 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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106. William Graham, Bottleneck, Jamaica Street (n.d.), photograph, William Graham Album 1, 69 image a. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
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108. Muirhead Bone, St Rollox (1910), pencil drawing from *Glasgow, Fifty Drawings*, Glasgow 1911.
109. William Graham, Sighthill Cemetery Looking Towards St Rollox (n.d.), photograph, William Graham Albums. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
110. John Quinton Pringle, Muslin Street, Bridgeton (1895-96), oil on canvas, 35.9 x 41.2 cm. Edinburgh City Arts Centre.
111. John Quinton Pringle, Tollcross, Glasgow (1908), oil on canvas, 43.2 x 53.4 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
112. Thomas Corsan Morton, West End of St Vincent Street, Glasgow (1887), oil on canvas, 39.4 x 15.2 cm. Revd. & Mrs. J. P. Wilson.
113. John Lavery, Modern Shipbuilding on the Clyde (c.1899), Decorative Triptych, Banqueting Hall, Municipal Chambers, Glasgow. As reproduced in W.S. Sparrow, *John Lavery and his Work*, London 1911.
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118. Ian Fleming, Gethsemene (1931), final proof, engraving, 33.8 x 44.2 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
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120. Laurence Stephen Lowry, Blitzed Site (1942), oil on canvas, 39.2 x 49.4 cm. Salford Museum and Art Gallery.
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125. Ian Fleming, Blitz, Maryhill Glasgow (1942), etching, 15.1 x 21.4 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
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Negotiating the Urban Terrain:
Representations of the City of Glasgow
in the Visual Arts

Venda Louise Pollock



Ken Currie, Glasgow Triptych: Template of the Future (1986)
oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm.
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.

Introduction

The city ... is something more than a congeries of individual men and of social conveniences – streets, buildings, electric lights, tramways, and telephones, etc.; something more, also, than a mere constellation of institutions and administrative devices – courts, hospitals, schools, police, and civil functionaries of various sorts. The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital process of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly of human nature.¹

Glasgow's palpable presence weighs heavily on the Scottish landscape. A myriad of streets and spaces unravel from both banks of the Clyde. Some display the legacy left by moneyed Glaswegians and others the greed of unscrupulous landlords. In many ways, Glasgow reflects the city's standing as, on one hand, the crucible of human civilisation and, on the other, the cause of much of its misery. Fashioned by Enlightenment trade and moulded by municipal philanthropy, Glasgow's physical formation is intimately entwined with its commercial development. With the river at its core, much of Glasgow's expansion was marked by the beat of heavy industrial machinery. The city's corporeal substance - the shipyards, tenements, municipal facades, streets and closes – took form in this era. Despite its heyday being a distant memory, Glasgow remains, in essence, an industrial city. As the largest city in Scotland, it has a peerless physicality.

Glasgow, however, is more than this. The city's physical stature is subjugated by its psychological presence. An integral part of Glasgow's evolution has been its self-, or rather civic, promotion. Having been praised for its architectural beauty during the Enlightenment, Glasgow has actively sought and become synonymous with the epithets

¹ R. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment", in R. Sennet (ed.), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, New York 1969, 91.

'Second City of Empire', 'Model Municipality', 'Workshop of the World', 'Venice of the North', 'City of Culture' and, more recently, 'UK City of Architecture and Design' along with 'The Friendly City'. Conversely it has, at times, been hailed as one of the most socially blighted cities in Europe, home to violence, alcoholism and political uprisings. Together these perceptions, one often reacting against the other, have come to signify Glasgow in the popular consciousness. Therefore, Glasgow also exists as a state of mind - a city of countless, conflicting and contested identities.

In many ways this is why Glasgow is unique. The city has gone to such lengths to promote itself and yet it lacks an enduring trademark of identity with which to do so. Instead, it has a complex history of visualising the city. Glasgow's representation, like its identity, has been deeply rooted in its commercial and economic character. Unlike the stability of many capital cities, functioning as seats of government and centres for commerce, Glasgow's economic history has been chequered. The city's reliance on mercantile trade, heavy industry and the service sector has meant that its representation has been consistently refashioned, reformed and reconfigured as the city has undergone social and economic change. Accordingly, Glasgow's 'City Fathers'² have been unashamedly ambitious in their continual rebranding of the city in direct response to this changing social and economic dynamic. Artists responded and reacted to this endeavour, however, their visual vocabulary indicated that artistically negotiating the urban terrain was not an easy task. This thesis will chart the complex discourse between Glasgow's material reality and its visual representation and fully reveal the subtle network of mediating factors conditioning Glasgow's characterisation in the visual arts.

² Term used to designate members of the governing group of a city, in this instance, those in charge of Glasgow's civic administration.

In undertaking this comprehensive analysis and dealing with previously undiscovered visual material this thesis is unique. Consequently, reviewing pertinent literature poses a considerable challenge, as, essentially, there is none. It should be noted that images of modern Glasgow have appeared in surveys of Scottish art, such as D. Macmillan's *Scottish Art 1460-2000* (2000)³ or W. Hardie's *Scottish Painting* (1990).⁴ However, neither author placed the visual material firmly within the context of the city itself nor moved far beyond formal analysis to fully explore any intervening determinants that may have influenced its characterisation. Macmillan also wrote a chapter entitled "'The Busie Humm of Men': Visions of the City in Scottish Art" for D. Mays *The Architecture of Scottish Cities* (1997),⁵ which, whilst informative, particularly in regard to Edinburgh, failed to fully unfold the complexities of representations in relation to particular cities. Moreover, illustrations of Glasgow accompany historical and topographical narratives without due consideration being given to whether they are faithful documents or constructed in order to cultivate a particular perception of the city. Although valuable sources for imagery, these added little to the theoretical arguments proposed herein. The existing literature on urban representation is biased toward capital cities and the work of the avant-garde, restricted to a single medium or based on formal analysis and concentrated on the Victorian period. As such, this thesis is distinct in the type of city studied, range of material and time-span considered and its interdisciplinary, contextual approach.

A text which aptly demonstrates the tendency to favour the Victorian era is I.B. Nadel and F.S. Schwarzbach's *Victorian Artists and the City: A Collection of Critical Essays*

³ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, Edinburgh 2000.

⁴ W. Hardie, *Scottish Painting 1837 to the Present*, London 1990.

⁵ Macmillan, "'The Busie Humm of Men': Visions of the City in Scottish Art" in D. Mays, *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, East Linton 1997, 45-55.

(1980).⁶ In their opening statements, the authors proclaimed their interdisciplinary approach and aim to fill a lacuna in urban imagery. Yet, Nadel and Schwarzbach acknowledged their exclusion of photography, pictorial journalism and architectural studies – modes of representation resolutely rooted in the modern urban environment – and in so doing actually highlighted, rather than filled, a significant void. Instead of conceding the anonymity of many urban artists, Nadel and Schwarzbach proceeded to promote a canon of artists whose fame was generally established, including George Cruickshank, Gustave Dore and Ford Madox Brown. Moreover, their study centred on London, which only served to propagate the sense of ascendancy afforded to capital cities.

Similar problems were encountered upon reading H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff's edited volumes: *Victorian Artists and the City: Images and Realities* (1973).⁷ Although Dyos and Wolff did move beyond the confines of the capital, the focus remained on England, the Scottish experience being largely restricted to an individual chapter - "A Change of Accent: Another Part of the Island" by G. F. A. Best.⁸ Languishing in glorious isolation, the Scottish cities were not given due consideration in comparison with the attention afforded to their southern counterparts. This had a significant impact on the depth in which they were studied and the extent to which their experience of the Victorian period was relayed.

The attention paid to London in texts considering the Victorian era is symptomatic of a prioritising of capital cities that extends to authors who have explored the city's representation in more modern periods. They adhered largely to European and American capital cities where the avant-garde sought to capture the

⁶ I. B. Nadel and F.S. Schwarzbach, *Victorian Artists and the City*, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Frankfurt and Paris 1980.

⁷ H. Dyos and M. Wolff, *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, 2 vols, London and Boston 1973.

⁸ G.F.A. Best "Another Part of the Island" in Dyos and Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City*, vol.1, 389-411.

modern urban environment in stylistically novel ways. Together these culture capitals – Berlin, Paris, New York and London – and their avant-garde artists formed the backbone of, for example, A. Sutcliffe's *Metropolis 1890-1940* (1984).⁹ Likewise, E. Timms and D. Kelley's *Unreal City* (1985)¹⁰ considered the urban experience in modern European literature and art through key artistic centres. These writers astutely explored the avant-garde's attempts to translate their experience of the modern urban environment into cultural forms. Although insightful in their analysis, they reinforced the bias toward capital cities, a canon of named artists, well established in art historical or literary texts, and the primacy of painting in the visual arts.

These factors - the lack of literature that related to periods before or after the Victorian era, that analysed the 'image' and 'reality' of the city from the Scottish perspective or that concentrated on cities other than capitals – were instrumental in determining the nature of this thesis. Accordingly, attention turns to Glasgow, a city lacking the status of a capital and also an international urban avant-garde. Furthermore, it incorporates a wide range of visual media, which allows for a full and coherent analysis of the manifestation of an evolving modern world in visual media during an extended period of time. The result is a deeper understanding of the representation of the city in the visual arts and a more penetrating analysis of the factors that encroach upon its characterisation.

Although Dyos and Wolff's volumes were lacking in some areas, in respect of gaining a sense of how primary visual material could be dealt with, E. D. H. Johnson's "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu"¹¹ proved a valuable exemplar. Johnson was

⁹ A. Sutcliffe (ed.), *Metropolis 1890-1940*, London 1984.

¹⁰ E. Timms and D. Kelly, *Unreal City: Urban Experience in Modern European Literature and Art*, Manchester 1985.

¹¹ E.D.H. Johnson, "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu" in Dyos and Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City*, vol. 2, 449-474.

neither afraid to move from mainstream paintings to tackle the scarcity of industrial views in art nor averse to considering caricature and the emergence of illustrated periodicals. His exploration of issues such as the dialogue between industrial paintings and the prevailing aesthetic climate and the use of the sublime and the picturesque formed the basis for a discussion which is developed further in this thesis in relation to Glasgow. Johnson himself recognised the need for further work to be undertaken regarding urban imagery in Scotland, noting: "A rewarding field of investigation awaits the art historian who undertakes to explore the work of nineteenth-century provincial painters of the urban scene, especially those from the midlands and the north...".¹² This thesis rises to that challenge.

Moreover, the approach adopted by Dyos and Wolff throughout, incorporating essays from a variety of disciplines, is analogous to that applied here. They highlighted the multitude of social, historical and economic factors that affected the characterisation of the city in literature and the visual arts. In response, this thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach that broadens out the range of material considered by Dyos and Wolff. Naturally, the extended time-span necessitated the incorporation of texts from a more diverse range of related disciplines including history, geography, sociology, philosophy, psychology and the relatively new field of urban studies. The interpretation of the visual material herein builds on the subtle network of relationships raised by the interaction of these disciplines.

As evidenced by this method, although there may not be a wealth of critical art historical literature exploring the aesthetic manifestation of the city, what does exist is a body of literature in related fields. The work of the historical geographer C.W.J. Withers, in particular his contribution to P. Wood's *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in*

¹² E.D.H. Johnson, "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu" 464.

Reinterpretation (2000),¹³ along with the other essays therein, further emphasised the multifarious factors that had the potential to affect the city's characterisation. In particular, Withers' emphasis on the importance of geography in Enlightenment thought informed the analysis of cartography in relation to depictions of Glasgow. In conjunction with an original interpretation of the dialogue between the writings of Francis Hutcheson, as presented in A. Brodie's *The Scottish Enlightenment, an anthology* (1997),¹⁴ and the images produced by the Foulis Academy, this has resulted in a novel, thought-provoking reading of the Enlightenment characterisation of Glasgow.

Although this thesis is the first to critically examine such works, George Fairfull Smith has undertaken important work on the Foulis Academy and early images of Glasgow. This research culminated in the exhibition *Glasgow Illustrated* held at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, in 1999 and the publication *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy* (2001).¹⁵ Adopting a historical rather than interpretative approach, Fairfull Smith has brought together valuable documentary material and has uncovered previously neglected images from the Mitchell Library's collection. However, it was not the intention of either the exhibition or publication to provide a critical analysis of the images or extend beyond the early phases of Glasgow's development. Yet, when read in conjunction with Withers and Wood, such texts have enabled a full and coherent analysis of early depictions of Glasgow, situating them within an integrated intellectual, commercial and historical context.

It is perhaps not surprising that the first critical texts on the city emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, as the urban environment became more

¹³ C.W.J. Withers, "Geographical Knowledge in Enlightenment Scotland", in P. Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation*, Rochester 2000, 63-97. See also Withers, "Notes Toward a Historical Geography of Geography in Early Modern Scotland", *Scotlands* 3.1 1996, 111-124.

¹⁴ A. Brodie, *The Scottish Enlightenment, an anthology*, Edinburgh 1997.

¹⁵ G. Fairfull Smith: *Glasgow Illustrated*, Glasgow 1999; *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy*, Glasgow 2001.

complex. They were penned by those now hailed as the founders of urban sociology namely, Georg Simmel, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. In terms of this thesis, it is Simmel who has been most influential. Simmel's writings on the individual's psychological response to the urban environment and strategies of self-preservation in the face of urban flux prompted questioning of the artist's relationship with the city and how that view might be constructed as a means of control or to aid comprehension. This was furthered by consideration of Simmel's writings on the relationship between modernity and modern art where a defining characteristic of the modern was its internalisation of exterior experiences and subsequent externalised expression of the individual's response to modern life.¹⁶ This proved instrumental in considering the artist's interpretation of Glasgow as a psychological rather than physical space.

In this context, mention should be made of D. P. Corbett's writings on Paul Nash in *The Modernity of English Art 1914-1930* (1997)¹⁷ and A. Bermingham's *Landscape and Ideology* (1987)¹⁸ which aided in understanding the psychological perception of the city after the First World War. With Corbett, this was chiefly in connection with the contentious relationship between radical modern styles, the city and the post-war aesthetic climate. He incorporated Bermingham's writings to explore the dialogue between the country and the city and, consequently, landscape and urban painting. Together their work provided a basis from which the Scottish experience could be examined.

Returning to Simmel, David Frisby's texts on Simmel, notably *Fragments of Modernity* (1988) and his edited volume with M. Featherstone entitled *Simmel on Culture*

¹⁶ For further information see D. Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*, Cambridge, Mass. 1988, 62-64.

¹⁷ D. P. Corbett, "The Absent City" in *The Modernity of English Art 1914-30*, Manchester and New York 1997, 100-126.

¹⁸ A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, London 1987.

(1997),¹⁹ situated Simmel's writings alongside his thoughts on the money economy, fashion, social interaction and, most pertinently, modernity and the evolution of modern culture. Although determined not to impose a pre-existing theory on previously unconsidered visual material, by investigating this art history with the methodological possibilities offered by Frisby, images of Glasgow are examined as the product of an artist's response to the multifaceted historic, economic and social realm of the modern city.

For the historical information underpinning the visual analysis throughout this thesis, a particular debt is owed to the work of Irene Maver, especially her urban monograph entitled *Glasgow* (2000)²⁰ and her more developed edited volume on *Glasgow* (1996).²¹ Maver's thematic approach to historiography has informed the structure of this thesis. Whilst following a chronological trajectory, Maver centred her analysis upon the political, economic and social development of the city thereby drawing more astute conclusions than are found in other more general histories of Glasgow, which, whilst valuable for historical and statistical information, lack such insight. Focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Maver placed considerable emphasis on the cultural forces and people that have played various roles in determining the city's character through periods of social, economic and political change. This thesis critically examines these relationships of power and change in order to establish the ideological imperatives of related imagery.

Therefore, in conceptualising the way in which Glasgow has been depicted in the visual arts, this thesis is wholly original. By placing the images within a social, political and art historical context, the way in which the dynamics of change in the

¹⁹ D. Frisby and M. Featherstone (eds), *Simmel on Culture*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi 1997.

²⁰ I. Maver, *Glasgow*, Edinburgh 2000.

²¹ W. H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds), *Glasgow, Volume II: 1830-1912*, Manchester 1996.

urban environment have been rendered in various forms of visual media can be analysed. This method highlights the factual aspects of urban development and, in response, recognises the importance of the visual image in relating or reacting against this evolution. Crucially, it does so through the lens of related theory and intellectual discourse as espoused in the work of aestheticians, philosophers and social commentators, resulting in a percipient explication of the visual media.

Just as the force of history changed the urban environment, so it affected its visual representation. This thesis explores the way in which the city was conceptualised and offers an analysis rooted in an intellectual and cultural tradition. Visual material is not examined on purely art historical terms, but placed within a much broader context and artistic elements are re-evaluated in the face of historical and cultural change. Throughout, the manifestation of the urban environment as a visual phenomenon is unfolded in parallel with the city's economic development. Consequently, the analysis is shaped around the city's evolution from a mercantile to a municipal and industrial city and finally follows its path into the post-industrial era. Images, by both named and unknown individuals, are recognised as participating in a changing environment along a chronological trajectory. With or against municipal branding, artists utilised a visual vocabulary that was not always representative of the material reality.

The thesis opens by revealing the associations between philosophy, philanthropy and visual imagery in the increasingly commercial environment of Enlightenment Glasgow. The city's transformation from a religious to a mercantile centre and the artistic expression of this is introduced through a detailed examination of the work of John Slezer. Like Slezer, many of those visually delineating Glasgow for

the first time were journeymen artists, travellers charting their journey for profit and prosperity in an era which prized rational thought, reasoned observation and philosophised about the senses. Accordingly, the discussion of Slezer's work forms the bedrock for subsequent deliberation on the impact of scientific secularism and patronage on urban representation.

Layered into this discourse is the development of geography and cartography in Enlightenment ideology. In an age of exploration and discovery, individuals and their environment were subject to scrutiny as never before. On an academic level this was marked by the development of geography as a scholarly discipline. As surveying technology became more advanced cartography gradually moved from the realm of art toward that of science. However, rather than being a purely precise and systematic exercise, charting the city's internal territory and the presentation of this information to the external world on maps was arguably an ideologically loaded process, fuelled with civic pride and mercantile propaganda. An examination of map cartouches posits the notion that this emphasis on scientific objectivity was in itself a tool of authority and control by which a specific identity for the city could be constructed.

In the integrated intellectual and commercial milieu of Enlightenment Glasgow, the associations between philosophy (particularly that of Francis Hutcheson), commercial philanthropy and the artistic endeavours of the pupils at the Foulis Academy of Art are then unravelled. An analysis of the Foulis views of Glasgow and depictions of streets and spaces within the city shows that the need to present the city as reasoned, ordered and controlled filtered into both the formal aesthetics of the visual image and the ideological constraints of its subject. In so doing, this highlights the visual representation as a signifier for the wider social and economic circumstances surrounding its creation and a reflection of prevailing philosophy. Moreover, this

chapter serves to demonstrate that deceptively simplistic depictions were actually carefully constructed to provide a particular characterisation of Glasgow.

As the forces of industrialisation and urbanisation were felt, the way in which the city could be conceived, comprehended and controlled grew increasingly problematic. The assured sense of authority, so important during the Enlightenment, wavered as Glasgow expanded and the pace of life accelerated. In nineteenth century Glasgow, the forces of industrialisation and the municipality were not mutually exclusive, the latter really coming to the fore as it attempted to manage the social and economic repercussions of the former. Accordingly, the visual interpretations of municipal and industrial Glasgow form the focus of the second chapter. Rather than falsely demarcate the images related to the municipal and industrial, a sense of their integration has been maintained to allow the images full voice and so that the factors conditioning the characterisation and perception of Glasgow can be fully construed.

The first step in this analysis is a consideration of early industrial images and panoramic studies. Here, the way in which artists approached the new industrial subject matter and expanding urban terrain is explored, considering their reliance on pre-existing artistic categories, particularly landscape. Implicit in this aesthetic discourse are the ideological associations of landscape painting and their appropriation to the urban environment. Against this industrial backdrop and expanding urban terrain, the attempt to project a municipal consciousness and the ideological imperatives of related imagery is examined, particularly through the medium of the photograph. Despite the emphasis placed on the photograph as the result of a scientific process, photographs, like any documents, were rarely value free images. By placing the photographs within the context of municipal activities and the writings of contemporary commentators and by considering their format and subsequent

dissemination, the extent to which they reflected municipal pride rather than documented municipal achievement is assessed. This is then developed further through comparison with contemporary paintings in order to evaluate the differing interpretations of the modern, progressive city offered therein.

The apparent objectivity of the documentary photograph is then contrasted with the psychological interpretation of Glasgow put forward in periodical illustrations. The writings of the French poet Charles Baudelaire on caricature and modernity are used to illustrate that the parody, satire and lampooning of cartoon and caricature provided what was, perhaps, the most penetrating analysis of the modern urban environment. Glasgow journal illustrations open a discourse on the popular perception of the urban environment and the function cartoons, as opposed to fine art, serve in understanding the city. Underlying the visual material considered throughout this chapter is a clear sense that rather than producing panoramic and topographical views of the city, artists were turning towards depicting the street. It was on the street that the drama of modern urban life was unfolding. Yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, the cast of intervening factors between the palpable city, its psychological interpretation and its visual characterisation was growing and their dialogue, whether scripted or freely spoken, was becoming increasingly complex.

The focus of the penultimate chapter is the institutional response, or rather the lack thereof, toward the industrial, modern city. As a point of comparison, it explores the work of etchers and photographers who, whilst mainstream art was turning away from the city, resisted the hegemonic characterisation offered by the City Fathers. Instead they put forward an alternative vision that, on occasion, critiqued the dominant vision. At a time when avant-garde groups across Europe were embracing the subject matter offered by the multifaceted modern city, Glasgow's artistic protégés, the

Glasgow Boys, largely defied the city that gave them their name. The reasons for this are elucidated through examination of the formal qualities of imagery in relation to their subject matter and contextual factors such as patronage and institutional trends and demands.

This absence of the city in art and Glasgow's failure to develop an urban modernism are then highlighted through a study of the reaction to an exhibition of Futurist work in Glasgow. Although these paintings had provoked an aesthetic reaction in Edinburgh, albeit exclusively in the work of one individual, artists in Glasgow did not attempt to generate a stylistic response, despite Glasgow priding itself on being a progressive city, both economically and culturally. Delving into a melting pot of ingredients, including the attitudes of teaching institutions and exhibiting societies, the economic and prevailing aesthetic climate, social concerns and the character of the city itself, the recipe for this failure is unearthed and the implications for younger artists laid bare.

This situation was compounded after the First World War as, in the aftermath of the hostilities, there was a contentious dialogue between radical art and the city. In the face of these circumstances, the somewhat convoluted emergence of a vital and dynamic Scottish urban art is then delineated. Through a close analysis of the visual imagery and stylistic precepts of the works, it is possible to argue that the images borne out of these difficult times actually critique the very agents that had precluded them from existing previously. Crucially, this is set against the background of Glasgow's fluctuating economic climate. As industry, the foundation upon which Glasgow's renown had been built, began to decline, the consequence this had for the construction of its identity in art is fully realised. This chapter, therefore, charts the

emergence of signs of intransigence toward the official rhetoric and the move toward individual and more idiosyncratic conceptualisations of the city.

The final chapter provides a close study of the city's representation during the post-industrial era, exploring the relationship between the city's quest to forge a new identity for itself and the artistic interpretation of Glasgow's more indeterminate sense of self. It commences by situating the fragmentation of this sense of identity in the war years. Here the disjunction between the official and personal characterisations of the city are accented – one emphasising creation and the other destruction. This introduces a psychological perception of the urban environment, which is then furthered in the context of the cultural revival that emerged in Glasgow immediately after the war.

Amidst this creative milieu, a strain of politically motivated art emerged which signalled a move from the centre of the city to the peripheries, from the monumental facades and historic landmarks to the backstreets, tenements and factories. The significance of this for the characterisation of Glasgow is examined in correspondence with the increasing tendency to portray the city's inhabitants, specifically those from the working class. This focus on the working class impelled artists to embrace a new range of social issues and prompted a fresh consideration of the chronological, sequential outline of the city's evolution. Accordingly, attention turns to the various ways in which artists sought to negotiate and understand the fragmented, heterogeneous urban environment.

The move from a tangible to a notional understanding amongst individual artists is then compared to the City Fathers' turn toward a cultural directive in articulating an identity for Glasgow. It scrutinises their apparent adoption of the working class as signifiers of Glasgow's true identity and patronage of artistic schemes intended to

compound this vision. Glasgow celebrated its year as European City of Culture in 1990. Appropriately, this thesis concludes with an assessment of the City Fathers' commercially inspired and culturally directed 'official' re-orientation and articulation of Glasgow's newfound intangible identity and the artists' conception of the city. In so doing, it seeks to determine where the true cultural city lay.

Herein, I will examine the way in which the dynamic of change in the urban environment has been rendered in various forms of visual media. The focus is Glasgow. As Scotland's perennial 'second city', Glasgow has habitually been defined by epithets yet lacks a secure identity. Varied attempts have been made to fill the void left by the absence of an enduring visual signifier, yet none abide. Despite its tremendous physicality, Glasgow exists first and foremost in the popular consciousness as a city of multiple and mutable identities. Glasgow has succoured and succeeded in the arts, produced artists of international renown and held Great Exhibitions of worldwide repute and yet Glasgow's representation in art has been less assured.

The City Fathers promoted Glasgow's identity as firmly grounded in its economic success and artists largely reflected this positive standpoint in their representations. However, this was by no means a straightforward task. A specific artistic vocabulary was adopted to mediate between the material reality of Glasgow and its visual interpretation. As the certainty of the municipal rhetoric was countered by the heterogeneity of the city, however, individual artists began to counter the City Fathers' positive, assured representation. These artists brought a distinct consciousness to understanding how the city was conceptualised and controlled. Beyond the centralised and positive image of Glasgow as the 'City of Culture', they suggested that Glasgow possessed a more contentious and complex cultural reality.

Chapter I

Imaging the Mercantile City in the Enlightenment Era

In 1685 the poet John Barclay (1652-91) praised Glasgow:

Glasgow to Thee thy Neighbouring Towns give place,
'Bove them thou lifts thine head with comely grace.
Scarce in the spacious Earth can see
A City that's more beautifull than thee.

...

More pure than Amber is the River Clyde,
Whose Gentle Streams do by thy Borders glyd;
And here a thousand Sail receive commands
To traffick for thee unto Forraign-Lands.
A Bridge of polliht Ston, doth here vouchsafe
To Travellers o're Clyde a Passage safe.

...

Thy Buildings high and glorious are.

...

But thee, O GLASGOW! we may justly deem
That all the Gods who have been in esteem,
Which in the Earth and Air and Ocean are,
Have joyn'd to build with a Propitious Star.¹

Barclay described Glasgow on the brink of unprecedented social, economic and cultural transformation. The dual nuclei of the city, on one hand centred upon the Cathedral and, on the other, the Market Cross, saw a change in architectural and political pre-eminence as the dominance of the Church diminished and the pulse of the city began to throb through the mercantile core. As poetically scribed, the river became a key determinant as Glasgow embarked on commercial endeavours, the effects of which were to profoundly alter the physical fabric of the city and its evolving civic administration. The Enlightenment era formed a crucial bridge in the growth of the city from medieval burgh to burgeoning industrial entrepôt. Barclay's verbalisation

¹ J. Barclay, "Glasgow" 1685 as cited in H. Whyte (ed.), *Mungo's Tongues: Glasgow Poems 1630-1990*, Edinburgh 1993, 24-25. Where possible, an individual's birth and death dates are given. If there are no dates, then this information is not known.

found a visual counterpart in the earliest known topographical representations of Glasgow's urban form. In both the delineation of Glasgow and enterprise of the undertaking, *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) by John Slezer (c.1641-1717) introduced the key historic, aesthetic and theoretical criteria that were to characterise subsequent depictions of Glasgow during the Enlightenment.

John Slezer² came to Scotland from the Continent in the 1670s not as an artist, but with experience in military surveying. He secured employment as the Chief Engineer and Surveyor of His Majesties Stores and Magazines³ and it was this knowledge of land measurement coupled with his responsibility to assess the country's chief fortifications that determined the character of *Theatrum Scotiae*, for which Queen Mary signed a publication licence in 1693. Although it has been claimed that *Theatrum Scotiae* was commissioned by the Scottish Parliament,⁴ in *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671-1717* Keith Cavers has argued that Slezer's motivation was personal,⁵ a means to "repay the kindness and preferment that he had enjoyed in Scotland."⁶ Nevertheless, it was undoubtedly Slezer's occupational duties that gave him the opportunity to visit Scotland's main military strongholds, including Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton, all of which were illustrated in the publication. The precedent

² John Abraham Slezer. What little is known of his early life comes from his writings, including letters held in the National Library of Scotland. These formed the basis of K. Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671-1717*, Edinburgh 1993. T.C.F. Brotchie in 'Art and Art Galleries' in J. G. Kerr, (ed.), *Glasgow: Sketches by Various Authors*, Glasgow 1928, 187 and I. Maver, *Glasgow*, Edinburgh 2000, 11, suggested that Slezer was Dutch. Whilst Cavers did not deny this possibility, he argued more generally that Slezer was probably born in a German-speaking part of Europe. Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 1.

³ Slezer's appointment was partly due to his personal connections with the Scots nobility including the Earl of Argyle and the Earl of Kincardine. The commission was issued in the 23rd of December 1671. Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 1.

⁴ See Maver, *Glasgow*, 11 or Brotchie, 'Art and Art Galleries', 187. Confusion surrounding the motivation for the text could have arisen due to the issuing of the licence by Queen Mary and from instances when Slezer petitioned Parliament for costs relating to various projects. However, Cavers has convincingly argued that *Theatrum Scotiae* was an independent undertaking. Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, vii/2/9.

⁵ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, vii.

⁶ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 1-2.

in Britain for Slezer's work was that of Wenceslas Hollar (1607-77),⁷ who became Scenographer to Charles II (1630-85). However, Hollar's work focussed on London and the surrounding area whereas Slezer's extensive scheme, comprising 57 engraved plates with written descriptions, was an attempt to visually represent an entire nation. Thus, as noted by Cavers, Slezer's work was unique in both motivation and undertaking.⁸

In order to fund his ambitious project Slezer had intended to depict the seats of the nobility, who would pledge a subscription to see their property aggrandised in a volume representative of the nation. By 1678 he had already secured funding from the Duke of Lauderdale (1616-82) and the Earl of Strathmore at Glamis.⁹ Ultimately, however, these views were kept aside for an unrealised enterprise to document the 'Ancient and Present State of Scotland.' As the title page of *Theatrum Scotiae* suggests, the plates were of "PROSPECTS of His Majesty's CASTLES and PALACES: Together with those of the Most Considerable Towns and Colleges; The Ruins of Many Ancient Abbeys, Churches, Monastries, and Convents"¹⁰ – prominent amongst which were three views of Glasgow.

With foundations in the cult of St Kentigern (c.518-c.603), or St Mungo as he was more commonly known, Glasgow's early history was dominated by ecclesiastical

⁷ Hollar was a Czech artist who came into the service of the Earl of Arundel during a visit the Earl made to Cologne in 1636. By this time, Hollar had probably worked with the publisher Matthaeus Merian in Frankfurt (c.1631-32) and, confirmed by numerous drawings, visited Holland (1634). From Merian he learnt the technique of composition and precise rendering of panoramic views which he then utilised on his trip to Holland, where Rembrandt's work influenced him.

⁸ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 2.

⁹ Glamis Book of Record of Patrick, Earl of Strathmore: "I have indeed been att the charge to employ on[e] who is to make a book of the figure of the draughts and frontispiece in Talyduce of all the Kings Castles, Pallaces, towns, and other notable places in the Kingdome belonging to privat subjects who's desyre it was att first to me, and who himselfe passing by deemed this place worthie of the taking notice of. And to this man (Mr Sletcher by name) I gave liberall money because I was Loath that he should doe it att his owne charge and that I knew the cuts and engraving would stand him mony." As cited in Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 3.

¹⁰ J. Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, London 1718, n.p. St Andrews University Library, Special Collections.

power. It was this that had established Glasgow as one of Scotland's most notable towns, as symbolised by its medieval Cathedral. The bishop held both territorial and legal jurisdiction and this filtered through all aspects of civic administration to the bailies, who were solely the charge of the presiding bishop. The establishment of a University in 1451 furthered Glasgow's standing. From these seeds, the burgh commenced its growth and, by the time of Slezer's depiction, there was evidence of change. The High Street ran from the Cathedral to the Market Cross and it was along this axis that the balance of power began to move. Whilst the University remained integral to Glasgow's character, increasing emphasis was being placed on trade and commerce. As ecclesiastical authority dwindled, the city motto 'Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word' was curtailed to 'Let Glasgow Flourish' and, as Slezer illustrated, progress continued apace.¹¹

Bearing in mind Slezer's foreign roots it is perhaps appropriate that the gestures of two travellers or traders introduced The Prospect of the Town of Glasgow from ye South [1]. This convention became marked in illustrations to travelogues intended to act as an *aide memoir* to journeymen past or proem for future visitors. Their attentions were directed toward Glasgow, standing, as evoked in one of the first full-length books on the city, John McUre's *A View of the City of Glasgow* (1736), "deliciously"¹² on the far bank of the Clyde. In order to traverse the river, the contours of the elegant eight-arched bridge praised by Barclay were apparent. They provided the means to reach the handsome facades of the city, through which Slezer reflected the evolving cityscape.

¹¹ Although the shortened version was not formerly registered until 1866, it was in common usage by the eighteenth century. J. Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, Glasgow 1901, 33-34 claimed that it was curtailed after the 1690 Act of Parliament confirming the Charter of William and Mary.

¹² J. McUre, *A View of the City of Glasgow*, 1736 as cited in Whyte (ed.), *Mungo's Tongues*, 11-12.

The bridge was one of the first landmarks of commercial expansion. Built in 1410 from 'pollisht Ston', it signalled recognition of the potential economic benefits residing in unconstrained communication. Beneath its foremost arch, a small number of vessels anticipated the prospect of the overseas trade that determined the mercantile spirit Glasgow was to generate. The Reformation aided the speed with which power was transferred to the merchants. Although the Cathedral survived largely intact and remained a landmark in the townscape, its meaning was hollowed as ecclesiastical power diminished. Whilst abatement of the clerical orders saw the area surrounding the Cathedral wane, trade flourished. With a population of approximately 14,000 inhabitants by 1660, larger business ventures were established within the town itself. There was evidence of a textile company as early as 1681 along with the mechanisms needed to develop the sugar, distilling and tobacco industries that proved vital in commercial enterprise.

Trading links with Ireland, the Highlands and England grew along with markets further afield including Spain, Flanders, the Netherlands and France. The signs of economic growth were consolidated in 1667 by the Council's acquisition of land to build Port Glasgow. The importance of this was evident from Slezer's accompanying text: whereas previously the Clyde had been "navigable up to the very Town by Ships of ſmall Burthen ... *New Glasgow*, which ſtands on the Mouth of *Clyde*, is a Haven for Veſſels of the greateſt Size."¹³ Aside from trade, the dialogue between Glasgow and Holland, in particular the cities of Amsterdam and Leiden, was to prove crucial in the intellectual and artistic development of Glasgow. This is worth due consideration as its influence can be discerned in Slezer's *The Prospect of the Town of Glasgow from ye South.*

¹³ Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, n.p.

In 1681 Slezer spent six months travelling around Holland, buying arms and enlisting troops. It was perhaps knowledge gained during this visit that encouraged him to have some of the plates for *Theatrum Scotiae* produced in Holland, the others being made in London. Whereas those produced in London are mostly engraved, the Dutch plates possess the softer etched line for which Dutch printmaking had become renowned. Holland was a highly urbanised country where the townscape was a common subject in art. Furthermore, surveying the city from the vantage-point of the opposite riverbank was a convention customarily used by artists, as shown in View of Delft (c.1658) by Johannes Vermeer (1632-75)¹⁴ or View of Zierikzee (1618) by Esaias van de Velde (1587-1630).¹⁵ Consequently, it is interesting to note the presence of an artist-like figure observing Glasgow from the foremost riverbank in Slezer's work. It is possible that Dutch views had impressed Slezer whilst on his travels or that the influence had come circuitously through Hollar. *Theatrum Scotiae* may have been Slezer's brainchild, but he was by no means responsible for every detail in the resulting views. It is known that he employed the services of "One Kickers" who may well have been Kickius, a Netherlandish topographical artist who had been in the employ of one of Slezer's benefactors, the Duke of Lauderdale.¹⁶ The Dutch influence may have been immediate but it was not solely restricted to the mode of composition and representation. Besides their distinguished townscape artists, the Dutch also excelled in another art – that of cartography.

Being a pivotal location for overseas trade, it is not surprising that Amsterdam developed as a centre for mapmaking. Alongside the need to understand and chart their own urban terrain, Dutch companies, most notably the Dutch East India

¹⁴ J. Vermeer, A View of Delft (c.1658), oil on canvas, 98x118cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague.

¹⁵ E. van de Velde, View of Zierikzee (1618), oil on canvas, 27x40cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

¹⁶ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 11-12.

Company, and traders required accurate maps to maximise their trading links. The mapmaker Johannes Blaeu (1596-1673) produced a two-volume atlas of towns in the Netherlands in 1649 and, after extensive negotiations between the two cities, maps of Glasgow by Timothy Pont (c.1560-1630) were included in Blaeu's Atlases of 1654 and 1662.¹⁷ The importance of cartography was nowhere more evident than in the Great Hall of the Noordeinde Palace, which had been decorated with views and plans of towns from around the world.¹⁸ Visiting diplomats and distinguished guests could admire these images which demonstrated Amsterdam's leading role in world affairs. Akin to this was the display in the Citizen's Hall of the City Hall, the present Royal Palace, where the central floor area was inlaid with marble copies of the eastern and western hemispheres as shown in a world map published by Blaeu in 1648.¹⁹ Whether Slezer would have seen either of these is not known, although it is possible as he met Dutch royalty during a visit to Holland as a foreign delegate.²⁰ Regardless of this, the value afforded to maps in the Netherlands, bearing in mind Slezer's occupation as a surveyor, would have been unavoidable.

The omnipresence of cartography in Dutch society was reflected in fine art. Vermeer often included maps in the backgrounds of his work. Paintings such as Officer and Laughing Girl (c.1658-60), Woman Reading a Letter (1662-63) and, most

¹⁷ See J. N. Moore, *The Maps of Glasgow: A History and Cartobibliography to 1865*, Glasgow 1996, 8-9. These are the earliest existing maps of Glasgow, although Town Council Minutes of 12 June 1641 state that the Treasurer was to pay James Colquhoun 'fyve dollouris' for drawing a portrait of the town to be sent to Holland. There is no further record of this image and it does not appear in Blaeu's Atlas. See J.A. Brown 'The Cartography of Glasgow' in *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 37 1921, 68.

¹⁸ The palace was leased in 1591 and then purchased in 1595 by the States of Holland for Louise de Coligny, the widow of William of Orange, and her son Prince Frederick Hendrik. The States presented the building to William's family in 1609. Although it fell in and out of use, it was in the possession of Stadtholder-King William III until his death in 1702. The building is now known as the Oude Hof.

¹⁹ The building was originally a City Hall for the burgomasters and magistrates of Amsterdam. It was first used as a palace in 1768 when Stadtholder William V and Wilhelmina of Prussia were given a ceremonial welcome to Amsterdam. Its conversion to a royal palace began in 1808.

²⁰ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 8-13.

notably, The Art of Painting (1666-73)²¹ all indicated a relationship between art and cartography. Rather than artistic impressions of terrain measured only by the eye, increasing emphasis was being placed on scientific and rational delineation of the earth's surface. There was more trust in maps as truthful documents and it was with respect for this function that Vermeer represented them with the utmost accuracy. Still, the inclusion of a map in a painting was not straightforward and alluded to its complex and deceptive nature.

A map's elevated status as an affidavit of urban or topographic terrain imbued it with cerebral symbolism, yet it was rarely a value free image. For example, those viewing Vermeer's works would have associated the subjects with the prestige, knowledge or spirit of adventure connoted by the symbol of the map. As J.B. Harley commented, "Maps cease to be understood as inert records of morphological landscapes or passive reflections of the world of objects, but are regarded as refracted images contributing to dialogue in a socially constructed world." He added, "They are a class of rhetorical images and are bound by rules which govern their codes and modes of social production, exchange."²² Just as maps in paintings gave any associated sitter a certain intellectual standing, so the mapping of a city could bring power and prestige to that place. Whether through the enlargement of a harbour mouth for ease of navigation or the embellishment of a civic façade for the purpose of municipal propaganda, the deceptive authority of maps was to be utilised by both cartographers and topographical artists seeking to convey a particular representation of the city. Given Slezer's probable knowledge of mapping and the influence of Dutch townscapes,

²¹ J. Vermeer: Officer and a Laughing Girl (c.1658-60), oil on canvas, 50.5x46cm, Frick Collection, New York, Woman Reading a Letter (c.1662-63), oil on canvas, 46.5x39cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, The Art of Painting (c.1666-73), oil on canvas, 130x110cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

²² J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power" in Cosgrove and Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Sydney 1989, 278-279.

his representations of Glasgow can be seen to go beyond topography to represent a deeper characterisation of the city.

Accordingly, Slezer's decision to place the Merchants Hall Steeple in the centre of The Prospect of the Town of Glasgow from ye South can be read as something other than a neutral decision. Its prominence was emblematic of the mercantile and commercial powers that were taking hold of the city. Similarly, the spires that articulated the skyline of his townscape reflected changes that had occurred in the physical environment of Glasgow during the immediately preceding years. Although the epithet 'Second City' was to be widely applied to Glasgow in the industrial era, by 1662 John Kay regarded it as "the second city in Scotland", it was "fair, large, and well built, cross-wise, somewhat like unto Oxford, the streets very broad and pleasant."²³ With municipal authority gradually moving from the archbishops to the bailies, the emphasis shifted to the municipality and councillors therein.²⁴

Even during these early stages of the city's growth, the council was eager to generate an ethos of improvement both in the wellbeing of its citizens and the appearance of their habitat. After serious fires in 1652, 1654 and 1677, attempts were made to reduce the risk of fire by offering subsidies or freedom from feu duties for the erection of stone facades in main streets. In addition, dangerous businesses, such as candlemakers, were ordered to locate their premises 100 yards from dwellings. The Council also played a pivotal role in the maintenance of markets, prisons, workhouses, schools and churches. Through civic ordinances granted in 1685 and 1695, city

²³ J. Kay as quoted in McUre, *View of the City of Glasgow*, appendix, 307 as cited in Maver, *Glasgow*, 12.

²⁴ Glasgow's shift in identity from religious to mercantile is difficult to pinpoint time-wise. The Reformation, however, was crucial, most notably when Archbishop James Betoun fled in 1560 with various precious items from the cathedral. Irene Maver has noted that by 1600 the area around the Cathedral had begun to degenerate whilst contemporary accounts describe the city as a thriving market town. Maver then goes on to describe Glasgow's commercial growth in the seventeenth century and document significant mercantile endeavours in the period surrounding Slezer's depiction. See Maver, *Glasgow*, 8-15.

administrators were attempting to control sanitation and make the streets as handsome as the edifices fronting them. From this embryonic stage in the formation of the urban environment until its peak in the late nineteenth century, the dialogue between civic self-improvement and architecture was to become a key aspect of the city's history and one that was explicitly laid bare in the cityscape.

A substantial new Tollbooth, the steeple of which still stands, was built in 1626. The adjoining Town Hall took shape in 1637 and was followed in 1641 and 1659 by the Hutcheson's Hospital and the Merchants Hall, respectively. These civic advances were duly recorded by Slezer: projecting skywards to the right of the Merchants Hall, were the spires and steeples of Hutcheson's Hospital, the Tron Church and, congregated on the far side those of the Tollbooth, Blackfriars Church and the Old College of the University. Perhaps appropriately, that of the Cathedral was farthest from the Merchants Hall and here distances within the pictorial field served to illustrate the crucial change in the forces driving Glasgow's progress.

Slezer did not underestimate the importance of the College as an indispensable facet of Glasgow's character. The new buildings, completed in around 1656, merited their own plate in the *Theatrum Scotiae* [2].²⁵ Despite its enclosed walls, enlightened thoughts and writings were not separate strands of the city's vitality but intimately entwined with the commercial, economic and mercantile. Slezer's text indicated how architecture reflected the prominence intellectual life was assuming as opposed to the religious. After describing the Cathedral he continued, "Near to the Church is the Archbishop's Castle ... but the chief ornament of the City is the College."²⁶ This was

²⁵ As noted by Cavers, the manner of presentation differs from the other prospects, bearing closer relation to the work of David Loggan (c.1635-c.1692), a close associate of Hollar who had worked on images of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. It is possible Slezer commissioned another artist to carry out the work. Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 10-11.

²⁶ Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, n.p.

not an aristocratic, elite establishment and it was usual for the sons of merchants to matriculate at the University for at least a year. Although Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805) believed there was a "marked superiority" in the best students of Edinburgh he did concede that "in Glasgow, learning seemed to be an object of more importance..."²⁷ A similar opinion was indicated by George Bogle, writing from the University of Leiden in 1727:

If one inclines to spend time in reading, there is no place where so much time may be spent that way than in ... Glasgow and that no men have more time hanging on their hands than the young merchants ... occasioned by their want of books, in short if one designs to shun the frequented taverns and withdraw himself from the received custom of Caballing and Nightly Drinking, so much followed in that place, he may there enjoy himself in the most innocent and useful diversions, viz the improving of his mind and the enlarging of his understanding.²⁸

The intellectual climate spawned numerous clubs and societies, including a Political Economy Club, where scholars and merchants would mingle and converse.²⁹ This integrated society influenced the nature of the philosophical ideas formed, perhaps most notably the political-economics in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) by Adam Smith (1723-90). Contemporary with Slezer, an *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) by John Locke (1632-1704), interestingly published after Locke returned from a period of exile in Holland, suggested that comprehension was primarily obtainable through the material gathered by the human senses. Subsequently, Joseph Addison (1672-1719) was to analyse the role of the eye as the prime organ for receipt of

²⁷ A. Carlyle, "Intellectual Life in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow" from *Autobiography* as cited in B. Osbourne and R. Armstrong (eds), *Mungo's City: A Glasgow Anthology*, Edinburgh 1999, 21.

²⁸ G. Bogle to Prof. W. Anderson, 13 March 1727, Letter Book, Strathclyde Regional Archives. As cited in G. Jackson "Glasgow in Transition" in Devine and Jackson *Glasgow: Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, Manchester and New York 1995, 90.

²⁹ This club was founded by Andrew Cochrane, Provost of Glasgow in 1760. Adam Smith was a member.

sensation and information. Slezer's topographical depictions marked the beginning of a period in which human habitat and nature was subjected to scrutiny as never before.

The beginning of a scientific, somewhat secular dissection of Glasgow was juxtaposed with recognition of the importance of Glasgow's religious origins in Slezer's The Prospect of ye Town of Glasgow from ye North East [3]. The serene dominance of the Cathedral over the landscape masked the years of religious disturbances it had witnessed. These insurrections remained largely neglected in artistic representations and such absences were tacitly telling – they confirmed that city images were constructed in order to present a positive aspect which annotations of rioting would negate. There were enough disturbances for their pictorial absence to be significant. For example, after the restoration of the episcopacy in 1661, Glasgow was subjected to a series of coventicles, which marked the displeasure of the Presbyterians. Despite the town being fined as a consequence of allowing these gatherings and Covenanters being hanged in the streets in 1666, anger grew and this culminated in serious riots. The ascension of King James VII (1633-1701) in 1685 eased matters somewhat and yet it was not until the reign of William III (1650-1702) and Mary II (1662-94) that episcopacy was abolished in 1689, only four years prior to Slezer's publication. During these years Slezer was imprisoned in Canongate Tollbooth for his allegiance to King James rather than the Estates of Parliament. His release came upon his accepting the new order and according to Cavers he travelled to London to see William III whom he already knew from his journey to Holland in 1681.³⁰ The subsequent restoration of Presbyterianism ensured that Glasgow's mercantile upsurge could take place against a relatively stable religious background. It was this steadfastness and prospects of prosperity that Slezer and artists who followed him chose to represent. As the

³⁰ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 12.

disturbances had left the city virtually bankrupt by 1690, an improvement of fortune was virtually inevitable.

The travellers present in the southern view were repeated in the view from the north east crossing the Molendinar Burn, the site by which St Mungo is said to have established his community.³¹ In a somewhat symbolic way, therefore, Glasgow's old religious foundation was surmounted by the new source of prosperity. It was in the very delineation of the Cathedral, however, that the genus of a new scientific approach to depiction could be detected. Many of the prospects were full of discrepancies, most notably in the disjunction in scale between the depiction of St Rule's Tower and of the Cathedral in the plate of St Andrews Cathedral. The buildings were evidently drawn separately, the accuracy of each drawing suggesting the use of a scientific visual aid, and then put against one another in the composition. Cavers has argued that in drawing such buildings Slezer used a camera obscura.³² Whilst recognising Slezer's profession, this also indicated the ambivalence between art and science in *Theatrum Scotiae*. As Cavers noted, "A more experienced or accomplished artist would have used different techniques to harmonise the composition of the prospects, but Slezer is not, in that sense, an 'artist' but a surveyor or delineator of prospects."³³

The ambiguity between art and science was epitomised by the archetype Enlightenment text of categorisation and understanding, Ephriam Chambers'

³¹ The figures were drawn by John Wyck, another employee of the Duke of Lauderdale, as explained in Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 9. Other Dutch artists in London around this time were Thomas Wyck (1616-77), Hendrick Danckerts (c.1630-1678) and Jan Griffer (c.1642-1718). Danckerts was invited to England by Charles II and employed by James II, he is best known for his views of London. Wyck produced distant views of Leicester and Griffer of Gloucester.

³² Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 6-8.

³³ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 8. In ensuing years the military employed Paul Sandby (1730/1-1845) and his brother Thomas (1721-99) to make plans and drawings. Paul Sandby then went on to produce images of Glasgow, Edinburgh and their environs, including Roslin Castle, showing a lady using a camera obscura (c.1775). For further information on Sandby see L. Hermann, *Paul and Thomas Sandby*, London 1986 and J. Christian, *Paul Sandby and Scotland*, unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of St Andrews 1989.

Cyclopaedia (1728). After stating the rudiments of Perspective as delineating visible objects on a plane surface as they appear at a given distance or height on a plane perpendicular to the horizon between the eye and the object, he continued:

This, we particularly call *linear Perspective*, as regarding the Position, Magnitude, Form &c. of the several Lines, or Contours of Objects; and expressing their Diminution: In opposition to the *Aerial Perspective*, which regards the Colour, Lustre, Strength, Boldness &c. of distant Objects consider'd as seen thro' a column of Air; and expresses the Diminutions thereof. The former is a Branch of Mathematics: Some make it a member of optics; others a rivulet therefrom; and its Operations are all geometrical. The latter is a Part of Painting, and consists wholly in the Conduct of the Colours, their different Teints, or Degrees, Force, Weakness &c.³⁴

The value of the senses, artistic representation and scientific observation were to be principal matters in Enlightenment discussions and, in the depictions of cities, tended not to be mutually exclusive. Many studies of the urban environment were not carried out by artists but geographers, historians or mathematicians, as in the case of James Paterson who produced *A Geographical Description of Scotland* (1681). As depictions of exotic, foreign locations were brought back to the western world, the truthfulness attributed to representations became a valuable commodity. Rather than a surrogate for human knowledge, mechanisms like the camera obscura became an extension of it: "Instruments were thought of as enhancing human sense impressions rather than replacing them, were thought of as part of man's pilgrimage through the world on his way to regaining the perfect knowledge possessed by the first Adam in Eden."³⁵ The pursuit of geographical knowledge and role of scientific implements therein was to be a key feature during the Enlightenment. The prestige brought about by accurate

³⁴ E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia 1728* as cited in C. Harrison, P. Wood and J. Gaiger, *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, Oxford and Massachusetts 2000, 350-351.

³⁵ D. Outram, "On Being Perseus" in D. N. Livingstone and C. W. J. Withers (eds), *Geography and Enlightenment*, Chicago and London 1999, 287.

rendering and attention to detail, architectural and natural, was actively sought by Slezer, as was a suitably ennobling written accompaniment.

The text to *Theatrum Scotiae* was originally intended to be in Latin, as this, along with French, was the language of scholars and thus the standing of the publication would rise accordingly. For this text Slezer approached Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), whose appointment to Geographer Royal in 1682 was early recognition of the status that geographical knowledge was to assume. The final publication, however, bears no reference to Sibbald and Slezer's approach to him may only have been in deference that his publication would normally have fallen under Sibbald's official capacity as Geographer Royal.³⁶ After his own experience in the Tollbooth, Slezer may not have wished for his name to be associated with that of Sibbald, whose short-lived conversion to Catholicism was not well-received amongst professional ranks in Edinburgh.³⁷

Sibbald's involvement in the project not only affirms the notable role of geography but also reiterates the relevance of the dialogue with the Netherlands as Sibbald related in his *Memoirs*:

I obtained the consent of my parents yrto, and went upon the twenty-third day of March 1660, from this in a dutch frigate to Holland. I stayed at Leyden ane yeer and a half, and studied anatomie and chirurgie, under the learned Professor Van Horne. I studied plants under Adolphus Vorstius, who had been then Botanick professor 37 years ...³⁸

During this extended residency he travelled to Amsterdam several times. In Sibbald, geographical knowledge and the Dutch experience were joined by another important

³⁶ It should be noted that in an Appendix listing works by Robert Sibbald, F. Hett notes "8. Rogatu Joannis Sletzeri rei tormentariae in Scotia, etc. Folio, London, 1693", Hett (ed.), *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald*, London 1932, Appendix.

³⁷ Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland*, 12.

³⁸ R. Sibbald, "Memoirs of My Lyfe", Hett (ed.), *Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald*, 57.

factor, that of botanical knowledge. In 1670 Sibbald and Dr Andrew Balfour (1630-94) established Edinburgh's Physic Garden which was integral in assuring Edinburgh's pre-eminence as a centre for medicine in coming years. It was this "inquirie after the naturall products of the Kingdome" and "the inquirie after what concerned ane exact geographical description of it"³⁹ that lead to his employment as Geographer Royal and King's physician. This demonstrated an early concern in the relationship between the natural environment and benefits that it could have for health. Interest in botanical detail is discernible in the perspective assumed by Slezer. The detailed depiction of various plants in the foreground was a precursor of what was to come in compositions during the Enlightenment as increased attention was given to natural detail in the growing urban environment.

Placed on raised ground overlooking the city, the dark foreground in Slezer's The Prospect of ye Town of Glasgow from ye North East served to delineate between city and country. In both the eastern and southern views, the low horizon conformed to Dutch landscape convention and thereby Slezer situated not only the viewer, but also the city, within a recognisable and safe genre. Unlike Vermeer, however, whose city extended beyond the limits of the canvas, Slezer placed the entire city within visual control. Consequently, the high, detached foreground provided a means of empowerment and signalled man's ascendancy over natural forces. This was to become a key tenet in Enlightenment imagery and one of the characteristic features of philosophy. The dislocation of the viewer from the city could also be read as a move towards scientific interest in the environment as "perspective infinitely extends the range and inquiry of the dispassionate, exploring, scientific individual, and thus

³⁹ Sibbald, "Memoirs of My Lyfe", 74-75.

naturalizes these qualities in advance of the implications of the agency they contain."⁴⁰ Analogous to a mapmaker's key, the spires and architecture presented a means for the artist and authorities to relay an ordered environment with prominent civic buildings and indicated a way in which the traveller could traverse the urban terrain. In years to come the city was to present a paradox of incomprehensible parts which, through panoramic views, could be presented as safe and negotiable.

Ultimately Slezer's book failed and he was to die a pauper in the debtor's sanctuary at Holyrood. Nonetheless, Slezer's illustrations provide a useful starting point for examining topographical views of Glasgow. His predicament raised questions about the medium suitable for this new and evolving subject matter, the ways in which the city could be represented in a safe and aesthetically pleasing manner and, crucially, whether a clientele existed for images of the city. It was the city views depicted of Slezer's own volition that were, albeit unsuccessfully, open for public consumption. Their failure was significant as it indicated an enigmatic clientele and denoted the city as unpromising subject matter. His attempt to court the favour of Scots nobility by ingratiatingly dedicating plates with their respective coats of arms was not repeated in the editions of *Theatrum Scotiae* produced after his death and which were, ironically, to assume value and secure his name. From a historical point of view, Slezer depicted Glasgow at a crucial stage in its evolution from a religious to a commercial centre, a transformation that was geographically and architecturally symbolised in the townscape. As the displacement of power saw settlement focus on the area around the Market Cross, the need for architectural articulation and assurance of mercantile economic and political strength became evident in the prominent facades of their civic

⁴⁰ K. Hillis, "The Power of Disembodied Imagination: Perspective's Role in Cartography", *Cartographica* 31 (3) 1994, 2.

buildings. Coupled with early attempts to sanitise the city and nurture trade, the image of Glasgow was being cultivated on a remarkable scale. In order to understand the city, it is essential to acknowledge that the religious, mercantile and intellectual strands implicit in Slezer's work were not separate entities but intricately entwined and were to become more so in the coming century. His representations not only promoted these developments, but also reflected the uncertainty they yielded.

Undulating beneath the fashioned veneer of the city was the need to understand and control the urban environment, be it architecturally or visually. The Dutch model proved a useful prototype, but Slezer could not, as Vermeer had done, allow the city to breach the boundaries of the canvas and thereby visual authority. The Enlightenment years were to bear witness to a desire to categorise and understand human nature and habitat. Despite calls for liberty and freethinking in enlightened society, control was never far beneath the metaphorical or physical façade. The development and teaching of geography, the transformation of cartography into a scientific rather than artistic discipline and the use of tools to aid visual comprehension were all symptomatic of this desire for comprehension. With medical scholarship, the study of nature became a scientific discipline geared toward the betterment of the people settling in cities. The growth in population led to human nature becoming a subject of scrutiny as methodologies of perception and observation became the means of locating man in his environment and understanding the relationships therein. However, objective reasoning and the authority it was afforded were deceptive. Just as maps were rhetorical images so artistic renderings of the city were layered with meaning. The key tenets of reason and scientific secularism pronounced by the Enlightenment philosophers were the very genus that bred what were, in some ways, unreasoned images of the city through Enlightened eyes.

Geography, Cartography and the Enlightenment

The curiosity in man's habitat, rural or urban, was reflected in the teaching of geography at Scottish universities, as has been documented by C. W. J. Withers.⁴¹ The work of Slezer and Blaeu prefigured an outpouring of geographical publications in the eighteenth century. The desire for travelling, discovery and the extension of knowledge had an impact on the Enlightenment preoccupation with progress and self-improvement closer to home:

... scientific practices locally articulated depended crucially on the utilization of information gained from afar and on the ways in which hitherto unfamiliar events and peoples were represented, portrayed, and classified not just in physical sites, such as botanic gardens, and laboratories, but in different texts – in maps, paintings, even novels.⁴²

The concern with others intensified the consideration of self and it is not surprising then, that, paralleling the growth of topographical representations, native geography began to be examined in Scotland's universities.

Rather than being a clearly defined discipline, geography had featured as an aspect of philosophy courses in Edinburgh, whereas in Aberdeen it had been taught alongside cosmology. Withers noted that evidence for the tuition of geography is unfortunately lacking for Glasgow, although it is known that Robert Simson (1687-1768), mathematics Professor between 1711 and 1761, possessed geographical publications.⁴³ Among these were *Rerum Geographicum* (1707) by G. Straboni and B. Varenius's *Geographica Generalis* (1650),⁴⁴ texts, not surprisingly, first published in

⁴¹ C.W.J. Withers, "Geographical Knowledge in Enlightenment Scotland", in P. Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation*, Rochester 2000, 63-97. See also Withers, "Notes Toward a Historical Geography of Geography in Early Modern Scotland", *Scotlands* 3.1 1996, 111-124.

⁴² Withers and Livingstone, "Introduction" in Livingstone and Withers (eds), *Geography and Enlightenment*, 17.

⁴³ Withers, "Notes Toward a Historical Geography...", 115.

⁴⁴ "An Alphabetical Catalogue of the Simson Collection", MS 1324 and "A Catalogue of Simson's Books", MS Gen, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.

Amsterdam. In Scotland, there had been three notable geographical publications: *Geography Compendiz'd* (1702) by Matthew Symon, *Encheiridion Geographicum* (1704) and Gavin Drummond's *A Short Treatise of Geography General and Special* (1708). As already noted, many of those to visually reproduce the city were not artists but scientists and, accordingly, the mathematician James Millar is known to have lectured on aspects of geography.⁴⁵ Geography was not solely concerned with mapping and categorising the world's surface and its interdisciplinary character elevated its profile during the Enlightenment. Merchants relying on favourable trade winds, armed forces depending on accurate topography when mounting military campaigns and intellectuals, curious and enticed by the titillating value of knowledge of the furthest and darkest realms, all utilised geography in various ways.

The dialogue between self and other was effectively that between civilised and primitive, the crucible of civilised society being the city. Moreover cities, as the bastions of civilization, necessarily had to be beautiful and ordered. As visual records returned, presenting untamed 'natives' to the mannerly, so there was a growing concern about the presentation of self and its perception by others. The primacy ascribed to the senses was a mainstay of Enlightenment thought, originating in the work of John Locke. Locke argued that nothing could subsist mentally, if it had not first been processed through the senses. The perpetual kind of change that occurred in the external world was unable to compete with the immeasurable diversity of the human brain. Therefore man was not restricted by his natural surroundings but had the capacity to master and subsume creation. The emphasis, however, did not lie with passive surveying but with active reconnoitring. Each physical step through the terrain was matched by intellectual observations be it in words on the page, scientific

⁴⁵ Withers, "Notes Toward a Historical Geography...", note 26.

experiments or the visitor's narration of foreign lands. Inherent in this study was a specific method:

... the rhetorical emphasis on visual experience hid the manner in which the geographical traveler [sic] engaged in *reasoned* observation. Reason dictated the selection of phenomena to be examined, and reason guided the classification in situ of each phenomenon ... All reconnaissance accounts, even the traveler's notebook, were constructed documents...⁴⁶

It was not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that maps of Glasgow were produced on a scale large enough to warrant comparable examination. Through these, however, a mode of constructed reason, which echoed that found in Slezer, became evident.

The nature of James Barrie's (fl. 1734-89) maps and clientele reflected the changing features of Enlightenment Glasgow. Employed by both wealthy private financiers and the municipal authorities, Barrie charted Glasgow's westward expansion, as new streets became the hallmark of merchants' wealth. Moreover, he played a principal role in the formation of Glasgow's physical appearance, especially the St Enoch's Square and Ramshorn areas, the latter being acquired by the Council in light of the swelling population. Despite regular commissions from the Council, it was not until 1773 that he was formally employed as the surveyor and measurer of Glasgow, with duties for the creation and maintenance of streets. He was replaced by his assistant John Gardner (fl. 1785-1822) whose business advertisement testified to the use of "Electrical Machines with all their apparatus, Perspective Machines, and Camera

⁴⁶ M.E. Edney, "Reconsidering Enlightenment Geography and Mapmaking" in Livingstone and Withers (eds), *Geography and Enlightenment*, 177.

Obscuras",⁴⁷ all of which emphasised the objective, scientific credentials of the discipline.

Gardner was to be the last town surveyor, but his and Barrie's work provided a valuable precedent for the individual surveyors who followed. With the rapidly growing urban environment, cartographers' work was frequently revised and this was accompanied by an outpouring of texts recording the city's civic history and achievements. These texts often incorporated maps as an aid, albeit that the map might not necessarily be recent. John Moore has noted:

More frequently, plans were being produced for specific purposes, with a marked shift away from civic display. Two particular trends can be seen. In the first case is a regular appearance of relatively small illustrations in guide books and, later, histories of the city in line with the gradual interest in tourist literature, often relying on an earlier depiction for the basic city layout ... Contemporaneous with these was a series of larger-scale representations produced for distinct administrative, transport or planning purposes.⁴⁸

The utilisation of earlier maps was itself an indicator of a desire to control and understand urban territory. As the city grew, so it became more complex and challenging to negotiate. Thus, beyond aesthetic reasons, by presenting an earlier, less complex view the anxious traveller could be placated. Contrary to Moore's initial assertion that there was a move away from civic display, it is possible to detect in some of the maps of the period a distinctive move toward that very sentiment. Where this is present, however, is not in the map itself, but in the illustrated cartouche.

A Plan of the City of Glasgow (1797) by James Denholm (1772-1818) was engraved by Robert Scott (1771-1841) to accompany Chapman, Stewart and Meikle's

⁴⁷ *Glasgow Journal*, no.1678, 2-9 September 1773 as cited in Moore, *Maps of Glasgow*, 15. As Moore noted, this linked him to the technical developments of James Watt who had designed perspective machines in his capacity as mathematical instrument maker to the University of Glasgow.

⁴⁸ Moore, *Maps of Glasgow*, 16.

An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs 1797 and 1798. Denholm was a miniaturist and landscape painter who, by 1802, was advertising the teaching of geography and associated subjects at his Academy. In ensuing years he was to instruct in “principles of perspective, the drawing of machinery...”,⁴⁹ thereby demonstrating the layered discourse between art and cartography. The advertisement for the publication of the book declared that “to render this Work still more valuable, it will be ornamented with a new and accurate map ... engraved in a superior style from correct drawings taken on purpose for this publication.”⁵⁰ The emphasis premised on the exactitude of the map was in accordance with the Enlightenment need for classification and systematic, scientific observation. The map was founded on this integrity and accordingly the cartouche reiterated its calibre, bearing the words ‘from a survey’ [4]. Surmounting the cartouche was the city emblem, a standard feature on maps, and the curtailed motto ‘Let Glasgow Flourish’, whilst on either side the means by which it could prosper – trade. Beneath the oval, Denholm placed an anchor that pointed towards barrels on the quay where a ship was berthed whilst another, with billowed sail, embarked on its journey. On the map itself, boats were congregated at the Broomielaw, the principal trading area. Similarly, an anonymous map of 1790 had a cartouche with two fully rigged ships and Denholm’s 1804 Plan of the City of Glasgow went on to show nine ships standing at that harbour.⁵¹ The impression conveyed, therefore, was one of a commercially thriving city whose chief asset was its river.

⁴⁹ Moore, *Maps of Glasgow*, 16.

⁵⁰ *Glasgow Courier*, no. 839, 7 January 1797 as cited in Moore, *Maps of Glasgow*, 48.

⁵¹ Anon., Plan of the City of Glasgow from an Actual Survey 1790 in *Jones’s Directory, or, Useful Pocket Companion, for the year 1791*, Glasgow 1790-91, 36.5x54.4cm; J. Denholm (artist), R. Scott (engraver), A Plan of the City of Glasgow from a Survey, in 1804 frontispiece to J. Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs* (3rd ed.), Glasgow 1804, 17.7x28.5cm.

Whereas the map of 1797 was deemed sufficient enough to be repeated in Scott's frontispiece to the *Glasgow Directory* of 1801, the cartouche was altered to reflect the perception of Glasgow as both historic and advancing.⁵² This indicated a need to mediate between the present and the past, to show that the existing city was built on sure foundations that would only aid its current or future prosperity. Before a rock-face two fishermen, symbolic of old Glasgow, were shown pulling their catch. Beyond stood the Old Bridge, Merchants' Steeple and South Bridge-gait, all of which were created as a result of the wealth produced by the city and its river. This combination of a rock face - connoting permanence, firmly established in the environment and bearing a certain pictorial quality - and civic promotion had a precedent in John McArthur's *Plan of the City of Glasgow: Gorbells and Caltoun* (1778).⁵³ Here, an ornamental title sketch that featured the Cathedral, Deans Manse and Castle Ruins was placed on a decorated rock face. By the 1840s this method of promoting a particular aspect of the city's character through map illustrations had developed to the extent that J. & D. Nichol's *Plan of Glasgow (1841)* [5] surrendered the mapping of the city south of Bedford Street to three oval illustrations: Jamaica Street and harbour, the Justiciary Building and the Hunterian Museum.⁵⁴ The mental picture being painted was of a city with commercial enterprise, justice and culture. The countless ships that were anchored in the harbour indicated the extent to which trade had come to dominate the economic constitution of Glasgow, however dark smoke in the background hinted at the heavy industries that were assuming prominence.

⁵² R. Scott, *A Plan of the City of Glasgow from Actual Survey* frontispiece to W. McFeat (comp.), *The Glasgow Directory*, Glasgow 1801, 17x28cm.

⁵³ J. McArthur (artist), A. Baillie and J. Lumsden (engravers), *Plan of the City of Glasgow: Gorbells and Caltoun, from an Actual Survey*, Glasgow 1778, 45.5x60cm. Glasgow University Library.

⁵⁴ J. & D. Nichol, *Plan of Glasgow*, in J. & D. Nichol *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty One Views, with Explanatory Remarks, Plan of the City...*, Montrose 1841.

In "Maps, Knowledge, and Power", J.B. Harley acknowledged the significance of additional illustrations:

Decorative title pages, lettering, cartouches, vignettes, dedications, compass roses, all of which may incorporate motifs from the wider vocabulary of artistic expression, helped to strengthen and focus the political meanings of maps on which they appeared.⁵⁵

Although not official documents, the intention that these maps be regarded as truthful representations of Glasgow was evident in their announcing that they were the result of an actual survey. Despite allusions to Glasgow's religious roots, the overriding perception was civic and mercantile. Officially commissioned maps did exist for surveying, planning and transport purposes. Although often lacking elaborate cartouches, the dialogue between these maps and the others in historical or topographical literature resulted in all maps being viewed as replications of the real world and it was hoped that the cartouches would be read with the same conviction.

Edney argued:

The eighteenth century is widely regarded as the formative period for modern cartography. It was supposedly during the 1700s that map making was purged of its "artistic" components to leave a strictly "scientific" practice. The art/science dichotomy is, however, a false distinction promoted by Modernity's pervasive scientism. Modern culture grants maps a privileged status as objective bearers of truth ... The current, critical reevaluation [sic] of cartography seeks to break down the false distinctions between maps and texts (broadly construed) and to reconfigure maps as complex, negotiated, and ideological representations.⁵⁶

Although maps within historical accounts or travel guides were also sold separately, whether consumed as individual works or in the context of a historical description, the image of Glasgow that was given was always positive. Full harbours and loads of cargo

⁵⁵ Harley, "Maps Knowledge and power", 297.

⁵⁶ Edney, "Reconsidering Enlightenment...", 165.

signalled thriving trade, either for the pride of present traders, to tempt potential investors or for the intimidation of competitors. Meanwhile, representations of the architecture and physical fabric of the town furnished the claims of trading prowess with tangible evidence of wealth. Rather than being simple representational devices, these maps were constructed to provide and promote a particular characterisation of the city.

Thus, during the Enlightenment period a complex dialogue emerged between art and science with regard to city representation. Slezer, from the background of surveying, produced, using scientific implements, an artistic representation of Scotland and similarly maps of the period were produced 'from an actual survey' whilst displaying propagandist cartouches. By basing representation in science, the impression of the civic, ordered and architecturally magnificent city was afforded additional accreditation that could only have been supported by the increase in scientific knowledge and teaching. Whereas Slezer did not find demand for his publication great, the increase in travel literature began to yield a wider market in which city images could take their place. A particular perception of Glasgow was being constructed through maps and this was to be paralleled by representations of streets and buildings that often accompanied maps in travel or historical guides. The foundations for their contrived depiction can be detected in the earliest body of images that depicted Glasgow, those of the Foulis Academy.

The Foulis Academy and Glasgow Enlightenment Philosophy

Writing of the College in 1758, the traveller and topographer Henry Penruddock Wyndham (1736-1819) observed:

But the chief ornament of the Town is the College. It consists of 3 neat Courts & has a pretty front towards the street. The members of the College are 16 Professors & about 300 students. Here is no Chapell or common Hall as at Oxford for the Students to attend, but ev'ry member dines and lodges where he pleases, & is only expected at present to be present at the proper Lectures. Over the entrance of this College in a long Room is an extraordinary good collection of all the best old Painter's pictures. Painting is very much encourag'd here, for there is a school on purpose for it, another for Sculpture & another for Engraving.⁵⁷

Only five years prior to Wyndham's visit, the College students-turned-booksellers, Robert (1707-76) and Andrew Foulis (1712-75), had established the eponymous Foulis Academy. Robert began business in 1741, encouraged by Professor Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) and after visiting some of France's finest libraries. The acquisition of his own printing press the following year enabled him to start printing books, including several by Hutcheson, John Locke and *The Art of Land-measuring Explained* (1757) by John Gray, a teacher of mathematics in Greenock.⁵⁸ The brothers then founded their Academy of Art in 1753. Hook and Sher felt the brothers' achievement "was to translate into print culture the values of the classical, aesthetic, moralistic, Hutchesonian Enlightenment in Glasgow."⁵⁹ It is possible to argue, however, that the influence of Hutcheson was not only expressed in the texts of the Foulis press but also that Hutchesonian philosophy underlay the representation of Glasgow produced by students at the Foulis Academy. Uniting Enlightenment philosophy and artistic philanthropy, their perceptions of the townscape demonstrated how the constructed character of maps was to permeate into architectural studies and street scenes and reveal the urban environment as more than just a physical space.

⁵⁷ H.P. Wyndham, letter to father, 25 July 1758 as cited in Hook and Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, East Lothian 1995, 10 note 19.

⁵⁸ For further information see P. Gaskell *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press*, London 1964.

⁵⁹ Hook and Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 13.

Amidst the Enlightenment dialogue of figures such as Addison and Locke regarding cognition, imagination and the senses – especially the value of sight – Hutcheson emerged as the leading exponent in Glasgow of ideas relating to perception and the senses. In his essay *A Sense of Beauty* (c.1738)⁶⁰ he expostulated that as well as the normal five senses there was an additional sense of beauty. When evaluating what made something beautiful, Hutcheson proposed that “The figures which excite in us the ideas of beauty, seem to be those in which there is uniformity amidst diversity.”⁶¹ Although Hutcheson illustrated his point with reference to geometrical shapes, he proceeded to argue that a fine face was more pleasing to the eye than a view of a solitary colour and that greater pleasure would be aroused when viewing a setting sun colouring the clouds, a good landscape or a regular building than with a blue sky, calm sea or open expanse with few forests or buildings. Similarly, in nature Hutcheson determined “a surprising uniformity amidst an almost infinite variety.”⁶² Enlightenment thinkers felt that a key tenet of society should be free will, the ability to think freely and discuss ideas openly, but that this should operate within a larger structure of order. In other words, a citizen had the right to dispute a law in the public forum but was still bound to adhere to its ruling. Analogous to this was the sense that, in nature, there were many different species but an over-reaching sense of uniformity could be obtained through their cognate structures. Hutcheson explained: “This is the beauty which charms an ingenious botanist.”⁶³

Having focussed on nature, Hutcheson then turned his attention toward works of art:

⁶⁰ From *An Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, in two treatises...*, 4th ed., Glasgow 1738.

⁶¹ F. Hutcheson in *A Sense of Beauty* as cited in Brodie *The Scottish Enlightenment: an anthology*, Edinburgh 1997, 210.

⁶² Hutcheson, *A Sense of Beauty*, 211.

⁶³ Hutcheson, *A Sense of Beauty*, 213.

As to the works of art, were we to run through the various artificial contrivances or structures, we should constantly find the foundation of the beauty which appears in them, to be some kind of uniformity, or unity of proportion among the parts, and of each part to the whole. As there is a great diversity of proportions possible, and different kinds of uniformity, so there is room enough for that diversity of fancys observable in architecture, gardening and such-like arts in different nations; they too may have uniformity, though the parts in one may differ from those in another. The Chinese or Persian buildings are not like the Grecian and Roman, and yet the former has uniformity of the various parts to each other, and to the whole, as well as the latter.⁶⁴

Thus there was the need for divergence in nature and cultural life, the daring to be different, to think and be independent but at the same time that should correspond to the larger order of things be it law or creation. Hutcheson posited the idea that an individual could look at the 'parts' but from them abstract an idea or the essential features that related to the 'whole.' This would ensure its beauty.

Man in his design and construction of architectural features, buildings or monuments, should recognise and reflect this theory in order for the result to be beautiful. There was no need, however, for the artist to slavishly follow styles and Hutcheson acknowledged that the nature of commissions or their intended purpose might necessitate a move from preconceived notions of beauty:

Concerning that kind of comparative beauty which has a necessary relation to some established idea, we may observe, that some works of art acquire a distinct beauty by their correspondence to some universally supposed intention in the artificer, or the persons who employed him: and to obtain this beauty, sometimes they do not form their works so as to retain the highest perfection of original beauty separately considered; because a composition of this relative beauty, along with some degree of the original kind, may give more pleasure, than a more perfect original beauty separately. Thus we see, that strict regularity in laying out of gardens in parterres, vistas, parallel walks, is often neglected, to obtain an imitation of nature even in some of its wildernesses. And we are more pleased with this imitation, especially when the scene is large and spacious, than with the more confined exactness of regular works.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Hutcheson, *A Sense of Beauty*, 219-220.

⁶⁵ Hutcheson, *A Sense of Beauty*, 222.

So, in order to create a beautiful work of art, the artist must acknowledge the variety of parts available but compound them into a structure or scene that recognised their overarching affinity. The painter should use initiative and free thinking to create a work suited for its ends and there was no need to rigidly adhere to prototypes. Just as the widening of intellect and promotion of freethinking loosened dependency on classical models in philosophy so a parallel developed in art. It was through this divergence that the potential for new subject matter, such as the city, arose.

Hutcheson's ideas were to be developed by other philosophers, most notably David Hume (1711-76) who echoed Hutcheson in his *Of the Standard of Taste* (c.1757):

In all the nobler productions of genius, there is a mutual relation and correspondence of parts; nor can either the beauties or blemishes be perceived by him, whose thought is not capacious enough to comprehend all those parts, and compare them with each other, in order to perceive the consistence and uniformity of the whole. Every work of art has also a certain end or purpose, for which it is calculated ...⁶⁶

Hume advocated attention to detail as a means to hone the visual sensibility and heighten the intellect and, yet again, importance was placed on the ability to recognise the 'uniformity of the whole.' Additionally, in *The Craft of Painting* (c.1764),⁶⁷ Thomas Reid (1710-96) defined the artist's duty as painting what was seen rather than what was known about an object and, consequently, leaving the marks on the two-dimensional surface for the viewer to interpret. The mind of the viewer would then bring meaning to the work:

Hence it happens, that the mind passes over it [the visible figure] with a rapid motion to attend to the things signified by it. It is as unnatural to the mind to stop at the visible figure, and attend to it, as it is to a spherical body to stop

⁶⁶ D. Hume, *Of the Standard of Taste* as cited in Brodie *The Scottish Enlightenment*, 256.

⁶⁷ From *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1765.

upon an inclined plane. There is an inward principle, which constantly carries it forward ...⁶⁸

Therefore, the facets of perception, the capacity to rationalise between individual parts and the uniformity of the whole and the ability of the mind to interpret were all philosophical precepts related specifically to art. The prominence placed on cognition and discernment was to be personified through the indifferent bystander.

The Enlightened detached observer, an interesting precursor to modernity's *fâneur*, was implicit in many texts by leading writers of the time. Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) contributed a series of letters to 'The Idler', a weekly collection of essays in the *Universal Chronicle* whose very title conveys the idea of casual surveillance.⁶⁹ The third of these essays was a meditation on beauty. He began by stating that if it were possible to show that the Italian Masters' principles were founded on reason, this would lead to a discovery of the origin of Enlightenment society's ideas on beauty.⁷⁰ These ideas were to be developed in his highly influential series of *Discourses* delivered at the Royal Academy from 1769, the year after its founding.

This was predated, however, by a relationship between philosophy and Glasgow's Academy of Art. The theories of Francis Hutcheson had a direct influence on the images of Glasgow produced by the Foulis Academy. Philosophical ideas regarding beauty, the relation of parts to a whole and, more importantly, the notion of a detached observer were integral to Foulis Academy portrayals of Glasgow. Moreover, they signalled that images of the city, rather than being worthless

⁶⁸ T. Reid, "Visible Appearance and Painting", *The Craft of Painting* as cited in Brodie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, 276.

⁶⁹ Harrison et al., *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, 532-533.

⁷⁰ J. Reynolds, *The Idler*, 82, 10 November 1759 as cited in Harrison et al., *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, 536-538.

characterisations, could be significant and imbued with philosophic import. Whether this would endear them to the art market, however, remained to be seen.

The *Glasgow Journal* of August 30th 1755 advertised:

The PUBLIC SCHOOL for the ART of DESIGN and DRAWING in all its branches, will be opened in the College, as formerly, on the 10th of November next, at six in the evening. Besides the usual academic course, young gentlemen are instructed in drawing of *landscapes*, and whatever regards *architecture* and *ornaments* of every kind with a view to render this accomplishment useful in the future business of their lives, whether they chance to be brought up in the army, navy, or apply themselves to the study of manufactures, or arts. As this kind of knowledge is deservedly esteemed a part of liberal education, drawings, pictures, and prints of the principal masters in all the schools, will be regularly exhibited in order to form a true taste, and to give them, a perfect idea of the rise, progress, and perfection of the FINE ARTS, and the peculiar excellences that distinguish each school...⁷¹

This announcement acknowledged the importance of art to the more scientific pursuits of the military or mechanics, whilst also including the natural and architectural components already observed in the theories of Hutcheson. The precise meaning of 'architecture' in this context is unknown – Foulis could have been referring to the vocational training of architects or the copying of classical architecture from the vast collection of prints gathered by the brothers on their journeys abroad. What is undeniable, however, is that the students of the Academy, principally Robert Paul (1739-70), produced an extensive series of plates that illustrated Glasgow's architecture and townscape. An early View of Glasgow Cathedral (c.1760) [6] in the Academy's portfolio showed the Cathedral built from a series of geometric forms. In addition, the accompanying haystacks were clearly constructed from compartmentalised shapes and in an ordered formation. This paralleled Hutcheson's idea of beauty residing in the simple arrangement of shapes constituting and

⁷¹ Foulis Academy Advertisement, *Glasgow Journal*, 30 August 1755 as cited in J. Holloway *James Tassie 1735-1799*, Edinburgh 1986, 5.

contributing to the overall scene. It is an indication of how Hutcheson's theories can be discerned in the Academy's work representing Glasgow. This was to become more notable, however, through the adoption of a distanced observer.

The series of engravings entitled *Glasgow Views 1756-1770*, acknowledged the Academy's debt to Slezer's through the reproduction of his work. Alongside this influence, those of Dutch artists and the work of Canaletto (1697-1768), who had produced views of London during his extended stay there from 1746 until around 1756, must be kept in mind. Following in their footsteps, the Foulis engraving *A View of Glasgow from the South West (1764)* [7] surveyed Glasgow from across the Clyde, with the city distanced and compacted in a controllable manner. At this time the shallowness of the Clyde, which remained to be deepened, stood in contrast to its breadth, which pushed the city into the depth of the visual field. Framed by hills, Glasgow shared its aspect with a peaceful, medieval town. Contemporary accounts, however, countered this impression, referring to the city as "a perfect bee-hive in point of industry."⁷² Moreover, John Gibson pointed to 1750 as the moment of change whereby "a spirit of industry and activity has been raised and now pervades every order of men; commerce has been increased, manufactures have been carried on to a considerable extent, and they are still extending..."⁷³ This apparent difference between the material reality of the city and its visual representation may have been due to the aesthetic climate.

In his *Discourse III*, Joshua Reynolds spoke of the need for artists to make nature's 'imperfect state ... more perfect' in the pursuit of Ideal Beauty.⁷⁴

⁷² T. Smollet, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, T. R. Preston (ed.), Athens 1990, 238-239.

⁷³ J. Gibson, *The History of Glasgow from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, Glasgow 1777, 115.

⁷⁴ J. Reynolds, *Discourse III*, 14 December 1770, as cited in Harrison et al., *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, 651.

Contemporaneously, William Gilpin (1724-1804) published an essay on what was needed to make a print beautiful. Echoing Hutcheson, Gilpin wrote:

A Painting, or picture, is distinguished from a print only by the colouring, and the manner of execution. In other respects, the foundation of beauty is the same in both; and we consider a print as we do a picture, in a double light, with regard to the *whole*, and with regard to its *parts*. ... To make a print agreeable as a *whole*, a just observance of those rules is necessary, which relate to *design, disposition, keeping*, and the *distribution of light*; to make it agreeable in its *parts*, of those which relate to *drawing, expression, grace, and perspective*.⁷⁵

If this is taken into consideration alongside Edmund Burke's (1729-97) musings on small objects being beautiful rather than the vast, which were sublime and a source of fear, then the depiction of Glasgow on a smaller scale with attention to detail rendered it beautiful and safe.⁷⁶ Rather than overload the viewer with a specific visual account, however, the scene was composed in a rational manner. The artist extracted the necessary detail to ensure that Glasgow was recognisable and then placed this in the context of the overall view, which resulted in a pleasing prospect. The enclosure of the city prevented the vastness subsuming the viewer and therefore sublime awe was kept at bay. Thus, the failure to encompass the full hectic atmosphere could have been in an attempt to beautify the scene in order to produce a more marketable work of art, in vogue with prevailing aesthetic taste.

Moreover, Reynolds ascribed the artist's ability to "distinguish the accidental deficiencies" and produce "an abstract idea of their forms more perfect than any one original" to "works of genius."⁷⁷ The inference was, therefore, that artists who could perceive these things and viewers who could comprehend them were of a certain

⁷⁵ W. Gilpin 'The Principles of Painting considered, so far as they relate to prints', London 1768, (originally published anonymously) as cited in Harrison et al., *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, 821.

⁷⁶ E. Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, 1757 as cited in Harrison and Wood, *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, 516-526.

⁷⁷ J. Reynolds, *Discourse III*, 653.

intellectual standing. So, depicting the city in this manner, retaining its identifiable features whilst providing a pleasing prospect overall, accredited the artist and patron of urban imagery with this intellectual insight and elevated the status of the city accordingly. Despite the fact that the *Views* prefigure some of this philosophic insight, it is possible to see them keying into the kind of aesthetic ideology of which Reynolds was soon to write. In addition, the introduction of the city through a gesture, similar to that in Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik (1792) by Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823),⁷⁸ allied the depiction of the cityscape to landscape painting, in this instance that which surveyed estates. It should be acknowledged, however, that this was also a standard feature in Dutch city views. As well as overtones of prestige, this rendered the city visually innocuous and presented it in a manner conducive to the tastes of its patrons. Although eager to generate an artistic sensibility within Glasgow, the Academy relied heavily on sponsorship from local merchants and it was by appealing to their sensibilities that it could ensure its future. This was apparent in the composition and subject matter of their *Glasgow Views*.

In promoting the mutual interests of Glasgow and its patrons, the Academy produced A View of Port Glasgow from the South East (1762: also known as Tobacco Fleet at Port Glasgow) [8].⁷⁹ Between 1741 and 1771 annual tobacco imports increased from eight million to forty-seven million pounds, excluding amounts obtained by illicit means. Glasgow's position on the west coast meant that merchant vessels could more readily sail to the colonies and by the 1760s the city had taken its place at the forefront of tobacco dealing, principally through the activities of the Cunninghame, Spiers and Glassford companies. John Glassford (1715-83) and his brothers-in-law,

⁷⁸ H. Raeburn, Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik (1792), oil on canvas, 145x206cm, National Gallery of Ireland.

⁷⁹ For latter title see Maver, *Glasgow*, 19/illustration 6.

two other notable merchants, Archibald Ingram (1704-70) and John Coats Campbell (1721-1804) were the main financiers of the Academy. In this context, the full harbour of Port Glasgow promoted the success of their commercial enterprise, whilst the clear delineation and order of the scene was in keeping with artistic taste. The wealth generated from the tobacco trade nourished other industries in which the Tobacco Lords⁸⁰ had interests, for example sugar and rum processing. Despite the American Revolution of 1775, diversified tobacco trade through the Caribbean only aided the expansion of these industries. In light of this, the Foulis depiction of the thriving harbour was purposeful in presenting an emphatically positive impression of trade.

On the hill overlooking the port the artist depicted himself and his companion, who again directed attention towards the principal subject matter – the fleet. In both this and the view from the south, the viewer situated within the frame and those without were distanced from the intended focus of the piece. The reason for this can be found in Hutcheson's teachings. T. P Miller explained:

The ability to distance oneself from the event and appraise its larger order and harmony is fundamental to Hutcheson's basic conception of rational social action ... the disengaged, objective perspective becomes the privileged vantage point of enlightenment reason and the sciences generally, this perspective assumes that one can and should divorce oneself from the practical situation in order to make an objective rational judgement.⁸¹

This was compounded by the artist's inclusion of himself, as this enhanced the impression that the scene was encountered at first-hand. Although Hutcheson was talking specifically about the mechanics of society on a more fundamental level this idea permeated in to Enlightenment images, which became characterised by distanced

⁸⁰ Term used to refer to Glasgow's principal tobacco traders.

⁸¹ T.P. Miller, 'Francis Hutcheson and the Civic Humanist Tradition' in Hook and Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 50.

observation. In discussing early legal systems, Hutcheson stressed the significance of 'disengaged' 'arbitrators' who were able to make a rational and objective judgement. Consequently the larger public would be able to see "the order, grandeur, regular dispositions and motions of the visible world."⁸² Thus, distance would enable the viewer not only to make a rational judgement but also perceive the overall effect of the uniting of constituent parts. Additionally, the means used to stress the accuracy of the scene, be it a cartouche or the embodiment of the artist within the view, perpetuated the impression of a witnessed and therefore reliable account. However, it is important to recognise that these images were, in fact, subtly and eloquently persuasive in presenting a specific aspect of city life – in this instance, the hustle of a trading port was relegated in preference for a majestic view of the large tobacco fleet.

Tobacco was not, however, the only trade. Textile and internal industries were beginning to prosper and this necessitated improved means of transport and communication. The integral function of the river was recognised in Clyde: A Poem (1764) by John Wilson (1720-89):

As shines the moon among the heav'nly fires,
GLASGOW unrivall'd lifts her lofty spires.
Her num'rous fleets to distant regions run
Beyond the rising or the setting sun;
And from her various coasts collected, draw
The costly spoils of rich America.
Or with the wealth of sultry Indies stow'd,
Return triumphant, thro' the wat'ry road.
CLYDE's ample bosom labours with the freight,
And deeply groans below the precious weight.
For Commerce, glorious with her golden crown,
Has mark'd far GLASGOW for her fav'rite town.
She makes her sumptuous edifices thrive,
And merchants rich in princely splendour live.
Extends her spacious streets on ev'ry side ...⁸³

⁸² Hutcheson *Works*. For a detailed analysis see T.P. Miller 'Francis Hutcheson...' 48-50.

⁸³ John Wilson Clyde: A Poem as cited Whyte (ed.), *Mungo's Tongues*, 29.

The fortune reaped by the river, therefore, nurtured and defined the very fabric of the town. Just as the harbour and river became key pictorial means of representing the wealth and prosperity of Glasgow, so the means of traversing the Clyde, the bridge, was a multifaceted symbol. After the city had come to terms with the failure of the Darien scheme⁸⁴ and effects of Union, trade generally prospered and the number of bridges grew. Just as the bridge had been one of the first indicators of commercial expansion so its pictorial significance increased as Glasgow flourished.

In many cases a bridge spanned the space between the viewer and the distanced city. As well as demonstrating the expanding environment, this also placed the river at the forefront of Glasgow images, as in Denholm and Scott's View of Glasgow from the South (1797) from *The History of Glasgow and Suburbs (1797)* [9]. In accordance with the old adage 'Glasgow made the Clyde and the Clyde made Glasgow', control of the river was integral to Glasgow's rise from mercantile to industrial renown. Moreover, the proliferation of figures, especially two in the foreground shaking hands as if to greet or conclude a business deal, began to typify the cityscape as a physical, social and commercial entity. In order for the viewer not to be overwhelmed by the haste and quickness of commerce, however, the viewpoint was again distanced and raised, so that an authoritative opinion could be formed.

The bridge signified the advancement of technology and a feat of man's ingenuity in overcoming nature. As a structure it was exposed and intriguing, dominating and transforming its setting. It denoted permanence and yet possessed the value of directional movement, both in its arches and for the traveller. When situated at the fore of compositions with the mouth opening toward the viewer, as in Denholm

⁸⁴ The Scots were eager to stake their claim to a place amongst high-ranking colonialists and Glaswegians invested around £56,000 sterling in the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies which aimed to establish a colony at Darien (Panama). Due to pressure from England and Spain, however, the scheme failed and the nation incurred substantial financial loss.

and Scott's view, the bridge became authoritative and there was a sense of predetermination in the path that should be taken. The bridge's gaping gateway lured the viewer toward the city and disguised the fact that it was also a means of escape. The potential of a variety of views through arches was not, however, exploited to a great extent by Glasgow artists. Instead, emphasis tended to be placed on busy trading on the near bank. The bridge became a device to symbolise exchange. As the process of industrialisation continued, artists began to move within Glasgow and the street corner became another place to typify the business character of the city. The bridge became a device through which the city could be distanced and yet an invitation could be given to enter. As a means of distanced observation, it replaced the artist's companion whilst providing additional opportunity to exalt Glasgow's architectural and commercial standing.

Just as the interest in social and economic exchange was to move representations within the city, so was nature. The Enlightenment's concern with nature was primarily scientific and in illustrations it acted as a means of distancing the city and a device to enable reasoned observation. It situated Glasgow safely within the rural environment whilst simultaneously defending the viewer from the increasingly crowded and industrial habitat. The formation of botanic gardens in Glasgow and Edinburgh demonstrated the value of plants for medical purposes. In addition, increased interest in local flora and fauna furthered the examination of natural forms. As early as 1793 Reverend David Ure published floristic records of Clydeside and this was followed by a host of publications including *Flora Scotica* (1821) by Regius Professor William J. Hooker and Reverend William Patrick's *Popular Description of the Indigenous Plants of Lanarkshire* (1831). The Foulis brothers would have known of the wealth of publications on the Continent relating to Botany. Glasgow University

acquired several texts to support the teaching of Botany, which had blossomed there since 1704. These included Paul Hermann's illustrations of plants in Leiden's botanical garden entitled *Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi catalogus* (1687), Jan Commelin's *Horti medici Amstelodamensis rariorum...plantarum...descriptio et icones* (1697-1701), which described plants from European colonies, and *Curtis's Botanical magazine* (1787), which was to be edited by W.J. Hooker, Professor of Botany at Glasgow University.

It is not surprising then, that nature was prominent in the foreground of both the Slezer and Foulis topographical images. This attention to detail enhanced the impression of an actual scene and served to situate the viewer in a safe, rural environment. Undoubtedly this was partially for pictorial effect, still it arguably performed a more decisive function. In the Foulis Academy's View of Glasgow from the South (1758) [10] the viewer was situated on the bank of the river but given no means to traverse it apart from a distant bridge that was not readily accessible. The darkened bank diagonally dissected the image leaving the viewer distanced and able to control without being immersed in the city. It is interesting to note that as Glasgow became industrialised, this device was used more often. *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* (1828) by Joseph Swan (1796-1872) exemplified this: View of Glasgow from the Farm of Shields (1828) [11] and View of Cathedral and Royal Infirmary from Fife Mills (1828) [12] both revealed their rural standpoint in their titles. Hutcheson had advocated diversity within uniformity and accordingly figures strolled and reclined amidst a variety of plants. In the background, however, the urban environment was devoid of natural or human habitation. Smoke indicated the presence of the industries that were to profoundly change the topography of Glasgow. The attention to botanical detail and its placement at the forefront of the composition situated Glasgow

in a rural context whilst distancing, but recognising, the signifiers of industrial expansion.

Although seemingly directing their images for a specific market and constructing them in accordance with aesthetic taste, for the Foulis Academy the marriage of printing and artistic endeavours was not a happy one. Their success, if it ever existed, was short-lived and the closure of the Academy cast into doubt the existence of a clientele not solely for urban imagery, as the Academy's output was much more wide-ranging, but for art in Scotland. The reliance on subscription was often fraught with uncertainty, as indicated by Mr Harvock, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, when he wrote: "My Lady will be glad to see your prints when finished; but I cannot help thinking that my Lord is of my opinion, that a correct and well-printed Book would be more agreeable to us than anything else."⁸⁵ Concurrently, Sir John Dalrymple warned Foulis:

If all this should succeed to our wishes, I suppose, my dear Robert, you will think that the whole country of Scotland rises in your cause, but let me tell you, and let it make some impression upon you, that you are greatly mistaken. With all the fine names that you see at this Paper, I assure you that the motives of the Subscribers need by no means encourage you. Some give their money, because they are vain to do it; others because they are ashamed not to do it: Many repent the moment they had done it. Some subscribe out of regard to me, and others merely because they were teased; and of all this subscription which you say flatters you so much, there are not five men who would give Ten Pounds to save you from the Gallows or the Academia from the flames; for which reason I do earnestly beseech you to retrench your Scheme and expence, instead of extending it upon the hopes of the good will of your countrymen; for take my word for it again, very few of them give one farthing either for the fine arts or for you...⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Mr Harvock to Robert Foulis, 20 December 1753 as cited in R. Duncan, *Notices and Documents Illustrative of The Literary History of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1831, 19-20.

⁸⁶ Sir John Dalrymple to Robert Foulis, dated 1 December 1757 as cited in Duncan, *Notices and Documents*, 24-25.

It was clear that there were serious problems that needed to be addressed before a venture like the Academy could succeed. The ability to value and appreciate art needed to be nurtured if the success of projects reliant on subscription was to be assured. It was perhaps because of this that urban imagery found its feet in the form of travelogue illustrations, in other words, contained within a more marketable product. Nevertheless, through these images it is possible to explore the ways in which psychology and philosophy affected urban imagery.

In topographical cityscapes, there was a move from civic promotion toward commercial enterprise, both of which shared common ground. The role and impression conveyed to the observer was paramount in providing a credible statement that would enhance civic prestige and highlight entrepreneurial endeavours. The majority of travelogue illustrations were engravings: their linearity and reproductive property suited the urban environment and their clarity, legibility and mass production meant that they appealed to a wide audience. The relationship between the city and nature showed an unbalanced interdependency which was acknowledged by the artist who, whilst promoting the city and its character, constructed scenes through means of negotiation, distance and defence. As the internal fabric of the town became that of a city, artists moved their territorial mediations within its confines. In scenes of streets and buildings, the continued use of distanced observation and purposely constructed depictions were evident but became more problematic as the city evolved into a social space. The nature of this social interaction came under the scrutiny of artists and philosophers alike.

Buildings, Streets and Spaces

Commenting again on Glasgow, Wyndham extolled:

Glasgow ... is a large, handsome and populous city. The streets are strait, very broad & long; the houses are lofty & uniform and well built with good stone. I never saw any Town in England, for such fine & elegant streets as run immediately from the Market place to the Four Points. The lower stories near the Market place are supported with Piazzas in the manner of Covent Garden. The public Edifices are very handsome such as the Guild hall, & several good Hospitalls ... A vast deal of Trade is carried on here, & the streets are as much crowded by Passengers as they are about Charing Cross in London.⁸⁷

Wyndham was not alone in praising Glasgow's architectural beauty and structural cohesion. Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) epitomised Glasgow as "the cleanest and beautifullest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted...".⁸⁸ Edmund Burt went further in saying "Glasgow is, to outward appearance, the prettiest and most uniform town that I ever saw; and I believe that there is nothing like it in Britain."⁸⁹ Focusing on streets and public buildings, these writers conveyed a verbal image that was emulated in the arts. These were not, however, simple acts of praise. Images within the city became characterised by a series of territorial negotiations of wealth and control. Implicit within the depictions was recognition of patronage and, thus, images were constructed to reflect particular facets of society.

As noted in Wilson's poem, the repercussions of commerce filtered into the very fabric of the city. Buildings became a means for merchants to accent their wealth and for the municipal authorities to fashion Glasgow's veneer. The edifices projected in visual representations and on maps emphasised the duality of Glasgow's religious foundations and new mercantile character. Although the latter assumed prominence, the former could not be fully assuaged. The layered peculiarity of the city, with abiding

⁸⁷ H.P. Wyndham, letter to father, 19 July 1758 as quoted in R. B. Sher 'Wyndham's Letters on Scotland and Northern England, 1758', *Yale University Library Gazette* 65 1991, 150. See also Hook and Sher, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 5.

⁸⁸ Daniel Defoe, *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1726, volume 3 – made up of notes from four short visits to Glasgow between 1724-1726. As quoted in Daiches, *Glasgow*, Glasgow 1977, 46-47.

⁸⁹ E. Burt as cited in Osbourne and Armstrong (eds), *Mungo's City*, 95.

fragments of history in an evolving context, began to receive visual attention at this time. History was embodied within the foundation of Glasgow and represented an ordering structure that allowed the spectator to understand its civic lessons. Buildings and monuments, whether religious or municipal, shaped the urban environment both physically and psychologically. As well as providing a means for navigation, the prominent buildings and their manner of depiction articulated the changes that had taken place within the character of the city and served as a reminder that transformation was continual.

The characterisation of buildings in visual media depended largely on the function the images were intended to serve. With the proliferation of travel guides, there was a tendency for architectural illustrations to be descriptive or commemorative. For example, Denholm and Scott's St Enoch's Square with the Church and Surgeon's Hall (1797) from *An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs (1797)* [13] isolated the church in the centre of the composition. The depiction was linear and objective, devoid of any incidental detail that might detract from the building's description. Moreover, the boundary fence acted as a distancing device for the viewer and elevated the status of the church. The impression was one of documentation and yet also aggrandisement of an architectural landmark. In contrast, Paul Sandby's Cathedral from the South-West (1781) for *A Collection of One-Hundred and Fifty Select Views in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland (1781)* [14] was, as dictated by the genre of publication, more evocative and subjectively romanticised than documentary in character. The permanence of the Cathedral against the ruin suggested the idiosyncrasy of a monument as a paradoxically stable structure undergoing continual change. Essentially it was a didactic artefact which transferred meaning across generations, though that meaning was not as stable

as the signifying monument. Thus, what was once a focal point for the community could become a mere landmark for navigation or the source for a historicised identity and sense of permanence in a transient environment. As multiple Cathedral images were produced it became, like Edinburgh Castle was for the Capital, an emblem for Glasgow. Although historiography emphasised the role of religion in Glasgow's founding, it was the tourist and mercantile market, for whom travelogues were produced, that were now securing the city's reputation.

Assessing the role of a building within the urban scene was further complicated through commemorative records of monuments and buildings. Here artists entered into a fictive telling of time with a proclivity to ever improve on the past. Such images were inclined toward nostalgia, as in Thomas Fairbairn's The Shawfield Mansion (1845) [15]. Daniel Campbell, a distiller and wealthy merchant, built the Shawfield Mansion, designed by Colen Campbell, in 1711 on ground at the north side of Trongate. In a fashionable architectural style, the building was set apart from neighbouring tenements and dominated not only the view from Stockwellgate, but also that experienced by those crossing the Clyde from the south. The neo-Palladian classicism of the building was a statement of power and permanence that, ironically, was to be short-lived.

In 1725 the mansion was devastated by rioters angry at Campbell's decision, in his capacity as MP for Clyde Burghs, to vote for a Union malt tax which would increase duties on alcohol. The stationing of troops in Glasgow had exacerbated this discontent. For the destruction of the mansion, Campbell received a substantial sum from the common good of the burgh, which, it could be presumed, would have left a sour feeling amongst Glaswegians. Nevertheless, none of this is apparent in Fairbairn's depiction. The silhouetted figure in the foreground emphasised the size of the stately residence. The iron gate conveyed the removal from the everyday street life which

furnished the merchant with a Hutcheson-like sense of authority, emphasised by the rhetoric of the mansion's classical architectural style.

Fairbairn's piece came into being long after the mansion had been demolished but it did indicate the selectivity of memory and how constructed images could deceive. The architectural grandeur and mercantile pretensions it signified outweighed the voice of public discontent. After all, the clientele for the image would have been the section of society as ordered and cultured as the architecture depicted, rather than those who succeeded in its disruption. Such commemorative works paid tribute to the Tobacco Lords' and merchants' contribution to Glasgow's character. Their estates were a metaphor for prestige, power and wealth and the artists' decision to record them signalled the desire to project an analogous image of Glasgow.

The Shawfield mansion faced the Trongate, Glasgow's mercantile heart. As such, the Trongate was the focus for many streetscapes, notably by John Knox (1778-1845) and the Foulis Academy pupil Robert Paul, who died before completing the image, which was then finished by his contemporary William Buchanan.⁹⁰ The Foulis work [16] indicated that, rather than a democratic public space, a series of bodily and territorial negotiations on behalf of the merchants established the Trongate as commercial territory. John Strang (1795-1863) reminisced:

Men and manners have so much changed during a century, that it would require Ovid's pen to paint the metamorphoses. Let us turn, however, to the neighbourhood of the Cross, which was at that period the only portion of the City that could be said to be much frequented, and where we shall find objects for contrast. There, if anywhere, could be seen a specimen of all grades and classes of the inhabitants, from the Highlandman skulking in his tartan kilt and jacket, ready to perform the most servile office, up to the scarlet-cloaked merchant or physician who, with gold-headed cane, and cocked hat perched on

⁹⁰ Other notable depictions of the Trongate as an increasingly social space can be found in W. R. Mainds (fl.1885-93), *Album of 37 watercolours of Old Glasgow, Partick and Paisley*, Glasgow University Library: Special Collections; S. D. Swarbreck, *Sketches in Scotland*, London 1839, J. Willox, *A Glasgow Tourist*, Edinburgh 1850, J. & D. Nichol, *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty One Views*, Glasgow 1841.

powdered hair or wig with dangling club-tie or pig-tail, strutted about in peacock magnificence, as if he alone of all had the right to pace the *Plainstones*. On each side of the street, at a respectable distance from the aristocratic atmosphere around the front of the public offices, might be observed a few tradesmen or shopkeepers – donned in blue or brown coats with clear buttons, breeches of cloth or corduroy, rig-and-fur stockings, and all sporting knee and shoe buckles – watching to catch the eye of their princely patrons, and waiting a signal to make an approach to their acknowledged superior, which they but too frequently did with all the subserviency of a Sir Archy McSycophant.⁹¹

The Trongate was a place of mercantile display in architectural and social terms. The merchants had earned a legendary place in Glasgow's history and, accordingly, they were shown mingling and conversing in the Foulis view. Just as philosophy analysed relationships, sociability, laughter and social interaction, so they could be observed on the street. As the city developed, the street was to assume importance not as a thoroughfare but as the location where social class was defined and behavioural patterns assumed. Although the Foulis depiction of the Trongate was sparsely populated, it was clear that the city was beginning to be seen as a social as well as architectural entity.

Genre and streetscape were combined in Knox's *Trongate (1826)* [17]. The disjunction of scale between the characters and architecture and within the figures themselves lent an anecdotal air to the work. The convivial humour this entailed designated the working class as ordered and harmless. There was little dirt or crime on Knox's street, perhaps due to the significant military presence, which ensured the conveyance of a well-ordered and governed city. Rather than the focus being on the merchants, whose dominance by this stage was beginning to be subsumed by the industrialists, the street was presented as a social space to be observed. It was vital for the enlightened elite to prove that their emancipated, freethinking society could

⁹¹J. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs: or Glimpses of the Condition, Manners, Characters and Oddities of the City during the Past and Present Centuries*, Glasgow 1864, 11.

function without engendering social agitation and moral disintegration. Hence, presenting the working class as harmless and ordered secured social safety and preserved the reputations of those coming into contact, no matter how briefly, with the lower classes. The hierarchy of the Foulis work had succumbed to a agglomeration of classes and activity which, from an elevated vantage-point, were there to be observed. The genre streetscape with incidental details became a means of counteracting the social degradation that was becoming increasingly endemic. As the industrial revolution drew vast numbers to the city in hope of work, so the merchants lost their hold on the urban terrain and artists began to search for new visual means to control the mutable and swelling city.

With the socialisation of the streets, those inhabiting them were classified into types, for example, merchants, workers or women. Just as the Trongate was designated as merchants' territory, there was a conflation of women of all classes and nature, even within the urban environment. Lower class women or servants of the upper classes were depicted using the washing facilities on Glasgow Green or bleaching their laundry in open spaces, as in Swan's View of Carlton Place from Clyde Street, Glasgow (1828) [18]. The diagonal fence contained the women and some sheep in a natural space whilst the ordered, non-threatening city rested on the opposite riverbank. Although lacking the restraining fence, a similar outlook was shown in John Fleming's earlier View of Glasgow from Arn's Well (n.d.) [19], engraved by Swan. Almost solely women and children occupied the Green, whether bleaching or strolling beneath umbrellas. Signs of industry were apparent and yet with the sun bursting through smog, the city was far from being oppressive. Natural space was primarily a female space and, although reflecting a common occurrence, this was

highlighted in the several depictions of bleaching on the Green.⁹² As well as indicating industrious working class women, the act of bleaching in Dutch cityscapes had connotations of purity and honesty and therefore artists may have wanted to associate these qualities with Glasgow's women if not the city itself.⁹³

This idea of a 'type' of person and a designated location can be seen to unite Enlightenment ideology of control and artistic representation on another level. In travelogues and individual illustrations, hospitals and lunatic asylums featured regularly. These depictions were undoubtedly another indication of civic achievement, in this instance in architecture and welfare. Following the Enlightenment idea that all individual parts should contribute to a reasoned whole, those seen as mad, blind, idle or infirm and consequently unable to conform to the established order, posed a problem. As Thomas A. Markus has commented: "Physical, moral and mental disorder – that is the disintegration of the personality in its various aspects – represented, in microcosm and symbolic form, disorder in society itself."⁹⁴ Accordingly, Strang indicated that those deemed as unreasoned attracted attention:

It was no unusual thing, about this period, to see three or four grey-coated, hatless, close-cropped idiots, who occupied the back cells of the Hospital, or what was vulgarly termed "the Shells," wheeling along Stockwell-street barrowfuls of stones, for the purpose of being broken into white sand, then much used for kitchen floors. These poor unfortunates, although their convulsionary movements frequently attracted the ridicule and hooting of idle boys, carelessly continued to pursue their apparently to them pleasant vocation, which certainly for a time relieved them from Hospital surveillance, and from the insane ravings of their more lunatic associates.⁹⁵

⁹² It should be noted that comparable images exist for Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee.

⁹³ See Ann Jensen Adams "Competing Communities in the Great Bog of Europe" in W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, Chicago 1994, p.58.

⁹⁴ Thomas A. Markus, "Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland, 1780-1830" in Markus (ed.), *Order and Space in Society*, Edinburgh 1982, 26.

⁹⁵ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs...*, 233.

Institutionalised establishments provided a means of caring for those apparently lacking 'reason' away from open, enlightened spaces and provided refuge for those unable to contribute to enlightened society. It was dually a means of control and of care.

As emblems of architectural grandeur, asylums were often depicted bathed in light, representing their status as an enlightened space in their own right. The unity, order and clarity of representation gave the building an authoritarian air but also reflected their function of maintaining order and assisting the unfortunate. In J.C. Nattes and James Fittler's Glasgow Royal Infirmary (1804) [20] the institution was pushed into the distance by a foreground street occupied by orderly, hardworking individuals. Crucially, the street and its buildings were in darkness whereas the elevated infirmary was immersed in light and clearly delineated. Similarly bathed in light, Chapman and Scott's Glasgow Lunatic Asylum (1820) [21] was viewed across an open expanse and through a surrounding fence that kept the institution at an acceptable distance. Appropriately, plates included in the foundation stone of the asylum read "To restore the reason, to alleviate suffering, and lessen peril, where reason cannot be restored."⁹⁶ The representations, therefore, embodied this notion of the asylum as an enlightened space caring for the inhabitants, whilst also recognising that they were a potential source of fear for wider society. It was a fine balance catering for the needs of those within and the anxieties of those without. In Joseph Swan's *Select Views* the asylum by William Stark (1770-1813) [22], built in 1809, was placed in the distance behind a series of walls and natural defences. These, along with the strolling couples in the foreground, furnished the viewer with a sense of safety

⁹⁶ R. Chapman, *The Topographical Picture of Glasgow in its ancient and modern state*, 3rd edition, Glasgow 1820, 164.

whilst simultaneously aggrandising the architectural splendour of the building and celebrating the enlightened nature of the establishment.

As noted by Strang, lunatics were once housed in vaulted cells on the ground floor of Glasgow's Infirmary. Fiona MacDonald commented:

The infirmary was a site of Enlightenment in Glasgow, not only as a physical focus of social improvement but also as a place where many of the most important eighteenth-century Glasgow physicians offered their services and worked. It was a site for philanthropic interaction between the two main groups of enlightened thinkers in Glasgow – the merchants, many of whom contributed towards the building of the hospital, and the university teachers.⁹⁷

This centre for control brought together merchants and thinkers and as such was another site for societal interaction. Those who played a key role in determining the intellectual and commercial aspect of the city were here taking responsibility for that which might adversely affect its perception. As noted by MacDonald, many of these institutions, including Glasgow's Town Hospital (1731-33) were funded by public subscription with the Trades' House, Merchants' House and Kirk Session all contributing to the fund. Many from the medical profession also provided their services free of charge and as medical knowledge advanced so did methods of treatment. The philanthropic nature of such endeavours was evident in 1791 when a Royal Charter for a voluntary hospital stated that they hoped to provide an institution "...for the relief of persons labouring under poverty and disease...".⁹⁸ It is too simple, however, to view these images as pure celebrations of Glasgow's philanthropy, but also too restrictive to view them as representations of institutions created to repress unreason and enforce control and order. The clientele for these images were those

⁹⁷ F. A. MacDonald, "The Infirmary of the Glasgow Town's Hospital: Patient Care, 1733-1800 in Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment*, 202.

⁹⁸ Markus, "Buildings for the Sad...", 38.

fashioning Glasgow's character. In travelogues and historical narratives, such images functioned to emphasise the enlightened attitudes of those in power and as, noted by Markus, to represent of the order in wider Glaswegian society. Underlying apparently simplistic depictions of spaces or buildings were a series of complex territorial and representational negotiations reflective of concurrent philosophy and intended to provide a specific and constructed impression of the city.

Conclusion

As stated in *The partial view: the visual representation of the early nineteenth century*, "drawings or prints, which may appear at first sight as mere topographical records of architectural novelties, function on a more substantial axis of historical meaning. These representations also need to be seen as containing many further layers of meaning for their contemporaries."⁹⁹ Those dominant in the governance and wealth of the city were key determinants in characterising its physical and artistic manifestation and thus the development of Glasgow from religious to mercantile city is evident in its portrayal. The proliferation of Glasgow images in varied forms of artistic media demonstrate that even seemingly objective representation of city topography, streetscapes and buildings, were constructed to convey a specific city image. The emphasis on prominent buildings and ordered cityscapes distanced into the pictorial field projected an imaginary or hoped for order onto physical reality. As the city grew with increasing rapidity, artists produced a stable perception, which emphasised that of the dominant governing authority. Consequently, artists credited the authorities with having created and maintained harmony and order. Moreover, such images were

⁹⁹ C. Arscott, G. Pollock and J. Wolff, 'The partial view: the visual representation of the early nineteenth century city' in Wolff and Seed (eds) *Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle Class*, Manchester 1988, 208.

created for and paid tribute to those who had accumulated the city's wealth and cultivated its prestige. Therefore they served to promote civic pride and act as mercantile propaganda.

The Foulis Academy's direct association with Francis Hutcheson suggested that art was influenced by philosophy. The images produced by Academy students reflected the philosophical imports of parts constituting a whole, beauty, reasoned space and behaviour and, most notably, distanced observation. Moreover, the attempt to generate an artistic sensibility in the urban environment was significant. The volume of Glasgow views indicated a direct appeal to a mercantile clientele, potentially more receptive to city images than Slezer's noble patronage had been. Merchants, without whose financial support the Academy would never have come into existence, were eager that their success was architecturally expressed and artistically praised.

The notion of control was ever present and these depictions were imbued with the prevailing ideology of the time. The Enlightenment interest in geographic exploration and explanation had a counterpart in the advancement of science and technology. Both of these nurtured an examination of self in which truth and reason were paramount. Science gave credence to art and art expression to science. Maps and cartouches could broadcast the city's merits whilst substantiating their claims with scientific means. This was furthered by the curiosity in senses and perception – whether surveyed by scientific implement or the artist, attested by his inclusion in the scene, the city image was never as truthful as it appeared. Undoubtedly Glasgow was thriving but this was at the cost of those whose protests were not represented in artistic works. The use of distanced observation and control recognised the uneasiness and uncertainty that surrounded the expanding urban terrain. Just as there was a need to close away the unreasoned inhabitants behind enlightened facades, so

the city needed to be visually, if not practically, controlled. As the mercantile city became transformed into a burgeoning industrial entrepôt, however, visual control became impossible and negotiating the urban terrain, artistically or psychologically, grew increasingly problematic.

Chapter 2

Representing the 'Second City': Municipal and Industrial Glasgow

Writing in 1911, A. H. Charteris (1874-1940) observed:

And even in 1824 Glasgow was not merely, as Defoe had found her, the centre of trade with America ... She had already acquired her modern character of a place of manufactures and she was famous for her printed handkerchiefs and shawls and her chemical industry ... Her own engineering day was dawning ... And yet the first blight of the industrial revolution had not wholly ravaged the face of the city.¹

Implicit in these words was an acknowledgement of the rapid transformation, both physical and commercial, that Glasgow had undergone between 1824 and the years approaching the outbreak of World War One. Although industry, principally textile, had been present within the city from an early stage, during the industrial revolution Glasgow laid claim to the heavy industries that were to earn the epithet of 'Second City of Empire.' Throughout the nineteenth century, the city boundaries were extended and, coupled with immigration from the Highlands and Ireland, its population boomed. This ubiquitous expansion necessitated a more prominent civic administration and during this period the municipality played a decisive role in the management and character of the city. Accordingly, it was on the dual forces of the municipal and the industrial that much artistic activity centred. As with the Enlightenment era, however, images were rarely mere representations. Mediating between aesthetic theory, demands of patronage, emerging forms of media and the capricious city, artists produced an abundance of reflections, which demonstrated that

¹ A. H. Charteris, "Notes of Glasgow" in Muirhead Bone, *Glasgow: Fifty Drawings*, Glasgow 1911.

a true portrayal of the city was something sought but rarely, if ever, achieved. In fact, some pictures stood as rhetorical denials of what, in essence, the city really was. The reasons for this were inseparable from the changes wrought by industrialisation and municipal activity, through which some of the most important perceptions of the city were created.

John Clark (1771-1863) captured in a print, the city of which Charteris reminisced.² The City of Glasgow, drawn on the spot in 1824 [23] demonstrated its debt to the Enlightenment in its title – as with the map cartouche, the emphasis on an eyewitness account was imperative. The abundant natural detail in the foreground distanced the city and yet it was still held in check by the hills. This, coupled with the grazing cattle, reassured those surveying the city that the natural and artificial could co-exist in close proximity at cost to neither nature nor man. The majority of figures on the path made their way toward the city and the overall impression was a positive one. Having said that, there were signs that providing an accurate and yet pleasingly assured prospect of the city was becoming a difficult task. The familiar onlookers no longer introduced the city before them, instead they, particularly the women, remained absorbed in their own conversation. Visual access to the city was thwarted on many attempts: the path, its route unclear and blocked by buildings, encountered dark shadows which repelled rather than enticed and the meandering natural expanse met with the same fate. Turning to the skyline, any meaningful sign of architectural prominence or an identifiable landmark was rendered impotent by the securing hillside. Only smoke in the centre of the composition commanded attention.

² John Heaviside Clark (also known as Waterloo Clark because of his images of the Battle of Waterloo) produced several views of Scottish towns in this year, including Greenock (McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock). He signed pictures 'J. Clark' or, as in the Glasgow view, 'I. Clark'.

The presence of industry weighed heavily on the cityscape and, as smoking chimneys jostled for prominence with church spires, the skyline became punctuated to such an extent that it was a visual distraction rather than attraction. Thus, besides accenting the presence of nature, the rolling hills provided a means to simplify the urban form and assuage any anxiety that may have risen from its seeming incomprehensibility. The growth of the city meant that containing its limits within the visual field was no longer possible, though its natural frontage and more loosely associated foremost buildings made it less intimidating. The shadowed portion of the city may have given cause for concern amongst onlookers, but it provided Clark with a means of softening a prospect that could have suffered from a dense, detailed architectural account. Significantly, the light fell on the West End of the city where elegant residences were to be built for the affluent whilst the heart of the city, soon to be renowned slums, received little attention. Whilst the Cathedral's stature was undiminished, its prominence in the cityscape was overpowered by the sheer profusion of smouldering industrial chimneys. The Enlightenment reason and rationale of control was still felt, but it no longer provided ample means to document the rapid progress of Glasgow.

It is not surprising that artists struggled with the cityscape at this time. The changes incurred in previous years were phenomenal as the industrial revolution yielded the "uncontrollable juggernaut"³ of urban expansion. The adoption of steam power was the catalyst for much of this change and remained an enduring feature in Glasgow's economy. As Charteris had indicated, textiles played a large role in securing Glasgow's reputation and continued to do so throughout the nineteenth century. However, mechanisation of the trade led to more standard cloths being produced in

³ T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950*, London 1986, 40.

workshops rather than the home and gave rise to unemployment. Although handloom weaving remained for delicate fabrics, skilled workers suffered when finer spinning mills were introduced as they tended to be a source of work for children and Glasgow's increasing Irish population. Not all saw this as progress and Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) was to comment in later years: "On every hand, the living artisan is driven from his workshop, to make room for a speedier, inanimate one. The shuttle drops from the fingers of the weaver, and falls into iron fingers that play it faster."⁴ The potato famine brought many Irish to Glasgow in search of work and their passage was made easier by developments in steam transport. After steps had been taken to deepen the Clyde, their voyage brought them to the heart of the city. They were joined by Highland Scots, evicted as a result of the Clearances and seeking better fortunes in Glasgow. The majority of Glasgow's migrants, however, came from nearby counties including Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. The boom was such that by 1821 Glasgow's population was greater than that of Edinburgh.⁵

The acute business acumen amongst Glasgow's rising elite led to many individuals having their fingers in several metaphorical pies. One such man was Charles Tennant (1768-1838) who in 1799, after forming a partnership with Charles Macintosh (1766-1843), of waterproofing fame, went on to found the St Rollox chemical works. By 1835 St Rollox held the accolade of being the largest business of its kind in Europe.⁶ This stature was physically exemplified in the 'Tennant's Stalk', a chimney of around 500ft which, along with those of the neighbouring Townsend's chemical works, dominated the Glasgow skyline until its demolition in 1922. Building on earlier trading

⁴ T. Carlyle, "Signs of the Times", in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, London 1899, 59.

⁵ Although many migrants and immigrants did remain in the city, it should be noted that Glasgow also attracted many seasonal labourers, either working for a time within the city or in the agricultural lands of neighbouring counties.

⁶ E. Williamson et al., *Glasgow*, London 1990, 93.

expertise, Glasgow was a Mecca for various commercial and industrial enterprises. Its location was attractive, with rich deposits of raw materials in nearby areas such as Lanarkshire. These were fully exploited as the city profited from developments in transport, principally the railways and shipping. Again, Tennant can be seen as instrumental here as the Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway, which opened in 1831, brought coal from the Baird brothers in Gartsherrie to the St Rollox works.⁷ To support the growing industries, a domestic financial infrastructure soon arose and in the 1830s the Glasgow Union Banking Company and the Western Bank of Scotland opened. The following decade saw six banks joining them, including the soon-to-be-notorious City of Glasgow Bank.⁸ In 1844 the arrival of Glasgow Stock Exchange confirmed the city's commercial as well as industrial viability.

Thomas Sulman (fl. 1860s) attested to this overwhelmingly prosperous view when his panorama of Glasgow [24] was published in the *Illustrated London News* in 1864.⁹ The accompanying article noted that "This sketch has been more especially directed to a review of the commercial and material progress of Glasgow"¹⁰ and although referring to the text, it was equally applicable to the panorama. After commenting that "The general appearance of Glasgow is not so uninviting as that of some other great manufacturing towns. Together with the innumerable tall factory chimneys, a great many handsome church spires relieve the outline of its mass",¹¹ the anonymous author went on to briefly summarise the city's history and describe the stalwart feature of the Cathedral. The purpose of his article was clear, however, as he

⁷ Maver, *Glasgow*, 48.

⁸ The City of Glasgow Bank ceased trading in October 1878 due to ill-advised overseas investment and lending to foreign companies. The administrators were not only guilty of financial mismanagement but also falsifying accounts to disguise the reality of the Bank's debt.

⁹ Supplemental illustration, *Illustrated London News (ILN)*, 26 March 1864.

¹⁰ 'The City of Glasgow', *ILN*, 26 March 1864, 305.

¹¹ 'The City of Glasgow', *ILN*, 305.

declined to “linger any more in the Cathedral” but instead went on to “survey the industrial and commercial activity of the town and port of Glasgow.”¹²

Visual and verbal prominence was given to the river, its widening and its industries. In an uncanny echoing of the ‘Vital Statistics’ of Glasgow for 1863 and 1864, by the City Chamberlain, William West Watson,¹³ the *Illustrated London News* reported that:

In nothing, perhaps, is the industrial enterprise of Glasgow more exemplified than in the progress of the ship-building trade. The material used almost exclusively for this purpose is iron. We may remark that this iron is dug, smelted, rolled, and finished within a few miles around the city.¹⁴

What followed was effectively an inventory of Glasgow’s shipping output and trade, all of which was understandable in a prosperous year which saw the shipbuilding area of Govan raised to a Police Burgh and John Elder (1824-69) laying out his Fairfield shipyard. Names like Elder and that of Robert Napier (1791-1876) – whose company had started with the Vulcan foundry in 1830, then established works at Lancefield in 1836 before moving to Govan in 1841 – were to dominate Glasgow’s industrial scene much as the Tobacco Lords had previously. Although the strong image given often ran counter to the fluctuations in trade, an array of statistics in the article stood testimony to Glasgow’s stature and depressions in industry were dismissed, as its wide industrial base enabled the city to weather the tough times. After all, Glasgow’s shipbuilders had launched 70% of all Great British tonnage in the 1850s and 1860s. Attention then

¹² ‘The City of Glasgow’, *ILN*, 305.

¹³ William West Watson, *Report Upon the Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow for 1863 and 1864*, Glasgow 1865, 39 as cited in Maver, *Glasgow*, 113: “In no department of industry is the lively enterprise of Glasgow more strikingly exemplified than in the progress of the Shipbuilding trade. The material now almost exclusively used is iron and when it is borne in mind that by far the greater proportion of this iron is dug, smelted, rolled, and finished within a few miles around the City, it is not difficult to recognise a reason for the remarkable success of Glasgow shipbuilders.”

¹⁴ ‘The City of Glasgow’, *ILN*, 305.

turned to the city's internal industries: textile production, both machine and handloom, the embroidery of muslin peculiar to Glasgow and Belfast, the dyeworks of St Rollox, Glasgow potters, tobacco and spirit production along with glass manufacture went some way to relaying the catalogue of industries present in Glasgow at that time. Nevertheless, focus soon reverted to the blast furnaces and railways, in other words examples of the heavy industries that earned Glasgow the epithet of 'Second City of Empire.'

Understandably, visually interpreting this wealth of material was no easy task. In 1853 George MacCulloch (fl. 1850s) had produced an aerial view of Glasgow [25] in which the size of the city was such that its outer limits could no longer be seen. The sense of control evident in Slezer and implicit in Clark was no longer present. There was little hierarchy between buildings and the sheer number of visual elements crowded in what was, nevertheless, an extremely detailed scene. Rather than framing the city within natural surroundings, the means of control turned toward accuracy in depiction, present in earlier scenes but never as wholeheartedly exploited. The smoke of industry and presence of boats on the Clyde suggested the cause for Glasgow's growth whilst the feat of drawing an aerial map from a balloon was indicative of man's need to comprehend and visually come to terms with the thriving city environment.¹⁵ These characteristics became prominent in Sulman's pictorial interpretation.

Sulman's view recorded consequential changes in the residential patterns of Glasgow. By this point in time there had been a depopulation of middle and upper classes from the central area to what were then the suburbs. Panoramic views attempted to convey, on a two dimensional plane, the essence of Glasgow's character, part of which was its expansion, and still much remained unsaid. The reasons for their

¹⁵ As early as 1785 Vincenzo Lunardi (1759-1806) made hot-air balloon ascents from Glasgow.

move may have been inferred, but were not represented. The practicalities of the panoramic view and the spirit to be conveyed restrained Sulman from relating the motivation for the move westward. The truth was that the old heart of Glasgow had become densely overcrowded and was on the eve of being redeveloped by the City Improvement Trust, whose work began in 1866.

Social reformers like Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin (1819-1900) and religious leaders, who followed Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), saw the external aspect of the city as a signifier of its social and moral wellbeing and the municipal authorities took this on board. The perception of urban space was equally as important as its built surroundings. Accordingly, in Sulman's panorama, both the gymnasium and public washhouse on Glasgow Green – a conspicuous feature fronting the view - were pictured and indexed. The temptation and morally ambiguous opportunity to watch girls laundering had been closed within the washhouse. The distasteful slaughtering of animals had also been removed and thus, as an expression of the vitality of the city, the Green was a clean space for recreation and healthy pursuits.

As monuments and spires articulated the moral and historical value of the city, so the increasingly elaborate facades of factories and warehouses, not to mention their smokestacks, signified the industrial and the commercial. The busy river stood testimony to the flourishing Clyde-based enterprises so lauded in the accompanying text. The key that accompanied the panorama guided the viewer towards the religious and secular, street and space, industrial and municipal, all of which played their part in the character of Glasgow. However, despite the feat of draughtsmanship and authoritarian key, intended to aid understanding, the vista presented was not entirely accurate. Whether drawn at street level, with the aid of photography or by hot air balloon, streets were broadened to mark elevations that would otherwise have been

eclipsed by their surroundings. All churches were particularly noticeable, as were buildings like the Exchange and the Scott's Monument in George Square, which towered at an unrealistic height comparable to that of the distant Tennant's Stalk. It is perhaps because of this, however, that the view is more valuable as it embodied the very character of the city and in its creation probably utilised the techniques that were to take prominence in urban imagery – print and photography. By stressing certain landmarks, the historical, religious, commercial and industrial identity of Glasgow was not lost in the urban plexus. The emphasis on detail reflected the Janus-like fear and fascination of the city and the psychological compulsion toward comprehension.

The development of photography enabled the specific to be rendered through an eyewitness, more scientific means. Nevertheless, this did not alleviate the challenge posed by the city. In 1905 T. & R. Annan and Sons produced *Glasgow in Panorama: eight magnificent photographs taken from the octagonal spire of the University Tower on 19th July 1905 forming a complete bird's eye view of Glasgow*. Thomas Annan (1829-87) and his family business were to be responsible for some of the most important photographs of Glasgow in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Commissioned by the municipality and working independently, Annan's work revealed much about Glasgow and its evolution from an official and private point of view. These images fall into the latter category and, as stated in the title, were intended to form a complete panorama of the city. This was in some ways a modern interpretation of the old custom of painting panoramas of cities inside rotundas to enable a full three-hundred-and-sixty degree prospect to be beheld.

The vantage-point was well chosen. The University, or 'Old College' as it had been known, was formerly housed in prestigious seventeenth century buildings near the High Street. However, due to over-population and the decline of the area, this

was deemed an unsuitable environment for knowledge to progress and a decision was made to move.¹⁶ This was spurred on by the attractiveness of the site for railway companies and, after some troubles and failed attempts, the University relocated to Gilmorehill in 1870 whilst a subsidiary of the North British Railway Company transformed the once notable Old College buildings into a goods yard. The tower of the main University buildings was fashioned by George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) in the Gothic Revival style, with a hint of the Scottish baronial. This was perhaps appropriate considering the University's less salubrious prior location, as the Gothic was the style lauded by Ruskin as a means to instil a sense of moral and civic responsibility into indolent city dwellers. Built between 1887 and 1891, the 100-foot tower on a hill was an ideal means of surveying the urban expanse. However, the entire urban terrain was not encapsulated and principal area in focus was the fashionable and expanding West End.

The view South South West (Plate 5 of the series) [26] centred on the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery. The industrial works in the background were cloaked in smog in contrast to the park's paths, which were fashioned in 1854 by the distinguished landscape designer Joseph Paxton (1801-65) after Charles Wilson (1810-65) suggested that a park was needed for the West End.¹⁷ Like the park, the museum was a symbol of municipal enterprise. It was partly financed from the proceeds of the Great Exhibition held in Kelvingrove in 1888, an occasion that saw the fusion of municipal and industrial as the City Fathers strove to pronounce the prowess of their industries. The shortfall in funding was then made up by the city council. Kelvingrove became conspicuous as a park for the more well-to-do residents of the West, as

¹⁶ See Williamson et al., *Glasgow*, 335.

¹⁷ For further information on Glasgow's Parks see I. Maver, "Glasgow's Public Parks and the Community 1850-1914: A Case Study in Scottish Civic Interventionism", *Urban History*, 25 (3) 1998, 323-347.

opposed to Glasgow Green for those in the East. As parts of Glasgow became harbingers for vice, crime and disease, the city's Medical Officer, James Burn Russell (1837-1904), was convinced that the number of public parks should be extended as ill-health and bad behaviour were consequences of the cramped conditions.¹⁸ Kelvingrove Park's distance from the city's midst and industrial sites went a long way to furthering its feasibility.

Wilson went on to design a series of buildings in the Park Circus area surmounting Woodlands Hill, originally the proposed site for the University. Overlooking Kelvingrove Park, this was the focal point for the view East South East (Plate 3) [27]. According to Nicolas J. Morgan the photographs were taken on a holiday and therefore the air was relatively free from factory smog.¹⁹ A contemporary journalist, however, indicated that the smog was what lent Glasgow to photography. In an article entitled "The Atmosphere of Paris and its Difficulties", Robert Demachy commented:

The atmosphere of Paris is the painter's atmosphere, not the photographer's. Give us a juicy Glasgow mist with the rich yellow tone of hydrochloric acid fumes redolent of the chemical works in the suburbs, the sluggish Clyde with the heavy reflections of the shipping in its oily waters, and a pale, sickly sun just topping the bank of reeking vapors.²⁰

The hazy atmosphere undoubtedly made the beclouded horizon appear somewhat pictorial. It also rendered the dense industrial areas, the sources of wealth for many living near the University, indistinct. Meanwhile, the fashionable residences retained prominence. As one contemporary author commented, those in Park Circus lived "in

¹⁸ Maver, *Glasgow*, 185-186.

¹⁹ N. J. Morgan, "Building the City" in Fraser and Maver (eds), *Glasgow Volume II: 1830-1912*, Manchester and New York 1996, 34 (Pl. 2).

²⁰ R. Demarchy, "The Atmosphere of Paris and its Difficulties", *The Photographic Monthly*, XII (133) January 1905, 11.

affluence on the silver lining of the clouds that hang over Govan.”²¹ Industry was most prominent in the view looking West South West (Plate 6) [28] where factories straddled the banks of Glasgow’s other river, the Kelvin. Significantly, however, the publication opened with a view down the central axis of Southfield Avenue [29] (developed in the 1860s), with the Greek style Wellington Church to one side. The vista stretched beyond Hillhead to the fashionable residences of North Kelvinside. This was an area that had grown in size and repute since the planting of the Botanic Gardens there in 1843. Therefore the majority of buildings immediately visible in Annan’s photographs were those erected in the late nineteenth century and in which Glasgow’s aspiring bourgeoisie would live.

Essentially, what T. & R. Annan presented was a factual, documentary representation, taken from the most suitable location and capturing the physical truth, but what this truth revealed was crucial change within the city itself. Factory owners no longer wanted to reside near their place of work or in the overcrowded and polluted centre. Like many Victorian cities, they were the catalysts for the westward expansion as the aspiring middle class sought residences that emulated their desired social standing. A polarity developed, at least in the eyes of middle class commentators, between East and West, the crowded and the capacious, the insanitary and the salutary, the criminal and the civilised. These social transitions and problems were implicit in Annan’s images in that they manifested themselves in the cityscape, but were not able to be fully articulated in a panoramic image. Despite the use of the latest technology, Annan faced the same problems that confronted Clark, McCulloch and Sulman. Even through the lens and from such a great height, Annan was neither

²¹ J. H. Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, Glasgow 1901/Oxford 2001, 249-250. All references are to the original 1901 edition unless otherwise stated.

able to enclose the city in one image, nor was he able to detail the buildings, towers and chimneys as they vanished from view.

In his theory of the sublime, Burke had defined some of its key characteristics as obscurity, vastness and infinity. With regard to obscurity he noted, "When we know the full extent of any danger, when we can accustom our eyes to it, a great deal of the apprehension vanishes."²² Akin to this was infinity which "had a tendency to fill the mind with that sort of delightful horror, which is the most genuine effect, and truest test of the sublime."²³ Therefore, if the contained and detailed city of the Enlightenment was beautiful, then the stretching panoramas of the Industrial era were sublime. Most residents would have known about the social problems in Glasgow, but the panorama veiled them and Burke's 'delightful horror' remained. There was something majestic about a panorama, emphasising the city's greatness, but underlying this were currents of fear. The minutiae of the city could not be examined and that desire for comprehension through a visual examination became impossible. It is perhaps for this reason that artists increasingly turned to the streets for their urban subject matter and there they found different means of negotiating the evident social problems. Panoramas sought to give an overview of the city and in this they more or less succeeded. If searching for a deeper characterisation, however, they failed to go beneath the fashioned veneer of the city to explore the social and psychological effects of both industrialisation and municipal philanthropy.

It is worth pausing to note that Glasgow's experience as a Victorian city was by no means unique. During the Victorian era the economy and society of Britain became extensively urbanised, so much so that Robert Vaughan characterised the period as

²² E. Burke, "A Philosophical Inquiry...", 517.

²³ Burke, "A Philosophical Inquiry...", 520.

The Age of Great Cities.²⁴ As a result there were unprecedented changes in social conditions and relationships, health and housing, class structure and the management of cities. This bred contradictory attitudes toward the city with some viewing it as a symbol of pride, progress and achievement, whilst others were alarmed at the increasing population of cities and the social problems therein. William Cooke Taylor expressed some anxiety toward the masses congregating in industrial cities:

...as a stranger passes through the masses of human beings which [sic] have been accumulated round the mills...he cannot contemplate these crowded hives without feelings of anxiety and apprehension amounting almost to dismay. The population is hourly increasing in breath and strength. It is an aggregate of masses, our conception of which clothe themselves in terms which express something portentous and fearful.²⁵

This became somewhat of a standard reaction to the city, with metaphors of disease becoming coming in describing the urban condition. Perhaps most famously, William Cobbett used the term "great Wen"²⁶ to describe London in particular, but in essence it was a generic term for all large cities. Not all, however, were repulsed. A key aspect of life in Victorian cities, especially for the middle class, was philanthropy. Doctors and clergymen travelled into the darkest wynds, so feared by many, to assist the individuals within the perceived mass. Whereas connection between a pastor and his congregation operated on a personal basis in the countryside, it could not do so in the city and this was one factor that led to the urban 'masses' being seen as immoral. Horace Mann commented that the "labouring myriads, the masses of our working population ... are never or but seldom see in our religious congregations."²⁷ Without moral guidance it was believed that the city slums would fall into disrepute with crime

²⁴ R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities*, 1843.

²⁵ W. Cooke Taylor as cited in A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, London 1963, 59.

²⁶ W. Cobbett as cited in A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 58.

²⁷ H. Mann as cited in A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 60.

and vice taking hold in the closes. Moreover, population density led to families often inhabiting a single room and this generated fear about family propriety. Fear of the city, was often fear of the unknown or that which could not be comprehended. The urban population was seen as an anonymous mass. In attempt to rationalise or control such fears, the Victorians developed a passion for classification and analysis with census returns scrutinised for what they might reveal about the urban populace. Collected facts were then published in trade directories and brochures for local authorities. They informed texts such as George Porter's *Progress of the Nation* (1836) and J. R. McCulloch's *Descriptive and Statistical Account of the British Empire* (1837). Some facts were seen to prove that cities were the centre for national progress and others were used by some to advance the need for a moral cleansing of the city, as in Charles Kingsley's 'Great Cities and their Influence on Good and Evil' (lecture delivered in Bristol, October 1857). Thus, in general terms, attitudes to the city could be divided into those who feared the city, its changing social relations and the increasing pace of urban life, and those who took pride in its achievements, be it social control or municipal facades. Underlying the vehemence of many of these attitudes was the rapid and powerful industrial revolution. Britain was unique in its industrial prowess, boasting cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds and, of course, Glasgow. If the complexity of the Victorian city did not pose enough of a challenge to artists, the incorporation of industrial identity did.

Early Industrial Images

A seminal text about early twentieth century Glasgow was James Hamilton Muir's *Glasgow in 1901*, written on the occasion of the International Exhibition of that year. With a new century dawning and new monarch on the throne, there was a

danger that an over-enthusiastic and positive zeal would drive the text. However, in contrast to most guidebooks, rather than being merely laudatory, the author gave a thought provoking account of Glasgow's character, municipal policies and recognised the wide-ranging implications of industrialisation. As a blend of historical fact and colourful prose, the book succeeded in its aims of appealing to the tourist market and lasting beyond its eponymous year. The term 'author', however, was misleading. The work was in fact the result of a collaboration between three young entrepreneurs: the brothers James Bone (1872-1962) and Muirhead Bone (1876-1953) and a recently trained lawyer, Archibald Hamilton Charteris, all of whose names contributed to the pseudonym. Although Muirhead Bone was listed independently as the illustrator, he also wrote specific chapters in the publication.²⁸ Bone was to become one of the foremost artists of industrial Glasgow but here it was his verbal description that highlighted the extent to which industry had assumed prominence in the city.

Alluding to the sublime, Bone wrote:

In the impossibility of clearing the city's embrace, and in the surprising height and massiveness everywhere, even at the verges where he [the traveller] would expect a gradual ebbing away into mean little huts scarcely lifting their heads above the black horizon – in all this, rather than in a grandiloquent gesture of architecture, he apprehends the greatness of the place; and in passing this judgement he is already well on the way to a true estimate of Glasgow. If he does it less than entire justice we must remember that night is on the town, and that our chimney stalks are not in view to threaten and suggest.²⁹

Rather than standing outside the city, Bone was surveying it from within. The inability to release oneself from the inner city paralleled that of being unable to overcome the hold of its expanse when viewing it from a height. Moreover, in the threatening nature

²⁸ See P. Kinchin, 'Introduction', *Glasgow 1901*, Oxford 2001, xiii/n.8.

²⁹ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 6.

of the towering chimneys the 'delightful horror' to which Burke referred could be felt.

Bone continued:

Their [men's] hearts were calling for the place, bleak, shrewd, kindly withal, place of all weathers that end in rain, home of all trades that end in furnace smoke and noise; for the old fanfare of the whistles as the boats cant in the river, the streets trembling with the vibration of machinery, the incessant clang of the riveters' hammers from the shipyards – all the work, strenuousness, noisiness, and grit that modern Glasgow means to her children.³⁰

Thus for Bone what, in essence, defined Glasgow was its industry. He recognised the profound and not necessarily positive impact it had on the environment and those in it, but was reconciled to the fact that its existence could not be denied.

In art, industry had featured in the cityscape from its earliest representations – for example, the windmill, conical bottleworks and crane in Robert Paul's A View of Glasgow from the South West (1764) [7]. However, as industry made its presence felt in its various guises, gritty reality was rarely expressed on the canvas. When industry was depicted, artists mediated between material reality and visual representation to produce a more aesthetically acceptable work. Bone ironically and unwittingly acknowledged an aspect of this when he wrote: "To understand Glasgow's most expressive contribution to the picturesque, one must seek it not in her outward trappings ... but in ... her industrial workshops – the shipyards, the foundries, the kilns..."³¹ Until Bone's industrial scenes, the artistic practices related to beauty and, later, the picturesque dominated artists' representations of not only industry but also its consequences. Industrialisation became synonymous with urbanisation and the transformation of city life for the individual. By examining the works of artists before the turn of the century it is possible to argue that a heavy premise was placed on

³⁰ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 7-9.

³¹ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 11.

established artistic categories as a means of softening the industrial and appealing to a potential clientele.

In a manner analogous to Clark's View of Glasgow, Swan's View of Glasgow from Knox's Monument (1828) [30] combined rural and industrial in a curious, but what was to become characteristically Victorian, fusion of opposites. Despite the emerging industrial aspect, the use of landscape conventions, still heavily reliant on the aesthetic peculiarities of Enlightenment artists, contained and neutralised its presence. Where the Cathedral interjected on the right, nature covered the left and literally formed a barrier around the city. Therefore the city was, to a certain extent controlled, and its sprawl remained implicit but not confirmed. The two chimneys that dominated the central field puffed smoke into a clear sky. Their jarring black colouring was perhaps more to do with the unfamiliar nature of the subject than an intended social statement. The attention paid to the delineation of nature suggested that it was what could be held as enduring and stable against the progressive city that receded into the background. As the nineteenth century advanced, the pace of life in the city accelerated and this had a profound impact on representation, arguably making it harder to capture its movement. In this context, nature provided much needed reassurance at a time of instability. Although industry was recognised, it was not the main subject matter of the composition, as was also the case with Fleming's View of Glasgow from Arn's Well (1828) [19].

These views were taken from Swan's influential publication *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* of 1828³² and it was clear from the outset that Swan wanted to present a contemporary view of Glasgow. In the prospectus for the publication, issued

³² In this publication Swan also reproduced works by other local artists alongside his own, including views by John Fleming and John Knox, notably Knox's Glasgow from Little Govan (n.d.).

in 1826, Swan had expressed his belief that Glasgow contained "... a very great variety of objects fitted for graphic delineation, and its Neighbourhood is rich in Views worthy of the highest efforts of Genius."³³ Swan therefore had to recognise the presence of industry but, in order to ensure that his views were marketable, in a manner that would still convey the city as a bastion of civilisation and beautiful. Although neither of these views served the panoramic purpose of Clark's, they showed that artists working within the city and producing views of it from specific locations used equivalent means to interpret industry. Whilst the city was still considered controllable, it was depicted as beautiful and within this smoke added little more than pictorial effect. Swan combined these more removed views with studies of principal buildings and street scenes, which, significantly, included the residential districts of the West End. It was arguably to the residents of these areas that Swan was appealing.

Although individual sets of Swan's views could be obtained in bookshops, the production of india proofs costing 5s. 6d. and common impressions at 4s 6d indicated Swan was aiming for a wealthy audience. The confidence he had gained from the *Views* encouraged him to begin work on *The Clyde Set* for which larger prints were made including a limited number on royal folio costing 12s. 0d.³⁴ As the new moneyed class was seeking to establish themselves in the city and society at large, the acquisition of art, especially that depicting their own homes, attested to their status and achievement. Moreover, as subscription played an important role in the production of such volumes, supporting a venture like the *Views* ensured the inclusion and promotion of, if not their homes, the areas in which they lived, in a historical and cultural publication. Just as Swan would have sought their patronage, they would have been

³³ J. Swan, 1826 Prospectus for *Views of Glasgow*, as cited in G. Fairfull Smith, "Joseph Swan (1796-1872): engraver and publisher", *The Private Library*, 10 (2) summer 1997, 83.

³⁴ Fairfull Smith, "Joseph Swan", 84-85.

eager to bestow it. A volume of the *Views* produced in 1827 was subscribed to by over 350 people including the Duchess of Montrose and Archibald McLellan (1795-1854), a major benefactor to Glasgow's art collection.³⁵ In order to succeed, Swan's work had to negotiate a relationship between characteristic depiction and clientele and this resulted in a more charming picture of, not industrial Glasgow, but Glasgow and its industry.

Industry had undoubtedly not made its presence felt to the extent that it would by 1901, as Charteris had noted, but business ventures were establishing themselves and the chemical and shipbuilding that eventually dominated were in their early years. By the 1830s the number of industrial enterprises within the city and in its neighbouring districts was increasing and chemical and textile works were being joined by engineering, coalmines, metalwork and the railway. To mark the opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway David Octavius Hill (1802-70) was commissioned to produce a series of etched prints of the railway. Here, industry could not but help be the focus and so Hill used tried and tested means to mediate between it and the viewer.

The harmonious relationship of the urban dweller and industry was pronounced in Hill's View of Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway: St Rollox Looking South East (1832) [31] from *Views of the Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway*, 1832. As the locomotive proceeded to Tennant's St Rollox works, figures celebrated modern engineering. There remained, however, clear demarcation. While the community occupied the natural foreground space, the powerful diagonal of the railway segregated them from the towering chimneys. This technique was repeated in another, more distant scene, View of Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway: View of the

³⁵ Fairfull Smith, "Joseph Swan", 83.

Germiston Embankment Looking West (1832) [32], where two women relaxed in the natural setting, partitioned from the approaching train by a steep embankment leading toward the chimneys in the centre. In both compositions, the angle with which the scene was viewed placed the viewer firmly in nature and thus provided a feeling of security, whilst the strong diagonals gave industry a dynamic and powerful feel. The control of the earlier views was less assured and, in alluding to industry's vastness, a sense of the sublime inferred. Akin to this was Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway: View of the Depot Looking South (1832) [33] where a series of walls led towards the depot but simultaneously prevented access. A woman placing her hand on the wall made the diminutive scale of human to man-made evident. Commissioned to commemorate the opening of the railway, Hill's works naturally emulated its presence and power, however Hill indirectly indicated the unease felt towards industry as an artistic subject matter and the means by which this could be tackled.

Hill's attention to composition was something he was later to use to great effect in his pioneering relationship with the photographer Robert Adamson (1821-48). It is tempting, therefore, to read these pieces as more than celebrations of industry because of his attempts to control the landscape. In so doing, he indicated the problematic situation fellow artists were in – just as the railway was new to Glasgow so it brought with it a fresh challenge for Glasgow artists. Hill was to be one of the few artists to directly focus on industrial scenes before the advent of Muirhead Bone. Nevertheless, he could not free himself from prevailing artistic techniques or demands of patronage. Undoubtedly he celebrated industrial achievement but throughout sought means by which man could be situated at ease with industrial power, in this nature served a reassuring function. Likewise, the treatment of industry in the works of his contemporaries inferred comparable means of concession.

Glasgow in the Forties, a series of watercolours of Glasgow in the 1840s by William Simpson (1823-99), was not published until the year of the artist's death. Despite mentioning the 1840s, the 55 watercolours were painted in the five years prior to their being purchased by the Corporation in 1898. The watercolours were based on drawings done as an apprentice to the lithographers and printers Allan and Ferguson, possibly for their publication *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, 1848. As such it could be inferred that the subsequent drawings and watercolours would be tainted with nostalgia and perhaps so, but this is in itself important. These decades saw an outpouring of illustrated volumes of Glasgow past and present, amongst which were: John Gullan's *Glasgow Illustrated in a Series of Picturesque Views* (1834), James Pagan's *Sketch of the History of Glasgow* (1847), Thomas Fairbairn's *Relics of Ancient Architecture* (1849) and *Glasghu Facies* (1872) by J. F. S. Gordon. The reiteration of words such as 'former', 'past' and 'ancient' signified a retrospective approach to the city which was evident in the staging of the 1894 Old Glasgow Exhibition.³⁶ Thus, in the face of progress, there was a tendency to look back.

When compared to other sketches in Simpson's sketchbooks,³⁷ a development in style between the original drawings and the final scenes is evident but the content remained faithful to the scenes of the 'forties. It is important to note that Simpson was an enthusiastic Glasgow historian and when the Corporation published *Glasgow in the Forties* it was accompanied by historical commentaries written chiefly by Simpson. Simpson was one of the few artists to depict the internal industrial enterprises of the

³⁶ Exhibition illustrative of Old Glasgow, Institute of Fine Arts, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow 1894. In 1903 the Corporation of Glasgow issued a *Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings of Old Glasgow* which was comprised of the works of William Simpson from *Glasgow in the Forties*, Thomas Fairbairn's *Relics of Ancient Architecture* and David Small's *By-Gone Glasgow and Quaint Bits in Glasgow*.

³⁷ Three albums of William Simpson drawings are held in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. These also include drawings by James Anderson and Robert Carrick, who were his contemporaries at Allan and Ferguson. William Simpson Collection, Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

city, one of his plates being Old Sugar House, 138 Gallowgate circa 1845 (1890s) [34]. In the accompanying text, Simpson related that sugar works had been present in the city since 1669 and this building, which replaced the former, was identified with a trade integral to Glasgow's commercial growth. By the mid-eighteenth century five other such businesses operated in the city. As such, the plate is primarily of historical and architectural interest, with 'stock' characters to liven the scene.

Similarly, New Quay on the South Side 1847 (1890s) [35] and Barclay and Curle's Slip Dock 1845 (1890s) [36] were supplemented by a historical commentary documenting the changes incurred between the times of depiction and publication. In the latter, the view across the riverbank was the most convenient means of embracing the expanse of the yard. The scene was ordered and the alternation between the graceful rigging of the ships in dock and the chimneys made the flues seem more decorative than industrial. The characters collecting logs from the rowing boat added an air of rusticity, the peacefulness of which was aided by the tone of Simpson's palette. In contrast, the former view was more dramatic through the dominant wall and rocks in the foreground. There was a sense of the artificial subjugating nature and the wall removed the viewer from the construction of the New Quay on the opposing riverbank. Simpson commented: "In a historical sense this drawing is of great value, as showing where the first excavation was made for the formation of the new quay on the south side of the river."³⁸ The human scale, however, was diminutive. With Glasgow forming a monochromatic backdrop, there was the sense that a potentially more dramatic and 'industrial' scene could have been created but was suppressed. His View of Dixon's Iron Works, Glasgow (c.1850) [37] placed a tree in the centre of

³⁸ W. Simpson as cited in *Glasgow in the 1840s: Watercolours by William Simpson 1823-1899*, ex. cat., Glasgow Museums 1998, 12.

the composition before a loosely drafted factory. The chimneys echoed the form of the tree and their smoke its foliage, so consequently they appeared part of the natural environment. It must be remembered that these sketches were, if not intended for, contemporaneous with, those for *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, a text that joined an ilk of historical, nostalgic and narrative publications. As such they had to appeal to a wide 'tourist' audience and provide representative but purposefully attractive images of industry. It should be noted that in Simpson's views of streets and closes, he adopted a more guileless stance and provided a more unmediated depiction, perhaps indicating that he was more at ease with the city itself than its industries.

Old Bridge Over the Kelvin, at Great Western Road, 1888 (1898) [38], confirms that Simpson was capable of creating a dramatic view. This is perhaps because it dates from the time of the first Great International Exhibition of 1888 when Simpson worked in Glasgow as a 'special' artist for the *Illustrated London News*. The more graphic approach needed to accompany the headline stories may have filtered through to his watercolour composition. The raised viewpoint was necessary to enable the viewer to see both the bridges, which stood until 1891, and the men at work. The steep incline to the fast-flowing river was countered by the strong horizontals of the walls and building materials. Moreover, the depth of tone pulled the viewer towards the activity of the workmen. The human figure was again used to stress the mass of the man-made as it stood amidst the dramatic contours that conveyed the dynamism of city life and industrial energy. However, such compositions, especially of scenes within the city, were rare and as the site for most evident progress was the river, it was the banks of the Clyde that held the potential for realistic industrial views.

Once so shallow that only vessels of 'small burthen', to quote Slezer, could navigate through its waters, the Clyde had been widened to such an extent that by 1841 ocean going ships could reach Glasgow. Along with the passenger trade launched by the development of Henry Bell's 'Comet' steamer in 1812, the river was a site for trade, shipbuilding, and transportation. By the 1830s the quays had become so congested that there could be nine or ten tiers of ships waiting. Needless to say, this prompted the extension and construction of quays and docks along the banks of the Clyde. Such frenetic activity, however, was given scant attention in artistic works. When the focus turned to the riverbanks it tended to be with a nostalgic air as in View of Broomielaw (c.1850) [39] from John Willox's *Glasgow Tourist* (1850) and The Broomielaw (n.d.)³⁹ by Horatio Thomson (fl.1884-1906) where women laid out sheets presumably for bleaching. Thomson's work tended to date from 1884-1906 by which time the Clyde was already heavily polluted and the Broomielaw a space of trade and exchange rather than peaceful strolling; thus the work may have been tainted with nostalgia, although bleaching was a relatively common occurrence. Still, there is little sign of trade or activity in the work.

Not all representations were unwilling to convey the present; already in 1828 Fleming's View of Clyde Street, Broomielaw, Carlton Place [40] from Swan's *Views* had shown the hustle and bustle of the riverbank with stalls, carts, carriages and figures hurrying across the bridge. Likewise, View of Broomielaw, Glasgow (c.1834) [41] from Gullan's *Glasgow Illustrated in a Series of Picturesque Views* (1834) recognised the increased movement on the river as the passenger steamers powering towards the quay spewed out smoke, which echoed that of the factory chimneys. This dynamism

³⁹ H. Thomson, View of Broomielaw (n.d.), watercolour over pencil on paper, size unknown, Hunterian Art Gallery and Museum.

was steadied slightly by the presence of figures with horses and a cart on the nearside of the river and yet they stood before a streetlamp, which was another signifier of the modern character Glasgow was assuming. Going 'doon the watter' to view the Clyde scenery became a favourite pastime. Already in 1816 James Cleland (1770-1840) was able to report that:

The public, however, having gained confidence by degrees, in a navigation, which became at once expeditious and pleasant, it was preferred to every other mode of conveyance; for the expedition of the voyage, and beauty of the scenery on the banks of the Clyde, are such as to attract alike the man of business and pleasure ... previous to the erection of Steam-boats, not more than fifty persons passed and repassed from Glasgow to Greenock in one day; whereas, it is now supposed that there are from four to five hundred passes and repasses in the same period.⁴⁰

With tourism, trade and immigration, the Broomielaw became crowded with people and vessels alike. This was evident in J. & D. Nichol's *Broomielaw (c.1841)* [42] where masts jostle for space at the harbour's edge. With warehouse sheds used either for cargo or the peddling of goods, people bartering from trailers and various exchanges of both commercial and social variety, the street was being designated as a social and business space. This was not a nostalgic vision but a smog-filled and street-lit depiction of Glasgow's modern, commercial and industrial character.

Embrace, present and promote, perhaps, but artists were reluctant to confront the hazards both human and environmental that accompanied the developments in industry and shipping. Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) lamented:

And call they this Improvement? – to have changed,
My native Clyde, thy once romantic shore,
Where Nature's face is banish'd and estranged,
And heaven reflected in thy wave no more;
Whose banks, that sweeten'd May-day's breath before,
Lie sere and leafless now in summer's beam,

⁴⁰ J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow*, 1816 as cited in Osbourne and Armstrong (eds), *Mungo's City*, 151.

With sooty exhalations cover'd o'er;
And for the daisied green-sward, down they stream
Unsightly brick-lanes smoke, and clanking engines gleam.

...

Is this Improvement? – where the human breed
Degenerate as they swarm and overflow,
Till Toil grows cheaper than the trodden weed,
And man competes with man, like foe with foe,
Till Death, that thins them, scarce seems public woe?
Improvement! – smiles it in the poor man's eyes,
Or blooms it on the cheek of Labour? – No –
To gorge a few with Trade's precarious prize,
We banish rural life, and breathe unwholesome skies.⁴¹

'C.M.P.' supported this, asking: "Know ye the town where the smoke and imprudence/Are emblems of deeds that are wrought in their clime ... Where the dirt of the streets and the clouds of the sky/In colour are equal, in blackness may vie,/And often the river is purple with dye?"⁴² These failings in art were recognised at the time by *The Bailie's* art critic when sarcastically commenting on the work of Sam Bough (1822-78) in the 1873 Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts exhibition:

An example of the well-known artist 'Sambo,' is entitled "The Clyde from Bishopton". The likeliness is startling and truthful. The bubbles of phosphurated hydrogen gas which have risen from the bottom are admirably represented as bursting on the day coloured surface, and dancing around several dead dogs which float calmly onward with the sluggish stream.⁴³

The shipyards were not the only polluted and congested areas. The influx of immigrants and lack of adequate housing led to mass overcrowding in the city centre. Labour grew ever cheaper and with the advancement of new technology workshops

⁴¹ T. Campbell, "Lines on Revisiting a Scottish River" as cited in Osbourne and Armstrong (eds), *Mungo's City*, 160

⁴² C.M.P., "Know ye the town where the smoke and imprudence" (1830), Whyte (ed.), *Mungo's Tongues*, 82.

⁴³ *The Bailie*, 12 February 1873, 9. Sam Bough was a topographical and landscape painter whose reputation grew in Glasgow throughout the late 1840s and early 1850s, before he moved to Edinburgh in 1855. The Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum hold a number of his works, most are landscape views but there are a number of Glasgow scenes including *Widening the Clyde* (1859), gouache, 36.5x48.9cm, Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums.

and factories were established with little regard to the health or safety of their employees.

The chimneys spewed out blackened smoke and consequently the air was heavily polluted. The situation was recognised as early as 1825 when *The Northern Looking Glass* published a cartoon showing Glasgow 'present' and 'future' [43]. The 'present' was deemed so drastic that the industrial emissions killed birds flying past, withered trees and prevented coughing city dwellers from even seeing each other on the streets. In contrast, the 'future' was to see the chimney as a nesting ground and all around it flourished. It was to be over a century before this future came into being, well after the Smoke Abatement Association tried to restrict the emissions from key industrial works during the 1880s. Whereas artists could choose to ignore the pollution, the municipal authorities could not.

Thus, the growth in industry further complicated the representation of Glasgow. It was integral to its character and yet displeasing to the eye. Artists could not ignore its presence, however, few chose to depict its reality. Rather than compositions directly focused on industrial scenes, what emerged in their place were romanticised and distanced views recognising industry's existence, but denying its consequences. Artists remained bound to prevailing aesthetic ideas and modes of representation. Reynolds' words on beauty and the theories of Burke were used to preface catalogues of the West of Scotland Academy of the Fine Arts until the mid-1840s and inasmuch as the Enlightenment city could be represented as beautiful, it was not so with the industrial.⁴⁴ There was no category in art amenable to industrial

⁴⁴ *The Exhibition of the West of Scotland Academy of the Fine Arts*, ex. cats, Glasgow 1842 (Reynolds: "The Art which we profess has Beauty for its object; that it is our business to discover and to express..."); 1843 (Reynolds: "It has been often observed, that the good and virtuous man alone can acquire a true or just relish even works of art...."); 1844 (Burke: "The elevation of the mind ought to be the principal end of all our studies...").

scenes. Reynolds had established the hierarchy of the Academy – historical and literary subjects, portraiture and landscape – and artists seeking success adhered to the dictates rather than diverging into the new and undeveloped. Furthermore, these traditions guided patrons, especially among the emerging industrial class, when purchasing works.

Hence, the majority of artists depicting contemporary Glasgow, who were obliged to include chimneys or shipping in their work, translated them into decorative and pictorial tools, in a manner that allied them with the landscape tradition, frequently emphasising their natural surroundings. Essentially, for those painters industry became picturesque. As the Mr Hamilton of Uvedale Price (1747-1829) explained:

... the set of objects we have been looking at, struck you with their singularity; but instead of thinking them beautiful, you were disposed to call them ugly; now, I should neither call them beautiful nor ugly, but picturesque; for they have qualities highly suited to the painter and his art, but which are, in general, less attractive to the bulk of mankind; whereas the qualities of beauty are universally pleasing and alluring to all observers.⁴⁵

In outward appearance, nineteenth century Glasgow was not universally appealing nor alluring and therefore artists had to find a means by which to present it as such to patrons.

In "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu", E.D.H. Johnson, in part quoting Francis Klingender's *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, wrote:

The great engineers and industrial architects of the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were esteemed not only as public benefactors, but also as true artists whose works enhanced the landscape. The mines and foundries, as well as the canals, bridges, aqueducts, and the tunnels which provided access to them, were more often than not situated in settings of conspicuous natural beauty. 'The iron industry had not yet lost its picturesque character,' wrote Francis D. Klingender. 'Still surrounded by romantic scenery, the great

⁴⁵ U. Price, "A Dialogue on the Distinct Characters of the Picturesque and the Beautiful", as cited in Harrison et al., *Art in Theory 1648-1815*, 879.

ironworks, with their smouldering lime kilns and coke ovens, blazing furnaces and noisy forges, had a special attraction for eighteenth-century admirers of the sublime.⁴⁶

Adhering to the theories of sublime and picturesque as espoused by Burke and Price respectively, it is possible to detect more of the sublime in the extended vistas of Glasgow and to interpret singular industrial depictions as picturesque. Here, what was perceived as ugly and, as contemporary poetry and prose indicated was ugly, became translated into a more appealing genre. Although noting the parallels with landscape painting, Johnson tended to treat industrial landscapes and those of the city as separate categories, yet this was not the case in Glasgow. Johnson argued: "As a symbol of industrial progress, however, the factory town offered artists none of the romantic adjuncts of the mechanical marvels which had preceded its appearance."⁴⁷ In Glasgow, however, the Clyde, at the city's industrial core, ironically enabled industries situated in or in very close proximity to Glasgow to be rendered picturesque. Although the river was not in itself beautiful, as indicated by *The Bailie's* art critic, it was made beautiful by artists. The artists emphasised the surrounding landscape so that industry could still be contrasted with nature and therefore interpreted as picturesque. Those that were not specifically picturesque in character leant toward a romantic atmosphere that still transformed an industrial scene into a more appealing prospect.

As Price indicated, an aspect of the picturesque was that the subject was, in some basically inexplicable way, compelling. This fear and fascination was to become a trait of the Victorian city, which was increasingly defined by paradoxical polarities –

⁴⁶ E.D.H. Johnson, "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu" in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds), *Artists and the Victorian City: Images and Reality*, London and Boston 1973, 450-451. Quoting F. D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, A. Elton (ed.), London 1968, 9. Another useful text for studying industrial imagery in the Victorian era is Wolff and Seed (eds), *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle Class*, Manchester 1988, particularly the final chapter.

⁴⁷ Johnson, "Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu", 450.

poverty and prosperity, rejuvenation and decay. Although some depictions alluded to Glasgow's modern industrial character, these were in the minority and almost exclusively in prints as opposed to painting. Industrial representations were to change, but this only really occurred after two key developments: firstly, the living and working conditions of the poorer classes had to be recognised and action taken to amend them and secondly, the advancement and wider use of the camera as a means of recording the city. These factors were united in Thomas Annan's photographs of municipal attempts to improve the city. Whilst the 'Workshop of the World' strove to be a 'Model Municipality', the complex and dualistic nature of the city was reflected in the images it bred.

The Physical and Moral Sanitation of the City: Thomas Annan and the City Improvement Trust

The housing and sanitation problems facing the city were already evident in 1838 when, referring principally to the areas of Trongate, Bridgegate and Saltmarket, J.C. Symons (1809-60), the assistant handloom weavers' commissioner, reported:

... I have seen human degradation in some of its worst places, both in England and abroad, but I can advisedly say that I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery and disease existed in one spot in any civilised country. The wynds, consist of long lanes, so narrow that a cart could, with difficulty, pass along them; out of these open the 'closes' which are courts about 15-20 feet square, round which the houses, mostly three stories high, are built; the centre of the court is the dung-hill, which is probably the most lucrative part of the estate to the laird in most instances, and which it would consequently be esteemed an invasion of the rights of property to remove ... twelve and sometimes twenty persons of both sexes and all ages sleep promiscuously on the floor in different degrees of nakedness. These places are generally, as regards dirt, damp and decay, such as no persons of common humanity would stable his horse in...⁴⁸

⁴⁸ J.C. Symons "My Visit to the Wynds of Glasgow", Reports from Assistant Handloom Weavers' Commissioners, 1839, Vol. XLVII as cited in A. V. Mozley, *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877*, New York 1977, note 27.

In the sixty years following 1801, the population of Glasgow rose from just over 77,000 to 395,500 inhabitants. Much of this was due to the influx of Highlanders, Irish and rural dwellers in search of work and a potentially better standard of living. The growth in population led to houses being built on land behind existing properties, hence the notorious term 'backlands'. As the affluent moved from the heart of the city to the West End, the elegant properties that were once home to the wealthy were divided, for maximum profit, into working class dwellings. Any available space was crowded with rows of poor quality tenements. Nonetheless, this provision of additional housing failed to keep pace with the deluge of people and consequentially mass overcrowding was endemic.

In 1842 Edwin Chadwick (1800-90) observed in his Poor Law Commissioners' Report on the *Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* that "both the structural arrangements and the condition of the population in Glasgow was the worst of any we had seen in any part of Great Britain."⁴⁹ The health implications of overcrowding became all too evident during outbreaks of cholera and typhus in 1848, 1853 and 1863. By 1856 the American consul at Liverpool, Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64), commented that "the poorer classes of Glasgow excel even those in Liverpool in the bad eminence of filth, uncombed and unwashed children, drunkenness, disorderly deportment, evil smell, and all that makes city poverty disgusting."⁵⁰ As Symons indicated, concern did not solely centre on issues of health and housing, but also on moral wellbeing. The municipality, therefore, began a unique and extensive programme of urban reform, initially dealing with the water supply and then housing. Thomas Annan recorded both of these projects and the works he produced embodied

⁴⁹ E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, edited and introduced by M.W. Flinn, Edinburgh 1965, 99.

⁵⁰ N. Hawthorne, *Our Old Home, and English Note-books*, Vol.II, from *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Vol.III, Boston and New York 1887, 246-7 as cited in Mozley, *Thomas Annan*, vi.

the paradoxes of both the municipality and Victorian society as a whole. The city needed purification, the first step of which was the Loch Katrine Water scheme.

The need for an improved water supply had been recognised for some time. With housing problems, disease and the additional demand on water from industrial steam works, Glasgow Corporation chose Loch Katrine, fifty-five kilometres from the city, as the solution to their problems. Much vaunted as a romantic idyll of unspoilt nature, chiefly due to Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810), the location held symbolic as well as natural significance. Far from the city, it was disassociated from the deteriorating urban situation and as an unaffected, romantic site it sustained values of virtue and purity perceived, by observers such as Symons, as being long departed from Glasgow's slums. By channelling water from the Loch to the city it was hoped that physical and moral cleansing would ensue. Moreover, as well as medicating the city, the sheer feat of the endeavour and decision to record it reflected Glasgow's municipal pride.

Annan's *Views from the Line of the Loch Katrine Waterworks* was published midway through the project and after its completion in 1877 a further 28 albumen prints were issued. The purpose of these volumes was twofold: they recorded the first municipal undertaking of its kind in Britain and simultaneously promoted Glasgow's industrial viability and engineering expertise. The industrial and rural were juxtaposed with an idiosyncratically Victorian lack of contradiction. As reported by the *Evening Citizen*, the project provided "views of the greatest engineering works of the waterway, with some of the choicest scenery in the vicinity."⁵¹ Accordingly, Annan's photographs emphasised the mass of the metal pipes, rivets and bolts against

⁵¹ *The Evening Citizen*, n.d.. Clipping in T. Annan's 1862 notebook, Mitchell Library, Glasgow MS 13/1 as cited in R. McKenzie "Thomas Annan and the Scottish Landscape", *History of Photography*, 16 1992, 49 note 18.

the grass and heather of the hillsides [44]. Significantly, many of the images featured metalwork spanning a natural fissure and thereby indicated man's prowess when challenged by nature [45].

The venture generated considerable national attention and on the occasion of its inauguration by Queen Victoria a wood engraving of an Annan photograph adorned the front page of the *Illustrated London News* accompanied by an article and additional illustrations [46].⁵² The article relayed the procedures of the prestigious and celebratory event. The address to the Queen pronounced the (self) regard in which the municipal authorities held their achievement. The secretary to the Waterworks Commissioners proclaimed that "It is with no ordinary feelings of pride and satisfaction that we are enabled this day to state to your Majesty that we have completed one of the most interesting and difficult works of engineering, and at the same time the largest and most comprehensive scheme, for the supply of water..."⁵³ The benefits to both health and industry were noted and the Queen complimented the project as being representative of the enterprise and philanthropy of Glasgow.⁵⁴ Although not strictly images of the city, the endeavour and its documentation were integral to Glasgow's character and a valuable precursor to Annan's future municipal commission. The dialectic between the industrial and municipal underlay much of Glasgow's development in the nineteenth century. Eradicating the obstacles to an adequate quality of life for the poor countered Glasgow's reputation as one of Europe's most socially and morally ailing industrial centres. One contemporary poet welcomed the waters of Loch Katrine: "Throughout her mighty system of tunnel and tube and main,/ Thy healthful current is pulsing, pulsing through every vein;/In the fever den, in the

⁵² *ILN*, 15 October 1859, 35 (998), front page. Further illustrations on page 402 and a full-page image on 403.

⁵³ "Inauguration by the Queen of the new waterworks at Loch Katrine", *ILN*, 15 October 1859, 404a.

⁵⁴ "Inauguration...", *ILN*, 404b.

attic, in the cellars under the street,/ The poor have long been waiting to quaff thy waters sweet."⁵⁵ Taking active measures to remedy the plight raised both the profile of Glasgow and that of its municipal councillors, predominantly drawn from the realms of the business world. The threads tying the moral to the industrial to poverty to pride to propaganda and to self- or civic- improvement were intricately entwined and this manifested itself further in Annan's documentation of the City Improvement Scheme.

Upon its founding in 1866, the City Improvement Trust began devising plans to replace the city slums with adequate housing for the poorer working class. Already the arrival of the railways in Glasgow had initiated some slum destruction under the 1864 City of Glasgow Union Railway Act. Prior to this, measures had been taken to curb overcrowding by introducing a 'ticketing' system. The process was judged so successful that a reviewer of the 1900 Tenement Exhibition in New York remarked: "Wherever overcrowding is found customary, houses should be ticketed, as in Glasgow. This enlightened municipality maintains a system of night inspection for ticketed houses, which results in prosecution for overcrowding when the legal number of inmates is exceeded."⁵⁶ Still, Glasgow's success was outweighed by its notoriety. The author highlighted "Glasgow's famous Sanitary District 14, with the largest proportion of inmates per inhabited room" and where drunkenness was rife.⁵⁷ He continued, "Then there is the moral side. Promiscuity in human beehives renders independence and isolation of family life an impossibility..."⁵⁸ J.B. Russell noted that in District 14 scraps rather than food were bought so the remainder of any money could be spent on drink. It was felt that rather than want of money, there was a lack of self-

⁵⁵ J. Nicholson, "A Welcome to the Waters of Loch Katrine" 1863 as cited in Whyte (ed.), *Mungo's Tongues*, 131-132.

⁵⁶ E.R.L. Gould, "The Housing Problem in Great Cities", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 14 (3) 1900, 386.

⁵⁷ Gould, "The Housing Problem", 380.

⁵⁸ Gould, "The Housing Problem", 380.

restraint. Russell believed that those who lived in uninhabitable houses were the “debris of the city, the chips and dishonoured stones which fell from the social structure and littered its base.”⁵⁹ The idea that these areas needed to be cleansed was so prevalent that it made its way into popular culture. A Hudson's Soap Advertisement [47] published in 1889 in the periodical *Quiz*, which tended to give rather insouciant anecdotes of social problems,⁶⁰ showed a policeman, soon to become a key figure in street imagery, shining a torch on a fence hoarding which read “ARREST all Dirt and cleanse Everything. Hudson's Soap, REWARD!! Purity, Health and Satisfaction by its Regular Daily Use.”⁶¹ The industrial backdrop associated the advertisement with working class areas and the affirmation that the soap would cleanse everything and ensure purity gave a moral as well as physical idea of sanitation.

It is evident that much of the concern and condemnation surrounding Glasgow's poorer areas centred on morality. This is an important concept to examine, as it not only reflected the prevailing social commentary of the age but also an attitude that played a role in the activities of the Improvement Trust. For example, Russell was to quote the opinions of Thomas Carlyle's Herr Tufelsdröckh on the polluted, poverty-stricken and overcrowded town of Weisnichtwo (which literally translates as 'know-not-where') in his *Life in one Room: or, some serious considerations for the citizens of Glasgow* (1888).⁶² As far as Russell was concerned, he knew exactly 'where' he was

⁵⁹ J.B. Russell, *Sociological Aspects of Sanitation, represented by the Royal Sanitary Association Scotland*, 1933 as cited in T. Ferguson, “Public Health in Britain in the Climate of the Nineteenth Century”, *Population Studies*, 17 (3) 1964, 219.

⁶⁰ See M. Burgess, *Imagine a City*, Argyll 1998, 51. Burgess related how a character in the periodical, Martha Spruell, “a single wumman”, viewed the City Improvement Scheme. Quoting Spruell in *Quiz*, Burgess related: “Eh me! Sic a changed place. The auld Bell-o'-the-Brae [the top of High Street] is clean cut awa. Hale streets hae been dung doon, and fine new anes wi' bonnie big lands o' hooses planted l' there place...I mind when I lived in George Street, whenever I became discontented wi' myself or my hoose, I just took a walk doon the High Street and back by Bell's Wynd. It was a grand cure, for I aye saw sae muckle dirt and misery there that I generally cam hame thankfu' and happy...”

⁶¹ Hudson's Soap Advert, *Quiz*, Summer Number 1889, 21.

⁶² Thomas Carlyle, quote from *Sartor Resartus* as cited in Russell, *Life in One Room: or, some serious considerations for the citizens of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1888, 13-14: “Oh, under that hideous coverlet of

referring to and thus equated Weissnichtwo with Glasgow. Likewise, Ruskin vehemently proclaimed that Glasgow was needful of a “burned city and a cleaned Clyde.”⁶³ When advising an artist who was drawing Glasgow he commented: “My dear Sir, I am so sorry to have kept your drawing so long, and more so that you are under so disadvantageous conditions for work. If I were you, I would rather earn my bread as a country labourer, than in drawing bricks. You could at least see the sky so – and would not be injuring your eyes and lungs, in the day time.”⁶⁴ Building on the ideas of A.W. Pugin (1812-1852), an early advocate of the moral superiority of Gothic architecture, Ruskin saw art and architecture as an expression of morality and believed the condition of architecture in the city had implications for the health and virtue of its inhabitants. The ideal form of architecture lay with the art of mediaeval times. He was an advocate of the Gothic and particularly the Venetian Gothic. His architectural treatise *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) articulated his conviction that in modern architecture, which reflected the state of the modern world, the material had banished the spiritual and that the Gothic was a suitable model by which it might be restored.

Accordingly, when William Morris (1834-96) came to Glasgow he was not impressed. On first encountering the Renaissance-inspired edifice of the City Chambers, the principal expression Glasgow’s wealth and importance, “the vehemence

vapours, and putrefications, and unimaginable gases, what a Fermenting-vat lies simmering and hid! The joyful and the sorrowful are there; men are dying there, men are being born; men are praying – on the other side of a brick partition men are cursing; and around them all is the vast, void Night...Wretchedness cowers into truckle beds, or shivers hunger-stricken into its lair of straw; in obscure cellars *Rouge-et-Noir* languidly emits its voice-of-destiny to haggard, hungry villains...Riot cries aloud, and staggers and swaggers in his rank dens of shame; and the mother, with streaming hair, kneels over her palled, dying infant, whose cracked lips only tears now moisten. All these heaped and huddled together, with nothing but a little carpentry and masonry between them; crammed in like salted fish in their barrel; or weltering, shall I say, like an Egyptian pitcher of tamed vipers, each struggling to get its *head above the others*: such work goes on under that some-counter-pane!”

⁶³ J. Ruskin as cited in W. Smart, “The Municipal Work and Finance of Glasgow”, *The Economic Journal*, 5 (17) 1895, 35.

⁶⁴ Ruskin letter to William Hackstoun, 14 August 1878, MacColl H25, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.

and rudeness of his expression ... had astonished those who were with him." His subsequent visit failed to produce a more favourable appraisal:

... he again turned his face from it with an unquotable epithet of contempt. Looking round the Square at the Post Office, the Merchants' House, and the far-stretching and elaborate façades of banks and other commercial offices in St Vincent Place, his face hardened. 'Renaissance and the devil be damned!' was his comment; and addressing me he added 'Allow me, my friend, to remark, being this is the Sabbath day, that your respected city, like most of its commercial kind, is, architecturally speaking, woefully bad, and I fear impenitently so. Your young 'Scots wha hae' of the Glasgow School don't appear to have laid their reforming hand on your city architecture. Ruskin, thirty years ago, in a lecture on architecture, called Glasgow the 'Devil's Drawing Room.' He would hardly feel obliged to amend his judgement of it to-day, if this is the best that Glasgow can show.'⁶⁵

By this stage Glasgow was undoubtedly a capitalist and consumerist environment and as such denounced by Ruskin and Morris. The principal edifices may have spoken more of decadence than devotion but the idea that environment affected society was significant.

Architects shared similar sentiments. John Loudon (1783-1843) believed that the external appearance of buildings could benefit society's moral standing. He wrote: "Order is the fundamental principle of all morals; for what is immorality but a disturbance of the order of civilized society."⁶⁶ Notably, the Glasgow architect Alexander 'Greek' Thompson closely echoed Ruskin in his belief that the "rude and crude" buildings of Glasgow "shocked and choked" the people.⁶⁷ Bearing in mind Ruskin's views on Glasgow and his preference for the Venetian Gothic, it is somewhat ironic that the city gained a further epithet as 'The Venice of the North.' This was

⁶⁵ J.B. Glasier, *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement*, London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras 1921, 96-97.

⁶⁶ J. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, 1833, 94 as cited in J.A. Schmiechen, "The Victorians, the Historians and the Idea of Modernism", *The American Historical Review*, 93 (2) 1988, 305.

⁶⁷ A. Thompson, *Art and Architecture: A Course in Four Lectures*, 1874 as cited in Schmiechen, "The Victorians...", 296.

partly due to its architecture. A prominent statement in the Venetian Gothic style was the façade of Templeton's Carpet Factory (1892) by William Leiper (1839-1916), which was modelled on the Venetian Doge's Palace (1309-1424). Its frontage, however, was merely an addition covering a functional mill and therefore could be seen as an example of Ruskin's self-inflicted curse where the Gothic became little more than a rhetorical style. For Glaswegians, morality was something more fundamental that necessitated practical action to deal with the vice, crime, drunkenness and disease in the city.

When considering this pragmatic attitude, another factor that should not be overlooked was the philanthropic zeal within the city.⁶⁸ Much of this was generated by the Christian community, distinguished amongst whom was the Reverend Thomas Chalmers, a leading speaker on urban society. In a sermon entitled "On the Advantages of Christian Knowledge to the Lower Orders of Society", delivered at St John's Church in 1823, he espoused his belief that it was possible "out of the raw and ragged materials of an obscurest lane, to rear an individual of more inherent worth, than him who thus draws the gaze of the world upon his person."⁶⁹ Chalmers, slightly paradoxically, felt it "indeed a cheering thought to the heart of the philanthropist, that near him lies a territory so ample"⁷⁰ on which there was an "amazing extent of raw material, for this moral and spiritual manufacture."⁷¹ He sustained that by enlightening the lower orders any divisions in the community could be healed. Therefore, the 'municipal philanthropy' so praised by Queen Victoria, was built on a background of

⁶⁸ For further information on philanthropy in Scotland see O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle*, Edinburgh 1980.

⁶⁹ T. Chalmers, "On the Advantages of Christian Knowledge to the Lower Orders of Society", *Sermons Preached at St John's Church*, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin and London 1823, 363.

⁷⁰ Chalmers "On the Advantages...", 364-365.

⁷¹ Chalmers, "On the Advantages...", 375.

this kind of ideology whereby a healthy, moral population would arise from a strong, moral leadership.⁷²

Equally influential, perhaps, were the actions of the Edinburgh sociologist Patrick Geddes (1854-1932). Geddes viewed the city as an organism, subject to growth and decay, in which, echoing Chalmers, the activity of the inhabitants could have a positive impact on its evolution. He regarded Paris as the prototype for healthy city development in which consideration of education and the way in which people lived in the city could lead to the best habitat for citizens. Quoting a Parisian weekly, he cited "Our true University is thus the City; nay more, it is the City, great Paris herself."⁷³ Whereas the ideals of Ruskin and Morris reflected a widespread attitude amongst the upper classes, they did not resolve the core problems causing moral concern amongst the municipal authorities. For this a more practical example was needed and, like Geddes, Glasgow's City Fathers turned to Paris as the archetypal modern metropolis.

Compared with previous legislation to try and contend with the housing problems, the City Improvement Bill, proposed in 1865 by Lord Provost Blackie (1805-73), was more extensive in scale and undertaking. The *Minute Book of Trustees under the Glasgow Improvement Act (1866)* recorded:

Whereas various portions of the City of Glasgow are so built, and the Buildings thereon so densely inhabited, as to be highly injurious to the moral and physical Welfare of the Inhabitants, and many of the thoroughfares are narrow, circuitous and inconvenient, and it would be of public and local Advantage of various Houses and Buildings were taken down, and those portions of the said City reconstructed, and new Streets were constructed in and through various Parts of said City, and several of the existing Streets altered and widened and

⁷² For further information on the role and function of philanthropy in Scotland see O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland. Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle*

⁷³ *L'Université de Paris* as quoted by P. Geddes and V.V. Branford, *Our Social Inheritance*, London 1919, 344-345 as cited in H. Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, London and New York, 1990, 34-35.

diverted, and in connexion with the Reconstruction of these portions of the City Provision was made for Dwellings for the Labouring Classes who may be displaced in consequence thereof...⁷⁴

In the wake of the cholera and typhus epidemics the city's officer for health, Dr William Gairdner (1824-1907), and the city architect, John Carrick (1819-90), had drawn up blueprints for the transformation of the urban centre. They both held the belief that there was a direct relationship between morality, mortality and the habitat in which a person lived. Close confinement, the proportions of buildings within and in relation to one another, adequate ventilation and light were all held as vital to improving the current situation.⁷⁵ Consequently, the municipality was granted the power to purchase land and demolish standing buildings in order to provide adequate housing for the poorer working class.⁷⁶

The scheme focussed attention not on the city at large, but specifically on the streets. As Brian Edwards has noted:

Street construction led to the removal of large areas of slum property and permitted the subdivision of insanitary urban environment into manageable blocks. Streets also provided a largely rectangular grid of light, space and air ... to the obvious benefit of public health. They also acted as servicing channels relaying the water supplies which stemmed from the Loch Katrine Scheme of 1855, and as the beginnings of a public sewage system. Streets also provided the means to create regular and well-ordered building plots out of the remains of the labyrinthine pattern of lanes, closes and wynds, thereby promoting commercial well-being.⁷⁷

Thus, the street became the prime vehicle for the expression of Glasgow's character, physically and visually, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In this instance, the

⁷⁴ *Minute Book of Trustees under the Glasgow Improvement Act (1866)* as cited in Mozley, *Thomas Annan*, viii.

⁷⁵ B. Edwards, "Glasgow Improvements, 1866-1901" in P. Reed (ed.), *Glasgow: the Forming of the City*, Edinburgh 2000, 84.

⁷⁶ It would be wrong to assume that Glasgow was the only municipality undertaking such schemes as, for example, Manchester had instituted an Improvement Act in 1821 to widen the city's main thoroughfare, however no previous scheme had been as extensive as that of Glasgow.

⁷⁷ Edwards, "Glasgow Improvements", 87.

scheme would benefit both the health of the population and the city's commercial viability. Just as the initial slum destruction that had occurred with the incursion of the railway had benefited those councillors with shares in railway companies, so this scheme, although it must be noted that Blackie had no such vested interest, would raise the prestige of the city and the businesses therein. Glasgow's noteworthy predecessor – Paris – had already shown the attention such a project would generate. As uniform facades on wide boulevards took form, the transformation was charted with interest in the British press. Paris was the cosmopolitan, well planned and managed city that Glasgow hoped to be. Hence, upon the approval of the City Improvement Bill, a delegation went from Glasgow to Paris to view what was primarily a street-focussed building regime. Furthermore, it is in Paris that a forerunner for Annan's work can be found in the photography of Charles Marville (1816-79).⁷⁸

“Notes of Personal Observations and Inquiries, in June 1866, on the City Improvements of Paris & C.” is an anonymous afterthought chronicling the visit to Paris:

⁷⁸ There is no evidence of any direct contact between Annan and Marville. From the municipal report (“Notes of Personal Observations and Inquiries, in June 1866, on the City Improvements of Paris, & C, with Appendix, presented to the magistrates, town council and other representatives of the City of Glasgow on Tuesday 2nd October, 1866”, D-TC 14.2.2 Report 27, Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library) it is evident that the delegation collaborated extensively with the Parisian authorities and, as the Improvements were well advanced by the time of the visit, it seems reasonable to presume that in order to see conditions beforehand some kind of visual documentation would have been used. Significantly the first volume of the *Histoire Generale* was published in the year of the delegation's visit. Regardless of this, Annan may have been aware of Marville's work as early as 1855 when his *La Vallée Suisse à St Goarhausen (n.d.)*, printed by Blanquart-Evrard, was exhibited by Camus & Co. in a photography exhibition in Glasgow, arranged by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Annan also participated in the exhibition. (W. Buchanan, “State of the Art, Glasgow 1855”, *History of Photography*, 13 (2) 1989, 168). Furthermore, Marville won a gold medal at the London Exhibition in 1862. It is also interesting to note that, with regard to the Glasgow exhibition, invitations were sent to ‘eminent Scientific Foreigners.’ In France's case, this was backed by a ‘Memorial to the Prince Napoleon, President of the Imperial Commission of the French Exposition’ to ensure France was properly represented in the Glasgow Exhibition. “This Memorial was presented to His Imperial Highness by Dr Strang and William Murray Esq., as a deputation from [the] Committee, at a special audience granted to them in Paris.” Many members of French nobility and representatives of scientific and artistic institutions the came to view the exhibition in Glasgow. (“The British Association, Concluding Meeting of the Glasgow Local General Committee”, C62742, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections).

In the beginning of June, 1866, the Lord Provost, accompanied by Bailie Raeburn, Mr. Carrick, and Dr. Gairdner, visited Paris with the view of obtaining information on various subjects connected with the reconstructions which have been carried out there under the present Emperor, and the great works which it was understood have been, and still are, in progress to improve the sanitary condition, as well as the external aspect of the city.⁷⁹

The presence of Carrick and Gairdner, the two figures who were to reshape Glasgow, is crucial. Despite 'inquiries' at both Brussels and Amsterdam, it was to Paris that Glasgow remained indebted. The Report noted that "we have much to learn from Paris ... We think it advisable, in the view of the great changes likely to take place under Glasgow City Improvements Act, to direct particular attention to this feature of Paris, and especially of modern Paris."⁸⁰

Paris, like Glasgow, had faced housing and sanitary problems caused by increased population. Moreover, the authorities of the Second Empire sought to quash any repetition of the uprisings that had become synonymous with the Parisian streets and the Report indicated that officials were eager to prevent similar conditions breeding in Glasgow as regarded "the poorer and more dangerous classes."⁸¹ The architect David Smith had already warned that steps had to be taken to avoid "tempers bursting forth" and "red republicanism [spreading] dissolution and ruin over the surface of society."⁸² Following Hausmannisation, the Report observed that there had been a considerable improvement in the behaviour of the Parisians, which he indicated was in no small part due to the betterment of their surroundings:

We can hardly be mistaken, however, in stating as simple witnesses of a fact evident on the surface, that the appearance of external respectability belongs in very high degree to the Parisian working class; that from end to end of Paris we saw no man or woman in the streets in rags, or without shoes, or even without

⁷⁹ Anon., "Notes of Personal Observations", 3.

⁸⁰ Anon., "Notes of Personal Observations", 9.

⁸¹ Anon., "Notes of Personal Observations", 4.

⁸² D. Smith, "Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland (1851-52), 253-263 as cited in Schmeichen, "The Victorians...", 301.

a certain neatness and self-respect apparent in this manner, dress and conduct, and that even in the worst of the *garnis* (and we took pains to see nearly the worst) we did not observe anything that could be compared with those loathsome types of utterly degenerate human native that abounds to such an appalling extent in our own closes and wynds, and constitute so serious a part of our difficulties dealing with the population of our city ... The presence of this generally diffused appearance of comfort and the absence of extreme squalor and physical wretchedness with which habit renders is only too familiar at home, were facts too striking not to be noticed...⁸³

It was clear then, that the street was the signifier of the social and moral condition of the city and this was expressed in not only the physical appearance of the buildings but also those in the social space between. The Parisian and Glaswegian authorities alike felt the need to document the transformation, tangible and intangible, of their cities. In order to understand the perplexing character of Annan's photographs, it is necessary to examine the motivation for the commission itself, against which Marville provides a valuable point of comparison.

In Paris, the Parliament formed the Permanent Subcommittee on Historic Works and it was this department that Marville joined. At the outset of their respective commissions, Annan and Marville had been engaged in similar projects which nostalgically recorded aspects of the city, namely Annan's *The Old Country Houses of the Glasgow Gentry* (1870) and Marville's *Yesteryear, or The Good Old Days* (n.d.). Marville's documentation of the redevelopment had begun with similar sentiment as a personal endeavour in the 1850s. By 1862, however, it had become an official commission to record the full process of Hausmannisation. Marville's approach was extremely thorough – photographing streets from both directions and, in the case of an intersection, from all approaches [48]. Districts were photographed before and during demolition and then the rebuilding was celebrated through the lens. By photographing the criticised conditions before, the feat of correction and laudatory

⁸³ Anon., "Notes of Personal Observations", 6-7.

result, Marville visually attested to the success of the Parisian authorities. Such praise was reflected in the inaugural volume of *Histoire Generale* (1866), in which Marville applauded the Emperor's inquiring into the past as a way of obtaining meaning for the present, in readiness for the future.

There were a number of similarities and differences between Marville's work and that of Annan. Annan was not commissioned to record the full process of the Trust's activities and as such the disposition of his series of photographs differed. Despite evidence that Annan did photograph wynds from both directions,⁸⁴ these did not form part of the final sequence, which included images of the areas to be demolished, but not their subsequent destruction or rebuilding. They stood apart in not providing such a rigorous analysis and intimated a greater element of selection in the process of their accumulation. Annan's photographs were, however, analogous to Marville's in visual terms. In both, the street was afforded centrality in the photographic field at an angle that tried to embrace and convey its full depth. Texture played a considerable role in definition, with chiselled stonework and glistening cobbles, and there was a reciprocal dialogue between narrow closes and open streets. The repetition of lamp-posts, doorways, carts, partially demolished walls and occasional asides into courtyards was common to the work of both photographers [49, 50]. Still, there was a key difference: few of Marville's photographs incorporated figures whereas several of Annan's did. In the Frenchman's photographs figures were caught on the rarest of occasions and their inclusion was incidental [51]. In Annan's work, however, the figures were undoubtedly posed, which further confounds their interpretation.

⁸⁴ There is an Annan photograph of 128 Saltmarket which views the close from the opposite direction to the photograph included in the final portfolio of prints, William Henry Hill album, Acc.890090/S.R.259. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

Due to lengthy exposure times, figures captured in movement in both works had a certain ghost-like, pictorial quality. In practical terms, the depth of field in the closes was slight, leaving large parts of the subject out of focus. Many of Annan's images were taken at full aperture and exposure times would have been minutes long. This may partly explain why he chose to pose figures, perhaps drawn to the close by the curiosity at the camera's presence, rather than allow their spectral presence to disrupt the photograph. Their repeated appearance, however, suggests a more purposeful statement. Traditionally figures were placed in architectural studies to give a sense of scale and Annan's intention may have been comparable, but rather than suggest grandeur, it was poverty and containment that came to the fore. This was accented by the play between the narrow closes and wider street scenes. The Report recognised the value of "a *boulevard*, with its trees and open spaces, and comparative quiet."⁸⁵ There was no such space displayed in Close, No. 118 High Street (between 1868 and 1877) [52] where lines of women and children straddled the breadth of the close. This provided stark contrast with the boulevard which combined "the characters of a thoroughfare and a lounge" and stood as "testimony ... to the widely diffused sense of mere elbowroom."⁸⁶ The inclusion of figures in this manner could have been a visual articulation of the relationship between the physical condition of the housing and that of their inhabitants.

Akin to the sentiment of *The Old Country Houses*, Annan was commenting on a way of life that was to be destroyed with the tenements – a sense of identity captured in the defiant stance of the central boy in Close, No. 28 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877) [53]. Alien to this sense of belonging was the bowler-hatted male figure with a

⁸⁵ Anon., "Notes of Personal Observations", 17.

⁸⁶ Anon., "Notes of Personal Observations", 15-16.

pocket watch to the side of Close 28 and reappearing in Close, No. 46 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877) [54]. His attire was not that usually associated with the close and it is possible that he was Annan's assistant or, more plausibly, a representative of the Corporation or Trust. The publication *The Backlands of Glasgow and their Inhabitants* (1901) by Peter Fyfe, then Chief Sanitary Inspector, included a photograph of a figure labelled as a council member whose purpose was to demonstrate the narrowness of the close.⁸⁷ If Annan's figure was someone of comparable standing, it implied that specific aims lay behind his inclusion in the photograph. It is impossible, however, to try to fathom what these motives may have been without first considering the purpose for which they were commissioned and how they have since been used.

In 1877 copies of the photographs were published in portfolio format at the request of Trust members for a record of the old, interesting parts of the city to be lost as a consequence of the Improvements. Therefore the initial impetus underlying the commission was one of recording and preservation, perhaps tainted slightly with nostalgia. Unlike Marville, Annan's commission was not to provide a thorough chronicle of events. In addition, the Town Council asked for a bound set and a series of mounted plates for exhibition purposes. The public display of Annan's images would reveal the poorest inhabitants and their slum dwellings to a wide, probably affluent audience and thereby provide visual justification for the expense of the Improvements. Moreover, analogous to the *Histoire Generale*, displaying what had stood previously in the face of realised Improvement was a valuable means by which to promote the improved demeanour of the city and the success of its municipal policies. This was articulated by the inclusion of the council official in the closes who, attesting to the

⁸⁷ P. Fyfe, *The Backlands of Glasgow and their Inhabitants*, Glasgow 1901, photograph E.

eye-witness account of the camera, was viewing first hand the conditions which he would then be immortalised for having rectified. The medical faculty of the University subsequently obtained copies to aid examination of the medical and sanitary history and thus they became considered valid corroboration for contemporary conditions in Glasgow.

It was not until 1900 that two editions of the plates were published as photogravures. The initial series was augmented with new plates, probably by James Craig Annan (1864-1946), and one of the editions was also accompanied by an introductory text. This was the first time that the plates had been prefaced and this verbal appraisal weighed heavily on ensuing visual readings. The author, William Young (1843-1900), wrote:

The value of many plates embraced in this volume consist of their true presentation or suggestion of the seamy side of the city's life; in their depiction with absolute faithfulness, the gloom and squalor of the slums. They afford a peep into the dark and dismal dens unvisited by the great purifying agencies of sun and wind, and in surveying them we instinctively feel that human life, born bred or led within their shades is sorely handicapped, and that the day of their extinction is more than due.⁸⁸

Such emotive writing would surely have channelled readings of the images and there was an implicit sense of the Victorian 'slumming' to see the seedy side of life. The shift from 'true presentation' to 'suggestion' implied the readiness with which crime and vice was associated with the slums. Along with 'faithfulness', however, the terminology is misleading. Young failed to acknowledge that the later plates had been reworked – skies and even laundry on the washing line were thought to have been lightened and detailing on chiselled brickwork heightened for pictorial effect. It has even been

⁸⁸ W. Young, Introduction to *Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow*, 1900 as cited in M. Harker, "Annans of Glasgow", *The British Journal of Photography*, 41, 12 October 1972, 932.

suggested that the closes were cleaned before the photographs were taken as there was little evidence of the 'extreme squalor' and 'physical wretchedness' the Report's author saw as prevalent or dung-hills for which the closes were notorious.⁸⁹ Even in 1901 Peter Fyfe commented on the pitiful state of the courts:

Too many of these are not only badly paved, but are not paved at all, the surface being of earth, or, at best, covered with ashes ... An impervious surface is desirable ... but becomes absolutely necessary under the present ashpit system. Once or twice weekly the foul contents are pitched out on to the surface, and in wet weather much of the organic matter is washed into the ashes or earth surface.⁹⁰

It must be remembered that the myth of the 'great unwashed' was engendered by the upper classes. Many of those living in the slums were in fact clean and hardworking people and this was the image that the municipality sought to provide, eager as it was to allay fears of uprisings equivalent to those in Paris that culminated in the French Revolution of 1848. It seems, therefore, that visually there was an attempt to suppress the depravity of the slums, whilst verbally and sensationally heightening its misery.

The consumers of these images were the businessmen of the Trust, thus middle and upper class, and it was these classes that would have been able to afford the bound volumes. They may have had various reasons for subscribing to the albums: compelled by a liking for history or by an inclination toward the nostalgic, picturesque atmosphere that Annan preserved. The decaying nature of the environment, ill-defined light and suggestion of the fleeting, unposed figures lent itself unwittingly to the picturesque, the ugly but simultaneously fascinating. As Margaret Harker observed: "In a curious way his photographs reveal the hideous nature of the lives of those who lived

⁸⁹ In conversation with George Fairfull Smith and Elizabeth Carmichael, September 2000, Mitchell Library Glasgow. Original suggestion by Glasgow historian Joe Fisher.

⁹⁰ Fyfe, *Backlands and Their Inhabitants*, 30.

there in a more forceful way by reason of the picturesqueness of his photographs.”⁹¹ The images retain an ambiguous existence between documentary and aesthetic and a remarkable indeterminateness between squalid and beautiful. These shifting dualities also underlay the very essence of Glasgow.

The act of posing the figures and apparently cleaning the closes has implications for the images as documents. Whilst it could be seen to lessen their value as faithful records, the inclusion of the close inhabitants provides valuable information absent in Marville’s work. Marville adhered closely to the constraints of his commission and his assiduous, exhaustive recordings pay visual homage to the Republic’s achievements. In providing a less meticulous record, as his task necessitated, Annan’s images are more complex. As in *Old Country Mansions*, which photographed the former residences of the Glasgow gentry, it is conceivable that Annan recognised that he was documenting a way of life that was to be lost. This sentiment was later expressed by Geddes who spoke against municipal housing schemes in his *Cities in Evolution* (1915). He felt that they endangered the historic traditions of the past and the city’s people. The character of the ‘interesting’ parts of the city was not solely determined by its architecture, but also by those who lived there. Still, for a middle class audience, this social reading seemed inadequate as it numbed the idea of ‘slumming’ and the novel, yet fearful, attitude toward the lower classes. In sustaining this dichotomy and making the unpalatable have arresting pictorial qualities, Annan’s photographs ally themselves to those aspects of the picturesque that early industrial imagery appealed. Nevertheless, they remained far more indecipherable and profound, combining as they did the polarities of city poverty and civic pride.

⁹¹ Harker, “Annans of Glasgow”, 932.

The City Improvement Trust did not, however, solely commission Annan. Although very little information has yet been found, it is also known that they employed the watercolourist Horatio Thomson.⁹² In contrast to Annan's works, these later images romanticised rather than documented. The utilisation of a sweet palette and wet watercolour technique, as evident in Ship Bank Building, Saltmarket (1903) [55], sanitised any real sense of urban squalor. It acted more as a memorial to the building which was remodelled the following year by R. Horn for the City Engineer's Department. Rabb's Close, Saltmarket (Occupied by Mr Lochhead) (c.1901) [56] depicted a clean, spacious close, with only a man and his faithful dog to occupy the centre. The ragged clothing drying from windows, a common feature in Annan's photographs, was notably absent. Although the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878 significantly impeded already flagging Improvement Trust activity, the Saltmarket boasted the first City Improvement tenements designed by Carrick in 1880 and completed in 1887. By 1900, much of the activity, at least on the main and widened concourse, had been finished and it is possible that at least some of Thomson's remit was to record the realisation of the Trust's plan. Whether Thomson's images were before or after this period, they nevertheless remained nostalgic in character and joined an ilk of romanticised records that multiplied during this period.

The artist David Small (1846-1927), as far as can be ascertained not commissioned by the Trust, combined Thomson's nostalgic watercolour with an interest in street life to produce rather genre-like and generalised paintings. His 28 Saltmarket (1864) [57] differed significantly to Annan's photograph of the same close. Annan's photograph showed that the close was barely wide enough for two men to

⁹² For information on Thomson I am indebted to Ann Dulau, curator of the Scottish paintings and prints at the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow.

stand side-by-side and yet Small managed, with ease, to fill the breadth with a cart and two women. In addition, the sombre darkness in Annan's photograph gave a sense of the narrowness of the close which Small dismissed with rays of light. Although photography was somewhat subjective, it could not deny the physical facts placed before the lens. Small's emphasis seemed to lie within the field of genre painting, giving a positive and convivial image of Glasgow, and consequently his depictions of buildings such as The Royal Exchange [58] became popular on postcards at the turn of the century.⁹³ Annan's photographs were also to be transformed into postcards and this emphasised their nostalgic interest, but also the civic pride that had, or rather was, transforming the city.

The picturesque interpretation of vanishing Glasgow permeated through to popular journal illustration, most notably Louis Reid Deuchars' (1871-1927) "Picturesque Glasgow", a series of over forty scenes published in *The Bailie* during 1893. With regard to the picturesque, the *Evening Times* reported:

Picturesqueness is perhaps the last characteristic associated with Glasgow in the mind either of its visitors or its citizens. Whilst this quality is looked for as the first feature of Edinburgh, it is conventionally supposed that the commercial capital of Scotland can boast nothing that would make up the composition of a decent picture ... Many a nook in the more ancient quarters of the town has been shown in these columns to possess quite distinctive pictorial interest...⁹⁴

It must be noted that rather than picturesque as meant by Price, it had now come to denote merely a scene worthy of depiction. Nevertheless, Price's interpretation of the term provides a useful tool with which to study Deuchars' scenes. Price had noted

⁹³ Small also produced topographical, genre studies of other Scottish cities, including Dundee, Stirling and Edinburgh. His Glasgow works were compiled in a volume nostalgically titled *Bygone Glasgow*, Glasgow 1896. Other artists of this ilk include John Nisbet whose views were published in *Glasgow: A Sketch Book*, London 1913 and Robert Eadie (1877-1954) whose images aptly reflect the title of his publication *Glasgow: Its Character, Romance and Charm*, Glasgow and Edinburgh n.d.

⁹⁴ *Evening Times*, 22/4/1909. Newspaper clipping, William Young Scrapbooks 27, 41, G941.435 Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

that 'roughness' was key to the picturesque and also that it was applicable to "hovels, rags and gypsies."⁹⁵ Accordingly, in No. 30: "Princes Street" (c.1893) [59] Deuchars showed crumbling, ruinous buildings about to be removed by the City Improvement Trust. The medium lent itself well to conveying the nostalgic and picturesque, with a rough, sketched line and shading. Likewise, No. 24: "The Old Fruitmarket, Kent St., Calton" (c.1893) [60] and No. 11: Old Buildings at Bridgeton Cross (c.1893) [61] emphasised the decaying condition of some of Glasgow's old buildings. The vocabulary of courts, carts, gates and so on, familiar from Annan's photographs, was repeated.

In some of his streetscapes Deuchars also included a policeman and this added to the idea of municipal control.⁹⁶ Furthermore, akin to Annan, this also reassured the viewer that the diligent poorer classes were controlled so that Glasgow would not see an uprising equivalent to Manchester's Peterloo Massacre (1819) or, indeed, the French Revolution. This police presence was reflected in engraving and painting as evidenced by Robert Bryden's (fl.1905-15) streetscapes of Balmano Brae (1913) [62] and, more notably, Tollbooth, High Street (1907) [63] and Glasgow Cross (1907) [64]. The latter works were situated in the area perceived as being the source of crime and disorder and redeveloped by the Improvement Trust. In Bryden's work the constable was always a prominent physical presence on the street, and in Glasgow Cross he was actively gesturing to control either people or traffic. The 1862 Police Act had raised the profile of the force as they became empowered to investigate homes to curb overcrowding, with some officers having additional power to control nuisance and being free to enter homes and workshops to do so. It was also this Act that authorised the appointment of a Medical Officer for Health. However, the carts, trams

⁹⁵ Price, "A Dialogue on the Distinct Characters of the Picturesque and the Beautiful", 879.

⁹⁶ See L. R. Deuchars, Folio of Prints by Louis Reid Deuchars Gf914.14353. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

and carriages signified that it was no longer only the population that needed to be regulated. Even the presence of a postbox and electricity or telegraph wires indicated the extent to which the pace within and between cities was quickening. As the momentum of urban life increased, so did the need to relieve anxiety.

Deuchars provided the prime means to comfort the viewer by integrating the views of guarded streets with nostalgic streetscapes such as No. 5: The Old Trongate, at the beginning of the present improvements 1891 [65] where the smudged, diffused use of heavy pencil drawing added to the sentimental atmosphere. By depicting the conditions beforehand, there was also the reasoning that the present would literally be improved and thus less intimidating. Furthermore, besides the 'hovels' of the backcourts and slums, No. 9: "The Fish market" [66] focussed on the ragged, shoeless poor amidst the bustle of city life. Thus, although the 'more ancient quarters of the town' were demonstrated to have some pictorial interest, this was reliant on established artistic credo, which, beyond legitimising the subject matter, functioned as an arbiter of fear.

There were, however, artists working in watercolour whose paintings were more realistic in depicting slums. Although the quality of his output varied considerably, some of the close scenes by the Greenock-based artist Patrick Downie (1871-1945) conveyed a more representative impression.⁹⁷ For instance, in Laigh Kirk Close (1890) [67] Downie used a considerably more muted and darker palette than that of Thomson and showed, as found in Annan's photographs, men and children hanging around in the mouth of the close and a figure slumped by an archway. Moreover the central figure, although somewhat of a stock figure in Downie's work,⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Downie also painted scenes of the nineteenth century improvements carried out in Greenock. These can be found in the collection of the McLean Museum and Gallery, Greenock.

⁹⁸ This figure is repeated in Downie's views of closes in Greenock, McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock.

added to the sombre atmosphere of the scene, weighed down as she was by the heaviness of the sack over her shoulder. The close, although wet and reflective, maintained a dim and gritty essence more resonant of contemporary accounts. Annan's photograph of the same close was void of figures and yet it was evident that Downie maintained its narrowness and paid faithful attention to the falling of shadows. Although lighter, the use of drier watercolour in Union Court off Rottenrow (1891) [68] added texture to the composition and the restrained and limited palette gave the work an air of sincerity.

Like Downie, William Simpson's use of a limited, unsentimental palette held a more truthful air. In the watercolours Corner of Stockwell and Briggate 1846 (1897) [69] and Main Street Gorbals (1897) [70] the attention to detail and texture, for example on the buildings and in the road, demonstrated Simpson's skill in accurate depiction. Notably his spaces were more social than Downie's in that the people conversed and street-traders sold their wares. Contrary to Small, rather than generalised depictions, both costume and character were portrayed to give a real sense of atmosphere. In Gorbals from South End of the Bridge (from a sketch of 1847) (1898) [71] a topographic approach was taken, which, combined with the detailed account, gave an objective air of authority. The raised viewpoint detached the viewer from the scene and yet the everyday activity of women washing was so recognisable as to create a correspondence. This compensated for a slight partiality to genre in some of Simpson's other work. Nonetheless, chiefly through their detailed rendering and muted and sober palette, both Downie and Simpson can be credited with creating an image of life in closes and courts that appeared more realistic than Thomson's commissioned works.

Thus, even in officially assigned undertakings, the reaction to the physical and social degradation of the slums was twofold. Thomson's images were romantic and sentimental by virtue of the choice and application of medium. Annan's photography, on the other hand, arguably gave him less opportunity to cultivate what he presented and yet underlying the depictions remained an ethos of civic promotion and pride. It was not only the slums that were to be improved but also principal thoroughfares such as the Trongate and Saltmarket. Annan embodied this in a series of photographs through the inclusion of civic monuments and social spaces, reiterated in the addition of J. Brown's 1793 etching of the Trongate in the Olden Time [72] to the published editions. This contrasted with the claustrophobia and conditions of the slums. Being exclusively exterior scenes, the posed slum dwellers reflected the ideology that the condition of the architecture was mirrored in the conditions for those living there. Although technical problems of light may have prevented the interior being captured, the exterior made the poor visible enough to allay the fears of the upper classes whilst protecting them from the poverty and perceived disease dwelling within. The layered nuance of the images is furthered by their final purposes that were, in nature, promotional, propagandist, medical and nostalgic – the latter furthered by the inclusion of Brown's etching.

To read Annan's images solely as faithful documents is, therefore, to deny the complexity of the city and its representation, in perception and reality. The picturesque scenes of Deuchars may have mirrored their content, but by virtue of medium and manner of presentation did little more than promote a sentimental and nostalgic view of Glasgow. Although the watercolours of Simpson and Downie can be interpreted as more truthful representations than those of Thomson and Small, none of these artists wholly captured verbal and official accounts. Even the truthful medium

of photography seemed somewhat doctored in its duties. All were creating for a particular clientele for whom only so much was acceptable. For these people, predominantly business orientated, Glasgow retained its pretensions to become the Scottish Paris until the years immediately preceding the First World War when the Lord Provost proposed that Argyle Street be transformed into a boulevard in the continental fashion. Wat's Le Boulevarder – Rue de Trongate 19--? (*The Bailie*, 1913) [73], proved that the Glaswegienne on the boulevard was still a tempting thought.⁹⁹

When the activities of the Improvement Trust ran into difficulty, verbal criticism was directed toward the municipality. There was little pictorial outcry. As W. H. Fraser commented, "Despite all the ideological pressures in favour of *laissez-faire*, few in Glasgow at any time seriously challenged either the regulatory or reforming role which the city authorities sought to have."¹⁰⁰ It would be wrong to assume, however, that criticism of the municipality and conditions of the times did not occur and that this was not felt in the visual arts. Rather than in watercolours or oils, the upper echelons of artistic media, reproach and questioning of the municipal authorities found its place in popular publications. As the municipal influence encroached on more aspects of Glasgow life, such as the tramways and police control, so the illustrators became more vocal. The journals were also the place where strike action or demonstrations, negligible in the 'higher' arts, were freely depicted. An analysis of caricatures and comic illustrations found in Glasgow periodicals reveals aspects of urban life that had received little or no attention elsewhere. Paralleling the Improvement Trust, the journal illustrators made theirs a street focussed reflection of contemporary Glasgow.

⁹⁹ *The Bailie*, 29 January 1873 included an article on the *flâneur* and derided the man from the country who adopts the character of the *flâneur*, thereby denoting the *flâneur* as a city phenomenon. Mention of the *flâneur* was also made in *The Bailie* of 3 August 1881, 11.

¹⁰⁰ W. H. Fraser, "Introduction" in Fraser and Maver (eds), *Glasgow Volume II*, 5.

Baudelaire, Caricature and the depiction of Modern Life

The year prior to the completion of the Loch Katrine scheme saw the publication of Shadow's *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs* (1858). The sensational, journalistic text charted the author's weeklong excursion into the very areas the City Improvements were to convert. Shadow, a pseudonym for Alexander Brown, reported:

That social evil exists in Glasgow to a most sorrowful extent, is only too apparent to the most common observer who walks our streets, and truly horrifying it is to him who would take the trouble of descending into the lower depths of society, who would visit, whether by night or by day, the dens of the vicious, or the pestiferous dwellings of the poor. Statistics however exact, and description however vivid, can give no ideas of the deplorable condition in which these classes are placed.¹⁰¹

The Victorian upper classes had anxieties about hidden spaces, notions about perverse and disease-ridden decaying slums and a fear of that contamination spreading. Shadow's social snapshots were intended to provide a verbal account of the appalling conditions in these hidden spaces and appeal, with true Christian zeal, for action to be taken to remedy the current state of affairs. He believed that if the poor were encouraged to keep better homes, personal betterment would ensue. Furthermore, a firm advocate of self-improvement, as promoted most famously by Samuel Smiles (1812-1904),¹⁰² he felt strongly about education and that those in the slums were not all criminals but some were industrious and deserving. His sympathies were wide, seeing prostitution, in some instances, as an inevitable consequence of poverty. Nevertheless his account was melodramatic and related in highly emotive language. The term "photograph", albeit in this instance verbal, added authenticity to his account which was intended to

¹⁰¹ Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, Glasgow 1857/1976, 116-117.

¹⁰² Smiles, a former Edinburgh University medical student, was a political reformer and moralist. He published his book *Self Help* in 1859, which preached industry, thrift and self-improvement.

relay, more vividly than statistics as a photograph might, the scenes he witnessed. The most important facet of this publication, however, was not its text, but its frontispiece executed by George Cruikshank (1792-1878) [74].

Shadow felt that Cruikshank's "name will give importance to the subject and promote the sale."¹⁰³ Cruikshank was held in such high regard because of his experience in delineating social subjects and varied aspects of London life, including illustrations to accompany the work of Charles Dickens (1812-70). With his brother Isaac Robert (1789-1856) he illustrated Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (1820-21) and he worked with Henry Mayhew (1812-87) on his publication *1851*. Mayhew then went on to write the treatise that ensured his reputation, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861). Therefore, Cruikshank was no stranger to urban themes or working with those who described them. In his later illustrations Cruikshank assumed a pronounced moralising tone and waged war on alcoholism. He saw drink as the prime corrupting factor in modern life and condemned its repercussions in two sets of plates entitled *The Bottle* (1847) and *The Drunkard's Children* (1848), the former selling over 100,000 copies.

In this frontispiece Cruikshank caricatured the virtue and vice of Glasgow – the social ills and the potential for their resolution. A shadowed photographer represented the seemingly objective presence of the author witnessing and documenting the scenes. This imparted an air of truth and authority and gave credence to the following text. In the background a sermon was read to attentive parishioners whilst before them the foreground became an amalgamation of scenes of destitution, drunkenness and violence. These extremes of reaction were echoed in

¹⁰³ Alexander Brown in a letter to George Coombe, 15 April 1858 as cited in J. McCaffrey, "Introduction", Shadow, *Midnight Scenes*, 8-9.

the tenor and sketched line of the etching. Through depiction of both the ordered and unruly slum dweller, Cruikshank intimated that the poor had a choice and thus the deserving poor earned the Victorian's pity and the unruly its fear.

During the previous year, Cruikshank's caricatures were commented upon by one of the foremost theorists, poets and writers on art and city life, the Frenchman Charles Baudelaire (1821-67). His essay "Some Foreign Caricaturists"¹⁰⁴, grouped Cruikshank with William Hogarth (1697-1764), Francisco de Goya (1746-1828), and Pieter Breughal (c.1525-69) as the key exponents of caricature outside France, whose caricaturists had been the subject of a previous study.¹⁰⁵ Writing on Cruikshank, Baudelaire looked entirely at the profusion of the grotesque in his work; the strangely or fantastically distorted with an undertone of the sinister. He stated that "If it was possible to make an unerring analysis of a thing so fugitive and impalpable as *feeling* in art ... I should say that the essence of George Cruikshank's grotesque is an extravagant violence of gesture and movement."¹⁰⁶ The expression of the fugitive notions and movement interestingly paralleled Baudelaire's expression of the essence of *modernité* as the fleeting, transient and contingent.

Baudelaire expressed much of this ideology in his "Painter of Modern Life"¹⁰⁷ where his opening remarks placed strong premise on prints as he examined 'fashion plates' and discussed the validity of masterworks in the Louvre. Correspondingly, his

¹⁰⁴ C. Baudelaire, "Some Foreign Caricaturists", first published in *Le Présent*, 15 October 1857. It is possible that these essays had been written some years prior to their publication. As early as 1845 reference had been made to a planned work to be entitled 'De la Caricature' and Baudelaire's correspondence of 1851-52 discussed a work on caricature nearing completion. For publication information see, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity*, Pennsylvania 1992, 301-303. For further information on Baudelaire and caricatures see M. Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity*, Pennsylvania 1992.

¹⁰⁵ Baudelaire, "Some French Caricaturists", first published in *Le Présent*, 1 October 1857.

¹⁰⁶ Baudelaire, "Some Foreign Caricaturists", as cited in Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. J. Mayne, London 1995, 189. All quotations are taken from this edition of the text.

¹⁰⁷ First published in instalments in *Figaro* 26 and 28 November 1863 and 3 December 1863. May have been written as early as 1859 and therefore almost contemporary with the publication of the essays on caricature.

essay on his native caricaturists remarked that “for trivial prints, sketches of the crowd and street, and caricatures, often constitute the most faithful mirror of life.”¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, Constantin Guys (1805-92), Baudelaire’s exemplar of the painter of modern life, was frequently compared to Honoré Daumier (1808-79) who Baudelaire saw as representing “all that a great city contains of living monstrosities, in all their fantastic and thrilling reality. There can be no item of the fearful, the grotesque, the sinister or the farcical in its treasury, but Daumier knows it.”¹⁰⁹ Thus it is evident that, for Baudelaire, there was a close relationship between caricature and the delineation of the phenomena of modern life. Daumier’s attacks on numerous aspects of the metropolis, including the government and aristocracy, demonstrated the worth of caricature in alluding to public opinion at the time, which, if against the ruling powers, remained absent in officially commissioned art. Crucially, Baudelaire noted that caricature expressed a double-edged vision of modernity, embodying both fear and farce. This was congenial to the Glaswegian consciousness where there was already a fear and fascination about ominous aspects of city life; with farce providing a coping mechanism with which this could be dealt. Baudelaire felt that fear and farce were key ingredients in providing a ‘faithful mirror of life’ – specifically urban life.

Despite Daumier’s prowess, it was in England that Baudelaire felt the grotesque had its strongest exponents. In “On the Essence of Laughter”¹¹⁰ he discussed its supreme manifestation in English pantomime. Accordingly, Baudelaire felt that Cruikshank’s “inexhaustible abundance” of the grotesque manifested itself in the theatricality of characters, their expressions and vehemence of gesture.¹¹¹ He wrote:

¹⁰⁸ Baudelaire, “Some French Caricaturists”, as cited in C. Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. Mayne, 166. All quotations are taken from this edition of the text.

¹⁰⁹ Baudelaire, “Some French Caricaturists”, 177.

¹¹⁰ Baudelaire, “On the Essence of Laughter”, first published in *Le Présent*, 1 September 1857.

¹¹¹ Baudelaire, “Some Foreign Caricaturists”, 189.

"Each one of his little creatures mimes his part in a frenzy and ferment, like a pantomime actor."¹¹² In the frontispiece to *Midnight Scenes*, Cruikshank represented city dwellers as 'types', just as Baudelaire had catalogued the dandy, woman, prostitute and *flâneur* in his "Painter of Modern Life." True to caricature, their behaviour was overemphasised, and yet this in itself was a valuable indicator of the perception of the city. At a time when statistical analysis was coming to the fore, it demonstrated a need to classify in order to understand, to place oneself within the social milieu. Nevertheless, Shadow proclaimed that his verbal sketches would reveal more than statistics in his eyewitness exposé and the tenor of the text does reflect that of the caricature in its sensationalism.

To Baudelaire, the grotesque in caricature, and interestingly also to Cruikshank's friend John Ruskin in architecture, was a high form of art. In art, Ruskin argued that caricature and the grotesque held a distinct moral value:

It is evident that many subjects of thought may be dealt with by this kind of art [caricature] which are inaccessible by any other, and that its influence over the popular mind must always be great; hence it may often happen that men of strong purpose may rather express themselves in this way (and continue to make such expression a matter of earnest study), than turn to anything less influential, though more dignified, or even more intrinsically meritorious, branch of art. And when the powers of quaint fancy are associated (as is frequently the case) with stern understanding of the nature of evil, and tender human sympathy, there results a bitter, or pathetic spirit of grotesque to which mankind at the present day owes more thorough moral teaching than any branch of art whatsoever.¹¹³

Similarly, in *Modern Painters* he commented:

... It seems not only permissible, but even desirable, that the art by which the grotesque is expressed should be more or less imperfect, and this seems a most beneficial ordinance, as respects the human race in general. For the

¹¹² Baudelaire, "Some Foreign Caricaturists", 189.

¹¹³ Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 1860 as quoted in M. Bryant (ed.), *The Comic Cruikshank*, London 1992, 87-88.

grotesque being not only a most forceful instrument of teaching, but a most natural manner of expression, springing as it does at once from any tendency to playfulness in minds highly comprehensive of truth...¹¹⁴

Thus caricature and the grotesque served a distinct purpose, which for Ruskin was moral, and also held the advantage above other arts of being accessible to a wide audience. The theories of both men can be traced back to the original sin of the Fall. In Baudelaire's words, "... human laughter is intimately linked with the accident of an ancient Fall, a debasement both physical and moral."¹¹⁵ Similarly, in *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin explained that man's present state, the fallen human soul, necessitated the grotesque.¹¹⁶ This physical and moral ruin and the fear it generated underlay modern society and fuelled Cruikshank's depictions. It was this modern life that Baudelaire felt caricature was apt to reflect.

Laughter caused by the grotesque differentiated itself from other forms: "Fabulous creations, beings whose authority and *raison d'être* cannot be drawn from the code of common sense, often provoke in us an insane and excessive mirth." Baudelaire continued, "There is one criterion of the grotesque that is laughter – immediate laughter."¹¹⁷ This laughter was primarily aroused by the viewer's sense of superiority to the subject and was equally true of the two forms of comic identified by Baudelaire: the 'absolute' and the lesser 'significant'. Implicit in Baudelaire's statement was also the notion of laughing at the unfamiliar, that which could not be comprehended through common sense. Similarly, Ruskin felt that the grotesque was composed of two elements – the ludicrous and the fearful.¹¹⁸ In differentiating

¹¹⁴ J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, v3 part 4, ch 8, 9 as cited in J. Ruskin, *The Lamp of Beauty: Writings on Art*, introduced by J. Evans, London 1995.

¹¹⁵ Baudelaire, "On the Essence of Laughter" as cited in Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, 149.

¹¹⁶ See Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, v3, ch 3, 23-30 as cited in Ruskin, *The Lamp of Beauty*, 282-284.

¹¹⁷ Baudelaire, "On the Essence of Laughter", 157.

¹¹⁸ Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, as cited in Ruskin, *The Lamp of Beauty*, 282-4.

between the forms of comic, Baudelaire explained: "From the artistic point of view, the comic is an imitation: the grotesque creation. The comic is an imitation mixed with a certain creative faculty, that is to say, with an artistic *ideality*."¹¹⁹ If pushed to the extreme, the comic then became the grotesque. Cruikshank's work was undoubtedly grotesque. The frenzied types defied reason and induced laughter, but this was more because of the loss of reason, their incomprehensibility. Underlying the work was a sense of the tragic that reaffirmed the physical and moral perversion that the grotesque shared with society.

Hence, Baudelaire felt that it was through such 'trivial prints' that a true reflection of the city could be given. With regard to periodical illustration, this was partly by virtue of their medium. Just as journalism depended on the city for existence, so the city was reliant on the press. Mass readership could only be guaranteed in an area of population density and it was in the journals, periodicals and newspapers that public opinion could be expressed and a 'city consciousness' developed. The periodical format became the ideal vehicle for caricature, which, as Ruskin indicated, would appeal to its wide audience and additionally could have a positive impact on their moral standing. It was not only in the articles that these ideas came to the fore, but also in the illustrations. In other words, although they may have seemed frivolous, they actually led to an understanding of the city more perceptive than that of other representations.

Whereas the panoramic depictions of Glasgow recognised and attempted to come to terms with its growing scale, there was little evidence of the character or the increasing diversity of the population. Depictions of people within Glasgow either followed a nostalgic, genre archetype or, like Annan, seemed sometimes posed. When

¹¹⁹ Baudelaire, "On the Essence of Laughter", 157.

artists did turn towards the streetscape, they produced architectural studies that delineated major public buildings that distanced the city. Essentially, they made the urban static. The buildings were attractive but at the same time remained isolated from the reality of urban existence, which had the potential to be sordid and unpleasant. Similarly, guides and historical studies were replete with depictions of Glasgow's buildings, particularly since the construction of the City Hall, Western Club and Corn Exchange in the 1840s. The decades of Alexander 'Greek' Thomson and David Hamilton (1768-1843) adorned the cityscape with new churches, banks and the celebrated residences of Park Circus and Great Western Terrace. Whilst venerating the façade, however, their depictions frequently disregarded the very city in which they were built. Occasionally a few figures served to augment their stature but only rarely did they appear in their true urban context. The buildings were shown as isolated monuments to Glasgow's prowess, divorced from the very progress that they symbolised. There was little evidence of the psychological implications of modern city life on the urbanite.

Thus, there was a need for a more penetrating and relevant interpretation that went beyond depicting the city to relaying and relieving some of its tension and fears. Moreover, as conditions within the city worsened, there was a need to question or provide a balanced view of municipal policy in the face of fervent civic propaganda. It was in this role that journal illustration came to the fore. Cartoons and caricatures became the means by which the fear and fascination of parts of the city perceived as threatening could be presented through the mediating tool of farce. By examining caricatures and comic illustrations from Glasgow periodicals in relation to contemporary artwork, it is possible to evaluate the extent to which they, in

comparison to contemporary watercolours, can be regarded as valuable representations of the city.

Fear and Farce: Glasgow Journal Illustrations

During his career Cruikshank illustrated John Payne Collier's text on Punch (1828), Gilbert Abbot à Beckett's *Punchinello* (1832) and edited *The Comic Almanack*, a predecessor to the London based journal *Punch*. Conversely, one of Glasgow's earliest contributions to caricature and the grotesque came in the form of the journal *Judy* – otherwise entitled *the Glasgow Satirist*. The single edition of May 1857 satirised the city so feared in Shadow's *Midnight Scenes* and much of its wit and repartee was at the expense of the municipality and its recent endeavours. On the front cover [75], assuming the traditional pose of St Mungo from the city's coat-of-arms, Judy sat in judgement over grotesque creatures, visually lampooning Glasgow's founding myth: "Here's is the bird that never flew/ Here is the tree that never grew/ Here is the bell that never rang/ Here is the fish that never swam."¹²⁰ By ridiculing the very founding of the city, it was clear that *Judy's* objective was far from civic promotion or nostalgia.

On one side of Judy's scales of justice, three grotesque figures based on Glasgow's legendary adage performed a macabre dance. One, representing the tree,

¹²⁰ The legend relates to St Kentigern, more commonly known as St Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow and the poem centres on various miraculous occurrences in his life. The bird was a robin which St Serf, St Mungo's master, tamed. It was accidentally killed by some disciples who then blamed St Mungo. Mungo took it into his hands, prayed and the bird was restored to life. Similarly, the tree is from an episode in Mungo's life where he was the victim of other's actions. As a boy, Mungo had been left in charge of the refectory's Holy Fire. He fell asleep and, in jealousy, other boys extinguished it. Mungo woke and, on realising what had happened, broke frozen branches from a tree, prayed over them and restored the flames. The bell referred to in the third line was said to have been given to St Mungo by the Pope, but its fate is unknown. Finally, the fish, traditionally pictured with a ring in its mouth, is a salmon. The ring was a present given to Queen Languoreth from Hydderch Hael, King of Cadzow. The Queen gave the ring to a knight and, suspecting a secret liaison, the King stole it from him during a hunting trip and threw it into the river. Upon their return the King demanded to see the ring and threatened the Queen with death if she could not produce it. Distraught, the Queen went to the knight who could not help and then confessed to Mungo. Mungo sent a monk to the river and told him to return with the first fish he caught and it was from the mouth of this fish that Mungo produced the ring.

wore a bell on its head from which a ragged branch protruded. Indeed, here was the bell that never rang and the tree that never grew. The banner around the bell read "Let Glaskie Flourish", a colloquial version of the city's motto. It was on St Mungo's bell that the earliest version of the axiom: "Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word" was found. Thus curtailing it in the context of the bell alluded to the secularisation of Glaswegian society. The dancing partners were equally scornful. The bottle in the salmon's pocket was a sardonic pun on the old adage 'to drink like a fish'. On a more serious note, however, it was also a caustic reference to Glasgow's drinking problem. This was reflected by an article in the journal on temperance and a satirical jibe at the Forbes McKenzie Act (1853), which closed public houses on the Sabbath and at 11pm. In their merry jig, the bird that never flew, here scrawny and repulsive, accompanied them. All in all, they reflected what Glasgow was perceived to have become – drunken, disorderly and in many ways sacrilegious.

The scales of justice weighed 'Glasgow' against Edinburgh, the 'Athens of the North'. It was symbolised by its famous landmarks: the castle, Nelson's Column (1816), the Parthenon-like folly of the National Monument (1816-22) and a man, presumably 'Arthur', on a chair providing a supremely derisive reference to Arthur's Seat.¹²¹ Below them, the depiction of a bourgeois gent, seen comparing his features to those of a portrait, had overtones of arrogance as well as reflecting a poem within the journal "Keep up Appearances: The Morale of Conventionalism." The poem pronounced that no matter what one's financial circumstances were, a certain standard must be seen to be maintained at all costs, financial or social. Although perhaps a tacit

¹²¹ The National Monument was intended as a memorial to the fallen of the Napoleonic Wars. Conceived in around 1816, it was designed by William Henry Playfair and building began in 1822. It was intended to emulate and surpass the Parthenon but funds ran out and it was left in its present incomplete state in 1822. In *Judy*, placed in the context of the figure below arrogantly staring into the mirror, the figure on Arthur's Seat, who appears to be laughing, could be deriding the perceived conceited and unrealised pretensions of Edinburgh.

reference to the financial difficulties incurred after the failure of the Glasgow Western Bank in 1857, the main idea was one of perceptions. In this particular instance, it associated Edinburgh rather than Glasgow with art, culture and the necessary sophistication to appreciate both. The prominence of a female figure whose head was a ship's funnel symbolised the industries now nurturing Glasgow, itself signified in the leering fish she carried. What the caricature did was express how the two cities were viewed: Edinburgh as the majestic capital and Glasgow as the lesser, debauched neighbour. Whilst Judy made no obvious judgement, her head was turned slightly to Glasgow and a wretched bird wearing a judge's wig, perhaps a legal eagle, flew from Edinburgh to Glasgow.

The rest of the composition was similarly filled with satires on contemporary Glasgow. Industrial chimneys and bridges signified progress, the word itself forming the title of a ship that sailed toward a beacon of light supported by 'Judy' who meantime relegated 'Old Prejudices' to the riverbed. Furthermore, advances in transport, both trains and steamers, were implicit in the seaside scene. However, this idyll was tellingly juxtaposed above a vision of chaos. As bystanders leapt for safety, a host of grotesque creatures were released from *Judy's* sporran into the Argyle Arcade and Tontine, the areas surrounding the Trongate soon to be rebuilt by the City Improvement Trust. Thus, there was an equation between the grotesque and the Fall of modern society. The creatures caused havoc in an area that was in decline. In a further recollection of Baudelaire, those that responded to the humour presented were reacting to the unfamiliar and perhaps also to a sense of superiority over the deformed and ridiculous beasts. It reflected the double-edged character of the Victorian Glasgow: an acknowledgement of progress but, at the same time, a questioning of the cost.

The main caricature within the journal functioned on a similar premise, only here the target for the scathing jibes was the municipality itself [76].¹²² Against the backdrop of St Rollox 'lum' and one of the many bridges over the Clyde, various municipal enterprises and their costs were being dumped into a vessel emblazoned "Clyde Trust."¹²³ *Judy* pinched the ear of 'Mungo' who commented: "I had never thocht o' such awfu' dirt and corruption being amang us."¹²⁴ A buoy labelled "No.1" had lost its anchorage and the implication was that municipal failings, indeed perhaps corruption, and high taxes would prevent Glasgow overtaking London as 'First City of Empire'. A weight with "Truth" hung over the *Judy* jetty and thus proclaimed the journal as revealer of the true state of affairs in Glasgow. In this context, 'Mungo' was presumably a reference to the Lord Provost Andrew Orr (1854-57) or Andrew Galbraith (1857-60). He held out his arms as if for balance in the rough waters the municipality was sailing in.

The expansion of municipal activities, particularly in policing and with regards to the water supply, was undoubtedly expensive and controversial. Although Glaswegians were generally all for Improvement, it became less attractive when the costs had to be recuperated. This was later evident when Blackie was ousted from his post when it was discovered that the cost of the City Improvement Scheme would mean increased rates. During the 1850s the issue of public expenditure was a contentious one; discontent arose, especially from residents in the East End, when the municipal authorities spent £77,995 on Kelvingrove Park and acquired their art collection in

¹²² For further information on Glasgow's municipal administration in this period see Irene E. Sweeney, *The Municipal Administration of Glasgow 1833-1912*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Strathclyde 1990, Strathclyde University Library T6853.

¹²³ The Clyde Navigation Trust was a body formed by the members of the Merchants House, Trades House, Council, Chambers of Commerce and Town Council and was responsible for representing civic and business interests regarding the river.

¹²⁴ *Judy, or the Glasgow Satirist*, 30 May 1857, 5.

1856. In the face of this, the lack of sanitary measures, gas rate, new water rate and unequal poor rates – all projected in the caricature – seemed unjust. The city authorities were not perceived to be providing a satisfactory service to all of the inhabitants of Glasgow and the caricature voiced this popular sentiment.

As the council was predominantly drawn from the upper class and wealthy industrial sector, in other words those who would be commissioning or buying art, it is not surprising that such criticism was not apparent in, to use Ruskin's words 'more dignified, or even more intrinsically meritorious' branches of art. It is also notable that, counter to Ruskin's proclamation and Cruikshank's caricature, *Judy* and the Glasgow journals that followed did not invest their caricature and comic illustrations with an overtly moral zeal. In Glasgow periodicals the illustrations served a different purpose. Despite its sacred founding, the city had grown more profane in the mutable, fast paced urban environment. In face of the very real fear of crime, vice and disease, journals provided the vehicle through which these fears and anxieties could be expressed. Moreover, the farce, the apparent humour of the senseless situations presented, was a method by which the fear could be ameliorated.

Popular illustrations of the city came in many forms. It was not uncommon to find series such as "Sights of the City", published by *Quiz* in 1881, which gave a general impression of Glasgow's topography but also indicated the intended readership of the journal – the businessmen populating the scenes. At the forefront of each edition *The Bailie* ran "Men you know" which, over the years, formed a panoply of the leading industrialists, businessmen, politicians and figures who played a defining role in Glasgow's economic, political and social life. They provided the driving force behind the city's growth and it is not surprising that they and their beliefs were the focus of

and for many illustrations in the local periodicals *The Bailie* and *Quiz* and also the national *Scots Pictorial*, later to become *The Society Pictorial*.

In late nineteenth century Glasgow, the urban mass was a multifarious body from which there was a need to differentiate and disassociate the various kinds of urban dweller. Just as Baudelaire had defined 'the dandy', 'prostitute' and 'ragman' and their position in society, so the journals reflected the increasing categorisation of society which, in itself, was a means of control and comprehension. The poor, therefore, became the targets of much of the humour. Mingled with the sense of Baudelairean superiority on behalf of the emergent bourgeoisie, there was also fear, and sensationalism, on their part as to the perceived danger posed by the working class. In Harvey Lambeth's *In George Square* (*The Bailie*, 1898) the poor were ironically labelled "Philosophers" and 'TWYM'¹²⁵ termed them "Men of Leisure."¹²⁶ They were seen to be idle and the source of much crime within the municipality. This association was clear in John Dall's *Looking for a Job* (*The Scots Pictorial*, 1898) [77] where a vagabond was pictured on a park bench beside a sign that read "Citizens Protect Your Property". Correspondingly, *The Bailie* noted the "I-tin-erant" as a "City Terror"¹²⁷ and published vignettes on "The City Waster."¹²⁸ Depicting the poor as passive, for example seated, alluded to their indolent, idle nature and therein provided

¹²⁵ TWYM was a pseudonym for the artist A. S. Boyd (1854-1930).

¹²⁶ Lambeth, *In George Square*. *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 31st August 1898; TWYM, *In George Square*. *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 18 September 1889.

¹²⁷ "City Terrors No.III", *The Bailie*, 19 August 1885, 10.

¹²⁸ "A Vignette - the City Waster", *The Bailie*, 17 September 1884, 10. This was despite research in England by Henry Mayhew, Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954) and others which argued that a considerable percentage of primary poverty was directly attributable to sickness, old age, widowhood and family size, irrespective of the will to work. The term "primary poverty" referred to families without sufficient earnings to obtain the basic necessities, as opposed to "secondary poverty" which was when income was sufficient but spent on other things. Mayhew produced a series of articles for *The Morning Chronicle* investigating the plight of the poor, this culminated in his publication *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851). Seebohm Rowntree investigated poverty in York, following in the footsteps of his father Joseph who had carried out two major surveys on poverty in Britain. The result, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, was published in 1901.

the middle class commentators with justification for their criticism of the poor. Yet it also assuaged fears of agitation and added credence to the assumption that they were more nuisances than constructive contributors to city life.

Similarly, the Irish and children were discerned as the source of disruption. In Muirhead Bone's Homeward Bound (*The Scots Pictorial*, 1898) [78] the seasonal harvesters leaving for Ireland were in a rather merry state. It was this drunkenness that was deemed to be at the root of much evil amongst the lower classes. Children were viewed to be equally troublesome. In Dall's A City Maypole (*Scots Pictorial*, 1898) [79], the unruly children demonstrated an utter disregard for tradition as they swung around the maypole in a thoroughly disorderly fashion. To members of the upper echelons of society this would have been an amusing antithesis to the behaviour of their own children and again would have provoked a feeling of supremacy. Underlying this, however, was alarm at the unbridled behaviour of city children. This was made explicit in Wat's The Hooligan Scare (*The Bailie*, 1906) [80] the caption of which read: "The Respectable Citizen is Compelled to Protect Himself." The citizen was protected to the point of farce with knives, armour, a sword and a gun. Against the bleak, industrial backdrop, beneath a sign warning of hooligans, stood not men, but boys. This image embodied fear and farce. The length the citizen had gone to for protection was ridiculous but the undercurrent of foreboding indicated a darker side to reality.

In order to soothe these fears, in contrast to the omnipresence of the police force, the presence of disturbances in illustrations was muted. The 1880s and 1890s were auspicious but turbulent times for Glasgow as the city furthered its ambition to be 'Greater Glasgow' by incorporating Hillhead, Kelvinside, Pollokshields, Govanhill and Maryhill into its boundaries. This assertive action was countered by its boom and

slump economy. Trade depressions in the mid-1880s and 1890s affected both skilled and unskilled occupations alike. In somewhat of an anomaly, Let Glasgow Flourish??? (Quiz, 1891)¹²⁹ provided a scathing depiction of striking workers reacting against the municipality, symbolised by the tree, bell, fish bones and grieving St Thenew (St Mungo's mother) or Britannia. There were few precedents for such subjects in the fine arts where scenes of demonstration or violence had received mainly retrospective attention. J. & D. Nichol produced an illustration in 1841 reflecting the Corn Law protests of 1815¹³⁰ and David Roberts' Defence of the Cathedral by the Trades House in 1579 during the Reformation, for the publication *Scotland Delineated* (1847-59),¹³¹ glorified the Cathedral's achievement of being one of the few religious buildings to survive the Reformation virtually intact.

The popular press, however, could not ignore contemporary news and thus protests, including the Great Franchise Demonstration of 1884 and the Trades Union Demonstration of 1892, were acknowledged. The scenes, however, were extremely orderly and those participating were depicted in separate frames of their respective trades. Their cause was recognised, but there was little attempt to afford them a distinct identity or significant presence. The streets were the locus of demonstrations and in their comic illustrations popular periodicals reflected the street-based character of contemporary paintings and photographs. It was on the street that the classes mixed; there was no clear demarcation and thus danger that the upper classes would meet with the lower. This development in the city succoured pacifying imagery.

¹²⁹ Let Glasgow Flourish???, *Quiz*, Cartoon Supplement, August 21st 1891

¹³⁰ J. & D. Nichol, View of Trongate, illustration in J. & D. Nichol, *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty-One Views*, Glasgow 1841, 27x41cm.

¹³¹ D. Roberts (artist), T. Picken (lithographer), Defence of the Cathedral by the Trades' House in 1579 during the Reformation (n.d.), illustration in J. P. Lawson, *Scotland Delineated*, London n.d.,

The two principal spaces for demonstration in Glasgow were the Green and the Trongate. Interestingly they are also two of the most frequently pictured locations in prints and watercolours and yet depictions of demonstrations or riots were rare, particularly in the fine arts. In 1848 there were Chartist Riots on Glasgow Green and Bread Riots in the Trongate,¹³² and yet only one image of the bread riot is known and this, like the journal illustrations, was a print.¹³³ From the early nineteenth century, the Trongate and Glasgow Green were represented as social spaces. In the twelfth century, Glasgow had been granted the privilege to hold an annual fair and by the 1840s this had become a red-letter day in the Glasgow calendar. Makeshift booths for freak shows and amusements were erected in the Saltmarket beside the Green and these were the source for much entertainment amongst the working class audience. Despite concern over the moral propriety of some of the spectacles, prints of fair scenes were more common than those of disturbances and in them the working classes were ordered and the atmosphere convivial.¹³⁴

The same was true of scenes of the Trongate. Following the tradition established by John Knox's Trongate (1826), William Simpson's image of 1849 [81] depicted a genre scene that included the anecdotal figure of a ballad seller, possibly Glasgow's most renowned plier of that trade, 'Hawkie'. Many of those on the streets

¹³² The main demonstrations in nineteenth century Glasgow included the gathering of over 40,000 working class protestors at Thrushgrove, a property owned by a Glasgow shopkeeper, James Turner, in 1813. They were protesting against the political system, which they saw as oppressive to their search for increased political rights. The failure of petitions to Parliament, led to a series of disturbances in the winter of 1816-17 and the administration, eager to foresee any problems made a series of arrests, the charges of which failed to hold. In June 1819 20,000 weavers gathered on Glasgow Green for a peaceful demonstration for better rights. After the Peterloo Massacre there were frequent disturbances which led to an increased military presence in Glasgow. The Radical Rising (1820) followed and in the beginning of the 1840s the Chartists began to tap into the popular unrest generated by unemployment amongst weavers. On the 6 March 1848 there was a march from Glasgow Green to the Town House to demand the opening of soup kitchens to aid those out-of-work. Two days of rioting ensued which was essentially a bread riot.

¹³³ Anon., Bread Riot, Trongate Glasgow, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, prints collection. This riot was the cause of such disruption that the military were stationed at the Royal Exchange.

¹³⁴ See for example, George Eyre-Todd's View of Glasgow Fair from *History of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1931 or View of Glasgow Fair from the roof of the Court House, from *Northern Looking Glass*, 1825.

were from the poorer class, more willing to spend time outdoors than in their overcrowded and insanitary homes.¹³⁵ It was this social grouping that generated most fear amongst the middle and upper classes and yet in Simpson's depiction the prominence of children and the military presence assured the viewer that the people and the ballad seller were harmless. This view of the street as social but safe was reinforced in Alexander Shanks' The Trongate (c.1850) [82] and the view of 1870 by William Callow (1812-1908).¹³⁶ The depiction of unidealised, everyday scenes and narrative content paralleled rustic genre painting where the simple peasant was shown to be innocuous and where artists frequently asserted their dignity and worth.

In Holland, genre painting partially established itself in a market where demand for religious painting was slight and the same could be argued for Glasgow. These scenes appealed to those who wanted a representation of their city but one in which any threat of disruption of evil had been banished. This foreshadowed the emergence of an 'urban kailyard school' in literature¹³⁷ in which sentimental narratives, tinged with nostalgia and narrowness of vision became prominent. The emergence of urban genre scenes united the function of humour as a coping mechanism with the tendency for city scenes to situate themselves within established artistic criteria thereby attempted to legitimise their standing as acceptable works of art. Humour, therefore, served a similar purpose in painting as it did in print and journal illustration. However, nostalgic depictions aside, the number of genre-like streetscapes dwindled as modernisation made headway.

The incursion of transport into the streets could not be ignored. Notwithstanding the presence of the railways, both as a means of conveyance and an

¹³⁵ See W. H. Fraser "The Working Class" from Fraser and Maver (eds), *Glasgow: Volume II*, 302.

¹³⁶ W. Callow, The Trongate, Glasgow (1870), watercolour over pencil, 48.2x65.8cm, Canterbury Royal Museum and Art Gallery.

¹³⁷ See M. Burgess, *Imagine a City*, 68-103.

industry in itself, it was the tramways that people encountered everyday on the street and consequently which attracted most attention from the illustrators. There had been private omnibuses from 1850 but in 1871 the Glasgow Tramway and Omnibus Company gained a twenty-three year lease. It was thought that municipal management would ensure greater comfort and lower costs and therefore the Corporation assumed responsibility for the tramways in 1894. This led to propaganda in the journals as the bailies themselves worked on the Corporation Car "To Close the Death Trap" cars were perceived to be.¹³⁸ As 'gondolas of the people' the tramcars furthered the analogy of Glasgow as the 'Venice of the North'.

However, the image was not always so positive. From the consumer's point of view tramcars were often late and overcrowded but there was little point in complaining as, whilst under municipal control, it was unlikely action would be taken.¹³⁹ Moreover, after the electrification of the service in 1898, the opening of new lines in 1901 for the International Exhibition created unease and fear amongst pedestrians, as expressed in The Electric Juggernaut, (*The Bailie*, 1901) [83], while The Battle of the Poles – Great Western Road (*The Bailie*, 1901) [84] indicated the danger not only to pedestrians but also other road users with the new overhead cables and trams set to replace the traditional horse and carriage. As Glasgow expanded, transport became an essential means with which to traverse it, however, as alluded to in Our Modern Transport Facilities (*The Bailie*, 1896) [85], the plethora of modes of transport available was in danger of confusing the urban traveller. Posters on buildings promoted the various railway companies operating from Glasgow and signs indicated alternatives such as motorcabs and the ferry, whilst people walking and cycling created further

¹³⁸ "The Corporation Car", *The Bailie*, November 1897.

¹³⁹ "Circumstances Alter Cases", *Quiz*, 1895.

havoc on the streets. There was a sense that the Corporation was taking things too far and trying to monopolise all aspects of transportation, if not city life. *The Bailie* of 1904 speculated What Corporation Enterprise May Come to? [86] as cars attached to hot air balloons were destined for Africa or the sun, and others to New York via Ardrossan. Thus, as well as accepting progress and development, the journal offered the artists freedom to criticise and question those changes. Fragmented streetscapes, for example Walt Miller's Rue de Sauchiehall (*The Bailie*, 1899) [87], indicated the increased pace of city life, the division of characters into 'types' and the difficulty in comprehending it all cohesively.

Situating women within these dangerous streetscapes was not an easy task. In order to remove them from the perils of the street, women were often divorced from the urban environment. George Leslie Hunter (1879-1931), most well known as a Scottish Colourist, produced a series of illustrations for *The Scots Pictorial* depicting activities deemed appropriate for society females. A New Sport for Ladies (1904) showed women curling, whilst On A Clyde Steamer (1903)¹⁴⁰ kept ladies far from the city. When he did depict them in an urban context, it was beside a private carriage having just passed comment on a harmless, blind vagabond about to trip over a curb.¹⁴¹ In Whit's Up? Our Streets (*The Bailie*, 1909) [88], the pedestrian faced the jeopardy of flailing pick-axes, temporary walkways and 'strong language' and it is notable that none of the passers-by are female. Conversely, in The Siege of Buchanan Street (*The Bailie*, 1900) [89], a woman was used to heighten criticism of the municipality as, dressed in finery, she attempted to traverse Buchanan Street which was being dug up by "Diggim & Co. for the Corporation, Glasgow." Buchanan Street had the best shops, broadest

¹⁴⁰ G. L. Hunter, A New Sport for Ladies (1904) *Society Pictorial*, XI (228), 30 Jan 1904, 324; On A Clyde Steamer (1903) *Society Pictorial*, X (195), 13 June 1903, 288.

¹⁴¹ "Artless Ethel and Artful Maud", *The Society Pictorial*, April 1904.

pavements and was free from cars and it was thought to be the safest street for women, thus making the satire more biting. Whereas the policeman had been used to allay fears, here the female heightened them, albeit amusingly. Although the illustration may have provoked laughter, there was an undercurrent of uncertainty and fear.

The picturesque and nostalgic city perceived by artists was essentially static. The forces behind Glasgow's rise to industrial pre-eminence may have been embodied in the depictions but this was countered by the pacifying means of representation. Journal illustrations, however, had to recognise the city's contemporary, modern character and provide means by which it could be negotiated. Accordingly, advertisements were often constructed to provide the pedestrian with a way of locating business premises. For example, Gilmour and Dean (lithographers and engravers) used a principal monument, Scott's Monument in George Square, to guide the urban dweller through the city streets to their premises. Large warehouses and department stores, such as Walter Wilson & Co.'s Colosseum, used similar pictorial devices.¹⁴² It was another example of how the value and function historical monuments changed – whilst retaining an impression of grandeur, which would hopefully be transferred to the business being advertised, they became navigational devices. The practicality of advertisements, witticisms of journal illustrations and, more importantly, developments in photography all recognised the modernity and complexity of the city and this had implications for artists. It would be wrong to assume that nostalgic depictions ceased as, in part, it was this very change in the city that they were reacting against. However, noticeably more artists were willing to convey the commercial character of the city, which was primarily felt on the street.

¹⁴² See adverts in *The Bailie*, *The Quiz* and *The Glasgow Directory* for the 1880s.

Void of genre or anecdotal distraction, Tontine Buliding (1892) [90] by D.Y. Cameron (1865-1945) objectively viewed a busy shopping street. In a marked departure from previous renditions of Trongate, the assumed angle did not embrace the breadth of the thoroughfare. The street itself no longer held the status it once did as Buchanan Street assumed prominence for shopping, Sauchiehall street for strolling amongst the upper classes and Argyle Street for lower classes.¹⁴³ The presence of the Tontine Building and William of Orange's statue affirmed its previous prominence, though this was overridden by the commercial atmosphere. In London Cameron had produced Shopping (1891)¹⁴⁴ and together these scenes indicated that the commercial context was one in which women could be depicted without moral overtones or sensationalism.

As T. & R. Annan's Anderston Cross (1900) [91] confirmed, the street and particularly street corners were areas of social mixing and exchange. However, the detached quality of the photograph, as with Cameron's etchings, did not relay the underlying social concerns and it was in this capacity that the comic illustration was important. That artists responded to the focus on the contemporary is evident, perhaps surprisingly, in the work of Horatio Thomson. A comparison of T. & R. Annan's Buchanan Street (c.1900) [92] and Thomson's view dating 1902 [93] demonstrated a change from nostalgia to relaying a fairly contemporary, thriving street. In the context of Thomson's nostalgic and genre-like oeuvre, this watercolour indicated that as photography and journal illustrations accepted modernity so too did

¹⁴³ Muir, *Glasgow 1901*, 240-242.

¹⁴⁴ D. Y. Cameron, Shopping, etching, 11.2x22.7cm, Hunterian Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow. Although these works are objective, it should be recognised that Cameron also produced a series of more nostalgic etchings for The Regality Club as part of a commission to record buildings in Glasgow that were facing demolition.

artists and they began to approach it in matter-of-fact terms. This kind of depiction reached its height in the work of Muirhead Bone.

Journals reflected the turn toward the street as the prime signifier of the condition of the city. In their depiction of streetscapes they acknowledged fears but sought to pacify them by adopting humourous, if not unbelievable, scenarios and utilising pictorial means, such as the inclusion of a policeman or depicting the working class as docile. The need to adopt humour in such a manner reflected the change in the pattern of social relationships that accompanied the expansion of Glasgow. Much of this was centred on the upper classes and the municipality, two categories that were by no means mutually exclusive, as Maver has commented:

Public service was thus a badge of respectability in Glasgow, with the wealthiest and worthiest citizens to the fore in civic activity ... while the much-lauded success of Glasgow's municipal enterprise can be attributed to the collective efforts of town councillors, the origins of the civic ethos lay in their anxiety to harness the scarcely controllable dynamic of urbanisation, in a quest for cohesion...¹⁴⁵

The large and diverse population was difficult to interpret, let alone control. The work of the City Improvement Trust indicated the physical means by which 'cohesion' was sought, but illustrations indicated the psychological means driving its acquisition. The illustrations and their content were still bound by social convention and the class at which the journal was directed. The grotesque and social debasement of society was expressed in publications like *Judy*, but these were short-lived. *The Bailie*, *Quiz* and *The Scots (Society) Pictorial* had to maintain its readership and therefore pacify their fears to a certain extent whilst relaying contemporary concerns. It was a subtle balance that had to be maintained. The sense of superiority over the poor, who were the target of

¹⁴⁵ Maver, "Glasgow's Civic Community" in Maver and Fraser (eds), *Glasgow: Volume II*, 443.

many illustrations, generated much of the humour whilst concerns over the administration and expansion of the city were likewise sources of paradoxical jovial concern.

As Baudelaire had noted, caricature and comic illustrations were not bound by artistic convention and able to embrace the expanding terrain and its diversity. Art, however, was in a more precarious situation. The genre style was adopted as an attempt to legitimise streetscapes whilst additionally allying the lower orders on the street with non-threatening, dignified rural dwellers. However, as photography developed and impartial views of the city emerged, art had to adjust its approach to the urban accordingly. In its ability to capture movement in a quickening environment, the camera seemed the ideal medium for representing the city. To argue, as Baudelaire did, that caricature and illustration could provide a 'faithful mirror of life' in the city, is misleading and denies the complexity of urban life. To dismiss them as trivial prints, however, is equally misguided. As James Hamilton Muir commented:

So many of our days, so much of our thought, is spent here, that perhaps we endow the city with qualities by merely wishing they were there. She is the product of our middle-class virtues, with all their excellences and limitations.¹⁴⁶

What comic illustrations did was present the fears of a certain group living in the city and utilise humour as a mediating mechanism by which those fears could be alleviated. As such, along with nostalgic and picturesque interpretations, they offer a valuable psychological representation of the city, notwithstanding the fact that they spoke for the predominantly middle and upper classes. Yet, much as photography and objective works of art represented the city, it was in a detached and factual manner. Together, however, they go some way to relating life in Glasgow.

¹⁴⁶ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 10.

Conclusion

Thus the inability to visually contain or control the city, as had happened in the Enlightenment, was only one of the effects on pictorial representation brought about by Glasgow's rise to industrial pre-eminence and physical expansion. In panoramas of Glasgow, the sublime atmosphere, the obscurity, vastness and infinity, evoked a sense of awe at the sheer scale of the city and also fear at that which could not be seen. This fear of the unintelligible reflected a consciousness within the city itself. Overcrowding turned the heart of Glasgow into slum districts, the dark, narrow wynds of which were viewed as the source of vice, crime and disease. Meanwhile, demographic segregation saw the affluent fashion elegant terraces for themselves in the West End and, when advances in transport and communication allowed, the suburbs. They distanced themselves from the social problems created by industrialisation and urbanisation. In 1856 the Lord Provost spoke of his desire to make Glasgow a 'Model Municipality' and by the turn of the century it was the 'Workshop of the World' that earned the title 'Second City of Empire'.

Just as various axioms described the city, so it was artistically interpreted in many ways. The natural setting of the Clyde enabled industry to be depicted in a manner that paralleled the picturesque in landscape. Adhering to pre-existing genres, it allowed artists to approach the relatively unfamiliar industrial subject matter in an attractive manner. This was aided by the use of watercolour, the medium softening the hard profile of factory buildings and lightening their plumes of smoke. The romanticised and distanced views transformed industrial chimneys into pictorial contrivances engaged in delicate visual dialogues with natural features such as trees. The result was a rather doctored perception of the impact of industry on Glasgow's cityscape, which indicated the need to recognise industry's presence without alluding

to the social conditions brought in its wake. Where more dramatic viewpoints were adopted, they served to stress man's prowess over nature and sought to generate a sense of awe in juxtaposing the diminutive human against large natural or man-made structures. Thus, the power of industry and immensity of man's achievement was accented but in a pleasing artistic manner.

The municipality was eager to promote this industrial prowess but, with notorious housing and sanitary conditions, had to take bold action to assure the health of both its inhabitants and its reputation. The decision to commission Thomas Annan to record the parts of town scheduled for demolition reflected the paradoxical character of Victorian Glasgow as the images functioned as nostalgic, historical, medical and pictorial records. In a sense they ameliorated fears of the middle class by making visible the areas perceived as being the source of the city's ills. More than this, the municipality used the objective medium of the photograph, trusted as the purveyor of the real, to construct and preserve a particular sense of Glasgow, implicit in which was their predicted pride in the realisation of the City Improvement Scheme. Even these apparently purely documentary photographs, were layered with meaning.

Meanwhile, contemporary watercolourists produced nostalgic, picturesque evocations of slum-life – the rugged hardship of which became a popular commodity on picture postcards. The progressive nature of the city gave rise to a need to look back and an ilk of romantic publications, relating the city's founding, charting its development and heightening its prestige, were produced as the city itself held exhibitions commemorating its history. Glasgow's rise to industrial pre-eminence seemed to spark a trend in assuring the city's history and this was concurrent with the Improvement Trust's demolition of part of that history.

Against the ostensible objectivity of Annan's photographs, journal illustrations provided a more subjective interpretation of Glasgow. They served the dual purpose of making the fears of the middle and upper classes apparent, but then using humour as a means of pacifying them. Baudelaire lauded this fear and farce approach in print as the means by which a faithful representation of the modern city could be achieved. Glasgow journal illustrations certainly leaned towards this in their representation of the modern, mutable and progressive urban environment. Still, they were susceptible to sensationalism and, essentially, provided an assessment of urban life that was biased towards a particular class. Nevertheless, on occasion they afforded the opportunity to criticise and question the municipality, which was something outside the parameters of Fine Art.

The photographs and journal illustrations clearly indicated a move from picturing the city as a whole, to the street becoming a signifier for the wider urban realm. Panoramic images could no longer present the city in its entirety and as social relations became ever more complex within the expanding urban terrain it became clear that it was on the street that the drama of modern life was unfolding. This was a tentative move forward from conceptualising the city as a physical space to a social space and was finally to result in a more psychological perception of Glasgow. The majority of artists adhered to the ethos promoted by the municipality and appealed to a middle class audience. As the industrial city reached its height, however, it became difficult for both artist and the municipality to control and comprehend. This escalated as Glasgow's industrial power base began to crumble. Amidst this uncertainty, artists began to formulate visions of Glasgow which countered the municipal rhetoric. The combined forces of the modern city, modern art and established institutions meant that producing a truly modern picture of modern Glasgow was a complex undertaking.

Chapter 3

Representing the 'Second City': Aesthetics and the Absent City

By the turn of the century the heavy industries responsible for the epithet 'Second City of Empire' were flourishing. Once the Clyde had been deepened, the sheer volume of trade led to quays and docks being built along the riverbanks. Many communities and businesses were dependent on the shipyards – Govan Road, for example, followed the line of the yards, providing housing and amenities. The Clyde shipbuilders quickly gained a good reputation for their craftsmanship. In addition, Glasgow was an ideal location for businesses with raw materials and transport nearby. Recognising the importance of these factors, Yarrow and Company were one of many firms to relocate to the Glasgow area, in this instance from London to Scotstoun in 1906. The shipbuilding industry spawned a range of related manufacturing firms as demand increased for components and specialised items. For example, the Phoenix Foundry of Thomas Edington and Sons catered for the needs of the Railway Companies and the Saracen Foundry of Walter MacFarlane & Co. manufactured ornamental ironwork. The shipbuilders produced both military and commercial vessels, including the iconic Cunard liners *Aquitania* (1914) and the *Queen Mary* (1936). The stamp 'Clydebuilt' was something of which to be proud.

However, this assured atmosphere was not invincible. The turn toward naval contracts had negative repercussions on the less profitable mercantile trade as its business was taken elsewhere. Moreover, as many firms were family run or partnerships, there was heavy reliance on credit and their reluctance to adopt limited liability was perilous in a boom and bust economy. Undercapitalised, small firms often

dwindled before they had really begun and others suffered greatly during periods when there was a slump in trade. Those that survived were run by dynamic entrepreneurs, such as Robert Napier & Sons and John Elder. Skilful as they were, they could not prevent economic decline. Downturns in fortune between 1883 and 1888, 1892-3, 1903-4 and that of 1908 led to some workers going on strike. Still, although by no means a wholly stabilising force, armaments contracts did much to bolster the shipbuilding economy.

Continuing his evaluation of modern Glasgow, James Hamilton Muir stressed the importance of the shipping industry:

Our modern university may not impress you, the cathedral you may never see (for lack of a native to lead you to it); but our shipbuilding yards are a different matter. Before you are two days in the city you are aware of their existence; and if their importance is a matter beyond you, at least you must be impressed by our belief in it. We believe, every Glasgow man of us, that our shipbuilding is a thing to be talked of, and a most honourable and dignified business to have for the chief industry of a city ... of more moment to Glasgow than her other industries, her college, her cathedral, is the building of her ships.¹

The stature of the Cathedral and College had diminished. Instead, the shipyards stood as an embodiment of Glasgow – their men, machinery and statuesque ships. Accordingly, the chief drawing in *Glasgow Today* (1909) [94], published to promote Glasgow's industries, depicted Britannia, sitting on her Union Jack, looking towards the horizon where a military vessel sailed against the sunset. This emphasised the pivotal role Clyde industries held in a British Imperial context. In this climate, the dominance of industry could not be overlooked. With photography becoming the medium of the city through its ability to document bustling street life and the active docks, as in Annan's images of the Clyde and its harbours (c.1868), the validity of the picturesque

¹ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 2000, 116-118. This section was written by James Bone.

was called into doubt. A more direct and realistic depiction was required in art and Muirhead Bone rose to this challenge. His representations of Glasgow recognised industry's significance and acknowledged its consequences.

Industrial Glasgow

Bone's early training was architectural and it is therefore not surprising that, on deciding to become an artist, he produced multiple images of the city. Bone's personal background was an important factor in the character of these drawings. His father was a journalist for the *Glasgow Herald* and *Scotsman* and shipping correspondent to the *North British Daily Mail*. This work took him on trips around Glasgow, through the shipyards and backcourts, and Muirhead occasionally accompanied him. The family lived in Partick, a working class suburb of Glasgow, with a community focussed lifestyle and its share of destitution. Encouraged by his school art master Archibald Kay (1860-1935), a noted artist in his own right, Bone attended evening classes at Glasgow School of Art (GSA) during the era when the school was under the leadership of Fra Newbery (1855-1946). This experience of Glasgow and concurrent art and architectural training determined Bone's later career.

Although he became disenchanted with the architectural profession, he felt a vocation to draw urban subject matter, particularly that of Glasgow. This he expressed in a letter to his father:

A great landscape painter should live with Nature all the year round, in every season and aspect – so that he may know her thoroughly. But do you know, I think my lifework lies in Glasgow – more in suburban than in pure landscape. There is something in the suburbs of a great town that fascinates me – I can't say to you just what it is – something pensive meditative humble, infinitely touching – I think the dumb spirit of the Earth breathing through encroachments of men over it – their villas and tenements in outlying suburbs, the odd factories and solitary coal-pits – where the town ends and the melancholy flats of the country commences – The struggle between man and

nature (not so much a struggle rather the patient yielding up of Nature to man) produces something that makes pensive, breathing earth tell eloquently of the lives, labours and sufferings of men. There is something more fascinating there, than say here, where nature reposes on her strength undisturbed. Then Glasgow is mighty but inarticulate – my prayer is – could but her sons express her? Do honour to their good old grey home ...²

Bone retrospectively blessed “the Academy [he] found in the Glasgow streets”³ but this statement, probably written within two years of completing his art studies, indicated a rare, early and, for a young artist, unusual dedication to depicting Glasgow, the city that he sought to make intelligible.

Several figures influenced Bone during these formative years. Alongside his father’s journalistic enterprises and Kay, Bone took an eager interest in the Dutch works in the Corporation Galleries. Later in life he commented on his key sources of inspiration, these included the artists Jean-Francois Raffaelli (1850-1924), Jacob van Ruysdael (c.1628-82) and, most significantly, James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and Charles Meryon (1821-68), a volume of whose etchings were in the Mitchell Library.⁴ He was also influenced by George Moore’s *Modern Painting* (especially the writing on Eduard Manet (1832-83) and Edgar Degas (1834-1917)). Bone was aware of existing representations of Glasgow, in particular D.Y. Cameron’s etchings for The Regality Club, but noted a key difference: “I wanted ‘the typical,’ the ordinary life, and perhaps he [Cameron] had not prowled about so persistently looking for that as I did.”⁵ Hence, Bone’s fundamental source of inspiration was Glasgow itself, as shown in his writings for *Glasgow 1901* and some journal illustrations for *Scots (Society) Pictorial*.

² Bone, letter to father, ‘Oct.’ - u.d., Acc9484/14,5 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. It is likely that this was written in around 1896 as that date is scored out on the reverse of a letter from the same address (c/o Mr Alexander Anderson, Largo Place, Largs, Fife: Acc9484/14 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh).

³ Bone, “Talks With Great Scots No.4”, *Scotland*, Spring 1937, 17.

⁴ Bone, “From Glasgow to London”, *Artwork*, 5 (19) 1929, 151.

⁵ Bone, “From Glasgow...”, 151.

Moreover, for Bone, the essence of Glasgow was found in the industrial and working class areas.

Bone had indicated that the shipyards and foundries were Glasgow's most expressive contribution to the picturesque. Whereas other artists used the picturesque as a means by which to mediate with industry, to Bone 'picturesque' seemed to mean 'worthy of depiction' rather than associated with any particular style. Nevertheless, some of Bone's etchings did tend toward the picturesque or sublime in atmosphere, with diminutive men feeding vast glowing kilns in dark workshops or ant-like figures dwarfed by cranes and hulls of ships. Gilpin had indicated that "In a moral view the industrious mechanic is a more pleasing object, than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light, it is otherwise."⁶ Thus, Bone's industrious workforce was the antithesis of the picturesque. Moreover, Bone's realistic etching style indicated a turn from the picturesque and where he amended this for a softer line, as in Glasgow University from Cessnock Dock from Glasgow, Fifty Drawings (1911),⁷ the atmospheric etching was reminiscent of Whistler's etchings of the Thames. Hence, it was to Ruskin's disputant Whistler and the French etcher Meryon that Bone was indebted.

Bone's stylistic interpretation neither paralleled the pictorial approach of previous artists nor the modern moralising tone found in Work (1852-65) by Ford Madox Brown (1821-93),⁸ which was exhibited at Glasgow's 1901 Exhibition and was literally a visual manifestation of the ideas of Carlyle and Ruskin. Taking into account Bone's subject matter in works such as Kingston Rag-Store (1900) [95], it is tempting to read his etchings as infused with sympathy and a sense of injustice towards the

⁶ Gilpin, "Observations, relative to Picturesque Beauty" 1786 volume 2, 44, as cited in Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, 85.

⁷ Bone, Glasgow University from Cessnock Dock (1911), etching, size unknown. Illustration from *Glasgow, Fifty Drawings, Glasgow 1911*.

⁸ Ford Madox Brown, Work (1852-1865), oil on canvas, arched top, 137.2x198.1cm, Manchester City Art Galleries.

plight of the poor and yet he did not acknowledge this in his profuse writings. These, as in the letter to his father, articulate his aim to relay the true Glasgow, which encompassed "lives, labours and sufferings of men."⁹ It should be noted, however, that this image is strongly reminiscent of Samuel Luke Fildes' (1844-1927) well-publicised Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward (1874)¹⁰ and with this social realist image as likely source, it is possible that a social comment underlies Bone's work.

Andrew Patrizio has suggested that in Shipbuilders, Whiteinch (1899) [96] Bone made the raised ship closely resemble a cathedral or church structure. He also determined that there was a close parallel in the ideas of Patrick Geddes and Bone. Patrizio argued that Bone recorded the sensation expressed by Geddes's plea for those who constructed cities "to cleanse and change the face of cities, to re-organise the human hive."¹¹ However tempting it may be to ally Bone with prevailing ideology of the period, it does seem to pervert the faithfulness with which Bone related his subject. As Patrizio suggested, the community atmosphere of the shipyards was evident and this was akin to Geddes's understanding of the city as an organism. Bone's small workers, who busy themselves amidst the industrial landscape, were, in work and appearance, analogous to a beehive. With regard to morality and religion, however, Bone himself had indicated that the Cathedral was no longer the hub of Glasgow and that activity now centred on the shipyards. As shown by comparing Bone's work with

⁹ Bone, letter to father, 'Oct.' - u.d., Acc9484/14,5 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

¹⁰ Samuel John Fildes, Applicants for Admission to a casual ward (1874), oil on canvas, 142.2x246.4cm, Royal Holloway College, London. This composition and subject matter was initially used in a drawing entitled Houseless and Hungry, which was published in *The Graphic* of 1869. Through this publication Charles Dickens (1812-1870) became interested in Fildes' work, commissioning him to illustrate *Edwin Drood* (1870). Therefore it is possible that Bone was aware of the illustration and the subsequent painting which was produced five years later.

¹¹ A. Patrizio, *The Ugly and the Useless*, PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 42/112-152. P. Geddes, "Life and Scenario", *The Evergreen*, I, Edinburgh 1885, as cited in Patrizio, 37.

a photograph of a Cunarder from William Graham's album [97],¹² the physical details of Bone's depiction were striking in their accuracy. Whereas the photograph romantically emphasised the stature of the ship on the dock, Bone chose a much more removed viewpoint that served to stress the objectivity of his depiction. Although Bone strove to articulate the 'mighty', in other words the industrial, he remained true to the character of industry, in which the human played an integral and fascinating role. If the ship did resemble a cathedral, it was perhaps because Glasgow's faith now lay in shipbuilding.

In 1899 Bone had published *Six Glasgow Etchings* in portfolio format. The Dry Dock [98] was the final of the series and further confirmed Bone's early belief in the industrial as an expression of Glasgow. Rather than employing a low viewpoint that would have emphasised the sheer size of the ship's hull, Bone chose a raised and detached position in order to depict the full scene. His composition was carefully considered. There was an intriguing visual interplay between the verticals of rigging, cranes and funnels which contrasted with the beams horizontally supporting the sides of the yard. These wooden braces dwarfed the Lilliputian figures beneath. This had the potential to evoke feelings of terror and awe, however this was offset by the vast composition in which no part overwhelmed. Thus there was the potential for a dramatic, sensational interpretation that was resisted in favour of the objective and detached. As this was an early work, the adoption of this aspect may have been due to his technical abilities. His later war work, Shipyards Seen from a Big Crane (1917)¹³

¹² William Graham Photograph Album 1, 155 image a. In these and other albums (see "Photographs from the Glasgow Bishop's Palace to the Partick Castle and Back in the Olden time" compiled in an album by William Graham, c.1897, Murray MS662, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.) Graham combined his own photographs with those of others and photographs he had taken of works of art, such as paintings by Small, Simpson and Knox, to provide an image of Glasgow which was both contemporary and retrospective.

¹³ Bone, Shipyards Seen from a Big Crane (1917), lithograph, 46x35.5cm, Hunterian Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.

and The Seven Cranes on the River Clyde (1918) [99], whilst undoubtedly performing a propagandist function, emphasised the strength and massiveness of industry. The workers seemed to pale into insignificance against the ironwork of the cranes and yet the hustle and bustle of human industry was as apparent as its mechanical counterpart.

Rather than the 'cleanse and charge' of Geddes, Bone genuinely appeared to adopt an attitude that reflected the dignity of industrial labour. Workers were seen as key components in the continual evolution that characterised Glasgow and, in recognition of this, some of the individual plates in *Glasgow in 1901* were devoted to them. The figures may have been outweighed in stature by the symbols of industry or buildings, which Bone, as an architectural draughtsman, was more apt at drawing, however their function was not that of genre anecdotes. It was this integration of man and industry that Bone saw as so vital to the characterisation Glasgow.

In several shipyard scenes, Bone focussed on moments of creation and structures that, as well as articulating the physical environment, also signified progress. Bone tended to choose views that encompassed the full activity of the yard. Cranes: Start of a New Ship (1917) [100] was indicative of this because of the very absence of the ship; in lieu there was a gap, pregnant with anticipation. The height of the cranes indicated the limits to which the intended structure would reach, their intricate metalwork countering, in the mind of the viewer, the weight and intimidating form of the ship's hull. Like potential energy stored for release, this etching exuded the dynamism and efficacy with which the task would be completed.

This emphasis on creation keyed into Bone's sense of the city as the product of continual evolution. This was translated into his depiction of Glasgow's internal industries in Demolition of the Old Sugar Exchange (1910) [101] and Queen Street Station, Glasgow (1910) [102]. Bone frequently depicted structures being demolished

or built and in this way even his principally architectural works embodied the tireless transformation of the city. As shown by Queen Street Station, Bone readily echoed contemporary experience and the force of modernity.¹⁴ In this, Bone's approach was analogous to the way in which photography had embraced this momentum of change and the new medium of the modern city arguably had a direct influence on Bone's work.

James Craig Annan was acknowledged by Bone as an important acquaintance,¹⁵ and Bone produced a drypoint of the Annans entitled In Camera (1901).¹⁶ Here, he paid respect to a firm that not only promoted his work through hosting exhibitions but also commissioned him to carry out etchings. Whilst working on *Glasgow in 1901*, Bone was employed by T. & R. Annan, the official photographers of the International Exhibition, to produce a set of etchings of the exposition. These were printed on a specimen press as part of Annan's display. Bone commented "They are poor things which I should be glad to forget. Our artificial splendours etched in an imitation of Whistler's Venice style make rather depressing prints."¹⁷ The notion of the exhibition as artificial was reiterated in a letter to D. S. MacColl (1859-1948):

I started the set jauntily enough but found after a bit I was not at all in my own world and a painful sense of uphillness overcame me as I studied day after day, the gimcrack palaces. It was a lesson – I'll do my own work after this. The poorest back court is after all a serious thing, to somebody – this showy thing on the other hand was everybody's joke.¹⁸

¹⁴ In a letter to D. S. MacColl he commented on how electric light had improved the appearance of towns at night. Bone, letter to MacColl, 20 November 1901. B365. Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.

¹⁵ Bone, "From Glasgow...", 152.

¹⁶ Bone, In Camera, drypoint, 24.6x16.7cm, Hunterian Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.

¹⁷ Bone, "From Glasgow ...", 156.

¹⁸ Bone, letter to MacColl, 17 October 1901, B363. Glasgow University Library, Special Collections,

To Bone the exhibition was not the pride of Glasgow nor did it promote or embody its essence. It was artificial in the face of the real city that was found in the backcourts. Similarly, the idea of the exhibition as transitory and its relationship to fleeting modernity was implicit in William Graham's Scottish National Exhibition 1911 [103]. The image, taken through the window of a train or tram, implied the passing nature of the short-lived architectural splendours. Similarly, Bone's reference to 'gim-crack palaces' recognised that the exhibition was composed of temporary structures and this may have contributed to Bone's attitude and disliking of its artificial, showy nature especially when this was contrasted to the gritty reality and permanence of the city's backcourts.

It would therefore not be unreasonable to presume that photography, its perceived impartiality and suitability to the city environment had some impact on Bone's etchings. With their mutual interest in the modern city, they shared comparable subject matter. Annan had recorded Glasgow's 'slums', backcourts, streets, harbours and, in his Loch Katrine works, explored the relationship between the man-made and nature. Furthermore, they were both mediums suited to the emerging modern print industry and could be reproduced for a mass audience. Many people would have seen etchings in newspapers and the illustrated press where they often performed a documentary function. Photography, likewise, was seen as a documentary tool and, as the outcome of a scientific process, seen as a truthful medium. In composition and attitude, the impact of photography on Bone was inferred in the dispassionate recording of Glasgow backcourts along with the oblique angle assumed in industrial compositions. Although it must be remembered that despite photography's seemingly dispassionate, mechanical recording, it was essentially subjective by virtue of the photographer. The camera could not deny the physical

details before the lens but the photographer chose the composition and subject matter.

Just as Marville and Thomas Annan had found their respective cities inspirational for their photography, so Bone felt that Glasgow could be a stimulus for painters as Paris had been for numerous artists:

But it is not the strange in subject-matter which keeps the attention in the end – it is the freshness with which ordinary subject-matter is observed. We are apt to forget that it was a burning belief that the mere suburb and shops and homes of Paris could provide all the subjects an artist could possibly ask for ... Glasgow's tenement life – Glasgow's working life, is a superb feast for any artist if the scales would only drop from his eyes.¹⁹

Bone thought that all areas of Glasgow were worthy of depiction in their own right, regardless of any moral or religious temperament of the time. He felt that the city was more than just physical structures and endeavoured to capture the whole environment, despite the challenge it posed. As he commented to D.S. MacColl, "it is easier to produce a learnedly detailed drawing of a building than catch the poise of moving street life."²⁰ These two components – architecture and street life – were crucial to Bone's images of Glasgow's streets.

James Anderson's View of Glasgow from Cross Steeple (1871) [104], had implied that to picture the modern city, a high viewpoint had to be assumed and this was reaffirmed by Annan's panoramic photographs. What was crucial in Bone's work, however, was that he did not remove himself to the extent whereby street activity became indistinct. In Gordon Street, Glasgow (1910) [105], Bone's skill as an architectural draftsman was evident. However, this was combined with a lively

¹⁹ Bone, "Talk with Great Scots No.4", 17.

²⁰ Bone, letter to D. S. MacColl, 20 November 1901, B365. Glasgow University Library: Special Collections.

evocation of street life – ladies shopped, placards and signs emphasised the role of language and advertising in the city, and the pace of urban life was demonstrated by cars, carriages, trams and carts. Again, Bone was paralleling the capabilities of photography.

The Bailie cautioned, “Glasgow at its present rate of increase, will soon lose all memory of its past. We are living too fast – we are growing too rapidly.”²¹ It was in the modern city, specifically on the streets, that the experience of modernity – Baudelaire’s fleeting, transient and contingent – was most acutely felt. Consequently, photographers exploring the capacity of their modern technology and latest visual medium, focussed on busy streets and junctions, demonstrating the camera’s adeptness at arresting modernity’s momentum. The T. & R. Annan gallery provided the most comprehensive range of Glasgow views. The Springburn photographer William Graham, however, seemed particularly interested in documenting the changes within Glasgow. This he did both with regard to the transformation of Glasgow’s physical fabric and its transportation, the latter not surprising, as he was formerly a railway worker.

Graham’s Bottleneck, Jamaica Street (n.d.) [106] was taken during rush hour when activity on the street was at its height. The trams and the car indicated movement whilst the policeman, presumably directing traffic, suggested order. The human traffic demonstrated the processes of exchange and social interaction whilst the profusion of newspapers and signage denoted the importance of the written word as a means of communication in the urban environment. Another image signifying progress was Bank of Scotland (n.d.) [107] in which Graham, like Bone, alluded to destruction and construction as a natural part of the city’s evolution. Individuals passed by on the

²¹ “Men You Know – no.141” [John Tennant], *The Bailie*, 30 June 1875, 1.

street oblivious to the commanding, angular stature of the crane, uprights and beams. Although the new building would alter the environment, impact their experience of navigating that particular part of the city and, perhaps, change their social or commercial routine, its construction drew negligible attention, as progress had become part of urban life. The elevated angle emphasised this sense of documentary detachment.

Although Graham and Bone engaged with Glasgow's progress, this was not in a biased or overtly propagandist manner, Bone's war work being the main exception. In a sense, their objectivity necessitated recognition of the more negative repercussions of industry and both artists did this very effectively by turning against the general associations of one of Glasgow's most prominent landmarks –the St Rollox 'lum'. Few industrial chimneys are addressed in poetry, but St Rollox was no ordinary tower. The iconic status of St Rollox was affirmed by "St Rollox Lum's Address to its Brethren"²² which paralleled its prestige to that of the pyramids in Egypt, its height surpassing that of any steeple nearby. However, it concurrently noted that those who pass "aft must stuan/An' gasp for breath" as "Ye spread your vapours o'er the lan". Accordingly, in Bone's St Rollox (1910) [108] the towering "blackest saint"²³ was shrouded in its own smoke in a barren landscape with only a solitary figure. The composition was notably dark and bleak, speaking volumes through its simplicity. Graham's Sighthill Cemetery Looking Towards St Rollox (n.d.) [109]²⁴ was more poignant. St Rollox was given centre stage, but before it, echoing its ascendant form, were the obelisks of the cemetery. Inasmuch as St Rollox bathed in its own fumes, the gravestones were more

²² J. Mitchell, "St Rollox Lum's Address to its Brethren", 1842 as cited in Whyte (ed.), *Mungo's Tongues*, 96-102.

²³ Anonymous poem, *Quiz*, 26 September 1890, 33.

²⁴ Mitchell Library. *Maver (Glasgow, 42, illus.)* dates this as 1890s.

tellingly in focus.²⁵ Thus Graham and Bone provided a more penetrating understanding of the full consequences of industrial acclaim. Significantly this was done by turning an icon of accomplishment and prosperity into a contradictory emblem of doom and despair.

Therefore, Bone's ability to portray both industry and its consequences, the high streets and the slums, was indicative of his will to do honour to his 'good old grey home'. This was an aim to which Graham also seemed to aspire. Bone was undoubtedly passionate about Glasgow and eager to represent it not solely as an architectural form but with people, transport and an ever-changing countenance. This was reflected in his sets of Glasgow images: *Six Glasgow Etchings* (1899), *Exhibition Etchings* (1901), *Glasgow 1901* and *Glasgow, Fifty Drawings* (1911). Bone's dedication to the working class areas and explicit rejection of municipal pretence, particularly in terms of the exhibition, signalled a change in the way artists were approaching Glasgow. Rather than emulate municipal rhetoric, Bone offered a more personal and perceptive vision. In doing so, success was not assured. In fact, Bone had to attempt art tuition to secure an income. His images stood in stark contrast to the preferences of the Glasgow art establishment, which, towards the turn of the century, favoured the Glasgow Boys. This group of largely home-grown artists seemed ideal candidates to answer Bone's plea – 'Then Glasgow is mighty but inarticulate – my prayer is – could but her sons express her?' This, however, was not realised. Through an examination

²⁵ The relationship between Sighthill and St Rollox was commemorated in Edwin Morgan's poetry anthology devoted to Glasgow, *Cathures*, Manchester and Glasgow 2002. In the poem "John Tennant" he wrote: "Tennant's Stalk – that's my monument./ Talk of the town, top of the walk, tells them to stop./ Any that trudge by that well-named Sight Hill./ It tapers elegant to its hourly bloom./ Thick smoke, acrid, highest anywhere./ Four hundred and thirty blessed feet/ Above my empire, my chemical empire./ My blessed St Rollox, biggest anywhere./ My eighty acres of evenhandedly/ Distributing industry and desolation!..." Morgan, *Cathures*, 22.

of the few examples of urban subject matter in their work the reasons for this begin to reveal themselves.

The 'Glasgow' Boys?

Few shared Bone's conviction that Glasgow was a subject worthy of the highest realms of art. This was voiced in *Glasgow 1901*:

Though the face of Glasgow does not yet glance at us from the walls of our picture galleries, still the austerity, the seriousness of great art is in her very marrow ... Our great manufacturing cities, useless for pretty views, must come into art's province by a great portal or not at all.²⁶

The author continued, "We feel that in this vineyard there lies hid the treasure that shall make our modern art richer than all the old. It is in the search for it that the strength of the next generations will be expended."²⁷ In later years, however, Bone recognised that the certainties of this statement, at least in Scottish art, had not been realised. He questioned whether Scottish artists of his generation had played for safety too much in choice of subject matter and did not "make a strong enough effort to wrest an art of our very own from the conditions of life as it was lived around us."²⁸ Although recognising the existence and success of the Glasgow School he bemoaned that "they were unfortunately not capable of mirroring much town life around them."²⁹ Despite Bone's statements being largely true and indicating the considerable problems facing the development of an urban art, it is not entirely fair to dismiss the Glasgow Boys and other Glasgow painters entirely, as in a few examples of their work, industry

²⁶ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 25.

²⁷ Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 26.

²⁸ Bone, "Talks with Great Scots", 17.

²⁹ Bone, "From Glasgow...", 146.

and the city did feature. Through these paintings, the reasons for the lack of a modern art for modern Glasgow can begin to be unfolded.

The majority of these images came into being in the 1880s, prestigious years for Glasgow with the International Exhibition and building of the City Chambers. Many of the Glasgow Boys travelled to France, particularly Grez-sur-Loing, where they came under the influence of Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-84), and the Hague School. Bastien-Lepage's focus on rural subject matter and *en plein air* method of painting had considerable impact on John Lavery (1856-1941) and his contemporaries. These factors were partly to blame for the lack of urban subject matter in the work of the Glasgow Boys. Lavery took the theme of leisure from the Impressionists and the naturalistic style of Jules Bastien-Lepage and transferred it to a Scottish context. Although depicting a consequence of industrialisation – middle class suburbia and new leisure activities therein such as cycling and tennis – these pictures cannot be categorised as urban realism but more naturalism translated from the brush of Bastien-Lepage into a Scottish tradition. They fail to depict Glasgow but instead signal the psychological turn away from city squalor towards the establishment of middle class identity in a genteel and aesthetically acceptable genre.

It was in the work of an amateur artist, John Quinton Pringle (1864-1925), that Glasgow began to feature frequently. Pringle was not directly associated with the Glasgow Boys, although he was mentored by Fra Newbery, Director of GSA in the era of the Glasgow Boys. Pringle's artistic pursuits were not his main occupation – by day he was an optician but in the evenings, for a decade from 1885 and then between 1899 and 1900, he attended classes at GSA. As a talented miniature painter, he may be regarded as an unexpected source for urban imagery and yet, in a style akin to the neo-impressionists, he produced a series of Glasgow views.

In Old Houses, Bridgeton (1890), Back Court With Figures (1890), Old Houses, Parkhead, Glasgow (1893)³⁰ and Muslin Street, Bridgeton (1895-96) [110] the application of paint in small, patched areas revealed his debt to miniatures in the attention to detail. The painting of Muslin Street adopted the high-viewpoint favoured by Bone. The scene recognised both commerce and industry, although the smoke from industrial chimneys served little more than pictorial effect. In subject matter it was a move toward the real but any impact this may have had was negated by the decorative style. The tone of the brickwork and roofs recurred across the canvas, creating a diagonal that countered the centrality of the street. The faceted brushwork and interchanging colour created a more patterned picture plane than lively commentary on urban life.

His debt to divisionism was most apparent in Tollcross, Glasgow (1908) [111]. This view from a window was conveyed in a limited, soft coloured palette and composed from square brush strokes. Although street-lamps functioned as signifiers of modernity, the technique in which they were relayed rendered them as indistinct as the cityscape in which they were situated. Barely identifiable as a city view, the scene leant toward a negation of the urban, as opposed to an attempt to delineate it in a realistic manner. Rather than embrace Glasgow and envisage its dynamism in a bold, modern style, Pringle subdued the energy of city life. Nevertheless, in the volume of Glasgow work produced, Pringle, especially considering his restricted output, remained an anomaly.

Similarly, other Glasgow Boys recognised the city but in ways which almost neutralised its modernity. The city was apparent but not modern city life. Thomas

³⁰ Pringle: Old Houses Bridgeton (1890), details unknown, formerly Davidson Collection; Back Court with Figures (1890), details unknown, private collection; Old Houses, Parkhead, Glasgow (1893), details unknown, private collection.

Corsan Morton's (1859-1928) West End of St Vincent Street (1887) [112] was a raised view but virtually the antithesis of Pringle's work in its planar, monochromatic application of paint. The vacuous spaces and well-formed shadows added an air of the illusory. Glasgow was depicted almost like an empty stage, awaiting the arrival of a cast to inject life and meaning into the setting.

James Nairn (1859-1904), however, adhered more closely to the French influence. In 1885 The Glasgow Art Club published *The Glasgow Art Club Book* which included a number of paintings by the Glasgow Boys, including James Guthrie (1859-1930), Alexander Roche (1861-1921) and John Lavery, who had previously struggled to gain recognition from the Club. Nairn's somewhat impressionistic composition, West Regent Street (1884), as noted by Roger Billcliffe, sat awkwardly against the landscapes by the other artists.³¹ In style it reflected the realism of the Hague School. As some of the Glasgow Boys had studios in West Regent Street, it may be from there that Nairn painted. The subject of Morton's view, St Vincent Street, was where commercial architecture was marked and prestigious and this was only enhanced by Morton's removed status and cool palette. Like other Glasgow Boys they were catering for the tastes of the rising Glasgow bourgeoisie, many of whom lived in Glasgow suburbs like Helensburgh. These two artists may have included the city in their work but it was in singular examples rather than as an enduring motif. Moreover, although undoubtedly Glasgow, their approach was removed and topographical rather than engaging with the vigorous vitality of modern urban living.

This was also true when it came to depicting more distant city views, even those engaging with industry. River Landscape by Moonlight (1887) by George Henry

³¹ R. Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, London 1990, 175-176. Nairn, West Regent Street, Glasgow (1884), canvas, untraced. Billcliffe also noted that Nairn exhibited a work entitled Notes in the Tunnel - Glasgow and District Railway (untraced) in the RSW exhibition of 1885.

(1858-1943)³² transformed an industrial, working river into a moonlit, atmospheric scene, which was undoubtedly indebted to Whistler's 'Nocturnes' in subject matter and style.³³ A combination of decorative brushwork, a limited amount of detail, subtle tones and the particular time of day, gave the river an air of serenity despite its industrial aspect. Just as previous artists had used the conventions of landscape painting to provide a more aesthetically acceptable composition, so artists working when Glasgow's industry was at its height used various artistic techniques to suppress industry's less attractive features.

Having said this, John Lavery was to paint the most remarkable picture, or rather mural, of industrial Glasgow for the Banqueting Hall of Glasgow's City Chambers [113]. The Corporation, acting on the advice of the decorating supervisor, William Leiper, called upon the most fashionable artists in Glasgow to provide a mural scheme to enrich the interior of the Banqueting Hall. The intention was to portray the history and advancement of Glasgow through the ages. The murals filled three grand wall spaces, 15 feet wide and 13 feet tall, each of which was divided by pilasters into a central and two smaller panels. Strictly speaking they were not mural paintings as they were executed in the artists' studios and then placed against the wall. In chronological order, on the south wall the first event to be depicted was 'Legendary Glasgow' by Roche. This panel described the legend behind the City Arms and was naturally dominated by the figure of St Mungo. Attention then turned to the mediaeval in the

³² G. Henry, *River Landscape by Moonlight* (1887), oil on canvas, 30.5x36.8cm, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow. This painting is also known as *Sundown*, for further information see Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, 236/238.

³³ In the 'Nocturnes' Whistler concentrated on the formal values of colour and line. Following the teaching of the French theorist Lecoq de Boisbaudran (1838-1912), the 'Nocturnes' were composed from memory, translating the primary features of the scene to the canvas without returning to the actual site being depicted. This resulted in simple, atmospheric compositions.

second mural, by E. A. Walton (1860-1922), showing an image of Glasgow Fair in the fifteenth century.

The most remarkable view, however, was that by Lavery of 'Modern Glasgow' containing images from modern industry. Rather than the warm palette of the other scenes, Lavery turned to strong colours and a composition so dynamic that it was not disrupted by the pilasters. The diagonal of the ship and horizontal platform on which the men worked, played off the architectural verticals to create a vital and energetic composition of a kind rarely seen in the Glasgow Boys' work. It was as though the strength of subject matter gave added impetus to Lavery's technique. Through the pronouncement of human industry and the promotion of Glasgow's chief industry, the outlook was that of the 'Second City of Empire' that the 'Model Municipality' sought to promote. In the context of the commission, therefore, Lavery showed he could produce a realistic, albeit suitably promotional, image of modern Glasgow.

The fact that the city did not feature prominently in Lavery's work was further indication that the Glasgow Boys were catering for a certain audience with particular preconceptions in mind. When commissioned and tied to civic promotion, industry was acceptable. However, to the middle and upper classes, those for whom the Glasgow Boys were painting, the urban and industrial were generally associated with the poverty, squalor and filth they had moved to the suburbs to avoid. The canvases produced for their homes depicted them at leisure in a style that was modern and acceptable. The harsh reality of the urban, industrial experience did not marry well with the naturalist technique of the Glasgow Boys. This is perhaps why Lavery adapted his style for an industrial subject.

Whilst avant-garde groups across the Continent focussed on the modern city, Glasgow, priding itself on its modernity, industrial innovation and artistic culture, did

not generate such creativity. The city was modern, the city was industrial and still artistically, as Bone had indicated, it remained inarticulate. The city's self-aggrandisement of its municipal and industrial achievements was at its height and yet in art there was trepidation in fully reflecting this rhetoric in a truly modern style of painting. Although Bone had begun to manoeuvre away from the civic glorification, painting failed to produce a comparable response. The images of Glasgow that the Glasgow Boys did produce began to indicate the reasons for this failure, however, they became fully apparent when examples of Futurist art were shown in Glasgow. By considering the visual response to these images by Stanley Cursiter (1887-1976) and the verbal reaction provoked in Glasgow, the complex dialogue between art establishments and the aesthetic climate and their role in negating the city can be exposed.

Second City or Absent City?

Although Glasgow produced no avant-garde art that broached the urban as subject, the Edinburgh-based artist Stanley Cursiter came closest to creating a modern depiction of a Scottish city. Cursiter's The Sensation of Crossing the Street – West End, Edinburgh (1913) [114], displayed alongside Gino Severini's (1883-1966) Le Boulevard (1910-11) and Luigi Russolo's (1885-1947) Train at Full Speed (n.d.)³⁴ in the 1913 annual exhibition of the Society of Scottish Artists (SSA), demonstrated an awareness of avant-garde developments on the Continent, principally those of the Cubists and Futurists. Moreover, his subject matter recognised that, to the avant-garde, the urban was paramount.

³⁴ These paintings were owned by British collectors: Severini's Le Boulevard, (oil, size unknown, Estorick Collection of Modern Italian Art) was owned by W. Taylor and Russolo's Train at Full Speed (details unknown) by one Miss Wilcox. Catalogue of the Fifty-Second Exhibition (Illustrated) 1913. The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 22 September – 15 November 1913, 10.

As evidenced in the work of the Impressionists, German Expressionists, Futurists and Vorticists, artists placing themselves at the forefront of the avant-garde engaged with the city. After all, the city was at the heart of modern society. It was where the greatest achievements in industry, technology and economy were accomplished in an urban framework so ordered and disciplined that it became analogous to the machine which characterised its age. The mutability, pace and promise of the city challenged artists on many levels. The urban embodied all that was progressive and contentious in contemporary living; it was the site in which the positive and negative forces of modernity were most sharply felt. As highlighted by Raymond Williams: "On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation."³⁵ For artists endeavouring to understand modern life, therefore, the city was the natural subject matter. In addition, for artists wishing to evoke the 'shock' ingredient of the avant-garde, the negative connotations of the urban had the potential to provoke outrage. Thus, whether as critique or celebration, exploration of the city and the development of a style with which to appropriate it, characterised the avant-garde in the early twentieth century.

This was certainly true of the Futurists. It is likely that Cursiter would have seen examples of their work either at the Futurist exhibition held in the Marlborough Gallery during 1912 or Severini's one-man show at the Sackville Gallery in April of the following year.³⁶ This inspired Cursiter to embark on a series of canvases in a Cubo-

³⁵ R. Williams, *The Country and the City*, London 1973, 1.

³⁶ K. Hartley has noted that there was an exhibition of Scottish art at the Grafton Gallery which included works by Cursiter at the same time as Severini's one-man show. Cursiter was on the official Council of the SSA, which had been officially invited to send works for exhibition and is therefore likely to have been invited to the opening. See Hartley, *Scottish Art Since 1900*, Edinburgh 1989, 45, n.11. Cursiter claimed to have personally secured the loan of 20-30 works for the SSA from Roger Fry and

Futurist style. Crucially, his fragmented interpretation of Edinburgh reflected none of the bombastic rhetoric and anarchic embrace of the city proclaimed in their verbal and visual manifestos. Instead, what Cursiter displayed was, like Severini's Le Boulevard, a more decorative, post-cubist fragmentation of the picture plane. Although there was interpenetration of forms, this was more compositional than reflecting the theories of simultaneity expounded by the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941) and given visual expression by the Futurists. Cursiter emblematised definitive signs of modernity and the urban environment – top- and bowler-hatted businessmen, streetlamps, clocks and trams – yet his painting was entirely free from the dynamic lines of force and the violent palette of Futurists.

Accordingly, the critical response of the Edinburgh press did not reflect the sensationalism and controversy the Futurists had incited across Europe. *The Scotsman* reported that the 'futurist' and 'cubist' paintings revealed to the public of the Scottish capital for the first time were "fair specimens", but not so "pronounced" or "extravagant" as had been shown previously in Paris.³⁷ Nevertheless, it was a positive step. As noted by the *Glasgow Herald*: "... coloured cubes representing humanity and cable cars ... Mr Cursiter's adventure is not to be lightly dismissed; it seems to suggest that Cubism may really have a future."³⁸ That future, however, lay neither in Scotland nor with Cursiter. His forays into stylistic experimentation included depictions of regattas, rain-filled street scenes and ribbon counters. The form of the materials provided a means by which to weave a pattern on the surface plane, thereby generating a more decorative than controversial aesthetic. Whilst Cursiter attempted

Clive Bell (letters to William Hardie, 22/08/1973 and 18/11/1973 as cited in *Stanley Cursiter Centenary Exhibition*, ex. cat., Pier Arts Centre, Orkney 1987, 11) but the exact circumstances surrounding this are unclear as are the precise means by which the works were shown in Glasgow prior to their display in Edinburgh.

³⁷ Review of the Society of Scottish Artists annual exhibition in *The Scotsman*, 13/12/1913, 10.

³⁸ Review of the Society of Scottish Artists annual exhibition in *Glasgow Herald*, 13/12/1913, 8.

to emulate the avant-garde on stylistic terms, he failed to absorb the integration of art and ideology and his experimentation was short-lived. Thereafter Curister retreated into painting interior scenes of the Edinburgh middle class and, later, Orcadian landscapes.

Cursiter's painting was a simultaneous success and failure. The recognition of the importance of the urban to modern artists and incorporation of the signs of modernity into his canvases implied an awareness of the direction in which the most modern artists were taking their work. This was highlighted in his, albeit tepid, attempt to emulate their style. Ultimately, however, his failure to advance this further and that of other Scottish artists to supervene stressed the presence of an absence. In the years prior to the outbreak of war, Scotland was unable to produce an avant-garde comparable to that in England or on the Continent. The exhibition of Futurist canvases in Edinburgh and Glasgow provides a backdrop against which to examine the reasons why, by the outbreak of World War One, Glasgow lacked a modern, urban art.

Futurist art came to Glasgow at a time when the city's self-confidence was high. The 1888 International Exhibition and 1901 Empire exhibition had purposely placed Glasgow on a world stage. Industry had secured the status of 'Second City' and it was an epithet Glasgow was eager to retain and promote. Glasgow presented a strong self-image on a world stage and its ambition to be recognised culminated in the Empire Exhibition of 1938. These aspirations were pursued with equal fervour on a domestic level. Although the City Improvement Scheme was faltering by the turn of the century, the unprecedented steps taken to improve housing and sanitary conditions had cemented the good reputation of the city authorities. The services provided by the

'Model Municipality' now pervaded so many aspects of the inhabitant's life, that the *Fortnightly Review* of 1903 quipped:

In Glasgow a citizen may live in a municipal house; he may walk along the municipal street, or ride on the municipal tramcar and watch the municipal dustcart collecting the refuse which is to be used to fertilise the municipal farm. Then he may turn into the municipal market, buy a steak from an animal killed in the municipal slaughterhouse, and cook it by the municipal gas stove. For his recreation he can choose among municipal libraries, municipal art galleries, and municipal music in municipal parks. Should he fall ill, he can ring his doctor on the municipal telephone, or he may be taken to the municipal hospital in the municipal ambulance by a municipal policeman. Should he be so unfortunate as to get on fire, he will be put out by the municipal fireman, using municipal water; after which he will, perhaps, forego the enjoyments of using the municipal bath, though he may find it necessary to get a new suit in the municipal old clothes market.³⁹

It was not only in reputation, however, but also in size that Glasgow sought to surpass itself. Through serial extension of the city boundaries, it literally became 'Greater Glasgow'.⁴⁰ With the suggestions to transform the Trongate into a boulevard following the example of the archetypal modern city, Paris, Glasgow undoubtedly saw itself as a truly modern metropolis. It is perhaps slightly paradoxical then, that, when Glasgow seemingly presented all of the city-features the avant-garde required, it did not produce its own artistic dialogue with the urban. When presented with extremely modern urban interpretations, reasons for this began to present themselves.

Prior to 1913, the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts (RGI) annual exhibition catalogues had been prefaced with the words of Sir Joshua Reynolds extolling the virtues of beauty in art and the natural world.⁴¹ However, in the year that saw modern styles and subject matter come to Glasgow, this preface was changed. It now read:

³⁹ *Fortnightly Review*, January 1903 as cited in M. Lindsay, *Portrait of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1972, 60.

⁴⁰ In 1912, the year before the Futurist paintings were shown, Glasgow's boundaries were extended to include, amongst other districts, Govan, Partick and Pollokshields.

⁴¹ J. Reynolds: "A perception of the beautiful and grand in art is equivalent to the possession of another sense, for it supplies a new power of reading and appreciating the beauties and sublimities of the natural world." Preface to the RGI annual exhibition catalogue, appearing between 1890 and 1912.

“Into our modern civilisation, more or less drab-coloured, it is the mission of art to bring something of the charm and grace that vivified and adorned the ancient and mediaeval world. *That* is the great social service of art in this or any other country.”⁴² Although the substitute quote recognised the inappropriateness of praising nature in a catalogue preface for an exhibition including urban art, it remained embedded in the Ruskinian sentiment of the nineteenth century. The idea of art serving as a vehicle for moral or social reform was in itself arguably a production of the industrial revolution and an attempt to counteract the negative aspects of urban life. The inclusion of the Pre-Raphaelite works in the 1901 International Exhibition is therefore pertinent as they were the group of artists most commonly associated with Ruskin.⁴³ The RGI aimed to exhibit the works of contemporary artists and thus this preface gave a valuable indication of the qualities sought in works of art and the purpose they were to serve. The indication given was that the function of art was to decorate and enlighten modern civilisation rather than directly reflect it.

This was supported by *The Scotsman's* review of the exhibition which, after quoting the preface, continued:

... and certainly one could not experience a more grateful change or contrast to step from the bustle and noise of Sauchiehall Street into these galleries, where all is reposeful, and where the “charm and grace” associated with art abound. Such galleries constitute a veritable oasis in the heart of a great commercial city.⁴⁴

⁴² RGI, Catalogue of the Fifty-Second Exhibition, 1.

⁴³ Pre-Raphaelite works exhibited: F. M. Brown's *Work (1852-1865)*, *King Rene's Honeymoon (n.d.)* and *The Entombment (1868)*; E. Burne-Jones' *Cupid and Psyche (1865-1887)* and *St George and the Dragon (1868)*; W. Holman Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience (1853)*, *The Strayed Sheep (1853)* and *Claudio and Isabella (1850-1853)*; J. E. Millais' *Christ in the House of his Parents (1849-1850)*, *Lorenzo and Isabella (1849)* and his portrait of *John Ruskin (1854)*). For complete list of paintings see D. S. McColl, *Nineteenth Century Art*, Glasgow 1902, 171-192.

⁴⁴ “The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts”, *The Scotsman*, 18/09/1913, 4.

Crucially, art was viewed as a form of escape. In particular, it provided a release from the commercial and industrial city. This was a critical factor for artists wishing to be successful. If the main exhibiting society for contemporary artists in Glasgow indicated that the prevailing aesthetic was for an art that was removed from the rigours of modern life, then the urban environment was, by association, deemed inappropriate for representation. Thus, contemporary artists were being discouraged from depicting the very thing that the avant-garde wished to discuss. The issue was, however, more complex than a characterisation of urban as repulsive.

The dialectic between the rural and urban had been established long before the industrial era. Raymond Williams indicated that whereas the city was perceived to be cosmopolitan the countryside was considered more backward.⁴⁵ An alternative dialogue, however, cast the countryside in a more favourable light. Diametrically opposed to the negative connotations of the city, the rural upheld the moral and virtuous qualities the city, and hence modernity, were perceived to have neglected. However, as argued by Ann Bermingham and David Peters Corbett, this was itself symptomatic of the urban.⁴⁶ With reference to Victorian landscape produced at a time of industrialisation and urbanisation, Bermingham explained:

The countryside, or rather the urban vision of it, came to provide the setting for problems that were not specifically rural at all. Instead of focussing on rural experience, the representation of the countryside modeled urban culture ... It was as though the countryside formed a repository of ideals through which urban experience both was perceived and found its ultimate truth. Objectified as spectacle or science, the countryside took on an ideal form and performed the ideological function of providing urban industrial culture with the myths to sustain it.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Williams, *The Country and the City*, 1.

⁴⁶ D. P. Corbett, "The absent city: Paul Nash", *The Modernity of English Art 1914-30*, Manchester and New York 1997, 100-126 and A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, London 1987.

⁴⁷ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 193 as cited in Corbett, "The absent city", 102.

Corbett went on to conclude that "The ferment of modernity could be observed through the lens of an apparently alternative set of experiences ideologically determined to provide the values that modernisation seemed to deny."⁴⁸ He noted that Birmingham's analysis concluded in 1860, a point from which the emergence of the Arts and Crafts movement and the ideals of William Morris could be read as developments of Birmingham's argument. Therefore, albeit some time later, the RGI's view of art as a redemptive or decorative force in the city was arguably engendered by the urban. If the view of art as escapism is then taken into account, it is not surprising that the RGI's walls were filled with landscape and rural genre scenes. These paintings not only provided an escape from the city but also furnished Glasgow with the moral ideal and aesthetic values the modern city seemed to lack. In so doing they provided, to use Birmingham's words, the myths that sustained the city.

The influence of exhibiting institutions in the development of Scottish art cannot be underestimated. It was not only the ethos of the RGI that seemed to counter the current trends in Continental art, but also that of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA), the stalwart of the Scottish art establishment. To be elected an Associate of the RSA was one of the highest accolades to which a Scottish artist could aspire. Naturally, then, the disposition of their exhibitions affected the kind of work artists produced. Commenting on the RSA's 88th Annual Exhibition, *The Bailie* discerned that "the metier of the Royal Scottish Academy is not to make a display of foreign art in Edinburgh, but to show the public on what lines Scottish art is moving. There is almost nothing of the newer movements to be seen in the Exhibition..."⁴⁹ If, as *The Bailie* suggested, the RSA set the tone for what was acceptable in Scottish art, it

⁴⁸ Corbett, "The absent city", 102-103.

⁴⁹"Meglip", *The Bailie*, 31/05/1914, 10.

was evident that avant-garde developments were not. Therefore, artists had to decide whether to follow a recognised path to established, institutional acclaim or to pursue a commitment to the avant-garde. Most chose the former.

The symbiotic relationship between the progressive styles and urban subject matter of the avant-garde meant that if the exhibiting bodies were disinclined to promote 'newer movements' then, consequently, fewer modern urban images would emerge. That is not to say that depictions of cities were not shown. The 1913 RGI exhibition did include such images but these fell into documentary or topographical criteria. Most were found in the 'black and white' or 'architectural drawings' sections and the few oils that were there tended to present a picturesque vision.⁵⁰

In 1910 John Nisbet delivered a lecture to the Royal Philosophical Society in which he argued for modern sections of Glasgow to be represented, but he felt the most appropriate style for this was the picturesque. He detailed areas of Glasgow and the direction from which they were best viewed, noting that any "faults of detail might be softened by atmosphere or distance."⁵¹ This regressive interpretation countered the progressive character of the city, though it was concurrently symptomatic of the attitude to avant-garde styles. As the reaction of the Glasgow Press to the Futurists showed, there was an equation of modern art with the negative attributes of the city that had accumulated during the industrial era. Nisbet indicated that the way to

⁵⁰ The RGI annual exhibition of 1913 included black and white Glasgow images by S. F. Crawford (cat. 84 and 94) and T. Maxwell (cat. 83). There was an oil painting of Glasgow by J. M. McAra (cat. 14) and Edinburgh views by A. B. Thomson (cat. 70 and 72). In later years, urban or industrial images illustrated in RGI catalogues included: 1925 W. Conon, The Launch (cat. 452), 1932 T. C. Dugdale Underground (cat. 439), 1933 W. Walcot, Modern energy (cat. 703), 1935 J. Kay Ready for Launching (cat. 85), 1939 M. Bone, Building the Queen Elizabeth (cat. 432), 1942 A. Law, Glasgow Cross (cat. 47), F. P. Martin, McNicol's Yard, Maryhill (cat. 98), 1948 S. Black, Carlton Place (cat. 520), 1960 J. Cunningham, George Square (cat. 427), 1962 T. O. Makinson, Kelvin Bridge (cat. 182), 1963 M. Donaldson, Glasgow – February 1963 (cat. 509), 1969 E. B. Hood, Bridge Building (cat. 176), 1970 G. B. Johnston, Tenements II (cat. 303).

⁵¹ "Picturesque Streets", *Glasgow Herald*, 22/02/1910 from William Young, 'Glasgow Scrapbooks', v.28, 4. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

render the modern parts of the city safe was, as had been done by artists before him, through the picturesque.

The Bailie mused over whether the inclusion of Futurist works in the RGI would encourage "the younger artists of Glasgow to follow the eccentric path of painting."⁵² There was an association of extreme modernist styles and unreason as *The Scotsman* reporter betrayed in his surprise that whilst "broad in treatment" J. D. Fergusson's (1874-1961) fauvist inspired work retained "vitality and perfect sanity."⁵³ Avant-garde art was seen as extreme and erratic and those who perpetrated it as irrational. As Maver has noted, despite economic conditions making a marked improvement from 1913 with the prospect of war, this came with a conspicuous anti-war sentiment. In addition, 1911 had witnessed the Seaman's Union strike and by 1915 there was considerable unrest amongst engineers on Clydeside.⁵⁴ Underlying newspaper headings such as "The Genius of Instability" and "The Art of Chaos", was a feeling that radical art could lead to fanatical and revolutionary uprisings. Thus, with regard to the Futurist performances and lectures, it is not surprising that *The Bailie* expressed relief that "This latest development of 'art' has not yet, happily, reached Glasgow."⁵⁵ Moreover, the Futurist belief that the contents of the National Galleries should be auctioned off and the return used to sponsor Futurist counterparts aggressively attacked the very core of the art establishment. Such proclamations only served to enhance the connection between radical theories and non-conformist art. In terms of subject matter, style and ideology, therefore, avant-garde urban art, especially that of the Futurists, went against what the Scottish art institutions held dear.

⁵² "Meglip", *The Bailie*, 16/04/1913, 11.

⁵³ *The Scotsman*, 13/12/1913, 10.

⁵⁴ Maver notes that in "1909 the Glasgow-based labour movement newspaper *Forward* had appealed to the Scottish Trades Union Congress leaders to consider the option of a general strike" to prevent war. Maver, *Glasgow*, 136-137.

⁵⁵ "Meglip", *The Bailie*, 29/10/1913, 11.

If cities were the crucible of civilisation, the site of reason and taken as an indication of the state of the nation, then depicting them in a style associated with radicalism and violence would convey a negative message about contemporary society. Commenting on the Futurist exhibition in London the previous year, the *Glasgow Herald* reported:

... the Futurists cast humility to the winds, and together with humility they seem to dispense with appeals to the reasoning faculty in man ... The Futurist painters in a rather frenzied way declare ... that all subjects previously used must be swept away in order to express 'our whirling life of steel, of pride, of fever, and of speed' ... Here in truth we have a gospel of destruction, a manifesto of violence; and translated into terms of form and colour...⁵⁶

In other words, rather than have a radical style being equated with a revolutionary city, exhibiting societies and art critics leant towards a picturesque interpretation of what would then be viewed as a picturesque city. There was one lone supportive voice that recognised the aims of the Futurists: "Like the top heavy organism in which they live, the Futurists are dynamic, erratic and overloaded ... But the rapid movement and the severe tension of modern life makes this artistic finish impossible."⁵⁷

The issues of style and subject matter could not be divorced. The rejection of both with regard to the avant-garde and the city indicated the anxiety surrounding modernity and modernisation. The trends displayed by the art establishment through their exhibitions were to be emulated rather than diverted from if an artist wished to gain official recognition. When the RGI did exhibit modern, urban work, the public gave it a hostile reception and, even prior to the opening, the RGI itself tried to distance itself from the works. Relaying the words of the artist David Murray (1849-1933) at the opening, the *Glasgow Herald* reported:

⁵⁶ "Italian Futurists", *Glasgow Herald*, 02/03/1912, 11.

⁵⁷ "The Futurist Riddle", *Glasgow Herald* 11/07/1914, 4.

It was rather pathetic to see those advocates of crazes diligently inventing apologies for what they had said in favour of those phases of art which they held up as the salvation of modern art. He [Murray] observed that they had set apart a room in these galleries for the entertainment of their visitors. He was not sure that it was a wise thing to do, but it might be, for they had limited their exhibition to a few specimens, quite enough to give the necessary shock. He hoped that in the future, having done that, they would be able to look to the Institute to guide them to what was great and noble in art.⁵⁸

Apparently then, the very purpose of the exhibition was to deter Glasgow artists from the very essence of the modern avant-garde. Modern urban art was dissociated from the 'great and noble' and provided an example to be avoided at all costs. The article proclaimed: "Glasgow had given a name to a great and living movement in art. Glasgow stood for a definite and clear-cut personality in the art of the day, recognised here and admired abroad."⁵⁹ The movement referred to was that of the Glasgow Boys. Equally famous, most notably abroad, were 'The Four', namely Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928), Herbert MacNair (1868-1955) and Margaret (1865-1933) and Frances Macdonald (1874-1921). Many of the artists in these movements had studied at GSA. Essentially, GSA was the potential locus from which an avant-garde could emerge but in reality it was a principal reason why one did not. Bermingham argued that the countryside, and by association nature, provided the urban with 'the myths to sustain it' and this takes on particular relevance in Glasgow as evidenced in the art of the Glasgow Boys and The Four.

At the turn of the century, GSA experienced a revival under the leadership of Fra Newbery. The teaching regime he oversaw was traditionally academic; artists were trained in the rudiments of life drawing, still life and composition. Newbery supervised scholarship students travelling abroad and from his letters it is clear that he had definite ideas about what he wished his students to study. He recommended that

⁵⁸ "Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts opening", *Glasgow Herald*, 19/09/1913, 11.

⁵⁹ "Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts opening", *Glasgow Herald*, 11.

students examine paintings by recognised masters such as Pisanello (c.1395-1455?), El Greco (1541-1614), Titian (c.1485-1576) and Van Eyck (d.1441).⁶⁰ Modern art, however, was regarded with some suspicion. In a letter to a travelling scholarship student, Newbery commented:

I am glad to hear what you say about the French Impressionists. I am not myself satisfied that they have the necessary back bone to carry a new movement, but they are interesting in that they show life and struggle. I think that they have lost the balance as between technique and Art, but things newly born are generally ugly. On the other hand an ugly baby might grow up to be a very handsome man.⁶¹

In terms of style, therefore, new movements were technically less valued. Implicit in Newbery's statement was a sense that the very technique the Impressionists developed to translate the modern city was not 'Art'. Thus, as a pivotal figure in the education of Scottish artists, his views may have filtered down to his students.

His comments were perhaps surprising, as the Glasgow Boys had taken so much of their inspiration from France. However, the Glasgow Boys had mostly followed their French counterparts in focussing on the rural or suburban rather than the urban. Nature and a clear, legible style of representation characterised their works. More often than not, their subject matter was landscape, as in James Guthrie's Pastoral (1887-88) or figure studies such as E.A. Walton's The Game-Keeper's Daughter (1886).⁶² Having said that, indications of the urban and modernity were implicit in other compositions, for example the telegraph poles in E. A. Walton's view of Helensburgh, En Plein Air (1885), or the suburban middle class at leisure in Lavery's

⁶⁰ F. Newbery, letter to A. E. H. Miller, 24/10/1912, 06/12/1912 and 30/12/1912, Director's Files: Correspondence sent by Fra Newbery 5/9, Glasgow School of Art (GSA) Archive, Glasgow.

⁶¹ Newbery to Miller, 24/10/1912.

⁶² Guthrie, Pastoral (1887-88), oil on canvas, 64.8x95.3cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh; MacGregor, The Knife Grinder (1878), oil on canvas, 76.2x137.8cm, Dundee Art Galleries and Museums; Walton, The Game Keeper's Daughter (1886), watercolour, 43.5x34.5cm, Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums.

The Tennis Party (1885).⁶³ However, as shown by James Nairn and T. C. Morton, when their attentions did turn to urban scenes, they were generally empty streets or topographical studies rather than confrontations with modernity.

Following Bermingham's argument, therefore, it is possible to see the work of the Glasgow Boys as the corollary, compensatory or 'escape' from that which was feared in Glasgow. The Glasgow Boys' paintings, focussing on scenes outside the city, had the clarity and legibility the modern urban environment lacked. In the countryside, manual labour held the dignity perceived by figures like Ruskin to have been robbed from man by the machine. Moreover, images of children, most notably Guthrie's To Pastures New (1883)⁶⁴ held a timeless innocence no longer found in the mutable, corrupting city, as had been shown in John Dall's A City Maypole [79]. Taking this into the urban setting, Morton's vacuous, pallid street was almost an idealised, purified city, rid of the dirt, hustle and bustle that art was thought should provide an escape from. In other words, the landscape began to function as a vehicle for the wish fulfilment of the urban. Paradoxically, such landscape based images were simultaneously the antithesis of Glasgow and the essence of what it wanted to be.

This becomes more pertinent when Newbery's views on the city are taken into account. Around the time of the Futurist exhibition, Newbery prepared a lecture entitled "Decorative Art and the Modern City."⁶⁵ He evidently saw the city as representative of the condition of its inhabitants, writing "A city is the expression of the sort of civilisation you have got: and a criticism upon it."⁶⁶ By extension, the image of a city could be read on comparable terms. Newbery went on to express his

⁶³ Walton, En Plein Air (1885), watercolour, 44.5x59.7cm, Private collection; Lavery, The Tennis Party (1885), oil on canvas, 77x183.5cm, Aberdeen Art Gallery.

⁶⁴ Guthrie, To Pastures New (1882-3), oil on canvas, 90x150cm, Aberdeen Art Gallery.

⁶⁵ Newbery, "Decorative Art and the Modern City", draft of lecture written at some time between December 1913 and September 1914, Director's Files: Fra Newbery 5/27, GSA Archive.

⁶⁶ Newbery, "Decorative Art...", I.

opinion that industrial heartlands, like Glasgow, were a form of disease: "A disorderly accumulation of men and bricks without any care for the things that make life dignified and worthy."⁶⁷ He described the ugliness of the working class quarters of the city and appealed for more attractive churches and town halls. Resounding with the sentiments of Ruskin and his follower Patrick Geddes, Newbery believed that beautiful buildings and streets would engender healthy living. Again indebted to his friend Geddes, Newbery felt that the walls of libraries should be adorned with banners portraying scenes from literature and legend.⁶⁸ He imagined "...what can be done in Glasgow when the smoke and consequent dirt have been reduced to a minimum."⁶⁹ The avant-garde synthesis of style and subject matter with regard to the urban and Newbery's disinclination to both must have been a critical factor. As inferred by the RGI and *The Scotsman* critic, art was viewed as a means by which to escape from the city. The issue, however, was far more problematic. The Slade School had similar academic, if not conservative, teaching to that found in Glasgow and yet in London the group that became known as the Vorticists were able to react against this to produce modern urban representation. The reason for this went beyond Newbery and fed into a wider discourse about modern, national art.

The later decades of the nineteenth century had been characterised by a rise in a national, romantic movement. In England William Morris championed this and in Scotland the key figure was Geddes. Geddes's belief that society could be changed for the better through new forms of architecture and art based on creative interpretations of a nation's heritage, led him to form the Edinburgh Social Union in 1885. Newbery joined the Union two years later. Geddes had formed an organic, biological

⁶⁷ Newbery, "Decorative Art...", 2.

⁶⁸ Letters from Newbery to Geddes are held in the Directors Files 5: Fra Newbery, GSA Archive.

⁶⁹ Newbery, "Decorative Art...", 2.

conception of society after studying with Thomas Huxley (1825-95) and later brought to this Ruskin's ideas on economics and society. He believed that a sense of identity was vital to sustaining a healthy community and that this could be based on history and given expression in new forms of art and architecture. To this end, he saw the art of the Glasgow Boys as holding great potential. This was voiced in a review of their work entitled *Every Man his own Art Critic*: "... there is enough to show that we have to do with the most important contemporary movement in Scottish, perhaps even British, art ... Glasgow has here an opportunity of becoming a great centre of art." Foreshadowing Newbery, he believed that this could happen "through a few judicious citizens quietly administering some steady employment as far as possible of a public and permanent decorative kind, in halls and schools especially."⁷⁰ The areas of history to which artists should turn, were those of origins as explained in the poems of Ossian and the examples to follow in art and architecture were those of the vernacular.

The combination of the organic and national legend directed toward social ends characterised what Geddes called the 'Scots Renaissance.'⁷¹ The organ for his ideas was the journal *Evergreen* which was illustrated with stylised and symbolist images by artists such as Robert Burns (1869-1941), John Duncan (1866-1945) and Charles Mackie (1862-1920). Recognition of continuity between past and present and Scotland's place within Europe, were integral to his vision of modern culture. In this cultural climate, The Four went on to produce art and architecture which took inspiration from natural forms, vernacular models and symbolist ideas. In their paintings and applied art the Macdonald sisters looked back to the romanticism of Dante Gabrielle Rossetti (1828-82) and Edward Burne Jones (1833-98) and employed

⁷⁰ P. Geddes, *Every man his own Art Critic*, Edinburgh and Glasgow 1888, 38.

⁷¹ For a general overview of Geddes and the Scots Renaissance see D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, Edinburgh 2000, 272-277.

the stylisation of art nouveau. Their art was at once, modern, national and international. Similarly, the Glasgow Boys' engaging with a French style to depict Scottish subject matter could be viewed on equivalent terms. Therefore, by following this model, Glasgow not only created modern art but also a distinct national art that was recognisable on an international stage. For younger artists, the achievement of these groups was the example to follow. Their success was confirmed by the inclusion of their works in international exhibitions and contemporary journals. Reproductions appeared in *Studio* magazine and Aubrey Beardsley (1872-98) devoted all of the plates in the January 1896 issue of his progressive journal *The Yellow Book* to paintings by the Glasgow School.⁷² These ensured that up-and-coming artists had a clear and, more importantly, secure path to follow.

Although this aesthetic was established around the turn of the century, its influence was sustained through the presence of Newbery. Despite exposure to the studio system in Paris, students returned to a painting staff many of whom were national romantics in style. Maurice Grieffenhagen (1862-1931), who taught in the life school from 1906, was an academic painter following the late nineteenth century English romantics and he was joined by Frederick Cayley Robinson (1862-1927) who fused the influences of neo-classicism, Puvis de Chevannes (1824-98) and the Pre-Raphaelites. Thus, both the trajectory and teaching of Scottish art was away from the urban. Art school pupils who had ambitions to create a modern Scottish art were in

⁷² All 25 illustrations of *The Yellow Book*, vol. 8, London and Boston, January 1896 were by members of the Glasgow School including Newbery himself, Lavery, Guthrie, E. A. Walton and Alexander Roche. Subsequently, *The Yellow Book* vol. 10 of July 1896 included illustrations by Herbert McNair and Margaret and Frances Macdonald. In *Studio* there were also articles on those associated with the Glasgow group, for example P. Bate, "The work of George Henry", *Studio* XXXI 1904, 3-12; N. Garstin, "The work of T. Millie Dow", *Studio* X 1897, 144-152; H. Macfall, "The Art of Alexander Roche", *Studio* XXXVII 1906, 203-13; T. C. Mackie, "The Crawhalls in Mr William Burrell's Collection", *Studio* LXXXIII 1922, 177-186; A. S. Walker, "The paintings of James Whitelaw Hamilton", *Studio* LX 1904, 9-19; A. S. Walker, "Portraits by Sir James Guthrie PRSA", *Studio* LIV 1912, 18-26; A. S. Walker, "The Recent Paintings of E. A. Walton", *Studio* LVIII 1913, 261-70.

an environment where the criteria for such an agenda had already been established and proven. By producing an art that reflected the ideals of an urban middle class, the Glasgow Boys at once reflected and negated the city whilst simultaneously appealing to a profitable market. Likewise, The Four and romantic artists produced a natural, symbolist art that was modern in its stylisation and yet adhered to Geddes's ideas of continuity in its use of the vernacular and nature. The decorative elements in their work corresponded with Newbery and Geddes's philosophy on the social function of art. It was this art that made Glasgow famous.

In this context, it is significant that modern artists, including Bone, felt unable to succeed in Glasgow and either moved abroad or, more commonly, to London. It was here that the heart of the British avant-garde could be found. Compared to Glasgow, London witnessed several more exhibitions of foreign art, including Roger Fry's (1866-1934) Post-Impressionist and Futurist exhibitions that were to prove vital in the formation of the Vorticist movement.⁷³ For artists based in London and, indeed, the general public, there was greater opportunity to experience foreign styles first hand. Although several Glasgow artists gained scholarships and went to work in studios abroad, chiefly in Paris, they returned to an environment where, although they may be acclimatised to the latest developments abroad, the public were not.

In addition to teaching, in order to make a living from their art, artists had to adhere to the demands of their market, which was directed toward the established styles. In contrast, the status of the academic exhibiting societies in London was such and the collection of avant-garde artists so numerous that there was something

⁷³ Fry was instrumental in organising the exhibitions "Manet and the Post Impressionists", 8 November 1910-15 January 1911 and "Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition of English, French and Russian Artists", winter 1912 - both exhibitions were held at the Grafton Galleries, London. Whereas Fry and the associated Bloomsbury group worked in a post-impressionist, decorative aesthetic toward what they termed 'significant form', the Vorticists, led by Wyndham Lewis, adopted a machine aesthetic in their representations of modern life.

definite to react against and enough artists to champion alternatives. The New English Art Club was formed in 1886 and, amongst the various progressive artists, associations of like-minded individuals banded together to spawn groups such as the Camden Town Group (1911), which had a specifically urban focus. The support and common identity of these associations gave artists confidence to persevere, experiment and forge new styles. With key artists no longer in Glasgow and an over-riding aesthetic dominating the artistic scene, it was easier for Glasgow trained artists who identified with the urban to seek success somewhere other than their native city.

Therefore, through the reaction provoked by the Futurist exhibition, it was clear that Glasgow was not accommodating to modern styles of urban art. Adhering to the prevailing natural aesthetic of the Glasgow Boys and The Four, Glasgow favoured an art that provided respite from the rigours of modern city life. With their well-behaved children, overtones of virtuousness, leisurely pastimes and relaxed atmosphere, landscape scenes held dear all that was perceived to have been lost amidst the tumult of modern Glasgow. Radical modernism was equated with revolutionary sentiment and this was to be discouraged. Exhibiting societies and art schools advocated a national romantic or natural style of painting, an inclination observed by artists seeking success in Scotland. Those more dedicated to pursuing a modern aesthetic in art went to London where there was more scope for experimentation and participating in the activities of progressive exhibiting societies.

This was to prove crucial in the emergence of a modern urban art in Glasgow, specifically through the work of former GSA student William McCance (1894-1970). In London he was able to assimilate influences from the British and Continental avant-garde to produce art with modernity at his core. He introduced a machine aesthetic into Scottish art whilst concurrently providing an alternative national, modern Scottish

art to that proposed by Newbery and Geddes. This achievement was consequential, especially as the attitude toward radical art was more hostile after the war than it had been before. Between the wars, the GSA student Ian Fleming (1906-94) joined him in using the city as a vehicle to offer a critique of Scottish art and question the relevance of their formative years in Glasgow. Crucially this happened as the city's industrial infrastructure had begun to break down.

The City as Critique

During the war there was little in the way of urban representation. Many artists enlisted or served as war artists and artistic output naturally waned. The representations that were created sought to propagandise the strong workforce driving Glasgow's contribution to the war effort. However, it was due to significant periods of unrest on Clydeside in 1915 that the term 'Red Clydeside' became readily associated with Glasgow.⁷⁴ In that year, however, the Holmes Photo Glossy Herald Series included a postcard of a vast crowd of men congregating in an open space outside a shipyard. Rather than protesting, however, the title of the picture was 'Dinner Hour', thereby assuaging any fear of revolt in the yards so vital to the war effort. Other works such as Muirhead Bone's depictions of ships in docks or Anna

⁷⁴ In mid-February 1915 the Clydeside engineers initiated what became known as the '2d an hour' strike. They were protesting against the rise in the cost of food and the decision by the firm Weirs of Cathcart to employ American engineers on a higher wage than that received by the locals. The dispute was resolved during March but in its wake the Clyde Workers' Committee (CWC) was formed. The CWC was opposed to the dilution of trades and a number of the war acts. Although the government began by trying to reach agreement with the Unions on working practices, The Defence of the Realm Act gave the government significant statutory powers and, alongside the subsequent legislation of the Munitions of War Act, July 1915, some workers saw these controlling regulations as a restriction on liberty and nicknamed them the 'Clyde Slavery Acts.' This added to dissatisfaction with the Housing Acts passed before the War. The Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest reported that: "The chief root of industrial unrest is the desire of the workers to establish better conditions for themselves and their families...bad housing may fairly be regarded as a legitimate cause of social unrest..." (as cited in J. Butt, "Working Class Housing in Scottish Cities" in G. Gordon and B. Dicks (eds), *Scottish Urban History*, Aberdeen 1983, 241-242). There were minor strikes and the discontent was evident in the hostile reception given to Lloyd George when he visited Glasgow in December 1915.

Airy's (1882-1964) Shop for Machining 15-inch Shells: Singer Manufacturing Company, Clydebank, Glasgow (1918)⁷⁵ were similarly propagandist. In manner of depiction, clarity was paramount. Partly to convey information and partly for the stability it inferred, war art prized realism in depiction and signalled a move from the abstraction and incomprehensibility of modern styles and any revolutionary predilection perceived therein. Mirroring the situation before the hostilities, therefore, post-war Glasgow still had to be portrayed in a modern style. The condition of the city, however, and the general attitude to extreme forms of modernism meant that, after the war, the city presented an entirely different challenge. To understand the problems facing artists, it is necessary to understand the changes in Glasgow itself.

After the war, Glasgow had to reinvent itself. In the early 1920s, when the intense demand for warships and munitions that had driven the city dissipated, Glasgow went into recession. The advancement of technology and diversification into areas like aircraft production indicated potential areas for development after the war. However, the global market was competitive and governments were guarded, trying to ensure the best economic conditions for domestic trade and industry. This affected Glasgow heavily because of its long-established reliance on shipping and export. The output from Clyde shipbuilders fell from more than 672,000 tons in 1920 to a mere 175,000 tons in 1923. In the year that Glasgow 'went red' with Labour winning the election, shipbuilders had been heavily hit by the 1922 Washington disarmament conference where it was decided that no new warships would be built for a period of ten years and current contracts were to be suspended.⁷⁶ Other heavy industries, including coal were similarly, if not worse, hit. Crisis in the coalmines led to the

⁷⁵ Anna Airy's (1882-1964) Shop for Machining 15-inch Shells: Singer Manufacturing Company, Clydebank, Glasgow (1918), oil on canvas, 182.8x213.3cm, Imperial War Museum, London.

⁷⁶ Maver, *Glasgow*, 204.

General Strike of 1926, which called for nationwide support for miners' rights. The city's infrastructure was put under great strain and, as Maver has noted:

A general undercurrent to the strike was the tension between old forms of technology and the new, in an era when there was considerable uncertainty among workers about future prospects. Glasgow's much-vaunted tramways seemed to encapsulate this conundrum; a massive enterprise that was failing to adapt and was thus in danger of obsolescence. It was a disturbing metaphor for the city generally.⁷⁷

A recurring problem across industry was Glasgow's dated technology that was being surpassed by its global competitors. The decline in shipbuilding, despite improving prospects in the mid-1920s, and prolonged unrest in the coal industry, did not help the city's economy. The situation did not improve and by 1930, following the Wall Street Crash, the depression was global. Shipbuilding hit an unprecedented low in 1933 and unemployment soared. Glasgow's industrial heyday was over.

Positive steps were taken to try and alleviate the situation. The National Shipbuilders' Security Limited (NSS) was formed in 1933 in an attempt to reconfigure the shipbuilding industry for the contemporary climate. Light industry and the retail sector provided new areas of growth. To encourage the economic revival, the city's motto was changed from the passive rhetoric of "Let Glasgow Flourish" to the motivational cry "Make Glasgow Flourish" on the occasion of Glasgow's Civic and Empire Week, 1931.⁷⁸ It was against this background that the Empire Exhibition should be viewed: an opportunity to remind nations of Scotland's longstanding trading and industrial prowess. Although the industrial decline was masked by the launch of the Cunard liner the *Queen Mary* in 1934 and the commitment to rearmament commencing in 1936, it was clear that Glasgow was no longer the 'Second City'.

⁷⁷ Maver, *Glasgow*, 206.

⁷⁸ Maver, *Glasgow*, 207.

Hence, Glasgow's image in the inter-war era became destabilised. Previous epithets were no longer applicable and a series of popular publications countered the efforts of the Corporation to retain a strong and proud sense of civic identity. The uprisings from 1915 had secured the reputation of Red Clydeside and the idea that a revolution could arise from its midst was kept alive by publications like William Bolitho's *Cancer of the Empire* (1924).⁷⁹ Despite the creation of a Housing Department, much criticism was launched at the condition of the housing and the implications this had for the inhabitants and the potential for revolution in the city. Alexander McArthur and H. Kingsley Long's *No Mean City* (1935) characterised Glasgow's slums as deeply riven with gangland culture. They disclosed that "Battles and sex are the only free diversions in slum life. Couple them with drink, which costs money, and you have the three principal outlets for that escape complex which is for ever working in the tenement dweller's subconscious mind."⁸⁰ The slums were the genus that bred the immoral, violent and dangerous elements that pervaded the city. Although a somewhat sensationalist piece, it was true that organised crime was on the rise. Some of this related to increasing sectarian rivalry between Catholic and Protestant supporters of the city's two main football clubs, Celtic and Rangers. Continuing the long-established trend, therefore, dual characterisations of the city arose, one acknowledging the present circumstance but looking toward a positive future, the other sensationalising the old and welting sores in Glasgow's urban and social fabric.

⁷⁹ The frontispiece to this book was an illustration, in the style of Jessie M. King, of squalid, run-down tenements with ragged washing hanging over narrow wynds. King was at GSA during Newbery's reign and, with fellow female students, has become known as a 'Glasgow Girl.' Her book about Glasgow, *City of the West* (1911), included pictures of gloomy tenemented streets. Bolitho, a journalist, saw the threat of revolution as rife and attributed its potential cause to widespread social hardship. He does, however, stop short of agreeing with James Stewart's claim that Glasgow was "earth's nearest suburb to hell." Bolitho, *Cancer of the Empire*, London 1924, 30.

⁸⁰ A. McArthur and H. Kingsley Long, *No Mean City*, reprint, London 1992, 37.

Lewis Grassic Gibbon (1901-35) expressed this quandary of identity most eloquently:

Glasgow is one of the few places in Scotland which defy personification. To image Edinburgh as a disappointed spinster, with a hare-lip and inhibitions, is at least to approximate as closely to the truth as to image the Prime Mover as a Levantine Semite. So with Dundee, a frowsy fisher-wife addicted to gin and infanticide, Aberdeen a thin-lipped peasant woman who has borne eleven and buried nine. But no Scottish image of personification may display, even distortedly the essential Glasgow ...⁸¹

The inference was that Glasgow had lost its soul and that this was regretful, no matter how corrupt that soul might be. Glasgow was no longer mighty and, in Bone's words, remained inarticulate. Suggesting where the soul might be found, Grassic Gibbon jibed: "The monster of Loch Ness is probably the lost soul of Glasgow, in scales and horns, disporting itself in the Highlands after evacuating finally and completely its mother-corpse."⁸² There was the perception, especially amidst left wing and progressive writers like Grassic Gibbon that Glasgow had lost its identity and was unable to find its sense of self. With an inarticulate identity and dwindling economy, Glasgow was a difficult place for artists to succeed. In addition, the post-war attitude toward modernity and modernist styles had profound implications for artists wishing to represent the urban.

In "The absent city: Paul Nash", David Peters Corbett analysed the relationship between post-war society, modernity and, in a discussion of the work of Paul Nash (1889-1946), the urban.⁸³ Corbett examined the widespread social and cultural uncertainty left in the aftermath of war and the effect this had on the development of

⁸¹ L. Grassic Gibbon, "Glasgow" in F. McLay *A Worker's City*, Glasgow 1988, 56.

⁸² Grassic Gibbon, "Glasgow", 56.

⁸³ Corbett, "The absent city: Paul Nash", 100-126.

modernist styles and, consequently, urban representation. Introducing his argument he explained:

The fascination with the city ... is also a fascination with the signs of modernity, since urban culture is a principal expression of the technological genius of modernisation. The impact of the disavowal of modernism as an investigative form of knowledge about modernity after 1914 had a powerful effect on the character of the work produced in the subsequent decade and a half. Artists like Nash whose interests propelled them towards investigative painting addressing public issues found themselves impeded by the pressure of cultural resistance which they encountered.⁸⁴

Although Nash was best known for his landscape work, Corbett, citing the work of Andrew Causey, pointed out that war came at a time when he was beginning to explore aspects of modernism.⁸⁵ The importance of the milieu in which he was working cannot be underestimated. On one hand there was Roger Fry and the Bloomsbury group investigating 'significant form' and on the other the Vorticists. Corbett then explained how, through war, Nash began to equate the destructive forces, in essence products of modernity, with modern movements in art. Most notably in a letter to his wife he commented: "I begin to believe in the Vorticist doctrine of destruction almost."⁸⁶ In the work Nash produced as an official war artist this gained some expression in angular contours of desolate battlefields.

Nash was not alone in making this association. If modernity could be understood as beneficial, then the city could retain positive values but war showed the horrifying devastation modernity could cause. This had repercussions for modern art and the urban. Modernity was located in the city and thus the city was implicated in the horrors of war. Moreover, the avant-garde art associated with the city

⁸⁴ Corbett, "The absent city", 100.

⁸⁵ Corbett, "The absent city", 104 citing A. Causey, *Paul Nash*, Oxford 1980, 62 note n.

⁸⁶ P. Nash as cited in Causey, *Paul Nash*, 61-62 and Corbett, "The absent city", 105.

immediately before the war, namely that of the Futurists and Vorticists, had ideologically engaged with the urban and the machines it produced, whether through celebratory manifestos or a fatalistic acceptance. The pursuit of a modern, urban art in the wake of war seemed futile and inappropriate. Although facets of modern style and the modern city still awaited adequate expression in the visual arts, any audience was lost. Artists risked being reproached for distaste or accused of exploiting others' misfortune. With the weakened economy, the venture, even for the avant-garde, was too much of a gamble.

Nevertheless, as Corbett argued, the impulse of the modern did not dissipate but artists sought alternative means by which to give it expression. Corbett explained: "The result was the repression of this [investigative] element of their painting and its return in the form of hidden or oblique subjects or concerns."⁸⁷ For Nash and other artists, namely William McCance, the principal mechanism for the exploration of modernity was landscape. Following from Bermingham's argument that landscape was an agent for the urban, so the post-war landscape became the locus for modernity now evacuated from the city. For McCance, however, this landscape took on a deeper significance. He sought to give expression to what he deemed the true industrial character of his nation and thereby create a modern art for Scotland. Ironically, to do this he had to leave Scotland and rather than depicting the locus of modernity, the city, he began with a reinterpretation of landscape.

Unlike Nash, McCance did not serve in the war. His opposition to the conflict was such that, as a conscientious objector, he spent much of its duration in prison. Prior to this he had studied at GSA under Fra Newbery and therefore had not witnessed first-hand the investigative forms of modern art that had informed and

⁸⁷ Corbett, "The absent city", 100.

characterised the English art scene. McCance, however, evidently had an interest in modern art, but felt that this could not be pursued in Scotland. After marrying Agnes Miller Parker (1895-1980), McCance relocated to London in around 1920. In an article entitled "William and Agnes McCance", Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) suggested the reasons for this move: "Prior to leaving Glasgow, Mr McCance gave a lecture to the young 'Society of Painters and Sculptors' on modern art which was received with a certain measure of hostility to say the least of it."⁸⁸ Writing in the mid-1920s, MacDiarmid went on to criticise the sluggish development of Scottish artists and berate the general ignorance of the Scots to modern art. He proclaimed that "The whole course of modern art in all its amazing and absorbing developments is a sealed book to all but a mere handful of the population in Scotland. All they know about is derived from cheap witticisms or indignant attacks ... which occasionally diversify the popular press."⁸⁹ Thus, confirming the inferences of the reactions to the Futurist exhibition, it is not surprising that McCance travelled to London where his interest in the modern could be fully realised and, paradoxically, the foundations for a modern Scottish art established.

In London, McCance was employed as art critic to the *Spectator*. This put him in an ideal position to assess the more decorative aesthetic of Roger Fry and the harder-edged post-Vorticist abstraction of Wyndham Lewis (1882-1957). McCance's personal convictions arguably drew him toward the fatalistic acceptance of modernity as expressed by the Vorticist movement, in particular Lewis. McCance's adaptation of the machine aesthetic could be seen to reflect the alienating character of contemporary society. Hugh MacDiarmid, however, saw his work as a key factor in

⁸⁸ H. MacDiarmid, "William and Agnes McCance", first published in *Scottish Educational Journal*, November 1925 as reproduced in A. Riach (ed), *Contemporary Scottish Studies*, Manchester, 1995, 187-192.

⁸⁹ MacDiarmid, "William and Agnes McCance", 188-189.

the creation of a vital Scottish art and recognition of the true character of Scotland. Hypothesising on what McCance would say were he asked about Scottish art, MacDiarmid surmised:

So far there has been too great a cleavage between Engineering and Art ... We are largely (the world has assessed us rightly) a nation of engineers. Let us realise that a man may still be an engineer and yet concerned with a picture conceived purely as a kind of engine which has a different kind of functional power to an engine in the ordinary sense of the term. Here then is what we Scots have – a terrific vitality combined with a constructive ability unequalled by any other nation.⁹⁰

To MacDiarmid, therefore, McCance's machine aesthetic was a means by which a vital, national Scottish art could come into being. For this to happen, it had to embody three crucial qualities: parallel the latest trends in art, reflect a renewed realisation of what MacDiarmid referred to as a "distinctively Scottish psychology"⁹¹ and, finally, it had to free itself from political or religious factors that had previously impeded its development.

In essence, MacDiarmid argued that Scotland had to secure independence from England and re-orientate its aesthetic to be in line with that on the Continent. In stark contrast to the vision of a modern national art proposed by Geddes and his circle, MacDiarmid, putting words into the mouth of McCance, declared that "The sooner Scots realise that they have never had a culture the better." The present was the premise on which a modern art should be built. For Scotland, according to MacDiarmid, this necessitated an art that recognised Scotland's distinctive quality – its skill in engineering. MacDiarmid concluded:

... thanks to the unparalleled strength of our engineering and dialectical aptitudes if these can be reoriented and applied in cultural directions, transcend

⁹⁰ MacDiarmid, "William and Agnes McCance", 189.

⁹¹ MacDiarmid, "William and Agnes McCance", 187.

it and at one step make good the long inhibition or subversion of our most distinctive powers and become the vanguard of the art of the future.⁹²

The disavowal of all previous traditions, implied that McCance started afresh in his rearticulation of Scottish identity in art. However, this is not the case. McCance exploited the traditional associations of rural and urban and the status of landscape as the dominant genre in Scottish art, and most identifiable feature of Scotland, to offer a critique of the romantic vision of Scotland and the trajectory of Scottish art.

Heavy Structures in a Landscape Setting (1922) [115] betrayed the perversion of conventional landscape painting in its title. The ascerbic colour scheme and harsh, angular geometry were repellent. Although alluding to a landscape, most traditional features of the genre were lost in an industrial, mechanised scene. The use of an unconventional, irregular, seven-sided canvas denied the possibility of reading the machine-scape in the manner of landscape, in other words, as a view from a window. Consequently, McCance insisted that a wholly different and more challenging correlation between man and nature needed to be explored. The irrelevance of romantic landscape, profuse in Scotland after the popularity of texts like Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and Horatio McCulloch's (1805-67) heroically rugged landscapes, was thus accented. The gun-like metallic blue of the jagged forms had military connotations and so entered the post-war re-evaluation of the relationship between man, machine and nature. It reflected the pessimism personified, or rather mechanised, in Jacob Epstein's (1880-1959) Rock Drill (1913-14).⁹³ McCance was later to explore this further in his Study for a Colossal Steel Head (1926), the form of which was then repeated in his Mediterranean Landscape (1928).⁹⁴

⁹² MacDiarmid, "William and Agnes McCance", 192.

⁹³ J. Epstein, Rock Drill (1913-14), bronze sculpture on stone base, 70.5x58.4x44.5cm torso, Tate London.

Rather than MacDiarmid's rallying-cry for the machine to be the basis of a new national art, therefore, McCance seemed to begin by posing a vision that was an altogether more negative assessment of modernity. In the post-war era and imbued with his personal opposition to war, this was hardly surprising. Nevertheless, it was through this work that McCance introduced a machine aesthetic into Scottish art. Significantly, he did this by exposing the incongruous dialogue between the dominant genre in Scottish art, landscape, and contemporary society. Following Corbett's argument of the articulation of the urban through the rural, McCance literally rather than metaphorically placed that which defined the city, the machine, into its corollary. His radical departure from the norm was explicit rather than circuitous. He may not have directly imaged the city, but in so doing made his critique of its suppression all the more evident through the exploitation of the rural-urban polarisation.

This explication took on a specifically Scottish tenor in From Another Window in Thrums (1928) [116]. Here, McCance indicated that the hackneyed kailyard vision of Scotland was inadequate and, as implied in the title, proposed an antithetical scene, again, an alternative window. McCance undermined and deconstructed J. M. Barrie's (1860-1937) affectionate and escapist kailyard novel *A Window in Thrums* (1889) through a series of satirical inversions.⁹⁵ Moreover, he brought the urban into the rural, commenting on the increasing industrialisation of modern society and the inadequacy of the parochial model provided by Barrie and the Kailyard School. Significantly, the year in which McCance's work was painted also saw the formation of the National Party of Scotland. By this time McCance was undoubtedly associated

⁹⁴ McCance: Study for a Colossal Steel Head (1926), charcoal on paper, 53.6x37.6cm, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art; Mediterranean Hill Town (1923), oil on canvas, 92.1x61cm, Dundee Art Galleries and Museums.

⁹⁵ See T. Normand, *The Modern Scot, Modernism and Nationalism in Scottish Art, 1928-1955*, Cambridge 2000, 13-17.

with Hugh MacDiarmid's Scottish Renaissance movement and thereby actively involved in a cultural endeavour to forge a new Scottish identity.

MacDiarmid saw this painting as the archetypal nationalist work as it rejected the artificiality of what had gone before and projected a vital and modern style for the contemporary period.⁹⁶ In so doing, McCance virtually inverted Barrie's vision and values. For example, whereas the church was a central moral binding authority in Barrie's novel, it was placed amongst factory chimneys in the background of McCance's painting. The epithet "Thrums" referred to Kirriemuir (Barrie's birthplace and the setting of the novel) and its renowned handloom weaving industry, thrum being an old Scots word for thread. Factory chimneys, however, overran this domesticity. In addition, the idyllic kailyard was further degraded through a secondary meaning of thrum, close personal contact, as exemplified by the couple copulating. The performance of this act in an external location had overtones of prostitution, generally considered a scourge of the city as opposed to the morally elevated countryside. Instead of offering a comfortable interpretation, McCance's proto-Vorticist machine aesthetic and sharp colours were alienating. There was a surreal element to his scene.

By ridiculing the romantic, sentimental vision of Scotland McCance illustrated its discord with the modern era and echoed MacDiarmid's appeal for a vital and dynamic art. In 1930 he wrote:

When the Scot can purge himself of the illusion that Art is reserved for the sentimentalist and realise that he, the Scot, has a natural gift for construction, combined with a racial aptitude for metaphysical thought and a deep emotional nature, then out of this combination can arise an art which will be pregnant with Idea, and have within it the seed of greatness. Besides awareness of this

⁹⁶ MacDiarmid himself criticised Barrie's work in his poem *To Circumjack Cencrastus* (1930). His assertion of the nationalistic agenda in McCance's work was expressed in an article he wrote under his real name C. M. Grieve entitled "Another Window in Thrums" which appeared in the *Glasgow Evening News Saturday Supplement*, 07/06/1930.

potentiality, however, the Scot must break through his narrow provincial barriers...⁹⁷

In this context, From Another Window in Thrums can be viewed as a generic image, symbolising the need for the modern in Scottish art – a need to move from the rural and parochial to the urban, from the regressive to the progressive. The breaking of these barriers, however, was predated by a composition arguably located in Glasgow and painted shortly after he left the city for London.

McCance's Boatyard (1922) [117] amalgamated many of the ingredients MacDiarmid saw as essential to a modern Scottish art. As a scene of cargo being loaded or unloaded by the docks, it paralleled David Bomberg's (1890-1957) In the Hold (1913-14).⁹⁸ though McCance's conception differed greatly. Rather than a pseudo-academic division and patterning of the canvas, McCance's geometric and dehumanised figures retained a powerful physical presence in the scene. The linear articulation of form, geometric abstraction and strong palette reflected his machine aesthetic adapted from early Vorticist works. In this, it was analogous to international movements in art and yet in subject matter it retained the modern Scottish identity MacDiarmid sought. Shipbuilding had made Glasgow the 'Second City of Empire' and set Scotland apart on an international stage. Perhaps recognising that the industry was no longer in its prime, McCance refrained from glorifying the shipyards. Instead, the crushing weight of the cargo being borne by the labourers was evident. McCance thus eschewed any danger of the sentimentality or nostalgia incarnate in the Scottish tradition. Boatyard was contemporary in style and subject matter and, like Heavy Structures and From Another Window, 'pregnant with Idea' – the idea of modernity and, thus, the city.

⁹⁷ W. McCance, "The Idea in Art", *The Modern Scot*, Summer 1930, 13.

⁹⁸ Bomberg, In the Hold (1913-14), oil on canvas, 19.6x23.1cm, Tate London.

McCance's work was urbanite because it was non-urban. He evoked emblems of modernity and thereby highlighted the lack of, to use MacDiarmid's phrase, an 'ultra-modern' Scottish art.⁹⁹ By juxtaposing these signs with a perversion of the traditional, accepted genre of landscape, McCance directed his critique at the heart of Scottish art. As Corbett had established, the relationship between the city and modernity in art was contentious after the war and artists had to find alternative means by which to continue their investigative modernism. McCance exploration of the rural-urban dialectic and engineering in a truly modern style placed him on a par with leading figures of the English avant-garde and signalled that Scottish modernity in art could be founded on aspects of modern Scotland. Although McCance may have been operating outside Scotland, his connection with MacDiarmid demonstrated his commitment to the Scottish Renaissance. McCance was not the only Scottish artist to be using the city as a means of critique. Rather than an explicit critique of national tradition or appeal for modernity, Ian Fleming's use of Glasgow in his engraving Gethsemene (1931) [118] explored the relevance of the traditional teaching regime at Glasgow School of Art to contemporary society.

Adhering to GSA's requirements for compositions premised on religious themes and being pressed to compete for the Prix de Rome, Fleming produced Gethsemene.¹⁰⁰ For Fleming, the subject was by no means ideal, as his son Alisdair explained:

What I can say with some certainty was that the religious subject matter was not one chosen by my father. Gethsemene (and another surviving image called Nativity) were the product of Glasgow School of Art's insistence that religious subject matter should be part of any artist's repertoire. My father who, despite an early flirtation with the Methodist church, was not on the surface a religious

⁹⁹ MacDiarmid, "William and Agnes McCance", 187.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Fleming, interview with Anne Whyte, 12/01/1983, 4-5, Ian Fleming Artist File, Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

man by any stretch of the imagination, did not take kindly to being “expected” to produce work based on biblical themes. One of the results of this was Gethsemene.¹⁰¹

The composition may have been involuntary, but it was undoubtedly unique. Christ and his Disciples were depicted in contemporary clothing and rather than the Holy Land, Gethsemene became a fusion of locations in Glasgow. As Fleming noted: “... an artist can retain the actual essence of the place by shifting stuff around and not having the dead irrelevance of the camera’s image.”¹⁰² What Fleming sought, therefore, was the spirit and evocation of ‘place’ rather than literal transcription. The foreground area where Christ knelt and the Disciples slept was based on the Fossil Grove in Victoria Park, the middle ground surveyed the view over the River Kelvin at Kelvingrove Park and the distant buildings to the left were reminiscent of those found in the Park Circus area. According to Alisdair Fleming, the cityscape on the right was a hybrid of Glasgow tenements and structures more commonly found in Segovia.¹⁰³ The setting was evidently important to Fleming who rejected his earlier attempts to make the central group of trees appear like ‘spiritual flames’ in favour of a grouping that enabled the landscape to be seen. This also supported his claim that the purpose of the exercise was compositional rather than ideological.¹⁰⁴ As might be expected, the models for the Disciples were fellow artists Frank Meers, the RSA President, and fellow etcher E. S. Lumsden (1883-1948). Whether Fleming was making a humorous statement about the artists having to obey the creed of art schools is unknown.

¹⁰¹ A. Fleming, e-mail to author, 05/03/2001. Fleming, *Nativity*, etching, size unknown, Perth Art Gallery and Museum.

¹⁰² I. Fleming, interview with Andrew Patrizio, 1989, Ian Fleming Artist File, Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

¹⁰³ A. Fleming, e-mail to author, 05/03/2001.

¹⁰⁴ I. Fleming, interview with Anne Whyte, 12/01/1983, 24.

Interestingly, in the manufacture of the etching it is possible that Fleming followed in the footsteps of previous Glasgow etchers. Already an admirer of Bone's Glasgow work, Fleming produced his prints "at the very beginning of the 30s" at the T. & R. Annan Gallery "because I used to never be able to get a decent print."¹⁰⁵ Annan's Gallery was legendary in its association with Glasgow. Besides their status as Glasgow's principal photographers, etchers including Cameron, James McBay (1883-1959) and Bone, were associated with the Gallery. From an early stage in his career, therefore, Fleming was following in the tradition of a creative group of artists, within whose body of work, Glasgow featured prominently.

When asked whether his enduring interest in the city as an environment in which to live and work stemmed from his time in Glasgow, Fleming replied:

Well that's a very difficult question for this reason that when one is a young person you are not conscious of the wider issues such as the effect of environment, the sociological impact on you or anything like that ... His whole, sort of, impulse is to correct social imperfections, social ... injustices, so therefore every young man, as I was, was passionately concerned with the idea that here was something that as a child I hadn't realised, then through reading and looking at things, as it were, into adulthood, suddenly realising 'Well what the hell am I here for' And all youngsters ... have this terrific desire to put the world to rights, no question about that, either through religion or politics...¹⁰⁶

In Gethsemene Fleming used religion not to make a pious statement on morality but, like McCance, he was criticising the state of art in Scotland, but in this instance specifically the state of art education. The complex relationship between the urban and religion provided the ground on which to base his inquiry. As such, Glasgow served as an ideal city to form the backdrop to his contemporary holy scene. There are nuanced references to Glasgow's religious founding in the etching, but these are

¹⁰⁵ I. Fleming, interview with Patrizio, 1989.

¹⁰⁶ I. Fleming interview with Patrizio, 1989.

juxtaposed with elements that question the modern city's reliance on its religious roots. The meandering burn in the garden could, as Alisdair Fleming suggested, be the River Kelvin but it could equally allude to the Molendinar burn beside which St Mungo was said to have laid the foundation of his religious settlement. By the twentieth century, however, this was little more than a polluted sewer. The spires and towers of religious structures interrupted the skyline but, amidst the plethora of churches in Glasgow, it was difficult to discern exactly which structures were being denoted. In an increasingly secular society, appreciation of religion or the necessity for so many churches would have waned. Fleming could be commenting further on the paradoxical nature of religion in Glasgow. It was once what defined the city and gave it status but now the city was perceived as dangerous and diseased and religion, as the hallmark of the two main football clubs had become implicated in violent sectarian rivalry. The relationship between religion and the city had always been variable. The city was once viewed as the expression of heaven on earth, then the den of iniquity requiring divine salvation, but now the city and religion co-existed in a malaise.

With regard to the urban, Nash had commented:

It is almost as if nature itself came to haunt us; it is the source for uncanny experiences and feelings of all kinds in the metropolis: empty city streets are always slightly uncanny because they ought to be crowded, noisy and bustling ... the artifice of the empty park is strange and horrid too; and the little closed-in squares and shuttered houses take on an impersonal malevolence whereby we feel endangered by the very fact that 'there is nothing there.'¹⁰⁷

During the Victorian era, Glasgow prided itself on the creation of its parks. They were at once an expression of the city and its negation. Intended to improve health for inhabitants, this could only be done by removing buildings and bringing the rural into

¹⁰⁷ P. Nash as cited in Corbett, "The absent city", 118.

the urban. City authorities played on the association of nature, free-space and health, but as Nash indicated, this seemed out-of-character with the hustle and bustle that defined the city. Religion and the rural shared morally elevated ideals and yet, as has been shown, the rural became a tool of critique. Therefore, the appropriateness of religion and rural in Glasgow was called into question. The increased pace and density of the urban was feared and yet its unexpected absence raised comparable unease. The implication was that the empty park and, consequently, religion, were artificial in an urban context. Fleming's decision not to include a troop of 'guards' as delineated in a preparatory drawing [119] and the reduction of the trees to bare branches, purposely cleared the space and lessened the religious connotations. Fleming enhanced the sense of strangeness this aroused through the incorporation of surreal elements such as cacti and strongly delineated rock or fossil forms. Religion, Glasgow and nature were all apparent but none had a clearly defined identity or relationship to one another in modern society.

Essentially, what Fleming did was question the relevance of imposing religious subject matter on artists operating in a society where religion and the values it upheld were no longer applicable. In Fleming's work Nash's 'nothingness' could refer to the lack of space, belief or art itself. It was as if Fleming was challenging the viewer to explore these incongruities in the urban environment – religion and modernity, buildings and spaces, art and the city. In many ways, Gethsemene was a witty indictment on the regressive nature of art education where modernity and the city were, literally and visually, pushed into the background. Both Fleming and McCance used the urban, or rather its absence, to offer a critique of the contemporary condition of art and art education in Scotland. Both recognised the need for

fundamental and institutional change if Scotland was to produce the modern, vital and dynamic art called for by MacDiarmid.

Conclusion

When considering a general unwillingness to possess art, Bone questioned whether the apprehension was because of “the feeling that in these strange times everything is temporary and that (in a different sense than the preacher's) ‘here we have no abiding city?’”¹⁰⁸ Glasgow was no longer a stable entity and religion no longer its mainstay. It was to reach industrial pre-eminence before gradually sliding into economic decline. Icons of prosperity, such as St Rollox tower, soon became looming emblems of despair. As Glasgow’s complexity increased and the assured industrial foundation on which it had built its economy and its identity began to falter, the city became increasingly difficult for artists to depict.

The mutability of modern Glasgow, however, lent itself well to photography. The camera’s speeding shutter and reproductive capacity seemed to echo characteristics inherent in modernity. In doing so it continued the visual media’s turn toward the street as the stage for modern city life. It recorded change, progress and movement and therein signified the city as a continually evolving space. The accurate, seemingly objective account – naturally subjective by virtue of the photographer’s role – captured a realistic account of the city and a challenge was posed to artists to assume a similar stance.

A similarly immediate engagement with modern Glasgow was undertaken by Bone. Significantly, Bone turned away from municipal display and located his art in the working class areas of the city. Rather than emulate and aggrandise municipal

¹⁰⁸ Bone, “Talks with Great Scots”, 17.

achievement, Bone felt that the essence of Glasgow lay in its people and industry. Moreover, with scenes of creation and destruction he responded to the camera's appraisal of Glasgow's change and development. Undoubtedly Bone appreciated Glasgow's industrial might but essentially in his street scenes and shipyards, his impression was realistic. This was aided by the hard-edged, gritty quality of etching. Not only did he emphasise industrial achievement, but he also alluded to its consequences, thereby indicating a deeper understanding of the consequences of industrialisation.

Perhaps more significant still was Bone's consideration of Glasgow's absence from the walls of her civic art gallery. Bone found this anomaly surprising as he felt art pulsed through the city's very marrow. The picturesque prettiness of previous representations seemed null and void as modern, industrial Glasgow was captured in photography and a new, dynamic, modern art was needed to encapsulate the very qualities Glasgow prided itself upon. The Glasgow Boys seemed the perfect group through which this could be realised and yet this did not happen. The intervening factors conditioning their response, or rather lack thereof, included the art establishments and the prevailing aesthetic climate.

Arguably the Glasgow Boys' scenes of nature and suburban life were themselves engendered by Glasgow's industrial greatness. The middle class, industrial bourgeoisie were a prime market for the aspiring painter as they too sought to assure their social standing. By depicting the middle and upper classes in works of art, the Glasgow Boys provided them with a tangible signifier of their social status. Although much of their wealth was generated by the industrial workshops, to depict related subject matter would be a constant reminder of the city from whence they had removed themselves to the suburbs to avoid and an allusion to the social problems

faced by their workers. Therefore, the Glasgow Boys' images provided an escape from the harsh reality of the industrial city. More than this, however, landscape had long held moral virtues and been depicted in an idealised, aesthetic form. It embodied all of the morality, goodness and rectitude, along with the health and beauty, seen as long vanished from Glasgow's industrial heartland.

Accordingly, when the Glasgow Boys did depict Glasgow, it was essentially negated. Either by means of a decorative style that enmeshed the city in a plethora of creative, painterly patterned brushstrokes or in vacant or rain-filled street scenes – its modernity was far from apparent. The most profound recognition of Glasgow's industrial prowess came in the form of a commissioned civic mural for which the artist had to change style. In their very ethos, style and substance, the Glasgow Boys conveyed little of Glasgow essence. The city engendered their particular form of expression, but its role in this was largely silent. However, as Glasgow's acclaimed artistic group, it is perhaps appropriate that it fell to one of them to create the civic mural of 'Modern Glasgow' which, essentially, became one of the City Fathers' last fanfares for the 'Second City'.

The Glasgow Boys were a key factor in Glasgow's failure to generate a significant modern movement focussed on the urban. Their success founded a modern but safe aesthetic to follow. The lack of a climate for a modern art was highlighted when Futurist works were shown in Glasgow. Glasgow prided itself on being a modern city – yet it was one artists were actively discouraged from painting. There was an undertone that radical art and seditious behaviour were linked, especially if the nonconformist, rebellious Futurist performances were a model, and Glasgow was grateful that this had not graced its artistic doorstep.

The attitudes of exhibiting societies and teaching institutions played a large role in engendering this tenor of artistic appreciation. GSA prided itself on the achievements of the Glasgow Boys and The Four. By the outbreak of the First World War, GSA had a staff steeped in a national romantic style of painting where the emphasis lay on the evocation of national legend and nature. This was the approach sponsored by the urban sociologist Patrick Geddes and thus became infused with his ideas on urban philanthropy. This form of art, therefore, provided an escape from the urban, it was national in its focus on inherited myth and natural features and stylistically modern. It also held some sense of a moral sentiment. This was the stomping ground for young artists wishing to succeed. Following in the assured and celebrated footsteps of such movements was a means of reaching the heights of the profession and institutional acclaim. For those wishing to pursue a different path, options were limited. They stood at a crossroads with their back turned against everything exhibiting societies, the art buying public and the art schools held dear and faced the challenge of finding a more accepting, adventurous creative milieu. For many, the road led to London.

Even in the British capital, more accustomed to continental art and radical developments, contesting styles and idiosyncratic individuals, urban art in the post-war era was a contentious subject. Modernity was equated with hostility and, especially after the bombastic and anarchic bravado of the Futurists, a radical interpretation of the city was problematic. In Glasgow, this was complicated further by the city's economic slump. There were signs that its industrial prime had peaked and the city was now sinking into depression. It is perhaps ironic, then, that it was at this time the beginnings of a modern urban-related art were felt.

Not surprisingly, the impetus came from a Glasgow trained artist living in London. William McCance played upon the traditional dominance of the landscape genre in Scottish art and its ready appropriation as emblematic of Scotland itself to offer a critique of the inert Scottish art establishment. He mocked the mawkish, Kailyard view of Scotland in an acerbic, angular, abstract configuration of forms, which owe a great debt to Vorticism. Animated by his association with Hugh MacDiarmid, McCance sought a vital and dynamic Scottish art, which, in style and subject matter, was associated with a machine aesthetic and urban existence.

Similarly, Ian Fleming used the city as a means to offer a critique of the ingrained traditionalism of the teaching regime in Glasgow School of Art. He played on Glasgow's religious founding and increasing secularism, the incongruities in the urban environment between nature and architecture, space and density and in so doing implicitly questioned the relevance of a curriculum focussed on religious and natural subject matter for contemporary urban life. Fleming had mused over the reluctance of young artists to capture the modern urban environment in a fittingly modern style and alluded to the complicity of the art establishments and institutions in creating this void. It was this vacuity that McCance and Fleming began to fill, notably by resisting paternalistic characterisation and directly critiquing the aesthetic institutions that had rendered modern urban art impotent.

In the years preceding World War Two, therefore, there was recognition that if Scotland, specifically Glasgow, was to create a modern art, it would have to re-orientate its aesthetic toward the city and radically alter the very core of its art tuition. However there had already been a crucial shift in conceptualising the city and forging its representation. Artists no longer reflected the City Fathers' characterisation of Glasgow. There were signs of intransigence toward the official rhetoric and a move

toward individual and more idiosyncratic conceptualisations. No longer could an array of artists or their approach to the city be likened. A resistance and awareness emerged amongst individual artists and intellectuals who felt that Glasgow was fundamentally changing. As the city faced the onset of another war, the municipal epithets floundered and Glasgow's identity in the official and popular consciousness was destabilised. Glasgow was no longer the 'Second City of Empire' nor the 'Workshop of the World' and its post-industrial identity was far from assured.

Chapter 4

Post-Industrial Glasgow: **Culture and Identity**

In 1946 The Annan Gallery held an exhibition by the English painter L. S. Lowry (1887-1976). Lowry fell outside the recognised canon of English avant-garde artists. The vast majority of his work focussed on industrial scenes near his hometown of Pendlebury, Manchester, where he worked as a rent collector and clerk for the Pall Mall Property Company. The essence of place was key to Lowry's interpretations of the industrial North, though his perception was far from didactic. Lowry explored the industrial cityscape as a social, physical and psychological entity.

His streets and squares were populated with workers, animated by incidents and inhabited by misfits. Moreover, his cityscapes, like The Lake (1937),¹ fused dream with reality in a more haunting and disturbing conception of the industrial city. At once there was a sense of location and dislocation, of being able to identify a place and yet being unable to identify with it. Much of this fed into the work he produced during the war where Blitzed Site (1942) [120] embodied the sense of disorientation, disillusionment and loss of security brought about by the destruction of war.² Given Glasgow's industrial character, it is perhaps not surprising that Lowry, upon visiting the city in conjunction with his exhibition, produced a number of drawings and, subsequently, paintings of Glasgow.³ In particular, his paintings of The Tollbooth

¹ Lowry, The Lake (1937), oil on canvas, 43.4x53.5cm, Salford Museum and Art Gallery.

² Lowry produced two works as an official war artist: a painting of a local factory and an image of the bombed Church of St Augustine in Manchester. According to M. Howard, Lowry painted a number of sites in Pendlebury that were damaged during the blitz. See Howard, *Lowry: A Visionary Artist*, London 2000, 33.

³ An exhibition of his work was also held in Edinburgh but he does not seem to have produced any significant images of the Scottish capital.

(1947) [121] and The Necropolis (1947) [122] provide an interesting starting point from which to examine the divergent path representations of the city began to take after the war and to unfold the implications this had for the characterisation of Glasgow.

By focussing on one of the primary historical landmarks of Glasgow, The Tollbooth, it could be said that Lowry conformed to the precedent of aggrandising the city through its civic facades. However, Lowry's image was not one of municipal magnificence. The Tollbooth stood centralised in the picture plane, isolated from the surrounding facades and largely ignored by passers-by. Its clock-face signified the temporal routine of the city but its historical worth remained indistinct to ambivalent city dwellers. Thus the significance of history and historical landmarks had changed and Lowry indicated that new means were needed to identify or characterise Glasgow.

A similar sentiment can be discerned in The Necropolis. The reduction of the number of tombs to a minimum called into question the graveyard's function as a memorial to the individual dead and posited the notion of the cemetery as a generic testament to the city, as many of the influential figures of Glasgow's history were buried there. The very term 'necropolis' meant 'city of the dead' and thus it was an ironic counterpart to Lowry's industrial cityscapes but also inferred that the city was a dead space. Glasgow was no longer dynamic and definitive. Although the physical monuments that had once been a vital component in the identification and characterisation of Glasgow remained, their meaning and significance for the contemporary audience was less assured. The reasons for this were linked to the social and economic challenges faced by Glasgow, within which artists had to represent the city in a way that was relevant to the post-war social and artistic milieu. After the

devastation of the city's physical fabric during the war, deep consideration was needed of how an individual could relate to a fragmented urban environment.

Bearing this in mind when looking at Ship Entering the Princess Dock in Glasgow (1947) [123], the stillness of the scene, vague horizon and general tentativeness in delineation did not create the impression of a thriving industry but one in decline, whose future was not assured. The prominence afforded to the ship, like that of the Tollbooth, accented and isolated a former signifier of the city that had since lost its distinction. The industry's failure to keep abreast of the latest technological developments was a key determinant in the continued decline of the traditional economic base of heavy industry. Shipbuilding and its associated trades no longer sustained Glasgow and as such the epithet of 'Second City' was inapt. By 1966 the decline was such that the Geddes Report recommended the consolidation of yards and accordingly the Scott-Lithgow yard and the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) came into being. With the mercantile and industrial facets diminished, Glasgow needed to re-orientate its economic base and artists required a new hook on which to hang their images of the city. The foundations on which Glasgow's reputation was built had crumbled and its image was further complicated by changes in its demographic disposition.

Legislation passed in 1946 led to decentralisation of both industry and housing. The New Towns Scotland Act proposed to create modern communities and industrial estates within the reach of, but not dependent on, Glasgow. The following year saw plans for East Kilbride approved with a population target of 40,000 inhabitants. These were not, however, the only means by which the Council sought to deal with overcrowding and poor conditions in central Glasgow. It also proposed to move people from tenements into new housing estates on the outskirts of the city. By 1948

work was underway on Castlemilk, Drumchapel and Easterhouse, once vaunted as the solution to Glasgow's housing and social problems and now regarded as a main cause. Ensuing years saw additional housing developments, in 1956 Cumbernauld was designated as the latest New Town whilst the 1957 Housing and Town Development Act encouraged overspill agreements with neighbouring authorities and the building of multi-storey flats, the construction of which started the following year. The opening of the Red Road Flats in 1967, the highest housing blocks in Europe, paid architectural testimony to the depth of Glasgow's social and housing problems.

As in the past, the negative attributes provoked an attempt by the City Fathers to provide an altogether more wholesome characterisation of Glasgow. During the 1970s, against the background of collective strikes that were symptomatic of the fragmenting industrial base, the Council began a clean-up process whereby it literally wiped the soot and signs of industry from the facades of its most prominent buildings.⁴ By doing so it sought to restore Glasgow's reputation by turning to the tangible architectural signs of its former wealth and prestige, the very premise artists like Lowry were implicitly indicating as null and void. In terms of tenements, however, this took a more positive step. In 1971 Lord Esher's report on conservation measures within the city emphasised rehabilitation and improvement of buildings rather than slum clearance.⁵ A decade later the effects of this were still evident in the conversion of disused buildings in the Merchant City for residential purposes. Concurrently, the Council's Public Relations Office coined the slogan 'Glasgow: The Friendly City',

⁴ For example, in 1971 the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) organised a work-in to voice opposition at the proposed closure of the yards.

⁵ See Glasgow City Council, "Factsheet 01 - City's Historical Development": <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/html/about/facts/facts0-1.htm>

thereby indicating a new visible, but intangible, principle by which to define the city, that of social inclusion and cultural diversity.

The formation of new local authorities in 1975, Strathclyde Regional Council and City of Glasgow District Council, was one catalyst for regeneration projects within the city. Economically, the city turned toward the service sector and in terms of city image and confidence, Glasgow turned to culture. The initial impact of this programme began to be felt in the early 1980s with the opening of the Burrell Collection and the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign, fronted by the ever-smiling 'Mr Happy'.⁶ The Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC) opened on the banks of the Clyde in 1985, thus situating culture in what was once Glasgow's shipbuilding heartland. In fact, the tiered construction of The Clyde Auditorium, added in 1997, reflected the hulls of the boats once produced on the banks of the Clyde. Although it must also be said that, the 'Armadillo', as it has been nicknamed, resembled Sydney's Opera House and thus reinforced the Council's objective of creating a visible landmark of the city's new cultural directive. Continuing the tradition of Glasgow's Great Exhibitions, the Glasgow Garden Festival in 1988 similarly occupied former dockland on the south bank of the Clyde. The pinnacle of Glasgow's cultural endeavours came in 1990, however, when it celebrated a year as European City of Culture.

This move from a tangible to notional understanding of the city had implications for artists. As one observer commented: "Unlike previous European Cities of Culture – Berlin, Florence, Amsterdam, Paris – Glasgow has no famous landmark that sums up the city (at least none the PR people would approve of)."⁷ Artists seeking to define or understand Glasgow seemed to echo this in their more explorative approach to the

⁶ This campaign was launched by the Struthers Agency in 1982.

⁷ K. Wilson, "Glasgow: Portrayal or Betrayal?", *Portfolio*, 7 Summer 1990, 15.

city in the post-war years, which was partially signified by their turn away from the city as a physical space. The conceptual certainties of pre-war characterisation – the emphasis on the municipal or industrial city and the methods of representation therein – dissolved into an eclectic mix as the identity of the city itself was subject to reassessment.

The representations of Glasgow produced in its post-industrial era demonstrate that artists, no longer championing an 'official' image of the city as doubt was cast on exactly what form that might take, began to seek alternative ideas for what constituted Glasgow. Reflecting the literal decentralisation of Glasgow, artists moved from the centre to the periphery. What emerged was a democratic, people-based art that stood largely in opposition to the propagandist City Fathers' image of Glasgow. Thus, it is perhaps somewhat paradoxical that, by the time Glasgow had re-orientated itself toward being a City of Culture, it was this aesthetic that the Council chose to sponsor. In order to examine this situation and its impact on the characterisation of Glasgow, it is necessary to examine the artistic situation in Glasgow during and immediately after the war. Arguably, it is here that Glasgow began to emerge as a cultural centre but not before the impact of war on the cityscape had been duly realised.

Dislocation of Place: War and the City

The Second World War posed a real threat to cities. On the 13th of March 1941 a wave of bombers took off from the airfields of the Luftwaffe's Third Air Fleet in France and 236 bombers dropped 272 tons of high explosive and thousands of incendiary containers on the banks of the Clyde. One of the worst hit areas was that of Clydebank in what became known as the 'Clydebank Blitz'. Glasgow's industry had participated in the manufacture of munitions in both World Wars but it had never

before seen such destruction first hand. Artists turned toward the phenomena of destruction to explore the effect of war on the cityscape. This investigation took radically divergent paths. On one hand, James Miller (1893-1987) produced documentary accounts of the bombing and, on the other, Ian Fleming began to reconsider the impact of modern urban life on the city dweller. Mediating between the physical and psychological, it was as if the confrontation of war prompted Fleming to look beneath the topographical veneer and reassess the nature of the modern city.

James Miller⁸ was at Glasgow School of Art during the era of Newbery. Upon the outbreak of war, the Ministry of Information decided to make use of his talents and commissioned him to record the bomb damage in Glasgow. The most representative example of his work is Clydebank (1941) [124], which recorded the aftermath of the Clydebank blitz. Watercolour might not seem the most appropriate medium with which to document a bombed ruin, still, it was that favoured by Miller. With an air of sentimentality, a group of women and children were shown surveying the ruined shell of a tenement. A lone fireman showered smouldering debris with water. Miller's graphic style and strong tonal contrast heightened the sense of drama. Although commissioned as, essentially, a document for the Ministry of Information, Miller's watercolour was undoubtedly tainted with compassion. The diminutive human scale against that of the towering, ruined gable end emphasised the dramatic impact of the blitz. Glasgow, however, did not become a dominant theme in Miller's work. After the cessation of war, Miller documented cities throughout France and Spain in a chiefly

⁸ After beginning his studies in 1910, he won a £10 travelling scholarship in 1913. This was the first of many trips Miller made throughout his career. On these expeditions, Miller produced several watercolour studies, many of which were exhibited at the RGI. Upon the outbreak of war, Miller was unable to perform active service due to a medical condition and instead gained employment as an army clerk and Glasgow Water Department night watchman. In 1917 he became principal teacher of art at Hillhead High School where he remained for thirty years. The extensive school summer holidays afforded him the opportunity to travel, but the hours of teaching restricted his painting to a weekend and summer activity.

topographic manner and Glasgow only really featured as the place where he displayed his work. The war pieces largely fulfilled their purpose but provided little beyond documentation of war-torn Glasgow. Ian Fleming, however, moved beyond this to provide a penetrating perception of the city.

Frustrated at being unable to join the armed forces due to his teaching post at Glasgow School of Art falling into the category of a 'reserved occupation', Fleming joined the Police War Reserve. He found the Reserve "terribly parochial and petty,"⁹ but during this time he created images whose characteristics were the virtual antithesis of this sentiment. Fleming's images revealed the devastation and destruction, both physical and emotional, of war. Although Fleming produced both oils and etchings on the subject, the latter are far more effectual probably due to Fleming's affinity with line.¹⁰ He explained: "I always regarded art as being an expression of the potential of the individual and the artist to find the best means or media for this expression. I was fascinated by a sharp point, I liked line."¹¹ The medium was direct, graphic and powerful. Its appropriateness to express the horrors of war, physical and emotional, was apparent in Blitz, Maryhill, Glasgow (1942) [125]. Here, the anonymous rescue team searched amongst fragments of what were once tenements for any survivors of the bombing. The sketched line that articulated their forms indicated the frantic nature of their search. Other figures were silhouetted against the glowing fires or searchlights. The standing ruins acknowledged the loss of domestic life as the remnants of interior décor were exposed. What was once a private and personal space had become public and anonymous. From one shelled rooftop the protrusion of

⁹ A. Fleming, e-mail March 2001.

¹⁰ A painting by Fleming, Air Raid Aftermath, was exhibited in the RGI annual exhibition of 1942 (cat. 700). The exhibition of the previous year included Alex MacPherson's Bombed Church (cat. 199).

¹¹ I. Fleming, interview with Whyte 12/01/1983, 7.

a rafter took on the ominous presence of some threatening airborne anomaly. Similarly, the lurching street lamp, with redundant wires flailing from its height, indicated that modern technology was not immune to its own destructiveness. There was a profound sense of loss – loss of identity and loss of place.

It could be argued that Fleming over-dramatised the scene but there were reasons for its appearance. Fleming's wartime compositions were rarely exact depictions of actual events. Instead Fleming, who witnessed such scenes as part of his duties, produced sketches which combined his personal remembrances with real scenes. In Fleming's own words:

... you used to have to stand over some of these places to prevent any looters ... Naturally being an artist you'd sort of look around and see all of the sort of stuff happening and you'd put down some sort of scribbles to memorise it. I saw a sewing machine sticking out over there, maybe a way over there was something else, the side of a gable, a bedstead ... That adds up to what I consider the crazy guilt of war ...¹²

In these amalgamations of witnessed events and his personal emotions, Fleming characterised the city as a dark and sinister place. Rather than the open, sun-blessed spaces of Gethsemene, the city was now claustrophobic and dangerous.

In Shelters in a Tenement Lane (c.1940) [126] the play of darkness in the buildings surrounding the lane against the starkly lit gable ends intensified the close atmosphere. Beams of light searching the skies and the afterglow of a recent blast broke through the menacing gloom of the night sky. The buildings loomed at unrealistic angles, their height dwarfing the ant-like figures below. Despite some individuals being caught in spotlights, they all remained equally anonymous. There was a sense of the herd-like, instinctive reaction provoked by fear. Fleming's self-

¹² I. Fleming interview with Patrizio, 1989.

identification with the scene is evident through the incorporation of his name on a shop sign in the lane. The harsh vertical and horizontal geometry of the architecture added to the starkness of the scene. The foremost gable-end conveyed a sense of destruction, with protruding brickwork indicating the one-time existence of a former building. The shacks below indicated that this adjacent structure had, for a long time, been absent. This it alluded to destruction as a recurrent eventuality in the cityscape whether during peace or war. It was as if the history of the cityscape would become layered within its very fabric.

In order to understand the significance of Fleming's wartime studies, it is useful to compare them with two cityscapes probably carried out during the same period. In Gilsochill, Glasgow (n.d.) [127], the landscape was viewed from a significant height and distance. There was little sense of the claustrophobia in Shelters in a Tenement Lane. In fact, it could be argued that the buildings ascending the hillside had more in common with the backdrop to Gethsemene than any wartime cityscape and still, the open areas of landscape with defined contours gave a bleak impression of their surroundings. A distanced football game humanised a scene that was primarily topographical. Glasgow Landscape (n.d.) [128] was similarly bleak and in many ways, the epitome of what Glasgow was perceived to be. In a windblown and wet scene, two figures made their way across a bridge beyond which lay an industrial landscape. The railway meandered toward tall chimneys, which puff smoke into the turbulent sky. The shadowed tenement on the right opened onto a yard with dilapidated buildings and slagheaps. It was a downtrodden and industrial scene where the atmosphere reflected the depression that surrounded the war.

What makes Fleming's wartime cityscapes so dark, in many connotations of the word, is not the destructive element but the foreboding and fear. Had they been

purely architectural studies, the bleakness and physical devastation would have been apparent but they would have been more akin to Glasgow Landscape and Gilsochill. Essential to Fleming's understanding was the human element. This created a dialogue not only between the city dwellers and their environment, but, more pertinently, between the viewer and the experience. All of the images have a nightmarish undercurrent to them. The settings appeared familiar and recognisable and yet at the same time were unreal or distorted. Be it through elongated buildings or glimpses of domesticity amidst scenes of violent destructiveness, it is as if Fleming was equating war with a living nightmare. There is a sense of this in Air Raid Shelter (1940) [129] where two figures made their way to shelter from imminent attack. Their gas masks transformed them into surreal creatures, whilst their night-time and barefooted apparel demonstrated their vulnerability. The cavernous entrance to the shelter suggested an unknown future. More significantly, a fence segregated them from their homes, the city, the domain of their everyday life. This indicated the co-existence of two separate worlds, both as real as each other but one comfortable and recognisable, the other not.

The living nightmare was given its full expression in Fleming's Hellish Symphony (n.d.).¹³ In this allegory of war a macabre, devilish skeleton soared above Glasgow like the grim reaper conducting an air raid, baton in hand. Here, the morbidity and grotesque nature of war were laid bare. There was horror at the violence, but more so that it was, literally, orchestrated. Just as one man turned against another, so the creations of modernity were used to destroy the city, the site with which they were associated. Again the ambivalence between the surreal and real gave Fleming's work a

¹³ Fleming, Hellish Symphony (n.d.), original cooper plate, details unknown, Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum; print – the artist's family.

peerless psychological intensity. The graphic nature of the medium enhanced the dramatic intensity. Against the calm integrity of Gethsemene and when placed against the later harbour scenes for which Fleming is better known, these etchings stand as profoundly personal responses to war. As such they are comparable to the *Disasters of War* series (c.1808-14) by Francisco Goya (1746-1828). Goya's series of etchings were unpublished during the artist's lifetime and, similarly, these provocative and unique studies have largely remained silent. In their disassociation with the physical environment, the sense of disorientation and loss, there were clear parallels with the sentiment perceived by Lowry when he visited Glasgow immediately after the war.

When questioned about his later work relating to the Highland Clearances, Fleming stated: "This is my protest about war and what happens in war. I've been making comments on that for a long time. There's an earlier one which is my comment on religion."¹⁴ This implied that the war works fall into an avenue of comment and critique that had its beginnings in Gethsemene. Place was indispensable to both: in Gethsemene the fusion of real and surreal served to indicate the awkward relationship between religion, art and the city, whereas in the war works associations of place operated on a much more fundamental level. War made the familiar, alien and the safe, dangerous. The city, the crucible of civilisation and reason, was now the locus for destructive decision making and the centre for fear. Fleming spoke of "the crazy guilt of war"¹⁵ but did not attribute blame and instead explored the effect of war on man. Essentially, his vision was dehumanising. People were transformed into androgynous, amorphous entities that displayed herd-like, instinctive reactions when endangered. Stark and uninviting, Glasgow was identifiable and that was at the root of

¹⁴ I. Fleming interview with Patrizio, 1989.

¹⁵ I. Fleming interview with Patrizio, 1989.

Fleming's rendering. The essence of place was determined by the interaction of the physical and social and both were now in jeopardy. The city itself was at once threatening and threatened. Through confronting this weakness, Fleming's etchings have an unparalleled strength in creating a progressive and provocative rendering of modern Glasgow.

The uniqueness of Fleming's insight into the war-torn cityscape is highlighted when compared to the major commissioned piece to emerge from Glasgow in the war era. Stanley Spencer (1891-1959) was employed by the War Artists Advisory Committee to produce a series of paintings recording the efforts of the workers in Lithgow's shipyard in Port Glasgow.¹⁶ Between May 1940 and March 1946 Spencer worked on 'Shipbuilding on the Clyde,' a series of panels originally intended to take the form of an altarpiece.¹⁷ It is perhaps appropriate, therefore, that religion played a key role in his conception of the panels. Within their physical structure and Spencer's own ideological framework, the everyday was imbued with reverent purpose. The accent was on the commonplace, and spiritual belief, albeit highly idiosyncratic, saturated Spencer's oeuvre. Spencer believed that there was spirituality latent in all aspects of humanity, including the dockers on Clydeside.¹⁸

¹⁶ Like Paul Nash, Spencer was one of the few official war artists commissioned during both wars. His greatest tribute to the Great War is the Sandham Memorial Chapel at Burghclere (1927) which he completed after returning from his posting in Macedonia.

¹⁷ For a detailed explanation of the circumstances surrounding the commission see K. Bell, *Stanley Spencer: A Complete Catalogue of Paintings*, London 1992; Patrizio and F. Little, *Canvassing the Clyde: Stanley Spencer and the Shipyards*, ex. cat., Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums, Glasgow 1994; K. Bell et al., *Men of the Clyde: Stanley Spencer's Vision at Port Glasgow*, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh 2000. Spencer had initially proposed a more ethereal, conjectural vision of the Nazi invasion of Poland. However this went against the documentary remit of the WAAC. Spencer's previous work had included a proposed but unrealised scheme of murals for Leeds Town Hall on the theme of industry, designs for Empire Marketing Board posters publicising industry and peace, and designs for a panel for the ball room of the Clydebuilt Cunard liner, *Queen Mary*. All of these provided valuable experience for his Port Glasgow shipyard scenes. Especially the last, also unrealised, in which Spencer had wanted to depict the men building the ship, however this was not to the judging panel's taste.

¹⁸ For a detailed exploration of the importance of religion and its sources and parallels in Spencer's work, particularly relating to the shipyards, see J. and J. Lawson, "Stanley Spencer's Vision at Port Glasgow" in Bell et al., *Men of the Clyde*, 31-46.

Spencer defined shipbuilding through the human rather than the material. He wrote:

It is strange, but I think true, that where human activity is arranged and organised to some constructive end (such as shipbuilding) it will, through another avenue altogether, namely the spiritual framework of artistic desires, form another structure, a construction of designs and spiritual harmony. In art a parallel constructive order to that of the subject's utilitarian purpose.¹⁹

Spencer saw spirituality in the collective activity of work that was directed toward a common goal. The harmony of the physical outcome reflected the spirit of its creation. Indeed, this declared itself in the altarpiece format of Spencer's series. There was not only wonderment at the practicality of the work but also the manner in which it was undertaken and thus it is not surprising that Spencer chose to articulate his industrial vision through the activity of the workers.

Although each panel focussed on individuals carrying out the multifaceted tasks associated with one particular occupation, such as riveting or plumbing, shapes and contours created a rhythm within each panel and a dialogue throughout the series. In Riggers (1943) [130], for example, the folds of the swathes of cloth being machined were recalled in the convoluted spirals of rope. Moreover, the texture of the rope and the patterning of the tweed created a visual correspondence. The light palette reflected the calmness of the scene in comparison to the deep umber, burning and darkened tones used to distinguish the more industrialised trades [131]. The common tonality of the panels, relative to their respective occupations, and dialogue between forms, be it circular piping or angular sheets of metal, generated a momentum and common sense of purpose. Whilst this was what unified the series, it was, however,

¹⁹ Spencer as cited in Patrizio, "Labour's Lost" in Bell et al., *Men of the Clyde*, 48.

essentially a backdrop against which Spencer could present the heroism of the common labourer.

In that the workers raise and lower objects and, amidst burning fires, duplicate tasks, allusions can be made to religious themes of raising and lowering the Cross, the Resurrection or the cycle of life. Spencer's spirituality, however, was more palpable in the dignity with which he recorded the worker whether engaged in hard, physical labour or caught in a moment of quiet rest. Spencer's identification with the workers and their creative endeavour was acknowledged in his own portrayal as a worker in preparatory studies and the final panels.²⁰ The majority of workers were intensely focussed on their duties, thereby commemorating the ghostly heroism of those who participated in the ship's construction. The poignancy of this ennoblement was furthered in that the ships being constructed were merchant vessels rather than warships. Although less glamorous than their military peers, merchant ships were fundamental to the war effort. Thus by showing the commitment of the workers to this indispensable but less heroic vessel, Spencer heightened the sense of devotion to the war effort.

The Scrap Heap (1944) [132] was Spencer's only intimation of the completed task. Ordered scraps of metal, rusting to a reddish hue, were the remnants of the act whilst a graffitied ship was all that remained to represent the final product. Without the labourers, there were only materials. It was in the act of creation, the harmonious, communal activity, that the spiritual was evident and that embodied the heroism of the labourer. For Spencer shipbuilding was essentially human and fundamentally creative. Although Spencer celebrated Clydeside's labourers and their

²⁰ See, for example, Burners (1940), oil on canvas, 3 panels: 50.8x293.2cm, 106.7x153.4cm, 50.5x203.2cm, Imperial War Museum, London. The central figure, taking some respite from his task, holds goggles that perhaps resemble Spencer's own distinctive glasses more than safety gear.

role in Glasgow's signatory industry, he did not provide a modern, representative image of Glasgow. Metaphorically speaking, the images can be read as emblematic of Glasgow due to the nature of the industry; having said that, the industry was personified and the images essentially propagandist. Whereas Fleming had conveyed the devastation, dislocation, loss and dehumanising aspects of war on Glasgow and its inhabitants, Spencer praised a harmonious creative act. One was destruction, the other creation.

Fleming's war works, therefore, show a profound reaction against the paternalistic city image. He turned from the officially sponsored rhetoric toward a more penetrating personal response. As Lowry's oeuvre had shown, the dislocation and uncertainty of such war works filtered into post-war urban representations and this was particularly true of Glasgow at a time when its identity faltered. The stimulus for such alternative representations was not only engendered by the social and economic climate, but also by the presence of established, modern artists in Glasgow. Lowry and Spencer were idiosyncratic examples, however the return of J. D. Fergusson to Glasgow and residence of the émigré Polish artist Josef Herman (1911-2000) were to have a profound impact on the Glasgow art scene. They signalled the beginnings of an opposing attitude to art institutions and one that was to gather momentum in the post-war, post-industrial era. During these uncertain years, artists sought Glasgow's identity and, indeed, began to question whether one actually existed.

The Cultural Revival

Upon the outbreak of war, J. D. Fergusson and his partner Margaret Morris (1891-1980) came to Glasgow from France where they had been involved in avant-garde developments in the arts – Fergusson in painting and Morris chiefly in dance.

Glasgow was not an ambivalent choice for Fergusson as he perceived it to be a truly Highland, Celtic city where the national spirit of his art could receive full expression. Fergusson saw no contradiction between his residency in France and passion to promote Scottish culture as he felt that a Gaelic spirit linked the two countries. He wrote: "Tradition to me is the spirit of the race, or nation, which is always there and ready to help as long as it is kept alive and nourished by creative contributions."²¹ Fergusson returned to Scotland at a time when nationalism was a contentious topic. Hugh MacDiarmid and his circle, to which Fergusson soon became affiliated, were already promoting a national cultural revival. Fergusson allied his Celticism to the fervour for a Scottish Renaissance and expressed these views through two books printed by the nationalist, left-wing publisher William MacLellan, namely *Modern Scottish Painting* (1949) and *The New Scottish Group* (1947).²² A key tenet of MacDiarmid's was for Scotland to remain distinct but prove itself vital, dynamic and modern to an international audience. This was comparable to the objectives of Glasgow's City Fathers who were perennially keen to promote Glasgow as a markedly Scottish city with a role to play on an international stage. However, as Fergusson's conviction that 'tradition' was something that transcended physical boundaries and that was inherently racial rather than tangible indicated, a melding of these superficially similar outlooks was not a straightforward task. There was potential here for Glasgow's ambitions and those of the avant-garde to be fused, but as Fergusson's writings showed, his artistic programme took an alternative direction that was consequential for representations of the city.

²¹ J. D. Fergusson, "Art and Atavism", *Scottish Art and Letters*, 1 1945, 49.

²² For an analysis of Ferguson's Celticism and its relationship to Scottish Nationalism see T. Normand, *The Modern Scot*, 109-121.

Fergusson's foreword to *The New Scottish Group* outlined the steps that had been taken to stimulate some form of artistic revival in Glasgow. The inadequacy and expense of the Art Club for younger artists and the existence of "only Academic Art"²³ had led to the creation of the New Art Club toward the end of 1940, later to be known as The New Scottish Group. The change in name distanced Fergusson's faction from its Glasgow rival and emphasised its national and less elitist ethos. Following the model of the independent exhibiting societies in Paris, of which Fergusson had first-hand experience,²⁴ the Club resolved to institute a low subscription rate and to hold a continuous exhibition where the paintings changed monthly. Each member had the right to exhibit a painting and, unlike conventional societies, there was no jury system. Reacting against what Fergusson termed 'orthodox' in the hope of creating an independent Scottish art, the paintings produced tended toward abstract and biomorphic forms presented in a colourful, expressionist style. The city remained largely absent. Having said that, paintings such as The Charwoman (1943) by George Hannah (1896-1947)²⁵ and The Bus Queue (n.d.) by Millie Froom (1900-88)²⁶ were implicitly urban in their inclination toward a social realist aesthetic. Moreover, sculpture by George Innes (1913-70) adopted a machine-like appearance, not too distant from that in the paintings of William McCance. Amongst the work of their compatriots, however, the urban or a social realist aesthetic did not predominate.

As indicated by the title of his Spring in Glasgow (1950s) [133], Fergusson clearly believed that a cultural revival could take place in Glasgow. The voluptuous

²³ Fergusson, "Foreword", *The New Scottish Group*, Glasgow 1947, 6.

²⁴ Fergusson was a sociétaire of the Salon d'Automne and involved in avant-garde cultural activity in France, establishing the art journal *Rhythm* with John Middleton Murry and the Groupe d'Artistes Anglo-Américains of which he was President in 1937. He was also interested in Serge Diaghilev's Russian Ballet, which visited Paris between 1909 and 1914 - ballet brought together various branches of the arts as the theatre was to do in Glasgow.

²⁵ G. Hannah, The Charwoman (1943), details and whereabouts unknown.

²⁶ M. Froom, The Bus Queue (n.d.), details and whereabouts unknown.

female form against the backdrop of the Botanic Gardens and Cathedral implied that Glasgow was fertile ground from whence the rebirth of Scottish nationalism could stem. For Fergusson, however, the representation of the city did not play an overtly significant role. Paintings such as The Dome, Botanic Gardens, Glasgow (c.1950) [134], depicting the scene visible from his studio at 4 Clouston Street, were decidedly French in appearance with a pseudo-Mediterranean palette and large areas of fractured patterning on the surface. This was somewhat alien to the post-war depression that was seeping into Glasgow. Harking back to the sentiment of his friend Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Fergusson's idea of a Celticism inherent in the Scottish race led him into an evocation of Scottish myth and legend, which, in his work, was primarily figurative in form. It is important to note, however, that Fergusson's activities in making Glasgow a cultural centre and instituting an alternative to the established exhibiting societies were an essential part of the framework from which the dominant strain in urban representation emerged.

In the cultural milieu of wartime Glasgow it was virtually impossible to demarcate various groups and their members. Figures such as Marie de Banzie (b. 1918) and Betty Simpson (1903-60) were actively involved in The New Scottish Group and Margaret Morris's Celtic Ballet. Art and dance united in the various theatre groups that were formed. It was through these organisations that the young Glasgow artists Tom MacDonald (1914-85) and Bet Low (b. 1924) met the Polish émigré artist Josef Herman whose work had a definite influence on the form urban representation was to take after the war.²⁷

²⁷ Jankel Adler, another Polish artist who had spent a considerable amount of time in Paris, was already resident in Glasgow and had brought with him knowledge of the foremost developments in European art. His influence was most evident in the work of Robert Colquhoun and Robert MacBryde, two Glasgow trained artists who produced the majority of their work in London.

Rather than make a conventional artistic pilgrimage to Paris, Herman left Poland for Belgium to satisfy his passion for Breughal and native Belgian artists. There, he became aware of the work of Henri de Braekeleer (1840-88), Charles de Groux (1825-70) and Constant Permeke (1886-1952):

They more than impressed me – they brought my feelings to the boil ... They had a quality which I think is rarer than originality; there was in each of them an independent spirituality, traditional yet unique to the temperament of each personality. Nationally defiant, individually assertive, I loved this spirit.²⁸

Herman felt that art could be both a national statement and an embodiment of the individual spirit. This fed into a pre-existing conviction that art should serve a social purpose. During his formative years Herman was affiliated to 'The Phrygian Bonnet', a group of painters with a deep political, socialist commitment and accordingly his work of that period included sketches of the industrial suburbs of Warsaw. However, Herman had been profoundly effected by Edvard Munch's (1863-1944) proclamation that art should be "images of people who breathe and feel and suffer and love" rather than "paintings of interiors and people reading and knitting" and that such images held a "holiness" that should be revered as was religion.²⁹ Thus, the fact that the figure could become the embodiment of the human condition and more than mere representation was the key to expression. Herman brought to Glasgow the notion that the political, national and social purpose he felt his art should serve could be conveyed in the representation of the figure.

Herman's arrival in Glasgow was due to engagement with the armed forces. Whilst awaiting orders for posting that never arrived, Herman was drawn in to

²⁸ J. Herman as quoted in N. Herman, *Josef Herman: "A Working Life"*, London 1996, 41.

²⁹ E. Munch, diary entry N69 as cited in N. Herman, *Josef Herman*, 34.

Glasgow's cultural avant-garde.³⁰ Herman became associated with Herbert Marshall and James Barke's Unity theatre, which produced plays that tended to have a social message including *Ghosts* (1881) by Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) and *The Lower Depths* (1902) by Maxim Gorky (1868-1936).³¹ Such works were in accordance with Herman's own political convictions and the social, human focus of his art. In terms of representing the city, it may seem ironic that Herman was to be so influential when the majority of his work was figurative. However, the stimulus was twofold: the social realist and political tenor of his work strongly influenced MacDonald and Low and, arguably more significant, was the idea of the figure as an embodiment of social circumstance, an idea which translated itself in the work of Joan Eardley (1921-63) to the figure as representative of the city.

Herman's influence on MacDonald was profound. Having worked as a marine engineer after a brief spell at GSA, MacDonald volunteered for the Royal Air Force upon the outbreak of war. Instead, he was sent to work as a toolmaker and, by staying in Glasgow, was able to immerse himself in Glasgow's emerging theatre groups. He worked primarily as a set designer and was involved with the strongly left-wing Glasgow Workers' Theatre Group and the Glasgow Jewish Institute Players. As war progressed and numbers dwindled, the two companies merged to form the Glasgow Unity Theatre. This was essentially a political group with an anti-fascist ethos. It was here that MacDonald and Herman forged a close alliance. As Edwin Morgan noted

³⁰ In a somewhat fortuitous sequence of events, Herman, who spoke little English, was referred to Benno Schotz by a journalist whilst he was reading in Gorbals Public Library. Schotz was an Estonian sculptor who had studied engineering in Darmstadt and was now working at Glasgow School of Art. En-route to introducing himself to Schotz, Herman stopped for a cup of tea and met Helen Biggar, a sculptress involved in The New Scottish Group, who then helped him secure a studio and begin work. In another manifestation of Glasgow's cultural renaissance, both Adler and Herman, along with William Crosbie and Andrew Taylor Elder, held solo exhibitions at David Archer's short-lived project 'The Centre – gallery, bookshop and coffee room' in Scott Street.

³¹ Gorky's real name was Alexis Maksimovich Peshkov.

when discussing MacDonald's oeuvre in relation to Glasgow: "The 'home ground' bit does not mean social realism, except for his pictures of the 1940s when he was influenced by Josef Herman and painted tenements and tramcars, football crowds and railway yards."³² As Morgan suggested, it was at this point in his career that MacDonald's work has the greatest sense of purpose and coherency. A key determinant in this was his involvement with the Clyde Group of Writers and Artists.

This group was an overtly political organisation of which both MacDonald and Low were members. Their most prominent statement was an exhibition at the McLellan Galleries in 1948 entitled the 'Art and Peace Festival Exhibition'. It was another example of Glasgow's integrated cultural scene with Fergusson giving a public lecture, MacDiarmid reading poetry and the nationalist composer Francis George Scott (1880-1958) providing the music. Low explained: "The theme of the Group stated in its manifesto was to take art to the people..."³³ They did this literally by mounting evening exhibitions in Glasgow housing schemes.³⁴ This democratic approach to the distribution of art was reflected in the non-elitist subject matter and style of their paintings. In dark colour and strong outline, Low's Blochairn Steelworks (c.1946) [135] conveyed the weight of heavy industry on the cityscape. Although not explicitly making a social statement, it is likely that this was a concern, bearing in mind Low's political affiliations. As she explained:

... drawing the people and places in Glasgow: up at the canal with its busy basin, Port Dundas with the last coal puffer, grain mills and timber yards, avoiding the fumes from the huge Tennants stack. My favourite places were Cowcaddens and the Gorbals Cross, teeming with life ... Yet, the real life

³² E. Morgan "A Glasgow Artist" in C. Oliver (ed.), *Tom MacDonald: 1914-1985*, ex.cat., Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1985, 25.

³³ B. Low, "Memoir: We were always cold", *The Scottish Review*, 7 August 1996, 82.

³⁴ The emphasis Low placed on bringing art to the people continued long after the dispersal of The Clyde Group. In 1956 she, and some other independent artists, held an open-air exhibition at weekends on the railings of the Botanic Gardens. Amongst her supporters were Fergusson and Morris.

backdrop to everyone's life was the grim relentless black of the buildings. Black, black, soot black Glasgow. As winter approached chimneys smoked, fog turned to smog. Awful. People scurried about the streets, eyes streaming, handkerchiefs held over faces. White ones turned dirty umber in a minute.³⁵

Thus it is possible that Low was using industry as a means to comment on the impact it had on the human condition. Glasgow was a city with an oppressive, unhealthy environment, which had an adverse effect on the lives of its inhabitants.

The 'relentless black', harsh surroundings were also found in MacDonald's work. In the linocut Rushhour Clydeside (1940s) [136] queues of workers pushed toward trams whilst others struggled with cumbersome carts. Man and modernity were brought into an uneasy co-existence where the height of the trams and inescapable environment dwarfed the worker. In technique, medium and sensitivity to the environment, the influence of the German Expressionists could be felt. However, this was problematic in terms of the reception of their art. Acknowledging their influence, Low related: "Nobody wanted to know artists who were influenced by powerful German Expressionists or other movements from 'abroad'. New ideas were not welcomed..."³⁶ Closer to home, the Euston Road School dealt with subject matter in a similar manner, as can be seen by comparing Mare Street, Hackney (1937) by Lawrence Gowing (1918-91) [137] and MacDonald's Garscube Road (1946) [138].³⁷ Their name not only reflected the location of the school but "at the same time conveyed to the mind an impression of the murk and fog, dingy colours and inconclusive architecture, drabness and poverty, which were the qualities first to be

³⁵ Low, "Memoir: We were always cold", 83.

³⁶ Low, "Memoir: We were always cold", 84.

³⁷ Other artists associated with the Euston Road School were William Coldstream, Graham Bell and Victor Pasmore. For further information see B. Laughton, *The Euston Road School*, Aldershot 1986.

associated with the works exhibited by these artists.”³⁸ Although seemingly objective studies of the urban environment, MacDonald and Low’s social concern cannot be forgotten when considering their choice of subject matter in Glasgow.

Another artist whose work was driven by a strong social impetus was James Morrison (b.1932). In the catalogue to his 1977 ‘Aff the Squerr’ exhibition, he explained: “I first began to paint Glasgow in 1953 when I was a student at Glasgow School of Art. The first painting was of a tenement in George Street ... Since then, until the present day I have painted the city, both the decay and degradation of the tenements and the grandeur of the Victorian terrace.”³⁹ Rather than an objective view of Glasgow’s architectural schizophrenia, Morrison’s images were charged with a strong sense of injustice about the conditions in which the working class had to live:

I was brought up in a city which still remembered the depression years, in the house of someone who was at the sharp end of heavy industry. At that time Glasgow was full of dead and decaying tenements, and people living in appalling conditions. If you were visually aware – as any art student should be – it would have been difficult to avoid looking at those things, I chose to do something about them by painting them.⁴⁰

His images differed from those of MacDonald in that they were largely devoid of figures [139/140]. Although his use of dark, dense lines created a similarly grim and heavy atmosphere, the sense of oppression was replaced by one of deadness. Morrison’s tenements tended to stand isolated and dehumanised, their bleak stature occasionally reinforced by the accompaniment of a barren tree. The combination of style and subject ensured that the mood was static and despondent.⁴¹

³⁸ G. Bell, extract from text in Claude Rogers archive, as cited in Laughton, *The Euston Road School: A Study in Objective Painting*, 7.

³⁹ J. Morrison, *Aff the Squerr*, ex. cat., Compass Gallery 1977, 1.

⁴⁰ J. Doran, “Meet the artist: A man who painted in anger...”, *Leopard Magazine*, November 1993, 26-27. Angus Archives.

⁴¹ Morrison’s paintings were also exhibited to a contemporary audience. His *Atholl Gardens* was included in the RGI exhibition of 1965 (cat. 82).

In the text to 'Aff the Squerr' Morrison related incidental conversations with passers-by, many of whom lived in the tenements he painted. At a time when many tenements were being demolished, one commented that it was "histry he's pentin"⁴² and his images would "Let folk see whit it's like."⁴³ There was clearly a social momentum underlying Morrison's work in which he wanted to reveal the depressing state of the tenements and the effect this had on the inhabitants, however the latter was only implicit and not stated. For Morrison, the tenements were a material embodiment of the wider-scale social deprivation of those who lived there. Moreover, he saw them as the epitome of the socio-economic condition of the city. Of Greenfield Street, Govan (1976) he wrote: "Standing alone and desolate, it seemed an apt image of the sad state of the city."⁴⁴ It was the very lack of human presence that helped the tenement become an emblem for Glasgow and, in turn, it was a city conceived, perhaps as Lowry had intimated, as a dead space.

Rather than aggrandise Glasgow from the perspective of the authorities, these artists adopted an alternative point of view, one that was directly related to the working class. In dark, rugged, impasted painting or through the stark medium of linocut, MacDonald and Low expressed how the working class experienced the city as a psychological space through depictions of the areas in which they lived. Underlying their choice of subject matter and mode of representation were the aims and ideals of the political groups with which they were affiliated. These, however, were to be short-lived and neither MacDonald nor Low sustained their focus on the city. Morrison similarly used architecture, specifically the tenement, as a symbol for the

⁴² Morrison, *Aff the Squerr*, 3.

⁴³ Morrison, *Aff the Squerr*, 9.

⁴⁴ Morrison, *Aff the Squerr*, 8. Morrison, Greenfield Street, Govan (1976), details unknown, Private collection.

social degradation that he believed characterised the city. Conversely, rather than the architectural embodiment of the social condition of Glasgow, it was the personification of the city's character in the human figure that was to have enduring consequence in representations of Glasgow. Again, the impetus for this lay with Herman and its realisation came in the work of Joan Eardley.

As an art student, Eardley visited Herman in his studio. During his years in Glasgow, Herman produced a body of work that was essentially a remembrance of Poland, expressed through a series of figurative studies centred on the theme of work and the Yiddish theatre. After he learnt of his family's extermination by the Nazis, his images became steeped with deep sympathy for Jewish suffering and his personal anguish. The majority of his recollections were drawn in ink wash and he tried to capture the essence of his characters through simple linear forms [141]. This he carried through to his paintings, most notably that of a cobbler, his father, at work.⁴⁵ The figure was modestly delineated and situated in sparse surroundings with no unnecessary detail detracting from the task at hand. It was this simple and sober style, denoting and dignifying the working man that struck a cord with Eardley. Its influence can be discerned in a formative drawing of an Italian Cobbler at Work (1848-49)⁴⁶ produced towards the end of her postgraduate year at GSA when she spent eight months in Italy and France, funded by scholarships from the art school and Royal Scottish Academy. Furthermore, in The Mixer Men (c.1944)⁴⁷ the analogy can be taken beyond theme to the unrefined, thick application of paint in a composition where line was still paramount. Eardley was to develop this linear, figurative style and concern for social, working class subject matter into a characterisation of the city

⁴⁵ Herman, Cobbler/Father (n.d.), details and whereabouts unknown.

⁴⁶ Eardley, Cobbler at Work (1948-9), chalk, details and whereabouts unknown.

⁴⁷ Eardley, The Mixer Men (1944), oil on canvas, 90.2x80cm, whereabouts unknown.

through the human form. Part of the process of this personification, however, was an exploration of their relationship with the environment in which they lived.

For Eardley, "The character of Glasgow lies in its back streets, which are for me pictorially exciting. Even at Art School I used to wander away from the centre of town out to the east, the back streets. To me that is the living part of Glasgow, where the people are. Something that's real."⁴⁸ Just as MacDonald and Low had moved from the heart of Glasgow to search for subject matter, so did Eardley. For these artists, Glasgow's true character lay in the areas where the working class worked and dwelt, many of which were scheduled for demolition or redevelopment. To Eardley, this was part of their appeal:

I like the friendliness of the back streets. Life is at its most uninhibited here. Dilapidation is often more interesting to a painter as is anything that has been used and looks used – whether it be an ivy-covered cottage, a broken farm cart or an old tenement.⁴⁹

Implicit in Eardley's statement was an equation of the informality of the environment with the lives of those who lived there. Accordingly, a correspondence can be determined between Eardley's paintings of the tenements and their inhabitants, to the extent that her paintings of tenement children can be viewed as attempts to portray the true character of the city itself.

Eardley rarely produced solely topographical studies of the city. Even in her paintings of tenements, such as Glasgow Tenement with Blue Sky (c.1954) or Tenements and Washing (c.1955),⁵⁰ she tended to incorporate some evidence of human presence through the inclusion of washing or scrawled graffiti on the tenement

⁴⁸ J. Eardley as quoted in W. Buchanan, *Joan Eardley*, Edinburgh 1976, 23.

⁴⁹ Eardley as quoted in Buchanan, *Joan Eardley*, 27.

⁵⁰ Eardley: Glasgow Tenement with Blue Sky (c.1954), oil on canvas, 61x91.4cm, whereabouts unknown; Tenements and Washing (c.1955), pastel, 25.3x26.6cm, Hunterian Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.

walls. The essence of place was vital to Eardley and her studios in Glasgow were always situated in tenement areas where she could have first-hand experience of her subject matter. Whilst travelling in France in 1951, Eardley wrote of the affinity she felt with the area around her studio at Cochrane Street, which she was about to lose:

It is desperate to lose the studio ... because I have become attached to it and it has been so useful to my work in that it is so near to the slum part of the town that I draw. And so easy to get the slum children to come up ... It would be impossible to get another one in this type of district ... you see I wouldn't like ... anything that was not in town, because my work is among towny things, particularly places like the tenements around my studio. I know that now, much as I love the country and country things, my work does lie in the slummy parts ...⁵¹

It is important to recognise that Eardley's aim was not that of 'slumming' or sensationalism. By virtue of her focus on children, her paintings may seem somewhat sentimental, however an accurate characterisation of place was vital to realising her vision of Glasgow. For that reason, she often took photographs of buildings, parts of tenement walls, graffiti or moments of tenement life. These, along with photographs by her friends Audrey Walker and Oscar Marzaroli (1933-88), were used to inform her final compositions.⁵² Fellow artists shared her stance, most notably Angus Neil who also produced images of tenements and their children. In Townhead Tenements (c.1954) [142] Neil depicted the area in which Eardley was to produce her most characteristic paintings. His use of dark pastel with vibrant flecks of colour implied

⁵¹ Eardley as quoted in C. Oliver, *Joan Eardley*, Edinburgh 1988, 45.

⁵² Examples of these photographs are held in the archive of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. As Oliver illustrates in *Joan Eardley*, 69, an example of this is Three Children at a Tenement Window (c.1956) which is based on a photograph of the same subject. The graffiti is taken from photographs by Audrey Walker.

that, like Eardley, he accepted Townhead as a working class, industrial area of Glasgow in which the true sparks character could be found.⁵³

Eardley's interest in the 'used' parts of Glasgow was perceptible in her tenement paintings as a reflection of continuation in the city. Discussing Sweetshop Rotten Row (c.1961) [143], she explained:

So it happened in a painting of a confectioner's shop I once did in Rotten Row. The word confection repeated about three times, with different bits of it showing through the last layer. Below that was the yellow of the previous one, below that the bits of red from the previous C of the confectioners. It seems to me very interesting as a painter.⁵⁴

Such a scene captured not only the paradoxical visual vitality of the dilapidation, but also the layering of history or generations in the physical fabric of the city. This concept had direct parallels in her figurative work, most notably Children: Port Glasgow (c.1955) [144] where the young girl pushing the pram was painted directly on top of an older woman with no sense of space between the figures. This gave the impression of a social stratum that was more complex than simply progressive. Just as past and present co-existed in the shop sign, so adolescence and maturity become fused in social roles. There was a sense, then, that Glasgow existed as an equally social

⁵³ Eardley and Neil met whilst students under James Cowie at Hospitalfield. Neil had been in the services and came to Hospitalfield largely untrained. He and Eardley formed a close friendship and he became the subject of many of her paintings, including a provocative male nude sleeping which was not well-received when exhibited in the Glasgow Institute in 1955. Their relationship was one of fond and mutual respect, Neil was reverent towards Eardley's work but Eardley also saw Neil as an accomplished artist and highly rated his compositions. Interview with Anne Marzaroli, 11/12/2002.

⁵⁴ Eardley as quoted in Buchanan, *Joan Eardley*, 28. This painting inspired Edwin Morgan to write the poem *To Joan Eardley*: "Pale Yellow Letters/humbly struggling across/The once brilliantly red/of a broken shop-face/C O N F E C T I O/and a blur of children/at their games, passing/gazing as they pass/at the blur of sweets/in the dingy, cosy/Rottenrow window -/an Eardley on my wall/Such rags and streaks/that master us! -/that fix what the pick/and bulldozer have crumbled/to a dingier dust,/the living blur/fiercely guarding/energy that has vanished/cries filling still/the unechoing close!/I wandered by the rubble/and the houses left standing/kept a chill, dying life/in their island of stone./No window opened/as the coal cart rolled/and the coalman's call/fell coldly to the ground./But the shrill children/jump on my wall." Morgan as cited in Oliver, *Joan Eardley*, 80-81.

and physical presence and this was more clearly expressed in her Children and Chalked Wall series [145] of the 1950s and 60s.

Eardley further qualified her belief that the back streets represented the true character of Glasgow: "The back streets mean almost entirely screaming, playing children – all over the streets – and only in the shadows of doorways groups of women and at street corners groups of men, but always chiefly children and the noise of children."⁵⁵ Thus Glasgow was personified. Significantly, those that Eardley felt embodied the city's true character were children. They spent time in the closes and on the streets and had the most uninhibited relationship with their environment. This was fully realised when she moved to her studio in Townhead and met the Samson family. Eardley said: "For me they are Glasgow. This sort of richness I know Glasgow has, that I hope it will always have."⁵⁶ This distillation of Glasgow's essence through children's portraits was made all the more poignant through Eardley's incorporation of elements from their actual environment. Sweet wrappers and newspapers from the streets were frequently fixed to the canvases in the Children and Chalked Wall series. Moreover, the emphasis in composition mediated between the figurative and the physical indicating a dialogue between the two entities.

On occasion, this intimate relationship was made more prominent through diversions from purely objective representation. Although a photograph of the Samson family by Oscar Marzaroli⁵⁷ demonstrates the faithfulness with which Eardley captured their likeness, in Little Girl with a Squint (c.1961) [146] her impartiality in depicting the environment was swayed. The lettering on the wall behind Mary Samson's head formed an anagram of her surname and the letters 'A' and 'J' could

⁵⁵ Eardley as quoted in Buchanan, *Joan Eardley*, 27.

⁵⁶ Eardley in BBC recorded radio interview in January 1963 as quoted in Oliver, *Joan Eardley*, 67.

⁵⁷ O. Marzaroli and W. McIlvanney, *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 111.

denote forenames of absent siblings. Here, the idea of progression of time and continuity is literally etched in graffiti on the tenement wall and shown in the little girl's hand-me-down clothes. This was reinforced by the inclusion of "A. Samson" on the wall in Some of the Samson Family (1961) [147], Andrew Samson being one of Eardley's favourite models.⁵⁸ There was a clear sense then, of the continuity the inhabitants afforded the city.

On the occasion of the *Six Young Painters* exhibition in 1955 Alick Sturrock, critic of the *Glasgow Herald*, wrote:

... Miss Eardley runs ahead of the rest. This artist ... is interpreting Glasgow to the world with an authenticity not achieved, perhaps, since Muirhead Bone, [who] in his own very different manner, brought the shipyards and the city streets alive in line.⁵⁹

Sturrock's equation of Bone and Eardley was not inappropriate. Although Bone was primarily a topographical artist, in subject matter he did focus on the working areas of Glasgow and the shipyards, indicating that he too believed that was where the essence of the city lay. He rejected the artificiality of 'official' and propagandised images, especially those of the Exhibition, and instead chose a more democratic and social vision. The same is true of Eardley, however she embodied these sentiments through her representation of the tenement children. Nevertheless, the comparison indicated that even critics felt that the most authentic characterisations of Glasgow were those located in the working areas and that Eardley was the first artist since Bone in whose work this was successfully realised.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Eardley, Andrew with Comic (c.1955), oil on canvas, 91.4x76.2cm, whereabouts unknown and Andrew (1955), oil on canvas, 90.2x31.1cm, Andrew Samson.

⁵⁹ A. Sturrock as quoted in Oliver, *Joan Eardley*, Edinburgh 1988, 55.

Sturrock continued: "If she had to be classified in contemporary terms, it would no doubt be as a social realist but, being a genuine realist rather than a propagandist, she shows her hopping, skipping children to be happy as, even in slums, children are."⁶⁰ The enduring popularity of Eardley's paintings of tenement children is undoubtedly partly due to a perception of them as sentimental renderings of children who remained defiantly happy in the face of their slum surroundings. In addition, their depiction in a simple, unrefined style befitting the subject matter was also appealing. Sturrock's assessment, however, justly indicated that Eardley was working on different terms. Rather than the City Fathers' propagandist image of Glasgow as a stalwart of municipal socialism and counter to a sensationalist depiction of the degradation of the slums, Eardley based herself and her work in the working class areas. Through objective observation, aided by photography, she provided a real image, which she felt embodied the real Glasgow.

More than a "genuine realist", however, Eardley re-orientated the concept of the city from a physical to a primarily social space that was afforded its identity by the inhabitants. In the Enlightenment era images had been premised on the architectural manifestations of the city's wealth, power and prestige, on the notions of control and the ideas of stability. These had succumbed somewhat to the pace of change in the industrial era and Glasgow redefined itself as dually the 'Second City of Empire' and 'Workshop of the World.' Representations of the city wavered somewhat in the aftermath of the war. In the post-war era when Glasgow became a prominent subject for artists, the city no longer had an epithet on which to fasten its self, or rather civic, identity. As the physical attributes of the city, the trams, tenements, gas lamps and ferries, gradually disappeared, representations became increasingly eclectic. Economic

⁶⁰ Sturrock as quoted in Oliver, *Joan Eardley*, Edinburgh 1988, 55-56.

decline brought additional pressures to the lives of the working class and artists with a left-wing inclination centred their art on these concerns. For Low and MacDonald this had an explicit social and political impetus, expressed through their images of factories and the oppressive urban environment. Eardley, however, in a more positive light, saw Glasgow as literally personified by the people who lived in the working class areas.⁶¹ After all, the cyclical reinvention of city epithets may have faltered, but the city continued to exist.

Eardley felt that Glasgow's true identity lay in the working class communities and was embodied in the people who lived there. She explored the relationship between individuals and their environment and combined this with a sense of continuity, a layering of time in the city. There was recognition of the physical endurance of the city as an architectural phenomenon, but a stronger affirmation that what defined the city at any given moment was its inhabitants. For Eardley, the quintessence of Glasgow's character was in the faces of the children and the literal inscription of their presence on their tenement walls. As Glasgow was becoming decentralised, artists turned from 'official' centralised conceptions of urban space, to the uninhibited, social areas for a true representation of what gave Glasgow its identity. The extent to which her paintings were seen to reflect the city became clear when the committee of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow's city art

⁶¹ Herbert Whone was another artist who painted the tenements and their inhabitants. Whone was a contemporary of Eardley and a jazz musician by trade. He became enamoured with Glasgow and found its character in the closes. He produced unrefined images of closes, tenement streets and stairwells as well as records of the wider cityscape. In later years he reminisced: "It seems platitudinous, but I can only say that Glasgow had character ... Glaswegians, I came to see, were held together by a long communal tradition centred around the closes ... I felt something vital and earthily genuine in the place ... the living soul of a people ... On a purely visual level, I was of course saddened by the loss of the images that had been the source of my inspiration. Apart from the destruction of buildings, all that characterised Glasgow – tenements, gas lamps, tar-burners, ferries, and especially tramcars – gradually began to disappear from the scene." H. Whone in C. Oliver, *Glasgow in Transition: 1958-64 by Herbert Whone*, Glasgow 1996, 10-12. Another artist documenting Glasgow during this period was Ernest Burnett Hood.

collection, rejected her Brother and Sister (c.1956)⁶² because “the children looked unhealthy and that would reflect badly on Glasgow.”⁶³ Although some, like Sturrock, felt that Eardley’s was a true representation of Glasgow, it was not yet a vision that the city authorities were willing to support.

The City in Transition: Time and Identity

A century after Thomas Annan turned the camera to the ‘old streets and closes’ of Glasgow, Oscar Marzaroli produced a substantial body of work charting the Council’s new scheme of demolition and development, centred on the housing of the working class. A key difference between Marzaroli’s work and that of Annan was that Marzaroli was not employed by the City Fathers. Free from any implicit notion of civic promotion, Marzaroli’s photographs were a personal initiative driven by a need to record and recognise the city’s transformation. Furthermore, rather than preservation of a fixed moment in the city’s architectural and social history, Marzaroli compressed different stages of development into a single frame. As such, his images provide a useful vehicle through which to examine how post-war photographers visually interpreted the changing dynamic and configuration of Glasgow enacted by the city authorities.⁶⁴ In light of Marzaroli’s close friendship with Eardley and Neil it is tempting to read his images in a similar manner. However, although Glasgow to Marzaroli was its people,⁶⁵ it is possible to place his photographic oeuvre within a broader context of recording the city as an architectural and social space with a unique temporal order.

⁶² Eardley, Brother and Sister (1955), oil on canvas, 102.2 x 76.5cm, Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

⁶³ Oliver, *Joan Eardley*, 66.

⁶⁴ Joe MacKenzie was another photographer who recorded change in the working class communities of Glasgow, specifically the Gorbals. This text concentrates on Marzaroli’s work because of the vast time span it covered and his association with Eardley and Neil. Still, it is important to recognise MacKenzie’s place in urban photography. He later produced a substantial portfolio documenting Dundee, which is now held in the McManus Art Gallery and Museum, Dundee.

⁶⁵ Interview with A. Marzaroli, 12/11/2002.

In Sweetshop, Rottenrow Eardley had implicitly explored how different periods of time in the city were preserved in architecture and could therefore be represented simultaneously. In contrast, rather than a sequential overlapping of progressive generations, Marzaroli captured the rupture between the established tenement dwellings and the new, ultra-modern high-rise housing vaunted as the solution to the health and social problems inherent in the tenement environment. The Old and New Gorbals (1968) [148] juxtaposed the remnant of a standard four-storey tenement with a twenty-storey block of flats. The darkness of the tenement was in stark contrast to the white, clean, patterned façade of the flats and thus the disparity between old and new, between the cause of social problems and inferred solution, was made apparent. One symbolised the past and the other the future, though both existed at the same time. As such there was a sense that the city existed in a transitional state without an assured hallmark of identity by which to characterise itself or for others to equate with Glasgow.

Marzaroli was conscious of the struggle of working class families and recognised the need for better housing but, as inferred in the drastic contrast between the two forms of dwelling, questioned whether high-rise building was the best solution. Instead, Marzaroli, who was friends with many architects, thought that other solutions such as the redevelopment of existing properties were more appropriate.⁶⁶ This was visually articulated in The Former British Rail Goods Yard, High Street, Looking South the Redevelopment Area (1987) [149] where the view to the 'redevelopment area' was framed within the ragged edges of a glass-less window. Across a wasteland of rubble, Marzaroli offered two alternative solutions for housing: in the distance high-rise flatted accommodation and in the position of compromise literally between the

⁶⁶ Interview with A. Marzaroli, 12/11/2002.

derelict and the new, an older building awaiting redevelopment bearing a banner "Flats for Miller Homes." Thus past, present and future were compressed into a single frame and rather than insisting on a sequential progression, although that is what was implied visually, there was an intimation that the past could be adapted for future use. Marzaroli's main aim in producing a visual chronicle of Glasgow was to record,⁶⁷ and yet within this rubric there was room to deal with concerns or anxieties about the changes incurred. The use of the derelict railway yard implied the loss of Glasgow's past glories on which its self-confidence was established and the incoherent outlook indicated the lack of firm ground on which a new character could be built.

If the photographs are taken to be an expression of Marzaroli's own feelings toward the redevelopment, his opinion was perhaps most clearly voiced in "Miracle of the Gorbals" (1964) [150]. The tattered newspaper flyer bearing that title was fixed to an equally dishevelled wall in the foreground and heralded the ensuing scene where cranes raised the new high-rise flats ever skyward whilst, simultaneously, a tenement was razed to the ground. The regularity of the rooms revealed by the exposed gable-end echoed that of the new flats and created a form of visual correspondence but this only served to heighten the contradictions of old and new, building and demolition. The 'miracle' was perhaps the transitory existence of the Gorbals, the fusion of past, present and future and the consequential ambiguity in identity. The visual uniqueness of the Gorbals, premised on the past, was being dismantled and that of the future had not yet evolved. Thus these parts of the city became indeterminate in their characterisation.

Gorbals with Southern Necropolis Beyond (1964) [151] conveyed a similar sentiment. The vast area of cleared land was equated with the range of the cemetery.

⁶⁷ Interview with A. Marzaroli, 12/11/2002.

The fragmented, stunted segments of tenements were incomplete and therefore the area was not a coherent, definable space. It was neither a fully formed, habitable area nor a desolate wasteland. The street based system that had once been representative of Glasgow was defied by the figures crossing the cleared land and hence means of navigation and orientation were disrupted. The rapidity of the new developments transformed the very experience of moving around and thereby identifying with the city. Landmarks were no longer sufficient to situate the individual in the city environment and, as evidenced by Marzaroli's Street Plan, George Square (1960) [152], both young and old needed assistance in understanding the city. Glasgow had become an indeterminate space, practically and temporally. This was not solely restricted to the old, tenemented areas. In Red Road Flats (1966) [153], the high-rise development which, when built, was the tallest in Europe, Marzaroli looked upward at the new flats encased in scaffolding. The interlaced metalwork in the foreground prevented the viewer from gaining easy entrance to the site and thus there was again a tension approaching the new environment.

Marzaroli developed these ideas further with regard to industry. In the year prior to the Geddes Report, Marzaroli photographed the Site of Harland and Wolff after Clearing, Govan (1965) [154]. The Belfast shipbuilders had been vital in sustaining Glasgow's shipbuilding economy after coming to Govan in 1912 when it acquired the section of the Clyde that contained Glasgow's three oldest shipyards. Its premises included the areas that had once accommodated Govan Old, the yard where shipbuilding began in Govan and which was subsequently acquired by Randolph & Elder, and Govan New, the location of Napier's second shipyard which later became Beardmores. Hence it was the historical home of Glasgow shipbuilding – shipbuilding once being a byword for Glasgow. With the main focus of Marzaroli's image being the

bleak, deserted yard strewn with the flotsam and jetsam of the shipbuilding trade, it is difficult to see the photograph as anything other than a record of the demise of heavy industry. Unlike the image of the tenements where productive tension between the old and the new, uncertainty about the future and a potentiality in the open space could be inferred, there was little sense of the promise of development.

Paradoxically, this was reinforced by QE2 Prior to Launch at John Brown's Yard (1967) [155], which celebrated the art of shipbuilding and the capability of the yards. The QE2 was a swan song to a dying art. The ascendant angle underscored the sheer feat of constructing the vast gleaming hull, which Marzaroli contrasted with the angularity of cranes and platforms. The image was dually a celebration and condolence. The demise of the shipbuilding industry had left a gaping wound in the heart of Glasgow's landscape, economy and identity. The redundant cranes that Marzaroli went on to photograph had once been emblems of Glasgow's success and now they stood testimony to its demise. Moreover, there was no clear, tangible alternative on which the city could fabricate a new 'Glasgow'.

Marzaroli's images relating to the railway industry indicated, on one hand, its importance to Glasgow and, on the other, the consequence of its demise. Ramsay Ladders Depot Kelvinbridge (1958) [156] highlighted the vital role played by the railways in servicing the city, as the rail tracks snaked like veins into the heart of Glasgow. The relationship between Glasgow and the rail industry had been established in the 1830s with the building of steam locomotives. In 1903, due to competition from abroad, Glasgow's three main locomotive companies – Sharp, Stewart & Co Ltd, Neilson, Reid & Co and Dubs & Co – had amalgamated to form the North British Locomotive Company Ltd. Glasgow was now home to the largest locomotive company in Europe and the third biggest in the world. By the 1950s, however, the

company was suffering from the severe financial difficulties that were to lead to its liquidation in 1962. Another defining trait of the city was gone.

The extent to which Marzaroli felt the loss of both the shipbuilding and locomotive industries was encapsulated in his photograph George Wyllie and "The Straw Locomotive" [157], taken during Glasgow's Mayfest of 1987. Wyllie sculpted a locomotive from straw and suspended it from the Finnieston crane, which was once used to load locomotives on to ships for export. The locomotive was then set on fire. Echoing the sentiments of Lowry's work, neither the shipyard crane nor the locomotive could function as symbols of the industries driving the city and, just as the straw locomotive was reduced to smoke, any surrogate through which Glasgow could seek to reassert its identity seemed equally vaporous.

Amidst the ambiguity as to what exactly constituted Glasgow, Marzaroli, akin to Eardley and Neil, turned to the people as a constant. Reflecting his mixed attitude toward the redevelopment, his photographs moved from sunlit tenement backcourts filled with children playing and washing drying on the communal washing line to dismal, desolate, dingy backcourts lined with deteriorating tenements and the crumbling remains of walls. They showed the solidarity and collective spirit that characterised the tenements and that the new high-rise developments endangered. In addition, they recorded the poor living conditions that had to be improved. Regardless of the deprivation, the backcourts were the playground of the tenement children and as such offered Marzaroli an alternative to the architectural juxtaposition of young and old and an opportunity to suggest where the future of Glasgow lay.

Marzaroli's children frequently radiated a sense of potential and determination, most famously shown in Castlemilk Lads (1963) [158]. Rather than the backcourts, this image was taken in a peripheral council housing estate, constructed to ease

overcrowding and move people from the increasingly unacceptable living conditions in the city centre. Nevertheless, the sense of solidarity and identity remained – it was enduring in the people, originally from the backcourts and the tenements, rather than the place. The central lad was so engaged in conversation, his conviction reinforced by the confident gesture of his hands and his slight forward stance, that he was undeterred by his compatriot's head on his shoulder. This highlighted the affectionate bond and understanding between the boys. The direct, steely gaze of the boy, enforced by that of the friend to his left, however, challenged any attempt to read the image as sentimental or nostalgic. Unlike the city in which they lived, they were self-assured. This was emphasised by "Golden Haired Lass", Gorbals (1964) [159]. Rather than a syrupy snapshot of a little girl in a flowered dress, apron and Wellington boots, Marzaroli saw it as "somebody going somewhere."⁶⁸ What lay before her was unknown, emphasised by the dark close mouth beyond, however her determined stride left little doubt that she would get there.

The city as a space characterised by its people was reiterated in two starkly different images. In Children, Gorbals (1964) [160] Marzaroli demonstrated his compositional skill. Columns at either side transformed the step on which children stood into a stage. As the girl at the side held the wall as if pulling back a curtain, the two young performers were caught in a moment of bemused contemplation. Again there was a fusion of the young and old in the dialogue between the figure and its environment. There was also the implicit notion of the city as a stage upon which city dwellers, throughout their lives, played various roles and adopted a range of guises. It was partly due to the anonymity engendered by the modern city habitat, so vast in size and numbers that the individual could remain virtually unknown, which lead to

⁶⁸ As cited by A. Marzaroli, interview 12/11/2002.

stereotyping. There was the potential of the young in determining the future of Glasgow and yet also the sense that they could fit into pre-established or stereotypical roles.

Consequently, Hydepark Street, Anderston (1963) [161] showed two seemingly drunken men, a rather unhelpful emblem associated with Glasgow since the beginnings of the industrial era, engaged in animated bonhomie. In many ways it conformed to the traditional image of Glasgow, with poor housing endangering the moral and physical wellbeing of its inhabitants, not to mention its reputation. For the two young boys playing on the wasteland opposite, there was the unspoken conviction that this was the role they would, or it was believed they would, assume in later life. With the funeral parlour in the background there was a sense of predestination for the course of life within the current environment. Therefore, for all the determination apparent in the photographs of the children, there was still a sense that the course of their lives would be set by forces outside their control. If this was premised partially on the environment in which they lived, then their future remained undetermined.

What Marzaroli provided was a seemingly predictable account of what typified Glaswegian slums, but in the context of his Gorbals series this was undermined by the sense of uncertainty brought about by the redevelopment. The children could either fall into preordained stereotypical roles or use the transformation of their environment as a key to reconfigure the courses of their lives and thus that of the city. Likewise, the traditional and inherently negative perceptions of Glasgow could fundamentally be altered by the course of the redevelopment or the new dwellings could simply replicate the conditions of the old, in which case the façade of the city would be altered but the perception would remain the same.

Oscar Marzaroli's photographs depict Glasgow at a time when Glasgow was unsure of exactly how to present itself. When Annan had photographed the slums for the City Improvement Trust it was with a mixed agenda of historicism, antiquarian interest and tied into an ethos of civic pride and propaganda. Marzaroli had also captured the city at a time of redevelopment, but his personal response articulated a city that lacked the self-assurance of Annan's time. Whilst both implied that a particular way of life was to be lost, Annan's Glasgow was strongly founded as the 'Second City of Empire', the 'Workshop of the World' and the centre of industrial prowess, however, Marzaroli's situation was more complex. Former aggrandising epithets were no longer applicable and there was no stable foundation through which Glasgow could be characterised. In the work of his contemporaries this had led to consideration of the city as a social space, defined by its population, specifically those resident in the working class communities who were decentralised and enduring against the pace of change. Now, however, these areas were to be subject to redevelopment and thus artists were in danger of losing the very base upon which they had begun to turn their conceptualisation of 'Glasgow.'

Through juxtaposing past and present, young and old, revealing how the city was an amalgamation of periods of development, Marzaroli stressed Glasgow's indeterminate identity. Glasgow was in a state of transition that could either give force to a new urban identity or fall into the negative stereotypical models of the past. As Glasgow embarked on its period of regeneration in the 1970s the issues of time, the city's history and the people were to be the key determinates in articulating the city's identity. As the city authorities turned toward a more intangible, decentralised, non-iconographic means of defining the city through the all-embracing term 'culture' so they began to commission artists who, following the foundations established by artists

such as Eardley, Low and MacDonald, eschewed the architectural splendours and saw Glasgow as a social, people's place whose past, present and future was ultimately determined by its inhabitants.

Glasgow: the People's P(a)lace

In *Soft City*, first published in 1973, Jonathan Raban described conditions similar to those being experienced in Glasgow:

For at moments like this, the city goes soft; it awaits the imprint of an identity. For better or worse, it invites you to remake it, to consolidate it into a shape you can live in. ... Decide who you are, and the city will again assume a fixed form round you. Decide what it is, and your own identity will be revealed, like a position on a map fixed by triangulation. Cities, unlike villages and small towns, are plastic by nature. We mould them in our images: they, in turn, shape us by the resistance they offer when we try to impose our own personal form on them. In this sense, it seems to me that living in cities is an art, and we need the vocabulary of art, of style, to describe the peculiar relationship between man and material that exists in the continual creative play of urban living.⁶⁹

As Marzaroli had suggested, the amorphous relationship between man and material in the post-industrial city was crucial in articulating the character of Glasgow. Raban's construction of the postmodern, 'soft' city offered a soothing assessment of the chaotic heterogeneity of modern city life. The individual could no longer be estranged or isolated in the city, as there was nothing to be alienated from. The city had to be reconfigured into a manageable, habitable space but in order to do this, the individual had to be assured of their own personality which was difficult without, in some sense, being able to define the city. It was a reciprocal relationship of moulding, resistance and flirtation.

⁶⁹ J. Raban, *Soft City*, London 1998, 4.

In the era that has been branded 'postmodern', the city and all it encompassed was characterised as depthless, fragmented and superficial. Amidst this shallow artificiality, individuals lost the ability to situate themselves and manage their surroundings. Artists attempting to relate this experience faced a considerable challenge. Frederick Jameson explained:

If, indeed, the subject has lost its capacity actively to extend its pro-tensions and re-tensions across the temporal manifold, and to organize its past and future into coherent experience, it becomes difficult enough to see how the cultural productions of such a subject could result in anything but 'heaps of fragments' and in a practice of the randomly heterogeneous and fragmentary...⁷⁰

Traditionally, Glasgow's history and economic forces had been reflected in some way in its urban imagery but, as Marzaroli had indicated, circumstances were changing and, amidst redevelopment and reorganisation, assuring a successful 'cultural production' of Glasgow was problematic. As society became orientated toward service industries operating through telephonic and electronic information-super-highways for a global consumer base, the value of tangible and local industries, and thus classical capitalism, diminished.

The 1970s began with Glasgow's city authorities literally wiping the traces of industry from their civic facades. There was an attempted return to a city whose reputation resounded with its history, wealth and prestige expressed through an architectural visage. However, this initiative was not successfully realised until 1999 when Glasgow became 'UK City of Architecture and Design'. Meanwhile, Glasgow had to find alternative means by which to reinvigorate its economy and an appropriate image through which to promote itself. As if embodying a postmodern ethos and

⁷⁰ F. Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The cultural logic of late capitalism*, London 1991, 71.

mirroring the beginnings of Glasgow's service based financial system, there seemed little tangible on which to found such a programme. Thus, after the establishment of the new more regional focussed authorities in 1975, Glasgow District Council turned to a social configuration of city identity. The locus for this was the People's Palace, situated in the East End of the city on Glasgow Green.

The Green had been gifted to the people of Glasgow in the fifteenth century when it was used as the common land of the ancient burgh where the townspeople grazed their livestock. It was officially made into a public park in 1857, just as the West End had received Paxton's Kelvingrove Park. During the nineteenth century the character and configuration of the Green had changed substantially. Between 1817 and 1826 Dr James Cleland, the Superintendent of Public Works in Glasgow Corporation, instigated a scheme that saw the land drained and levelled. The legendary Molendinar Burn that flowed through the Green was channelled underground. Of great consequence in the Green's history as the 'people's' space, was the use of unemployed weavers to carry out much of the work. The Green was, therefore, both religiously and socially symbolic.

Functionally, the Green was used for bleaching and washing clothes until the opening of the washhouse in 1732. This was replaced in the 1870s by the Greenhead Public Baths and Washhouse. In addition, the area in front of the Jail House (known variously as Goal Square, Jail Square or Jocelyn Square) drew crowds as the location of public hangings from around 1814 until 1865. On a lighter note, the Green hosted the Glasgow Fair, Lunardi's balloon ascent in 1785 and, against the ruling of a byelaw passed in 1819, it was also an impromptu football pitch, golf course and tennis court. The city's football teams, Celtic and Rangers, both had their origins on the Green, as did Glasgow's golf. Historically, James Watt (1736-1819) envisaged his revolutionary

steam engine whilst strolling on the Green and therefore it could even be seen as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution. Although this had great consequence for industrialisation in the city, the Green is probably best known as the site for the majority of Glasgow's popular demonstrations and rallies. Some of these have been in defence of the Green itself, as in 1821 when the Council gave John McDowall, owner of the Milton Iron Works, the right to develop part of the Green for coal mining. The people of the East End successfully objected to the ruling.

Other causes that aroused the passionate to protest on the Green included franchise demands, temperance rallies, human rights demonstrations, religious events and workers' protests. It has also been the site for celebration – for example, after the passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832, 70,000 people gathered there. More commonly, however, it was a site for unrest or dispute. In the uprisings of 1848, the military drove a crowd about to attack Campbell's Silk Mill in John Street to the Green where six were killed and several maimed. In more recent times, a demonstration was held there on the occasion of the 24-hour strike in August 1920. It was for workers' protests, like those of the National Unemployed Workers Movement in the 1930s, that the Green became a symbolic location. The West End Park, cultivated by the city council and site of its Great Exhibitions, was a site for the expression of Glasgow's wealth, grandeur and prestige, whereas the East End Park, formed by the hands of workers, was for conveying the desires and disgusts of working people. As James Paton, the Superintendent of Museums in Glasgow, stated: "The Green is esteemed as peculiarly the birthright and property of the people."⁷¹

⁷¹ J. Paton, "A People's Palace", *Museums Association Annual Report*, 1898 as cited in E. King, *The People's Palace and Glasgow Green*, Glasgow 1985, 27.

As a symbol of Glasgow's working history and culture, the Green was the appropriate location for the People's Palace, which opened in 1898. The museum charts Glasgow's history and culture from its earliest period. Inspired by similar initiatives in Britain and worldwide, the Palace was part of the municipal provision. The intention to provide a museum and gallery was clear in 1866 when over £2500 realised from the sale of the Old Bridgeton Bleaching Green was deposited in the Clydesdale Bank for that purpose. However, it was over a decade later and after the municipality had taken some positive steps for civic betterment through the City Improvement Scheme, that work got underway. In its very funding and conception, therefore, the People's Palace was undoubtedly a people's place.

The People's Palace had a pivotal role to play in the reconsideration of what made Glasgow uniquely recognisable. In 1977, through the initiative of its curator Elspeth King, Alasdair Gray (b.1934) was employed on a Job Creation Scheme wage as the official Artist Recorder for the People's Palace. Over a period of ten months, Gray produced about thirty works depicting Glasgow's buildings and people. At this time, and indeed for twenty-five years prior to its publication in 1982, Gray was exploring his views on Glasgow through his novel *Lanark*, which provides a useful context through which to examine Gray's personal, depictions of Glasgow and his work for the People's Palace.

In her introduction to Gray's novel, Janice Galloway explained why *Lanark* was truly representative of Glasgow:

... Gray spoke using the words, syntax and places of home, yet he did it without the tank of apology or rude-mechanical humour, the Brigadoon tartantry or long-dead warrior chieftain stuff ... With its Royal Infirmary cupolas and Victorian Great Western road, its Blackhill kids and the Clyde widening out to the sea, the place in which this epic would reveal itself was Glasgow, a breathing, many-layered Glasgow that was not just an industrial

warehouse for ships, but a resonant and fully-claimed city that could stand for an entire nation.⁷²

What it stood for, however, was not a positive vision. Galloway continued: "His [Thaw/Gray's] city was sick and repressive, lacking light, hope and love."⁷³ She related how the main character Thaw, Gray's literary doppelganger, was driven to distraction by his attempts to imaginatively visualise Glasgow and locate himself in the city. The multiplicity and transferability of his own personality indicated the eclecticism of city life where it was possible to have multiple identities and yet, as Thaw's life demonstrated, to lose any sense of self. Ironically, Lanark, Thaw's other self, took his name from a road sign, but lacked any personal direction. Thaw's mural on the kirk wall remained unfinished whilst he, as Lanark, endeavoured to negotiate a sloping, poorly signposted road, desperately searching for the city.

The city was difficult to find and equally challenging to cross: "Once Glasgow had been a tenement block, a school and a stretch of canal; now it was a gloomy huge labyrinth he would take years to find a way through."⁷⁴ He suffered from a Gulliver complex – looking at the city from above, mainly from the Necropolis, and yet being unable to penetrate beneath its surface. Gray alluded to the problems of panoramic depictions of the city which failed to recognise the underlying social situation: whilst in the institution, Dr Munro asked Lanark whether there was a connection between his love of panoramas and distaste for human problems.⁷⁵

Mirroring Thaw's struggle to negotiate the city, any attempt on the reader's part to straightforwardly comprehend his dilemma is thwarted by the subversion of temporal order in the novel. The lack of a sequential, chronological narrative

⁷² J. Galloway, "Introduction" in A. Gray, *Lanark: A Life in Four Books*, Edinburgh 2002, xii.

⁷³ Galloway, "Introduction", xiii.

⁷⁴ Gray, *Lanark*, 146.

⁷⁵ Gray, *Lanark*, 64.

mirrored the attitude toward time in the novel where, in the 'Intercalendrial Zone', they "don't bother much with time ... none of the clocks ... can be relied on, least of all the ones that go."⁷⁶ Furthermore, in the Zone, Gray exploited metaphors of commodities to the extent that men and women were literally eaten. In a fusion of fact and fantasy, the novel was "Urban and wholly contemporary, yet suffused with the past."⁷⁷ Throughout the novel there were allusions to Glasgow's former architectural splendours alongside the high-rise flats and motorways of the present. Beyond the architectural landmarks that symbolised aspects of the city's history and punctuated its nebulous landscape, there were references to social history with people disappearing from tenements, areas being consumed by others and illness being rife. Officials officiated but made little difference. Gray's Glasgow was a postmodern city, a place where the grammar of urban life had broken down to the extent that signs, systems and styles could no longer be relied on and people themselves had been reduced to mere ailing commodities.

In terms of representing the city, the most compelling declaration came in a conversation between Thaw and his art school colleague McAlpin. Earlier in the novel an oracle had stated that Glasgow was "the sort of industrial city where most people live nowadays but nobody imagines living."⁷⁸ Whilst surveying the city's skyline from the top of a hill, the two art students took up this train of thought. McAlpin commented that Glasgow was a magnificent city and questioned why that was hardly ever noticed. Thaw replied: "Because nobody imagines living here." He continued:

Then think of Florence, Paris, London, New York. Nobody visiting them for the first time is a stranger because he's already visited them in paintings, novels, history books and films. But if a city hasn't been used imaginatively by an artist

⁷⁶ Gray, *Lanark*, 273.

⁷⁷ Galloway, "Introduction", xiv.

⁷⁸ Gray, *Lanark*, 105.

not even the inhabitants live there imaginatively. What is Glasgow to most of us? A house, the place we work, a football park or golf course, some pubs and connecting streets. That's all. No, I'm wrong, there's also the cinema and the library. And when our imagination needs exercise we use these to visit London, Paris, Rome under the Caesars, the American West at the turn of the century, anywhere but here and now. Imaginatively Glasgow exists as a music-hall song and a few bad novels. That's all we've given to the world outside. It's all we've given to ourselves.⁷⁹

Thus it is possible to infer that Gray envisaged Glasgow as a place lacking a coherent identity. Past and present intermingled and future was indecipherable. Architectural landmarks from each era co-existed but no longer provided a key by which to navigate through the city or gain a sense of its character. For Gray, the lack of imaginative and adequate interpretations of the city bred a malaise whereby its own inhabitants no longer related to it. Thus, it is important to keep these ideas in mind when considering Gray's attempts to artistically visualize Glasgow.

The parallels between Gray's literary and artistic output was clear in his book-jackets for the four-book edition of *Lanark* produced by Canongate in 2001. Gray's painting Cowcaddens, 1950 (1963) [162] fronted Volume 1, Book 3 of the Canongate publication. Despite the status of tenements and industry being undiminished, the city was a dark, smog-ridden space, which existed beneath large, sinister cloud formations. The only sense of life came from the tenement windows and people on the streets. By repeating the same characters within the composition, Gray mimicked the motif of the journey so apparent in the novel and indicated the loss of self. In that the city was organised and recognisable, Gray intimated that Glasgow was still at an understandable stage in its development and had not yet fully overwhelmed its inhabitants. Artificially lit and skewed in perspective, Glasgow was envisaged as a surreal space. This stood in stark contrast to Two Hills (n.d.) [163], the accompaniment to Volume 2, Book 1.

⁷⁹ Gray, *Lanark*, 243.

Here Glasgow was uniquely ordered into one mound surmounted by schools, churches and tenements confronting another harbouring emblems of Glasgow's industries. Although lacking the surreal atmosphere of Cowcaddens, Glasgow was configured as a Janus-like environment defined by two facets, the municipal or religious and the industrial.

The religious element predominated in The Garden of Eden (1967), the illustration to Volume 3, Book 2, which echoed the unfinished church murals undertaken by both Gray and Thaw.⁸⁰ However, its impact was more profound in Nuclear Apocalypse over Glasgow, Triumph of Death Canvas (1959) (also known as The Fall of the Star of Wormwood) [164]. In biblical terms this apocalyptic vision recalled the devastation caused when the star Wormwood fell to earth and poisoned all water.⁸¹ For a contemporary audience, however, it resonated with the horrors of nuclear warfare. Gray soldered this vision to Glasgow's own industrial identity by situating his portentous scene on the site that once boasted the emblematic St Rollox tower. Mournful onlookers observed a city ravaged by grotesque beasts. The upper left portion of the canvas pictured Glasgow in relative clam whilst the remainder visualised a wasteland, not merely the city as a dead space but as a destroyed space. This social comment was also implicit in the work Gray undertook for the People's Palace. Cityscapes like The End of Arcadia Street (1977)⁸² highlighted the decay

⁸⁰ Gray, The Garden of Eden (1963), details and whereabouts unknown. Gray was involved with painting a mural in Greenhead Parish Church, Bridgeton in 1958.

⁸¹ Revelation 8:10-11: "And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters; And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter." King James Version.

⁸² Gray, East End of Arcadia Street, details unknown, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museums: People's Palace. All of these paintings are held by the People's Palace and form part of *The Continuous Glasgow Show*.

through a study of traditional tenement streets. A marked difference in this scheme, however, was that the Glasgow represented was one to which people could relate.

Throughout the thirty works Gray produced in a ten-month period, the Glasgow shown was truly a people's city. In an amalgamation of people and places, notable figures and anonymous Glaswegians, Gray provided a panorama of Glasgow in the late 1970s. This was evident in their composition as well as subject matter. He structured some works to give the impression that the scene was being viewed through a window, thereby offering an everyday scene rather than idealised construct. He took prominent Glaswegians and depicted them in locations of their choice. Some stood beside monuments of historical significance such as Pastor Jack Glass by the towering statue of John Knox preaching and others chose more intimate or personal situations like Inspector Dereck O'Neil at Tobago Street Police Station. This holistic approach, founded very much in the contemporary, defined Glasgow as a social, people's space.

In *Lanark* and its supplemental illustrations, Gray visualised Glasgow as a surreal, apocalyptic and declining city. Although more pessimistic than Marzaroli, Gray was evidently also questioning the city's identity, like McCance and Fleming, and the appropriateness of its former signifiers. As Paul Patton has commented in his writings on the postmodern city, "...it is the city as experienced by a subject which is itself the product of urban existence, a decentred subject which can neither fully identify with nor fully dissociate from the signs which constitute the city."⁸³ In his commissioned work, however, Gray seemed to work to a resolution of some of these issues. Thaw had argued that in order to recognise the magnificence of their city, its inhabitants had

⁸³ P. Patton, "Imaginary Cities: Cities of Postmodernity" in Watson and Gibson, *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, Oxford and Cambridge 1995, 118.

to imagine living there. Thus, by situating distinguished and ordinary Glaswegians in meaningful locations and incorporating this into a broader body of work embracing the contemporary city, Gray produced an imaginative interpretation to which people could relate.

The very act of employing a contemporary artist to produce images specifically for the People's Palace was a noteworthy step by the city authorities. It signalled a move towards the conception of the city as a people's place and yet its identity was still not securely founded. With Harry McShane and the Weaver's Monument, Calton⁸⁴ Gray indicated an aspect of Glasgow's history hitherto largely unrecognised in visual media – that of the workers and Glasgow's more radical past. By showing a contemporary figure with a commemoration of the past Gray intimated that bygone events still had relevance for the present. Here was a premise upon which an alternative vision of Glasgow could be constructed. This was recognised by the city authorities when they commissioned Ken Currie to create an in-situ 'History Mural', again for the People's Palace. In this work, the first major artwork commissioned in Glasgow since 1890, Currie explored Scotland's socialist history. Against the civic and glorifying representations of Glasgow and portraits of Glaswegian celebrities in the museum's collection, Currie's panels undoubtedly provided a sobering remembrance of a neglected history. However, its purpose was not to provide a straightforward representation and this is, arguably, its significance for the city.

The perceived superficiality of postmodernism in part led to a boom in the heritage industry. The impulse to preserve the past was indicative of an urge to

⁸⁴ Harry McShane was a radical who had a prominent role in the discontent on (Red) Clydeside and a party activist in the Glasgow District of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement. He also wrote the first history of the struggle of the Calton Weavers. Gray, Harry McShane at the Weavers Monument, details unknown, Glasgow Art Galleries and Museum: People's Palace.

safeguard self. It was upon the past that an individual and collective identity could be founded and through the past, time could be represented as sequential and ordered in the face of postmodern chaos. In this context Currie's images gave Glasgow a functional identity:

Postmodern life is characterized by the erasure of history and the loss of social memory. Social life includes multiple streams of contesting momentary images, which detach from particular locales, join the company of other images. Images, in appearing to capture history, became the great levellers, the informational counterpart of money, replacing the material distinctions with their own "depthless" (that is ahistoric) logic. One of the social functions of art is to crystallize an image or a response to a blurred social picture, bringing its outlines into focus. Many artists and critics engage with these dislocating politics of the image through critiques of signification. Such critical practices temporarily check the flow of (what passes for) public discourse. But such critiques-in-general, crucial as they are to a reorientation of social understanding, don't exhaust the avenues to urban meaning.

Consider the city once again. It is more than a set of relationships and a congeries of buildings, it is even more than a geographic locale – it is a set of unfolding historical processes. In short, a city embodies and enacts history. In representing the city, in producing counter-representations, the specificity of a locale and its histories becomes critical. Documentary, rethought and redeployed, provides an essential tool, though certainly not the only one.⁸⁵

Thus, in the atmosphere of postmodern and post-industrial indeterminateness, Currie's commission provided a means by which the momentary could be replaced with the interminable past and social memory could be recovered rather than lost. The contemporary confusion of urban identity could be channelled into an articulation of a neglected social legacy and as such Glasgow could be represented as the outcome of this history. In essence, the reconstruction of Glasgow's social history had the potential to represent the city through a past embodied in its character, an intangible and legendary sense of belonging. In a sense this rediscovery was destined to idealise and sentimentalise the past as Currie had few visual representations to substantiate his

⁸⁵ R. Deutsche "Alternative Space" from B. Wallis (ed.), *If you lived here*, Seattle 1991 as cited in Miles, Hall, Borden (eds), *The City Cultures Reader*, London and New York 2000, 201.

vision. Yet, in his 'rethinking and redeployment' of Glasgow's social history, Currie offered an alternative vision of the city that went beyond the construction of a canon of socialist heroes to interpretation of the past and its relevance for the present.

In these paintings Currie unfurled, literally, the history of the working class movement in Glasgow. The motif of a banner unified the eight panels of the circular composition. Their tonal unity, figuration and internal, twisting composition amplified this cinematic configuration.⁸⁶ The paraphernalia of class struggle reverberated throughout – banners, slogans, flags, caps of liberty, books and megaphones, debate and discussion. In essence it was a paradoxically vocal way in which “to highlight and interpret important but often forgotten episodes from our past.”⁸⁷ In the History Panels which featured Glasgow, the city appeared primarily as a backdrop signified variously by a smoking industrial chimney, a gloomy tenement, the prow of a ship, or a redundant crane, and still its essence underlay all of the images. It was Glasgow that gave rise to these revolutionary and reactionary events and just as it shaped them so the ‘forgotten’ workers, symbolic in their anonymity, fashioned the course and reputation of Glasgow. Rather than adhering to sensationalist perception of the working class as unruly and violent, however, Currie presented a communal, oppressed, struggling, passionate and intelligent working class. It was Glasgow envisaged as a working class, social(ist) space.

Punctuated by key moments and protagonists in Scotland's working class history from 1787, Currie situated Glasgow's social history in a universal sphere portraying collective sentiments as well as figures from socialist movements worldwide. It is perhaps appropriate, therefore, that the Mexican social realist

⁸⁶ The cinematic format and dramatic visualisation may have been influenced by Currie's earlier film work for the Cranhill Arts Project following his degree show in 1982.

⁸⁷ E. King “Introduction” in *The People's Palace History Paintings: A Short Guide*, Glasgow 1990, 7.

muralist Diego Rivera influenced his style. Beginning with the aftermath of the massacre of the Calton Weavers [165],⁸⁸ Currie then represented the era surrounding the French Revolution and the 1820 Radical Rising [166],⁸⁹ the Great Reform agitation, the fourth panel focussed on "the birth of Scientific Socialism as a solution to the immense human suffering created by Capitalism"⁹⁰, the fifth on Red Clydeside and its hero John McLean, then the period of the 1930s [167] and the seventh, the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. The final panel, entitled "Unfurling our History – Our Future!" [168], focussed on the more recent struggles of the striking miners whose headlamps fused to form the beginnings of the banner of the future. Below, the banner of social history was being unfurled and a light shone to illuminate the past; thus the cycle began again. The old man unfurling the banner was representative of knowledge and history and before him lay surviving artefacts from Glasgow's social history housed in the

⁸⁸ The strike of the Calton weavers marked the beginning of an organised labour movement in Scotland. The weaving industry was amongst the first to form bodies for the regulation and supervision of trade. For example, the Weavers Society of Anderston was formed in 1739 and that of Pollokshaws in 1749. In addition there were friendly societies to care for ill or injured members. The 1787 strike was caused by a fall in the price of muslin, partly due to the import of cheap Indian Muslins by the East India Company. The fall in prices meant falls in wages, which were cut by between 6 and 7 shillings a week in November 1786. A meeting was held on Glasgow Green on the 30 June 1787 after further wage cuts. The exact course of events is uncertain as, apart from imperfect newspaper accounts and incomplete trial documents, no other contemporary published account survives. Any weaver found working at the new rates had their web removed, by force if needed, and it was returned to the merchant. As the dispute became more heated, some removed webs were burned. The strike came to a tragic conclusion on September 3rd when the military confronted demonstrating weavers on Drygate bridge. Six weavers were killed (only three names are recorded). The leader of the military was granted Freedom of the City and all soldiers involved given new shoes and stockings, paid for from the city funds. For further information see King, *The Strike of the Glasgow Weavers 1787*, Glasgow 1987.

⁸⁹ The Radical Rising was the outcome of a long period of unrest in the city, notably the first General Strike initiated by handloom weavers. Another catalyst was the implementation of the Corn Law in 1815 which aimed to manage grain prices and protect home trade. Petitioning to Parliament was of no significance. The fear of uprisings was such that attempts were made to observe known antagonists and their compatriots. Suspects were even arrested but the charges came to nothing. Events were fairly quiet until typhus ravaged the city in 1818. Demonstrations followed on Glasgow Green, seeking annual parliaments, universal suffrage and decreased taxation. Following Manchester's Peterloo Massacre, disturbances ensued in Glasgow to the extent that by December 1819 troops were stationed in the city. In April 1820 a radical document entitled "Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland" from Glasgow stated the time had come to raise arms with the battle cry "Liberty or Death." Sympathisers went on strike and the authorities reacted by placing troops on alert and offering a reward for information. Supporters were arrested and jailed. Some, involved in insurgency at Bonnymuir, were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered and others were deported for life.

⁹⁰ "The Panels" in *The People's Palace History Paintings*, 29.

People's Palace. It would be wrong, however, to view the paintings as a chronologically sequential narrative. Currie was eager that his "Marxist idea about seeing history as an organic continuum"⁹¹ was conveyed by the series. He felt that history was something that "can teach and inspire in the present day."⁹² He continued:

I have attempted to communicate my sense of awe and excitement as remarkable episodes in Scottish history were revealed; the fact that what we were attempting in the present day is part of a legacy of struggle and commitment. I saw that legacy as something utterly precious, something that had to be kept alive at all costs – a thing, in fact, of awesome cultural power.⁹³

The paintings took their place in this endeavour.

The recovery of the past and its projection for the future, primarily through the leitmotif of the banner, was indicative of the belief in the past's relevance for the future. In this context, Currie's approach to history merits deeper consideration. The fiery, furnace-like tones of the paintings, atmospherically lit by braziers, furnaces and fire, suggested the emergence of the movements, not only in terms of formation but also in historical depiction. Although Currie undertook an extensive amount of research, first hand sources were few and far between.⁹⁴ For example, it is known that pamphlets were printed at the time of the weaver's fight, yet none are extant. Therefore in Weavers Struggles...The Calton Weavers Massacre, Currie substituted the words from a later placard "Burn the Villain. Fear Not. You will be Supported"

⁹¹ K. Currie, "Ken Currie: Painting the Glasgow History Cycle" in *The People's Palace History Paintings*, 17.

⁹² Currie, "Ken Currie: Painting the Glasgow History Cycle", 17.

⁹³ Currie, "Ken Currie: Painting the Glasgow History Cycle", 17.

⁹⁴ Currie, "Ken Currie: Painting the Glasgow History Cycle", 17.

referring to Henry Dundas and the riots of 1792.⁹⁵ It is not perhaps surprising, then, that Currie's images played on the significance of oral tradition.⁹⁶

In the second panel, Radical Wars..., a man by the fire held a bundle of sticks, symbolising unity and trade unionism. This emblem was derived from a verse recorded on the box plate of the Glasgow Powerloom Drawers and Twisters Association held in the People's Palace that speaks of the proverbial strength in numbers.⁹⁷ Moreover, a banner was inscribed with words from the unofficial anthem of the 1820 Rising, "Scots wha Hae": "it's comin' yet for a' that, that man to man the world ower shall brithers be for a' that." This reiterated the worldwide ethos of socialism and the outward projection of the panels. Along with the growth of the Tree of Liberty, it reinforced Currie's theme of hope for the future and drawing on the past for strength: "By Oppression's woes and pains/By your sons in servile chains,/We will drain our dearest veins/But they shall be free!"⁹⁸

As technology advanced, alternative means arose to record and convey the struggle, though Currie did not let this outshine the power of the oral tradition. Fight or Starve...Wandering through the Thirties showed the Hunger Marchers being filmed by a newsreel camerawoman. Nevertheless, the title refers to oral tradition, coming from "The Old Man's Song" sung by Arthur Johnstone, which talks of one family's

⁹⁵ In 1792 the Glasgow branch of the Society of the Friends of the People was formed as support for constitutional reform, especially amongst the middle class, increased. Amongst the working class there was popular support for reform, although not necessarily achieved through violence. For further information on the labour history of Glasgow in this period see C. A. Whatley, "Labour in the Industrialising City c.1660-1830" in Devine and Jackson (eds), *Glasgow Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, Manchester and New York 1995, 360-401.

⁹⁶ For a discussion on the importance of oral tradition in Ken Currie's work see P. Jones "Ken Currie, Oral History and Popular Memory", *Cencrastus*, 56 1997, 21-24.

⁹⁷ "The Panels" in *The People's Palace History Paintings*, 25. The verse reads: "On the 16th Oct. Eighteen Thirty Three/Our society was formed and chose a Committee/We Drawers and Twisters did intermix/And took example from the bundle of sticks/We could be broken single one by one/But now we are united, and never can.", PPI987.205.1, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: People's Palace.

⁹⁸ R. Burns, "Scots wah Hae", passed on through oral tradition.

experience of that decade – unemployment, Fascism in Spain and the rise of Nazism.⁹⁹ Thus much of the imagery in these paintings was constructed from an intangible unifying force that generated an enduring sense of identity and purpose.

This is not to say that Currie did not use visual imagery as primary material. When he did, however, it was that of the people, of popular culture. Emulating the verbal power of the banners and slogans, symbolic power of flags and Phrygian bonnets, workers frequently marched with small models or tools signifying their guild – in Currie's words "a form of ritualised mobile theatre."¹⁰⁰ In this rediscovery of popular culture, Currie did not shy away from more problematic emblems including tartan and the thistle but redeployed them into a context devoid of kailyard tartantry. In the initial panel, a tartan blanket was moved to cover the martyred weaver and in the final panel a miner wore a tartan scarf. In the second panel, the woman reading from Tom Paine's "The Rights of Man" wore tartan, a woman in a tartan shawl threw acid in the face of a scab and, symbolically, marking the path between this scene and the planting of the Tree of Liberty, were thistles. Similarly, the use of more popular forms of visual expression was evident in the proliferation of tattoos, which marked religious, national or political affiliation.

In sponsoring this evocation of Scottish, principally Glaswegian, social history what the city authorities did was effectively recover a popular, working class history hitherto largely neglected. In trying to come to terms with this search for a coherent and comprehensive city image in the era of postmodernism it is useful to employ

⁹⁹ "The Panels" in *The People's Palace History Paintings*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Currie "Artist's Notes: The Panels" in *The People's Palace History Paintings*, 27. It is also interesting to note that William Bolitho's *Cancer of the Empire* (1924) repeatedly mentions the existence of art in the homes of industrial labourers. Bolitho, *Cancer of the Empire*, 26, 53-4.

Plato's idea of the 'simulacrum' – the identical copy for which no original has ever existed. As Frederick Jameson has explained:

Appropriately enough, the culture of the simulacrum comes to life in a society where exchange-value has been generalized to the point at which the very memory of use-value is effaced ... The past is thereby itself modified ... for the resurrection of the dead of anonymous and silenced generations, the retrospective dimension indispensable to any vital reorientation of our collective future ...¹⁰¹

Jameson concluded,

Cultural production is thereby driven back inside a mental space which is no longer that of the old monadic subject, but rather that of some degraded collective 'objective spirit'; it can no longer gaze directly on some putative real world, at some reconstruction of a past history which was once itself a present; rather, as in Plato's cave, it must trace our mental images of that past upon its confining walls ... and ... [we are] ... slowly becoming aware of a new and original historical situation in which we are condemned to seek History by way of our own pop images and simulacra of that history, which itself remains forever out of reach.¹⁰²

It was for the re-orientation of Glasgow's culture that the city authorities sought to recognise the legacy of the working class and the role they had played in Glasgow's political history. What was recovered, however, could only be an interpretation of a past that was, essentially, lost. Currie's personal socialist commitment saved his Glasgow work from becoming an icon for a "degraded collective 'objective spirit'." It should be recognised, however, that for the city authorities it formed part of a re-orientation of the civic ethos in an attempt to find alternative means by which to stimulate urban, economic regeneration.

As a constructed history, the History Panels invoked historical sequences or events but had a broader socialist message for present and future, as evident in the

¹⁰¹ Jameson, *The Culture of Capital*, 18.

¹⁰² Jameson, *The Culture of Capital*, 25.

eighth panel. As the Panels were being put on permanent display in the primary museum recording Glasgow's history, it was indicative that the future envisaged for Glasgow was as a people's city, with an international, multi-cultural outlook. As pointed out by Alexander Moffat, Currie's paintings were both 'popular' and 'realistic' in the sense that Berthold Brecht explained the terms:

For Brecht, 'Popular' means intelligible to the broad masses, taking over their own forms of expression and enriching them/adopting and consolidating their standpoint/representing the most progressive section of the people in such a way that it can take over the leadership: thus intelligible to other sections too/linking with tradition and carrying it further/handing on the achievements of the sections now leading to the section of the people that is struggling for the lead. 'Realist' means: laying bare society's casual network/ showing up the dominant viewpoint as the viewpoint of the dominators/writing from the standpoint of the class which has prepared the broadest solutions for the most pressing problems affecting human society/emphasizing the dynamics of development.¹⁰³

In style and subject matter, composition and conception, Currie aspired to and realised these ideals in the History Panels.

Furthermore, the Panels were a restoration, as far as possible, of the very history and aspect of Glasgow that typical, accepted representations shunned. Rather than sensationalising the myth of a violent, uneducated, uncultured and dangerous mass, Currie demonstrated that the working class fought a hard struggle for the most basic of rights. Those who were fortunate enough to be educated were well read and many engaged in creative craft as a means to advance their cause. Consequently, it was in the very struggles themselves, the means by which they were undertaken and Currie's feat in recording them that the History Panels encapsulated 'cultural power.'

In the same year, Currie, with evident reference to Glasgow, painted Workshop of the World (1987) [169], which repeated many of the themes and motifs

¹⁰³ A. Moffat "The Popular and the Realistic" in *Ken Currie*, ex. cat., Raab Gallery, Millbank and Riverside Studios, London, September 1991, unpaginated.

of the History Panels. The socialist vision remained but there was an uneasy, restive atmosphere reflecting both hope and uncertainty. The importance of the creative act in furthering and securing the socialist cause was made evident by Currie's inclusion of himself in the central group of Workshop... and the foreground of the final History Panel. The History Panels, as the first officially commissioned artwork for almost a century, signalled a notable shift toward premising Glasgow's image on its people and its culture. For Glasgow, perhaps more than any other, it proved to be '– a thing, in fact, of awesome cultural power.'

Currie's bond with Glasgow was unique and its influence on his art profound. In the decade of the History Panels, Currie explored the city as a physical, social and political space. Central to his work was the effect the city had on humankind. The perception of the city as, on one hand, the crucible of civilisation and, on the other, a living hell, home to uncivilised masses and the various manifestations of good and evil, was keenly felt in Glasgow. Having existed as a 'Model Municipality' whilst enduring social conditions that were amongst the worst in Europe, Glasgow was in many ways home to such contradictions. Now, the industrial era having passed, Currie had the legacy of these associations and the current indeterminate identity of the city to add power to his paintings. In the decade that saw the launch of the 'Mr Happy', 'Glasgow's miles better' campaign and ended with the attainment of the epithet "City of Culture", Currie painted a number of works that countered this altogether wholesome configuration of what constituted Glasgow.

In 1989 Currie produced his most expressionistic evocation of the impact the city can have on human life. In a series of roughly cut, dramatic linocuts, Currie narrated the story of a Glasgow worker who is injured at work and the consequences thereafter. Tom Normand explained:

He loses his job, breaks with his wife and eventually becomes a down-and-out in Glasgow. In many senses it is a simple tale concerning the capricious nature of circumstance and fate. However, at a deeper level, this 'story' mirrors the changing social world of the late 1980s. It is a reflection of industrial decline, mass unemployment, political disempowerment, social disintegration and individual alienation. The 'hero' is representative of the dispossessed and excluded masses who people the post-industrial, post-modern, new world order.¹⁰⁴

It was this alternative vision that Currie explored in the late 1980s. His images reflected questions that were raised by his first and profoundly influential visit to Berlin in December 1987. In these works he became more critical of contemporary social conditions, especially in the areas that were home to Glasgow's deprived citizens. For this, Currie moved to the outskirts of the city and presented a series of monumental dystopian visions. In *Life Grows Harder* (1988) [170] an apocalyptic wasteland was home to a series of misfits and cripples in ill-fitting clothing. Books were little more than fuel for fire, bodies were advertised on sandwich boards as prizes 'up for grabs' and a woman, still in nightwear, clutched a child in an ungainly fashion, signifying the break-up of the family unit. Behind, the shop-sign on a ruined building read "Variety". In neon lights it emphasised the shop-window quality of life, the emerging consumerist and service industries Glasgow was turning toward. These sectors, however, lacked the assured foundations and practical creativity of heavy industries. The hopelessness with which the sandwich board advertiser dropped fliers to the floor indicated the fleeting nature of retail and fashion and its lack of relevance for the poorest classes. The street corner on which they stood bore resemblance to a stage and this played on the term 'variety'. Thus 'variety' and 'choice', on the bag carried by the down-and-out, could have referred to their present condition being the outcome of the roles they

¹⁰⁴ T. Normand, *Ken Currie: Details of a Journey*, Aldershot 2002, 35.

chose to play or the very lack of that choice. It visualised a city on the brink of desperation and despondency.

The theme of the marginalised on the margins was developed further in On the Edge of the City (1988) [171]. The presence of high-rise flats, the gateway to the “works” and tools all alluded to Glasgow; yet the tools were redundant, the gateway led only to a wasteland and the buildings visible therein were ruined. In this dysfunctional landscape, spiritually, intellectually, and aesthetically barren, no one was going anywhere and there was no sign of hope. Cars had no wheels, causes were meaningless, signified by the darkened flag, and individuals sought no purpose except the mindless pursuit of pleasure. A sinister group, lit by torchlight, dug in the background whilst in the foreground ghostly hands protruded from the ground. Like the half-buried books beside them, they were redundant.

This evolved into conceptualisations of urban spaces such as The Street (1990) [172]: a generic post-modern urban space crowded with cripples and misanthropic grotesques. Rather than a organised, disciplined working class, fighting for a specific cause and assured in their identity, the inhabitants of The Street were all unidentifiable and undecided in purpose, as shown by the ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ signs trampled beneath their feet. Here, the use of ‘Variety’ from Life Grows Harder and ‘Pricewar’ from Saturday (right hand panel of the Scottish Triptych) (1988)¹⁰⁵ roots the genus of these pieces in Currie’s Glasgow works. The city emerged as an allegorical space and the paintings as a pessimistic psychological and philosophical musing on the human condition in the urban environment.

That Glasgow informed all of these works is undoubted. It was perhaps appropriate, therefore, that in the year it was announced that Glasgow was to be

¹⁰⁵ Currie, Saturdays (1988), oil on canvas, 27.4x21.3cm, Artspace Collection, San Francisco.

1990s 'City of Culture', Currie produced his emblematic Glasgow Triptych (1986). In this, the ingredients of all the subsequent work can be found. Embodied in the canvases were the history, politics and sociology that had characterised twentieth century Glasgow and which the new cultural directive of the city profoundly altered. Stylistically and ideologically in dialogue with the History Panels, the triptych shared the focus on Glasgow's working class. Although again united through their tone, circular composition and the repetition of devices such as banners and slogans, these images lacked the dynamic energy of the History Panels. Instead, the central motif a group seated around a brazier checked the movement and added an air of despondency and pessimism.

The paintings mediated between hope and despair, an ideal of the future plagued by the knowledge of the past, between potentiality and trepidation. The first panel in the series, Template of the Future (1986) [173], was not as positive as the title inferred. Above the brazier, the workers held an image of the sun rising over the new Glasgow following the socialist achievements of 1945. The incorporation of Glasgow's civic motto in the scene tied the city into this optimistic vision. In reality, however, the ensuing years proved more problematic. Scattered around the brazier were remnants of the workers' struggle: posters bearing the slogan 'Fight or Starve' and other banners lay crumpled at the workers' feet and the megaphone was silent. Although the ubiquitous bar loomed ominously in the background, the mood was still somewhat hopeful with raised ladders and shipbuilders continuing their labour.

In the second panel, The Apprentice (1986) [174], however, this shipbuilding had all but ceased. Instead, an ex-shop steward sat in discussion with a younger activist. The ladders of hope, ascendancy and progress lay crushed, surrounded by relics of working class history. The apprentice sat on an upturned box embellished

with the emblem from the city's coat-of arms. This inferred that the city authorities had done, or were doing, little to better his situation. Echoing the History Panels, the history told here was primarily oral. A discarded book was tellingly open on a page illustrated with a beehive kiln, symbolic of Glasgow's industry, and the bundle of sticks that symbolised unity. Currie explained:

... the old man represents history, knowledge and experience through struggle, whilst the young man represents the condition of, broadly speaking, the working class today ... The old man continues his "story" to his apprentice. But this apprentice will never work ... His apprenticeship is of a different kind, an apprentice to history and heir apparent to the old man's knowledge and experience.¹⁰⁶

In many ways, it is an image of consolation whether through alcohol, compassion, physical exertion in the boxing ring or involvement in other movements, as exemplified by the sectarian marching band. The multi-layered complexities of working class culture were here laid bare.

In the final panel, Young Glasgow Communists [175], the tools were gone and the light in the brazier extinguished. Despite the evident demise of industry, the mood was one of hopefulness. Banners were being unfurled, the ladders of hope had returned and the megaphone was ready for action. This was not, however, mindless optimism. The young protagonists sat in serious debate on the future of the socialist agenda. As Tom Normand has noted, key to understanding Currie's polemic is the "appearance of a text by Antonio Gramsci in the final painting, which reflects on the potential of culture as a weapon in political struggle."¹⁰⁷ How culture was to be used or the direction this struggle was destined to take, were by no means predetermined. The profile of the capped figure in the foreground, arguably bearing some resemblance

¹⁰⁶ Currie, "Notes on My New Work", ex. guide, Serpentine Gallery London, 1987.

¹⁰⁷ Normand, *Ken Currie*, 13.

to the artist himself, displayed serious deliberation, purposefulness and yet a touch of uncertainty. There was to be a future relationship between art, culture, politics and the city, but the form this was to take was uncertain.

Although the People's Palace commission had signalled the authorities' acceptance of Glasgow as a 'people's city' and a move toward a reconciliation with a previously neglected past, Currie's art did not pander to this new-found officially sponsored vision. Indeed, his paintings later in the decade hauntingly and nightmarishly revealed the effect of deprivation in the post-industrial, post-modern city on the human condition. The city authorities saw the potential of 'culture' but in an economic, consumerist vein. They sought to make culture the latest byword for Glasgow, the new bargaining chip for recognition and economic regeneration on an international stage, whereas Currie explored its more profound consequence as a political tool. This was not solely through his own art, but also through the recognition of the integral but largely forgotten role culture had played in the struggle of working class and thereby that of the city. From the decades shortly after the war, artists had been re-orientating the perception and representation of the city toward the periphery and the working class. Some touched on political issues and others on social but none provided the coherent, critical and thought-provoking conceptions of Currie. As the year during which Glasgow held the accolade 'City of Culture' approached, it is possible to argue that, in a much more significant way, Glasgow was already, and had been for some considerable time, a true cultural city.

Conclusion

In 1990 Glasgow became Europe's "City of Culture." European Council ministers acting on the initiative of Mrs Melina Mercouri had launched the scheme on

June 13th, 1985. The principal aim was to bring European Cities closer together and the title mainly symbolic. However, by the time Glasgow was awarded the accolade, the 'City of Culture' concept had evolved into a substantial economic as well as cultural programme. Prior to 1990, the title had been held by principal cities namely Athens, Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin and Paris and therefore it raised Glasgow's profile considerably. Accordingly, £32.7 million of public money was invested in a yearlong calendar of artistic, historical and religious celebrations. The focus was dually city-wide and on communities, local and international and between community and high arts. The rewards reaped were considerable. The net economic return was estimated to be between £10.3 million and £14.1 million and cultural industries were thought to have grown by 3.9% between the announcement in 1986 and the realisation in 1990. Internationally, Glasgow became a more desirable tourist destination with 71% of non-English tourists in 1990 being first time visitors to Glasgow. As for residents, more than half felt it made Glasgow "a more pleasant place to live" and almost all felt the 1990 City of Culture experience had "improved the public image of Glasgow."¹⁰⁸ Not all, however, shared this positive outlook. The Workers City group criticised what they saw as the city-centre focus of the experience and they felt the "re-packaging" of Glasgow largely cast its working class legacy to the wayside.¹⁰⁹

The working class was, however, at the core of the artistic reconfiguration of the city from the period immediately after the war. The artistic reaction to the experience of war had been polarised between the creative, communal activity of the official commission and the destruction, physical and psychological, of the private works. Thereafter, the alternative vision firmly centred on the working class and its

¹⁰⁸ All statistical information from "Media Pack: Glasgow 1990 European City of Culture" prepared by Centre of Cultural Policy Research, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 20 December 2002, 2-13.

¹⁰⁹ See F. McLay, "Introduction" in *Workers City*, Glasgow 1988, 1-4.

relationship with the urban environment. As the city itself became decentralised, artists moved from the city's centre with its monumental facades and historic landmarks to the backstreets, tenements and factories. Left-wing artists saw the oppressive or dead nature of the dilapidated physical environment as a microcosm of the condition of the city at large. However, this failed to gather momentum or become a predominant strain in urban representation. Conversely it was the personification of the city in the human form that had a lasting legacy. Social rather than socialist, Eardley's tenement children became, for her, representative of the life and vitality that constituted her Glasgow. This turn toward an allegorical or more notional understanding came at a time when the city was going through a massive period of transition, rebuilding and redefinition. No longer able to adhere to the long-standing epithets, the city authorities were left searching for a new means by which to repackage and promote the city.

The focus on the working class during this indeterminate period challenged artists and photographers to consider broader social issues in the history of the city. No longer was a sequential narrative an appropriate means by which to narrate the city's development. Artists like Marzaroli and Gray recognised that the past existed and had a role to play in the present. The trajectory of the city and thereby its identity had been and was being determined by what had happened in the past and thus the future was in the hands of the present. For Marzaroli, this unfolded into a consideration of the roles or stereotypes that evolved in the tenement areas and a question of whether an individual's future, and by extension that of the city, was determined by their choices or the lack of them, a malaise inbred in their environment. The city was no longer easily negotiable and the grammar of urban life had broken down into a fragmented illegibility. Although the people were the constant, the

proverbial essence in a Baudelairean transience, the role they would assume was premised on a number of factors out with their control and as such whether the city was seen as a social or physical space, its definition was equally difficult to construe.

Significantly, it was this intangible and popular conception of the city that the authorities gradually chose to recognise. Alasdair Gray had indicated the problems of relating to the city and offered a potential solution in his work for the People's Palace, but it was not until Ken Currie produced the History Panels and Glasgow Triptych that this was fully articulated. The recovery of Glasgow's working class, socialist history, was for Currie an important part in a political struggle but for the authorities it was dually recognition of past neglect and a strategic move for popular support. Rather than embedded in a historical narrative, Currie's ideological simulacrum illustrated the importance and endurance of popular culture and working class tradition throughout Glasgow's history, in Glasgow's present and for Glasgow's future. Currie rebuilt a strain of imagery and thought largely neglected in dominant forms of urban representation. The modern city, as a concept, was re-orientated to exist on the periphery, with the people.

The incorporeal concept 'culture' may have been keyed into Glasgow's industry and politics but essentially it became a global means to regenerate commerce. Currie had stressed the innate culture of the people that had been fundamental in characterising the city from a working class perspective. However, the city authorities adopted 'culture' as a much broader abstraction through which the city could be redefined. The very intangibility of the term made it ideal for a city moving from concrete roots in industry to the service sector. The lack of an immediate visual signifier afforded greater freedom and mileage in rebuilding the city's image. In the Enlightenment era the city's trade had informed and characterised its depiction, now

Glasgow's image was the very currency on which that trade was founded.
Representations of the city had come full circle.

Conclusion

Representing the city is always a paradoxical project undertaken on shifting ground.¹

The paradox of representing the city is that essentially no faithful visual reproduction can exist. Encompassing such a wide and diverse range of physical and social phenomena into a single visual statement is impossible. Therefore city images are necessarily mediated by economic, social, political and cultural factors. The role that these constituents play in the dialectic between the material and the visual necessarily changes over time in correspondence with, or in opposition to, the dynamic of the city itself. That the city is enigmatic renders its depiction all the more meaningful. It is through images that a functional identity is cultivated for the city, by which it can be analysed, objectified and seemingly understood. Thus images themselves assume distinctive roles with personal and public significance, whether as propaganda, souvenirs, metaphors or discerning visualisations of certain aspects of urban existence. Equally, the creation and reception of city images is an ideologically loaded process and one that is premised on the character of the city in question.

As a city continually re-inventing itself and promoting its image with self-assured certainty, Glasgow has proven an interesting case in point. From its rise to mercantile pre-eminence during the Enlightenment until its 'City of Culture' accreditation three centuries later, Glasgow's representation was consistently fashioned, flaunted and refocused. Against this canon of seemingly incontestable city branding, however, pockets of resistance emerged which indicated that the city was an increasingly complex social and psychological

¹ R. Shields, "A guide to Urban Representation and What to do about it: Alternative Traditions of Urban Theory" in A. King (ed), *Re-presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century City Metropolis*, Houndmills, Hampshire and London 1996, 246.

space. The ground on which the city's representation was built shifted between the paternalistic vision and an opposing characterisation, which viewed the city from a working-class perspective. The ultimate paradox was that this conception was the one that the civic authority eventually chose to adopt as the Glasgow became European 'City of Culture.'

If the city is deemed an abstract phenomenon, then it is through visual and literary representations that it has been made concrete. It is not surprising, therefore, that the principal approach to the 'city' has been as a physical entity. Topographical views – as a prime means by which to identify with and determine the character of a city – became embodiments of the qualities with which City Fathers wanted to be associated. The foundations for this configuration lay in the Enlightenment era when the dominance of religion in Glasgow was destabilised by a growing mercantile ethos. This commercial emphasis brought with it a need to publicise the city and its trade to a wide audience of potential customers and visitors. Herein lay the beginnings of the image as a means to promote the city and the attitude that the representation of the city was reflective of its wider social and economic order. It is important to note that the situation in Glasgow was unprecedented. As well as commerce and trade, the University played an integral role in the formation of the increasingly modern urban environment. Rather than being independent from commerce, intellectual writings were imbued with musings on business and labour. Moreover, the establishment of the Foulis Academy by former students of Francis Hutcheson and with funding from Glasgow's merchants uniquely integrated culture, intellect and economics. Accordingly, aspects of each permeated into the topographical images of the city that emanated from this setting.

Even seemingly straightforward topographical studies were deceptive in their simplicity. Enlightenment artists sought to present the city as a rational and knowable space. For those associated with the Academy, notably Robert Paul, this entailed the

adoption of a distanced viewpoint to allow an objective judgement to be made, as espoused in Hutcheson's philosophy. With the Enlightenment emphasis on perception, the inclusion of the artist in the scene as a trustworthy arbiter gave the image additional credibility. This was analogous to the insertion of city images on maps; situated in this context, the increasingly scientific nature of cartography imbued the artistic cartouche with similar authority. These allusions to rationality, objectivity and reasoned observation were, however, misleading. They were as fabricated as the images were constructed to convey a particular, commanding characterisation of the city.

With travel literature and topographical histories escalating in popularity as the mercantile city's trading links expanded, images and maps became prime vehicles to enhance Glasgow's reputation. The subject matter chosen was that which would heighten the city's prestige. The architecture of the Enlightenment was celebrated dually for style and function. The dominant facades exuded authority and control. Just as merchants fashioned the form of the city with architectural testimonies to their wealth and symbols of their control, so these emblems became the focus for images. Along with thriving harbours, scenes that incorporated commercial exchange and reflected Glasgow's physical expansion served to emulate and aggrandise the aspirations of the merchants and, by extension, the city. For the Foulis Academy, however, there was an additional reason to present the city in such a manner. Whereas the functionality of travel literature engendered a natural clientele, the Foulis pupils faced a public unaccustomed to urban genre and therefore they created images that appealed to their founders and the source of the city's wealth. Despite the appropriation of conventions common to landscape painting, there remained doubt over whether the city could stand as a legitimate, independent subject in works of art.

Thus the Enlightenment laid the foundations for depicting the city as a primarily physical space and revealed the complexities therein. Representations became metaphors for the wider cultural, intellectual and economic condition of the city. Rather than being purely replications, reasoned and ordered views were reflective of the authority and control that those determining the character of the city wished to promote. The dominant and stable foundations of this ideology, however, began to crumble when challenged by the repercussions of disturbances such as the French Revolution and as the city felt the force of the dual processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. The attention brought to the working class and the issues raised about the city as a dangerous or potentially revolutionary space had considerable consequences for urban images. As Glasgow grew in size and became increasingly socially diverse, it was clear that topographical and architectural representations of the city were inadequate ground on which to build a wholly satisfying characterisation of the city.

This became evident with the advent of photography. The camera provided an alternative means to capture the physicality of the expanding urban terrain. The modernity of the medium and speed of its operation seemed akin to the pace of nineteenth-century city life. Moreover, the photograph, as the visual outcome of a scientific process, held additional credibility as the purveyor of the real. In many ways it proved a panacea for those seeking a positive representation of the modern city: in a medium suitable to the modern image the city sought to promote, panoramic photographs displayed the sublime vastness, recognised the presence of industry at a distance without delving into its more unattractive features and, through landmarks, afforded the city a sense of identity. As shown by Annan, the panoramic veneer veiled the social problems within the city and thus served a function of denial. Essentially, its capabilities were limited – panoramic views could no longer encompass the expanding urban terrain and as the presence of industry was felt

within the cityscape, smoke obscured distant views. The city was no longer traversable in visual terms. Although its vastness provoked a sense of awe and retained some of the magnificence the earlier topographical views held in their fashioned facades, there was equal potential for the sheer scope of the city to intimidate and thereby dissuade rather than encourage a positive characterisation. This signalled the need for an alternative framework through which the city's identity could be confidently promoted.

As Glasgow sought to establish itself as the 'Second City of Empire' and advance its industrial prowess, industry became the keystone to identify the city and yet artistically this posed considerable problems. Artists such as Swan, Hill and Simpson needed to find appropriate methods to recognise the presence of industry and artistically contend with its disagreeable appearance and the social problems it brought in its wake. With no discernable precedent and faced with an altogether unattractive subject, those artists who recognised and succoured industrial prowess did so by utilising existing and accepted artistic techniques, principally those of landscape painting. The rural and the urban depended upon one another for distinctness and definition and, artistically, one informed the other. Rural areas were seen to embody and uphold moral virtues. Therefore, using the techniques of landscape painting could be perceived as an attempt to associate these values with the urban. The conventions of the sublime and the picturesque, along with the medium of watercolour, helped to assuage the unsightliness of industrial works and depict industry in an aesthetically pleasing manner. In so doing, industry was presented as an acceptable, if not pleasant, presence in the city and a suitable means by which the city could be promoted. Layered into this discourse was the potentially frightening association between industry and the working class and, in turn, the working class and revolt. Thus, images that approached industry as an amiable part of the city might mollify any fears about factories being the source of potential unrest. With the Clyde as a useful distancing or

pictorial tool, these artistic techniques transformed industry into an appropriate metaphor for the city.

Just as the picturesque and sublime had been used to mediate between harsh industrial reality, its associations and the expectations of a work of art, so similar techniques were used when approaching the social consequences of industrial expansion. Watercolour provided a clean and bright medium that could recognise the poverty of the dilapidated closes in a picturesque manner. Stock figures, frequently barefoot or weighed down with goods, pushing carts or standing dejected in the mouths of narrow wynds, populated these representations but did not threaten. Closes were clean and sunlit, showing no evidence of any potential revolution, and the working class well disciplined. Previously Enlightenment artists had used the principles of genre painting in order to promote an ordered and reasoned city and in so doing placate fears surrounding the working class. Humour became a tool to alleviate anxiety and ridicule those less well off than the clientele at whom the streetscapes were targeted. Depictions of public areas like the Trongate reflected the territorial politics between the dominant merchants and those seen as subservient. Whereas genre had informed Enlightenment streetscapes, so the picturesque served a similar function in the period of industrialisation and urbanisation. Paradoxically, the most dejected areas of the city could be appropriated to provide quaint, nostalgic views that satisfied an antiquarian market in the face of the ever-increasing urban momentum. The streets of these images were paved with concerns about control within the city, promotion of its image and the appeal toward a potential clientele. In this way, even the most innocuous of pictures was keyed into the image the city itself sought to promote.

Even caricatures comically critiquing municipal enterprise and the development of the modern city echoed the dominant preconceptions of the urban experience. Journal

illustrations became the vehicle through which these fears were expressed and humour the means that allayed them. Although at times critiquing municipal policy and thereby seemingly counteracting the paternalistic image of the city, it was still the fears of the ascendant class that were articulated. Moreover, much of that fear was explicitly shown as having originated from the working class areas, perceived as unruly and the source of danger. Frequently, it was by becoming the laughing stocks of these depictions that the anxiety of the upper classes was most clearly conveyed and therein the negative view of the lower classes highlighted. The aspects of municipal protocol which featured most prominently were those tied into the quickening pace of urban life, for example transportation or the development of the streets, and as such the critique hinted as much at a prevalent uncertainty of modern life as it did at municipal endeavour. Therefore, although candidly expressing uncertainty toward the way in which the municipal authorities were fashioning the city, journal illustrations equally tended to reflect a pre-existing coterie of beliefs held by those in power.

Baudelaire had advocated caricature and cartoons as the key means of embracing modernity in the cityscape. Caricaturists responded with fear and farce to the experience of modern life and laughter was aroused through a sense of superiority over the other, the unfamiliar, and the ability to laugh at oneself. They were not bound by the artistic conventions of fine art and thus able to tackle the variety and diversity of the expanding city. The print medium and format of journals allowed reproduction and mass distribution, echoing characteristics inherent in modernity. Underlying the humour of journal illustrations was a sense of unease and uncertainty surrounding the processes of modernisation and, more importantly, the social mixing that occurred on the streets. The upper class sense of superiority over the poor meant that they were the butt of much farce and yet they were also the cause of much of their fear. Therefore, illustrators also probed

wider concerns of control in the city, whether it be transport, children's behaviour or road building. The fictional farce was, then, informed by serious, real fears. Humour provided a means by which these concerns could be at once recognised and alleviated.

Attention, therefore, had moved from the city vista to the city street. The street became the stage upon which the modern city was explored but, significantly, it was also where the city began to be opened up as a social space. Being dually the 'Second City of Empire' and 'Workshop of the World' brought mixed blessings as Glasgow rapidly gained a reputation as a city with some of the worst living conditions in Europe. Rather than shun this in representations, however, the City Fathers used this fairly dubious accolade as an incentive to improve the lot of Glasgow inhabitants and for the good of the city's image. Promoting itself with yet another epithet, that of the 'Model Municipality', the radical steps taken to improve sanitary conditions and housing in the most dilapidated and poverty-stricken areas of Glasgow received wide acclaim. The documentation of this act in Thomas Annan's photography resulted in a serial narrative, nostalgically and historically recording the areas to be demolished whilst simultaneously attesting to the philanthropy and enterprise of the City Fathers. Amidst the upper classes fear of an unruly working class and dark, hidden spaces within the city, the photographs opened up these spaces and, through posed figures, demonstrated the apparent placidity of those within. At a time when aspects of city life were accumulated into statistics and categorized and when anthropological photographic and journalistic accounts were returning from far flung corners of the globe, the Victorian's curiosity and need to understand had to be balanced with their preconceptions of what was considered acceptable. Annan's photographs cannot be divorced from this class-related sense of sensationalism nor from the ethos of civic pride and propaganda prevalent in the city. Couched in seemingly objective photography, was the promotion of the city's achievements and ambitions.

The negative aspects of the inner city and need to utilise techniques such as the picturesque or humour when delineating its character highlighted the problems facing artists approaching the city. The Glasgow streets had become one of the main subjects in journal illustrations and genre-like art, but, partly because of this, it had remained absent in the works of artists aspiring to reach the height of the profession. Notably, at the time when Annan's photographs went to the heart of the city, the Glasgow Boys only approached the suburbs of the city that gave them their name. They principally catered for a middle class audience wishing to acquire tangible symbols of their social standing. To a certain extent this was achieved through images of themselves in a modern, but still acceptable, style. Although some, like Pringle, Nairn and Morton, did tackle urban subjects, they were primarily approached in a topographical manner and when streets were depicted they were void of the signifiers of the modern city. The success of the naturalist style and rural subject matter of the Glasgow Boys was a double-edged sword for Glasgow: it established the cultural reputation of the city on a world stage, whilst at the same time disassociated art from the urban. For younger artists hungry to succeed, the precedent, therefore, was set.

The emphasis on the rural, however, was symptomatic of the denial of the urban. The very turn away from the city by artists was itself engendered by the urban condition. A national romantic movement emerged, which keyed into the Glaswegian artistic scene's focus on nature. Thus the generation that followed the Glasgow Boys was equally successful in gaining continental recognition with an art premised on something other than the urban. This was significant as it meant that there was no Glaswegian precedent in fine art for urban subject matter and yet those in the art schools could laud and promote a successful, Glaswegian modern art. Despite the association of the avant-garde with the city, when examples of Futurist art were shown in Glasgow, the negative reaction provoked

indicated that art was assumed to provide an escape from the hectic, modern city life and therefore the city was one of the last things to be depicted. Moreover, the radical associations of extreme styles of painting roused a general feeling of apprehension amongst the art-viewing public. This was especially true of the Futurists with their glorification of violence and disruption. Artistic establishments remained indebted to the philosophy of Joshua Reynolds and were actively disinclined to the reception or promotion of modern urban art. Artists wishing to achieve recognition had to follow archetypal styles, risk abandonment in an aesthetic wilderness if following the radical avant-garde or leave Scotland for a more open aesthetic climate.

Thus, by the outbreak of World War One, representations of the city that were cultivated to promote a positive or particular image had undergone a number of changes. From initially being perceived as a physical space to negotiating the problems posed by the city as a social entity, art had entered a discourse with the intellectual, social and economic character of Glasgow. Fundamental in this was the need to cultivate an affirmative and acceptable identity for the city. This continually informed the dialectic between the material reality and the visual representation. Despite appeals for the truthfulness of images on maps, eyewitness accounts and the objectivity seen as inherent in photography, representations were carefully selected, presented and used in a dialogue to promote Glasgow's image. Moreover, pictorial tools of landscape painting, and all of the virtuous associations with which it was construed, intervened to make the harsher aspects of industry and poverty more palatable. From the architectural magnificence of the Enlightenment, to the 'Second City of Empire', 'Workshop of the World' and 'Model Municipality', there was a self-conscious attempt to foster a certain configuration of Glasgow's identity on an international stage. The artists that depicted the city, whether commissioned or independent, became embroiled in this ethos and, adhering to the

precepts of governing art institutions, implicated themselves in this struggle for civic prominence. However, amidst the heterogeneity of modernity an alternative vision of Glasgow began to emerge which recognised the need for a more realistic portrayal of the city and a more unaffected attitude in the art establishments.

Against the fanfare of civic branding, a number of artists began to seek what they determined to be a more realistic representation of the city. Notably this occurred at the height of civic prestige, in the age of International Exhibitions and when the city's industry was thriving. It is important to recognise that this was not always an explicit reaction against the 'official image' or an overtly, oppositional political undertaking. Instead, it is more useful to view it as an exploration for an alternative that resisted the momentum of the civic bandwagon. Some artists, particularly Bone, began to eschew what they saw as the artificial splendours of the Exhibitions and instead sought to ground their vision in working class areas and factories, areas in which they felt the real city lay. The key medium for this portrayal was etching – the graphic intensity, darkness and gritty qualities echoing those of the depicted areas. The chosen subject matter revealed a more penetrating exploration of the city's identity. Focussing primarily on factories, shipyards and working class areas, industry and its associated workforce gradually emerged as the essence of Glasgow. By often depicting the feats of industry it could be argued that this elevated civic prestige of the 'Workshop of the World', however, through the etched medium and the strong emphasis on working class subject matter, artists grounded the achievements firmly in the hands of those who crafted them. However, it would be wrong to assume that there was a continual and sustained progression of artists partaking in this alternative dialogue with the city. Within the oeuvre of individuals it became a sustained theme and yet, partly due to the torpidity of the art market and institutionalised attitude, it was not until after the Second World War that it began to gather momentum.

With the relationship between radicalism, the avant-garde and the city making the city a somewhat problematic subject matter after the horrors of World War One, the inter-war years saw McCance and Fleming broach the city as subject indirectly. Nevertheless, through their oblique statements, they began to question the appropriateness of the traditional teaching regime for modern times and critique the maudlin, 'tartan and thistle' characterisation of Scotland in art. They recognised the need in style and subject matter for a more vital and dynamic interpretation of Scotland, specifically the city, in art. It was perhaps due to the threat and damage to the physicality of the city during the Second World War that artists, including Fleming and, to a certain extent, Spencer, began exploring the city as both a social and psychological space. Whether positive or negative in their interpretations, this indicated alternative grounds on which the identity of the city could be founded and signalled the need for a more penetrating consideration of what exactly constituted the city and what comprised its identity. Aided by a cultural revival spearheaded by Scottish and Polish émigré artists returning to Glasgow from the Continent, groups, such as The New Scottish Group, were established. They stood in frank opposition to time-honoured institutions and were more open in outlook. Significantly, this occurred during a time of decline and depression in the city, when official epithets had ceased and the existence of the city's uniqueness was somewhat uncertain. Thus, this resistance, as it were, was first felt when the city's prestige was at its height, but it reached its zenith when that pride had fallen.

Ambiguity became the essence of many representations. Although in the work of MacDonald and Low, a strain of art emerged with specifically socialist sympathies, it was short-lived. Its very existence, however, indicated dissatisfaction with the conditions for the working class within the city and a turn from the dominant trends in representation. Factories were shown as dark, brooding presences in the cityscape and streets revealed as

oppressive, hectic spaces. An emphasis on the plasticity of paint and the use of expressive, unsympathetic mediums such as linocuts added strength to this response. What was consequential and ubiquitous amongst post-war Glasgow artists was the turn from the main city thoroughfares to the back streets, from the grand municipal facades to the rundown tenements. Whereas some artists, like Morrison, saw this degradation as evocative of the wider condition of the city, others turned to the inhabitants.

It was here that the elusive city of sociability was made possible through personification. Unaffiliated to any over-riding political sentiment, artists such as Eardley and Neil produced paintings that fused the personality of the inhabitants, chiefly children, with their environment. They posited the notion that the city was an entity whose identity was determined by those living within. Whilst for some artists this was almost taken as a given fact, others, including Marzaroli, explored whether the city determined the future of its inhabitants or if, in fact, the fate of the city lay in their hands. In perhaps the starkest contradiction to the certainty of the City Fathers, this questioned the very existence of an assured 'city identity'. In the aftermath of war, the epithets that had once so forcibly distinguished the city were now hollow and there seemed nothing to take their place. The very intangibility of such representations was indicative of a further move from the physicality of the city. The city became a deadened space, a virtual necropolis haunted by ghosts of former repute but now lacking in significance. Glasgow's identity was undetermined and this fuelled artists' exploration.

This ambiguity was highlighted in the relationship between photography and the city in the post-war era. As a definite image, the photograph was assured, whereas the city was not. The camera documented but also proved a critical eye. Free from the constraints of an official commission, Marzaroli questioned the actions of those in authority through juxtaposing old with new, past, present and future. As an architectural and social

phenomenon, the city was viewed as an outcome of processes, be it architectural renewal or personal growth. The city was presented as a stage on which individuals either fell into predetermined, stereotypical roles or doggedly sought to forge their own futures. The weight of responsibility on the shoulders of those enforcing change and the distance that had been placed between the aggrandising civic branding and the alternative urban imagery was emphasised through the focus on the lives of those change most affected. There was a definite sense of place, but its character was unclear. Rather than existing in a specific temporal moment, the city was viewed as an amalgamation of past, present and future, an unfolding entity whose identity was indefinite.

Temporal fusion was emphasised in post-modern images of the post-industrial city. The grammar of urban life had broken down and the city seemed overcome by a series of uncontrollable, indiscernible forces. The city became an autonomous space, marked by historical signifiers that were devoid of significance. Through them, the city was identifiable but depthless and artificial. The essence of place was no longer detectable, not even in its inhabitants, and the fragmentation of modernity had given way to chaos. Images, notably those by Gray, became infused with restlessness as artists attempted to situate themselves, and the viewer, in the urban environment. City life had become so eclectic that it was possible to have multiple identities and yet to lose any sense of self. Artists responded by exploring the disorientation in order to discover a means by which a stable relationship could be secured. Rather than turning from the city, these perplexing configurations were directly reflective of contemporary urban experience. Instead of attempting to formulate or frantically adhere to an emblematic characterisation, artists addressed the ambiguity and confusion and thereby continued to represent the city at a time when the civic authorities could not. The culture of 'branding' Glasgow through the promotion of a specific aspect of the city's infrastructure, be it architecture, industry or the municipal endeavours

themselves, had been exposed as inadequate when there was no clear trademark through which Glasgow could be sold.

In many ways, to characterise post-industrial Glasgow was to recognise the unfeasibility of the task. This was something artists working outside the official ethos of representation could acknowledge but the municipality could not. However, in the 1980s this was to change. In an implicit admission of the city's current ambiguous identity, the city authorities turned to history. In the contemporary confusion of postmodern city life, urban identity could be channeled into an articulation of a neglected social legacy and as such Glasgow could be represented as the outcome of this history, an intangible and legendary sense of belonging. Moreover, in order to appeal to popular sentiment and to enable a reconfiguration of Glasgow's identity on something that had previously not been represented, in other words something new, the authorities sponsored a visual appraisal of Scottish working class history.

Significantly, the initial stages of this superficial reconciliation between the Glasgow vaunted by the civic authorities and that explored by post-war artists came from the East End, the very area to which artists had been turning since the war. Rather than the subject of mockery and derision, Ken Currie depicted the working class as an intelligent, creative, motivated and substantial force in the city. Previously neglected or negated in art, there was little documentary evidence on which the depiction could be based and thus what was represented was a simulacrum of the history mainstream representations had previously spurned. For Currie it was a serious undertaking, for the authorities it was a serious attempt at re-branding. Although turning toward history seemed to regenerate an appellation for the city, in fact the simulacrum was based on history fragmented partly by the failure of dominant trends of representation to give it due recognition. It was sincere,

sobering and substantial and yet essentially evoked a legacy as intangible as the contemporary city.

The resumption of Glasgow's epithetical habits with the accolade 'City of Culture' in 1990 was the epitome of a decade in which the city authorities actively and consciously sought to formulate a 'brand identity' for Glasgow. Notably this was through a re-orientation toward the people and popular culture, most evident in the appropriation of 'Mr Happy' as an emblem, accompanied by the wittily indefinite slogan 'Glasgow's Miles Better'. Again the city asserted its pre-eminence; yet exactly what Glasgow was better than remained cunningly undefined. The very intangibility and elusiveness of the 'new' Glasgow was utilised by the authorities as a tool for social and economic regeneration and to reintroduce the city on an international stage. Despite the brief appeal to contemporary artists and Glasgow's working class legacy, by 1990 it was the work of established, lauded artists like Charles Rennie Mackintosh – with long established international success and appeal – that was incorporated into their public relations enterprise and degraded to civic propaganda.

To some extent reacting against both the commercialisation of art and the city, many artists turned away from this civic campaign. Once again the working class and struggles within the city had been lost in the cavernous depths of 'Mr Happy's' beaming smile. The cleavage between the City Fathers' 'City of Culture' and the cultural community's 'City' was striking. The detrimental effect of contemporary urban experience on the human condition was laid bare. In Currie's work, humans became misanthropic grotesques – physically and mentally debilitated. As androgynous, dejected, wretched beings, they reflected what these artists determined as the true state of the city itself. A key paradox was that as the city glorified itself as cultural, its cultured representation was aggressively antithetical.

Thus, it can be seen that visual representations of the city were ideological in nature. This thesis has analysed the way this ideology was constructed through two dynamics: on one hand, the demands of the City Fathers and the inclination for artists to construct views that paralleled their ambitions and, on the other hand, more complex individual responses. The latter did not necessarily view the city from the standpoint of the dominant authorities. Instead, their representations were focussed on those at the bottom of the social spectrum, distanced from the administrative decision making process. Free from the demands, aspirations and ambitions of the City Fathers, these artists were more critical in their response. The nature of these conflicting ideologies was dependent on broader social, economic and aesthetic conditions. Rather than a simplistic pattern of opposition and antithesis, all artists, even those positing a resistance to the hegemonic construction of the city's identity, were tied in some way to institutional demands, whether civic administration or artistic establishments. This network of interests and obligations intervened between the material reality of the city and its visual representation to ensure that visual representations of the city were ideologically based.

Throughout its mercantile, industrial and post-industrial evolution, Glasgow's representation was not stable but instead fluctuated alongside the city's economic development. From the Enlightenment enthusiasm in progress, under the umbrella of reason and control, arose a desire to present and promote the city in the most positive light possible and artists developed appropriate means to do so. A dominant trajectory emerged which reflected the City Fathers' founding of Glasgow's identity on its commercial and industrial prowess. However, amongst individuals, resistance emerged to this paternalistic branding and artists sought alternative articulations of what constituted Glasgow. The visualisation of the city moved from the centre to the periphery, from architectural grandeur to the people, from the tangible to the notional. As the City Fathers

pursued any potential opportunity to enhance Glasgow's kudos under the banner of 'Culture', for artists negotiating the urban terrain the true Glasgow was to be found, as indicated by Currie, On the Edge of the City.

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41

Negotiating the Urban Terrain:
Representations of the City of Glasgow
in the Visual Arts

Volume 2: Illustrations

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University of St Andrews

Ph.D. Thesis

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Illustrations

Chapter I: Imaging the Mercantile City in the Enlightenment Era

1. John Slezer, The Prospect of the Town of Glasgow from ye South, illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*, first published London 1693, plate 17. Illustration from 1718 edition held in St Andrews University Library.
2. John Slezer, The Colledge of Glasgow, illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*, first published London 1693, plate 18. Illustration from 1718 edition held in St Andrews University Library.
3. John Slezer, The Prospect of ye Town of Glasgow from ye North East, illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*, first published London 1693, plate 16. Illustration from 1718 edition held in St Andrews University Library.
4. Map Cartouche from James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver), A Plan of the of the City of Glasgow (1797), accompanying Chapman, Stewart and Meikle, *An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and its Suburbs*, Glasgow 1797 and 1798. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
5. J. & D. Nichol, Plan of Glasgow (1841) in J. & D. Nichol *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty One Views*, Montrose 1841. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
6. Foulis Academy (Robert Paul), View of Glasgow Cathedral (c.1760), engraving in *Glasgow Views 1756-1770*, Glasgow n.d., plate 10, 24 x 41 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
7. Foulis Academy (Robert Paul), A View of Glasgow from the South West (1764), engraving in *Glasgow Views 1756-1770*, Glasgow n.d., plate 5, 26 x 46 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
8. Foulis Academy (Robert Paul), A View of Port Glasgow from the South East (1762) engraving in *Glasgow Views 1756-1770*, Glasgow n.d., no plate number, 25 x 42cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
9. James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver), View of Glasgow from the South (1797), engraving in *The History of Glasgow and Suburbs*, Glasgow 1797, 9.3 x 16.2 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
10. Foulis Academy (Robert Paul), View of Glasgow from the South (1758), engraving in *Glasgow Views 1762-1770*, Glasgow n.d., plate 7, 16.5 x 39.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
11. Joseph Swan, View of Glasgow from the Farm of Shields (1828), engraved illustration to *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9.3 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

12. Joseph Swan, View of Cathedral and Royal Infirmary from Fife Mills (1828), engraved illustration to *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.5 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
13. James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver), St Enoch's Square with the Church and Surgeon's Hall (1797), illustration to *An Historical and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs*, Glasgow 1797, 8 x 12.9 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
14. Paul Sandby (artist) and W. Angus (engraver), Cathedral from the South West (1781), engraved illustration in *A Collection of One-Hundred and Fifty Select Views in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, London 1781, 13 x 18.4 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
15. Thomas Fairbairn, The Shawfield Mansion (1845), as illustrated in G. Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1931, 8 x 10.7cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
16. Foulis Academy (Robert Paul and William Buchanan), View of Trongate from the East, engraving from *Glasgow Views 1756-1770*, Glasgow n.d., plate 4, 39 x 49.5 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
17. John Knox, Trongate (1806), oil on canvas, 90.2 x 125.1 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
18. Joseph Swan, View of Carlton Place from Clyde Street, Glasgow (1828), illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9.2 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
19. John Fleming (artist) and Joseph Swan (engraver), View of Glasgow from Arn's Well (n.d.), illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
20. John Claude Nattes (artist) and James Fittler (engraver), Glasgow Royal Infirmary (1804), engraved illustration to *Scotia Depicta, or the Antiquities, Castles, Public Buildings, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, Cities, Towns and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, London 1804, plate 12, 18.5 x 24.8 cm. Glasgow University Library: Special Collections.
21. Robert Chapman (author) and Robert Scott (engraver), Glasgow Lunatic Asylum (1820), illustration to *The Topographical Picture of Glasgow in its Ancient and Modern State*, Glasgow 1820, 16.3 x 12 cm. Glasgow University Library: Special Collections.
22. Joseph Swan, View of Lunatic Asylum, &c. (1828), illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.4 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

**Chapter 2: Representing the 'Second City':
Municipal and Industrial Glasgow**

23. John Clark, The City of Glasgow, drawn on the spot in 1824, print in black with original hand colour, 14.1 x 17.8 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
24. Thomas Sulman, Glasgow (1864), illustrated supplement to *The Illustrated London News*, 26 March 1864 with key. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
25. George MacCulloch, Glasgow (1853), as reproduced in C. A. Oakley, *The Second City*, Glasgow 1946.
26. T. & R. Annan and Sons, *Glasgow in Panorama: eight magnificent photographs taken from the octagonal spire of the University Tower on 19th July 1905 forming a complete panorama of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1906.
Plate 5: South South West, photograph.
27. T. & R. Annan and Sons, *Glasgow in Panorama eight magnificent photographs taken from the octagonal spire of the University Tower on 19th July 1905 forming a complete panorama of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1906.
Plate 3: East South East, photograph.
28. T. & R. Annan and Sons, *Glasgow in Panorama eight magnificent photographs taken from the octagonal spire of the University Tower on 19th July 1905 forming a complete panorama of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1906.
Plate 6: West South West, photograph.
29. T. & R. Annan and Sons, *Glasgow in Panorama eight magnificent photographs taken from the octagonal spire of the University Tower on 19th July 1905 forming a complete panorama of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1906.
Plate 1: North North East, photograph.
30. Joseph Swan, View of Glasgow from Knox's Monument (1828), engraved illustration to *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.2 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
31. David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer), View of Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway: St Rollox Looking South East (1832), lithographed illustration to *View of the Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway*, Glasgow 1832, 31 x 42.8 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
32. David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer), View of Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway: View of the Germiston Embankment Looking West (1832), lithographed illustration to *View of the Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway*, Glasgow 1832, 31 x 42.8 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

33. David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer), View of the Depot of Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway View of the Depot Looking South (1832), lithographed illustration to *View of the Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway*, Glasgow 1832, 31 x 43 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

34. William Simpson, Old Sugar House, 138 Gallowgate circa 1845 (1890s), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 23 x 16.7 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 11. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

35. William Simpson, New Quay on the South Side or Widening of the harbour, 1847 (1890s), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 19.8 x 33.2 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 29. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

36. William Simpson, Barclay and Curle's Slip Dock 1845 (1890s), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 19.8 x 29.7 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 34. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

37. William Simpson, View of Dixon's Iron Works, Glasgow (c.1850), reproduction of watercolour as illustrated in Simpson, *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, Glasgow 1871, 7.5 x 12 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

38. William Simpson, Old Bridge Over the Kelvin, at Great Western Road, 1888 (1898), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 31.6 x 26.9 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 43. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

39. John Willox (author), J. Stewart (artist) and W. H. Lizars (Engraver), View of Broomielaw (c.1850), engraved illustration in *Glasgow Tourist*, Glasgow 1850, 8.5 x 16.5 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

40. John Fleming (artist) and Joseph Swan (engraver), View of Clyde Street, Broomielaw, Carlton Place, illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*, Glasgow 1828, 9.2 x 13.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

41. John Gullan (author) and John Scott (artist and engraver), View of Broomielaw, Glasgow (c.1834), engraved illustration in *Glasgow Illustrated in a Series of Picturesque Views*, Glasgow 1834, 8.8 x 13.5 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

42. J. & D. Nichol, Broomielaw (c.1841), lithographed illustration in *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty-one Views*, Glasgow 1841, 26.8 x 41 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

43. Glasgow 'present' and 'future', illustration in *The Northern Looking Glass*, 1 (8) 1825, 28. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
44. Thomas Annan, Endrick Valley Looking South (1859), photograph from *Views on the Line of Loch Katrine Waterworks*, Glasgow 1859, 21.5 x 28 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
45. Thomas Annan, Aqueduct Bridge No.1 near Culegarton (1859), photograph from *Views on the Line of Loch Katrine Waterworks*, Glasgow 1859. 21.5 x 28 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library
46. Thomas Annan (after), Loch Katrine Waterworks, illustration to *The Illustrated London News*, 15 October 1859, cover. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
47. Anon., Hudson's Soap Advertisement, Quiz, Summer Number 1889, 21. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
48. Charles Marville, Impasse des Bouronnais (View from the rue de la Limace and the rue des Bourdonnais (n.d.)), photograph, 35.3 x 27 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
49. Charles Marville, Rue du Murier (View from the rue Traversine) (n.d.), photograph, 35.8 x 27.8 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
50. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 136 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877), photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series, 1871: 21.3 x 28.7 cm, 1877: 21.9 x 28.1 cm; 1900: 17.5 x 21.7 cm, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
51. Charles Marville, Rue de Hautefeuille (Looking toward the rue Serpente) (n.d.), photograph, 27.4 x 20.8 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
52. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 118 High Street (between 1868 and 1877), photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series, 1871: 21.3 x 28.7 cm, 1877: 21.9 x 28.1 cm; 1900: 17.5 x 21.7 cm, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
53. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 28 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877), photograph, from *Old Streets and Closes* series, 1871: 22.8 x 28.2 cm, 1877: 22.7 x 28 cm, 1900: 18.4 x 22.5cm, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
54. Thomas Annan, Close, No. 46 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877), photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series, 1871: 22.2 x 27 cm, 1877 and 1900: 23 x 28.3, Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
55. Horatio Thomson, Ship Bank Building, Saltmarket (1903), watercolour over pencil on paper, 41.6 x 30.5 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

56. Horatio Thomson, Rabb's Close, Saltmarket (Occupied by Mr Lochhead) (c.1901), watercolour on paper, 35.4 x 25.2 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
57. David Small, 28 Saltmarket (1864), watercolour, 27.7 x 39.7 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
58. David Small, The Royal Exchange, Glasgow, postcard, Raphael Tuck & Sons 'Art' Postcard Series 791 "Glasgow".
59. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 30: "Princes Street" – now being removed (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 17 May 1893, 7. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
60. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 24: "The Old Fruitmarket, Kent St., Calton" (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 6 June 1893, 3. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
61. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 11: Old Buildings at Bridgeton Cross (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 6 September 1893, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
62. Robert Bryden, Balmano Brae (1913), etching, 28 x 15.7 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
63. Robert Bryden, Tollbooth, High Street (1907), etching, 20 x 10.1 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
64. Robert Bryden, Glasgow Cross (1907), etching, 19.5 x 20.8 cm. Glasgow City Library: Mitchell Library.
65. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 5: The Old Trongate, at the beginning of the present improvements (1891), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 14 June 1893, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
66. Louis Reid Deuchars, Picturesque Glasgow No. 9: "The Fish market" (c.1893), *The Bailie* Cartoon Supplement, 2 August 1893, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
67. Patrick Downie, Laigh Kirk Close (1890), pencil and watercolour on paper, 25.3 x 17.9 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
68. Patrick Downie, Union Court off Rottenrow (1891), pencil and watercolour on paper, 25 x 17.3 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
69. William Simpson, Corner of Stockwell and Briggate 1846 (1897), pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 20.7 x 34.3 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, 'Glasgow in the Forties' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 15. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

70. William Simpson, Main Street Gorbals (1897), pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 20.9 x 33.7 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, 'Glasgow in the Forties' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 20. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
71. William Simpson, View from South End of the Old Bridge with Gorbals Steeple (from 1847 sketch) (1898), pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 48.1 x 34.9 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, 'Glasgow in the Forties' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 19. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
72. J. Brown, Glasgow: Trongate in the Olden Time, postcard, "Caledonia" Series No. 154, postmarked 1906. This engraving was reproduced in T. Annan, *The Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1900.
73. Wat, Le Boulevarder – Rue de Trongate 19--?, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 26 February 1913, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
74. George Cruikshank, Frontispiece: Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs (1858), engraved illustration to *Shadow's Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, Glasgow 1858.
75. Massey, Glasgow, cover illustration to *Judy, or the Glasgow Satirist*, 30 May 1857. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
76. 'J. E.', Clyde Trust illustration to *Judy, or the Glasgow Satirist*, 30 May 1857. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
77. John Dall, Looking for a Job, illustration, *The Scots Pictorial*, 23 April 1898, 2 (56) 640. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
78. Muirhead Bone, Homeward Bound, *The Scots Pictorial*, 15 October 1898, 4 (81) 155. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
79. John Dall, A City Maypole, *The Scots Pictorial*, 16 April 1898, 2 (55) cover. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
80. Wat, The Hooligan Scare, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 18 March 1906, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
81. William Simpson, The Trongate 1849 (1898), pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 31 x 50.9 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. As reproduced in A. H. Miller, 'Glasgow in the Forties' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
82. Alexander Shanks, The Trongate (c.1850), watercolour, 23.9 x 28 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
83. Anon., The Electric Juggernaut, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 5 June 1901, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

84. Anon., The Battle of the Poles – Great Western Road, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 9 January 1901, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
85. Norman Maclean, Our Modern Transport Facilities, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 16 December 1896, 5. Glasgow City Libraries, Mitchell Library.
86. Anon., Wat Corporation Enterprise May Come to?, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 12 October 1904, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
87. Walt Miller, Rue de Sauchiehall, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 5 July 1899, 7. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
88. Wat, Whit's Up? Our Streets, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 20 October 1909, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
89. Anon., The Siege of Buchanan Street, illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 24 October 1900, 1. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
90. David Young Cameron, Tontine Building (1892), etching, 13.2 x 20 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
91. T. & R. Annan, Anderston Cross (1900), photograph. Annan Galleries.
92. T. & R. Annan, Buchanan Street (c.1900), photograph. Annan Galleries.
93. Horatio Thomson, Buchanan Street (1902), watercolour over pencil on paper, 30.3 x 42.3 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

**Chapter 3: Representing the 'Second City':
Aesthetics and the Absent City**

94. Anon., Britannia on the Clyde, illustration, *Glasgow Today*, Glasgow 1909. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
95. Muirhead Bone, Kingston Rag-Store (1900), drypoint etching print: ink on white paper, 24.5 x 32 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
96. Muirhead Bone, Shipbuilders, Whiteinch (1899), drypoint print: ink on white laid paper, 28.5 x 21.3 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
97. Anon/William Graham, One of the First Official Pictures of Cunarder No. 534, William Graham Photograph Album 1, 155 image a. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
98. Muirhead Bone, The Dry Dock, drypoint print: ink on white wove paper, 23.8 x 18.7 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

99. Muirhead Bone, The Seven Cranes on the River Clyde (c.1918), lithograph on paper, 49 x 36.2 cm. National Museums of Scotland.
100. Muirhead Bone, Cranes: Start of a New Ship (1917), lithograph, 45.8 x 36.4 cm. McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock.
101. Muirhead Bone, Demolition of the Old Sugar Exchange (1910), pencil, illustration from *Glasgow, Fifty Drawings*, Glasgow 1911.
102. Muirhead Bone, Queen Street Station, Glasgow (1910), pencil drawing, 28.3 x 37.3 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
103. William Graham, Scottish National Exhibition 1911, photograph, William Graham Album 1, 27. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
104. James Anderson, View of Glasgow from Cross Steeple (1833), illustration in Simpson, *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, scrapbooks, n.p., Glasgow c.1871, 20.7 x 35.7 cm. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
105. Muirhead Bone, Gordon Street, Glasgow (1910), drawing, 33.1 x 16.8 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
106. William Graham, Bottleneck, Jamaica Street (n.d.), photograph, William Graham Album 1, 69 image a. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
107. William Graham, Bank of Scotland (n.d.), photograph, William Graham Album 1, 58 image a. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
108. Muirhead Bone, St Rollox (1910), pencil drawing from *Glasgow, Fifty Drawings*, Glasgow 1911.
109. William Graham, Sighthill Cemetery Looking Towards St Rollox (n.d.), photograph, William Graham Albums. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.
110. John Quinton Pringle, Muslin Street, Bridgeton (1895-96), oil on canvas, 35.9 x 41.2 cm. Edinburgh City Arts Centre.
111. John Quinton Pringle, Tollcross, Glasgow (1908), oil on canvas, 43.2 x 53.4 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
112. Thomas Corsan Morton, West End of St Vincent Street, Glasgow (1887), oil on canvas, 39.4 x 15.2 cm. Revd. & Mrs. J. P. Wilson.
113. John Lavery, Modern Shipbuilding on the Clyde (c.1899), Decorative Triptych, Banqueting Hall, Municipal Chambers, Glasgow. As reproduced in W.S. Sparrow, *John Lavery and his Work*, London 1911.
114. Stanley Cursiter, Sensation of Crossing the Street, West End, Edinburgh (1913), oil on canvas, 50 x 60 cm. Private collection.

115. William McCance, Heavy Structures in a Landscape Setting (1922), oil on canvas (seven sided hardback board), 71.2 x 91.7 cm. Private collection.
116. William McCance, From Another Window in Thrums (1928), oil on canvas, 60 x 46 cm. Private collection.
117. William McCance, Boatyard (1922), oil on canvas, 63 x 67.5 cm. Private collection.
118. Ian Fleming, Gethsemene (1931), final proof, engraving, 33.8 x 44.2 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
119. Ian Fleming, Gethsemene (1931), pencil drawing, 33.8 x 44.2 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

Chapter 4: Post-industrial Glasgow: Culture and Identity

120. Laurence Stephen Lowry, Blitzed Site (1942), oil on canvas, 39.2 x 49.4 cm. Salford Museum and Art Gallery.
121. Laurence Stephen Lowry, The Tollbooth (1947), oil on board, 55.5 x 45.1 cm. Wakefield Art Gallery and Museums.
122. Laurence Stephen Lowry, The Necropolis (1947), oil on canvas, 45.7 x 63.5 cm. Private collection.
123. Laurence Stephen Lowry, Ship Entering Princess Dock, Glasgow (1947), oil on board, 54.6 x 45.7 cm. Private collection.
124. James Miller, Clydebank (1941), watercolour, 55.9 x 38.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As reproduced in *Scottish Art Review*, 7 (2) 1959, 6.
125. Ian Fleming, Blitz, Maryhill Glasgow (1942), etching, 15.1 x 21.4 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
126. Ian Fleming, Shelters in a Tenement Lane (c.1940), etching, 21.1 x 15 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
127. Ian Fleming, Gilshochill, Glasgow (n.d.), etching, 26.2 x 32.5 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
128. Ian Fleming, Glasgow Landscape (n.d.), etching, 27.8 x 34 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
129. Ian Fleming, Air Raid Shelter (1940), etching, 15.6 x 21 cm. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
130. Stanley Spencer, Shipbuilding on the Clyde: Riggers (Detail) (1943), oil on canvas, lower panel: 50.8 x 493.5 cm; upper panel: 30.4 x 82.5 cm. Imperial War Museum, London.

131. Stanley Spencer, Shipbuilding on the Clyde: Plumbers (Detail) (1944-45), oil on canvas, lower panel: 50.8 x 493 cm; upper panel: 30.4 x 88.9 cm. Imperial War Museum, London.
132. Stanley Spencer, The Scrap Heap (1944), oil on panel, 50.7 x 76.1 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales.
133. John Duncan Fergusson, Spring in Glasgow (1950s), oil, size and whereabouts unknown. As reproduced in *The Studio*, 126 (606) 1943, 7.
134. John Duncan Fergusson, The Dome, Botanic Gardens, Glasgow (1953), oil on canvas, 64 x 53.5 cm. Perth and Kinross Council: Fergusson Gallery, Perth.
135. Bet Low, Blochairn Steelworks (c.1946), oil on canvas, 38.1 x 53.3 cm. The Artist.
136. Tom MacDonald, Rushhour Clydeside (1940s), linocut, 10.5 x 13.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As illustrated in *Tom MacDonald 1914-1985*, Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1986, 40.
137. Lawrence Gowing, Mare Street, Hackney (1937), oil, 71 x 91.5 cm. Shrewsbury Technical College.
138. Tom MacDonald, Garscube Road (1946), oil on board, 76 x 91.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As illustrated in *Tom MacDonald 1914-1985*, Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1986, 33.
139. James Morrison, Derelict Tenements, oil on canvas, 66 x 96.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As reproduced in *Scottish Art Review*, 7 (1) 1959, 13.
140. James Morrison, Belhaven Terrace (1966), oil on canvas, 90.5 x 60 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
141. Josef Herman, Glasgow Worker, ink drawing, 22 x 17 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As illustrated in Josef Herman, "Memory of Memories": *The Glasgow Drawings 1940-43*, ex. cat., Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1985.
142. Angus Neil, Townhead Tenements (c.1954), pastel, 28 x 23 cm. Private collection.
143. Joan Eardley, Sweetshop Rotten Row (c.1961), oil, 24.2 x 17.1 cm. Private collection.
144. Joan Eardley, Children: Port Glasgow (c.1955), oil on canvas, 134 x 123 cm. Private collection.
145. Joan Eardley, Children and Chalked Wall (1961), oil and collage on canvas, 60.3 x 73.7 cm. Whereabouts unknown.

146. Joan Eardley, Little Girl with a Squint (c.1961), oil on canvas, 78 x 51 cm. Scottish Arts Council.
147. Joan Eardley, Some of the Samson Family (c.1961), oil, 10.54 x 10.8 cm. Private collection.
148. Oscar Marzaroli, The Old and New Gorbals (1968), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 83.
149. Oscar Marzaroli, The Former British Rail Goods Yard, High Street, Looking South to the Redevelopment Area (1987), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 102.
150. Oscar Marzaroli, "Miracle of the Gorbals" (1964), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 79.
151. Oscar Marzaroli, Gorbals with Southern Necropolis Beyond (1964), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 82.
152. Oscar Marzaroli, Street Plan, George Square (1960), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 109.
153. Oscar Marzaroli, Red Road Flats (1966), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 98.
154. Oscar Marzaroli, Site of Harland and Wolff after Clearing, Govan (1965), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 56.
155. Oscar Marzaroli, QE2 Prior to Launch at John Brown's Yard (1967), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 99.
156. Oscar Marzaroli, Ramsay Ladders Depot, Kelvinbridge (1958), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 116.
157. Oscar Marzaroli, George Wyllie and "The Straw Locomotive" (1987), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 194.
158. Oscar Marzaroli, Castlemilk Lads (1963), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 100.
159. Oscar Marzaroli, "Golden Haired Lass", Gorbals (1964), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 73.
160. Oscar Marzaroli, Children, Gorbals (1964), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 73.
161. Oscar Marzaroli, Hydepark Street, Anderston (1963), photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 106.

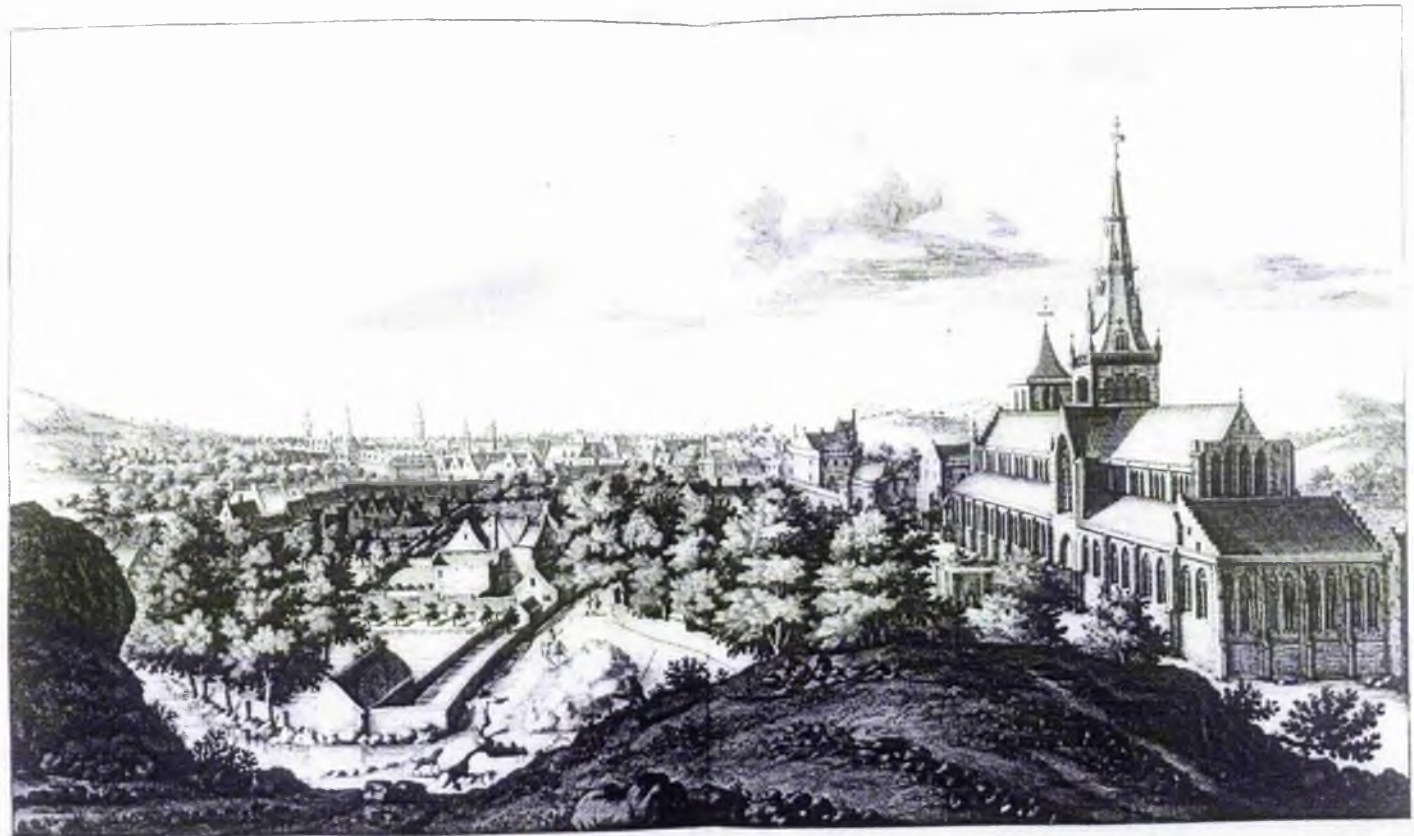
162. Alasdair Gray, Cowcaddens 1950 (Detail) (1963), details and whereabouts unknown. Illustration from A. Gray, *Lanark: A Life in Four Books*, Edinburgh 2002, cover.
163. Alasdair Gray, Two Hills (n.d.), gouache and ink on paper, details and whereabouts unknown. Illustration from Moores, P. (ed.), *Alasdair Gray: Critical Appreciations and a Bibliography*, Boston Spa and London 2002, after 116.
164. Alasdair Gray, Nuclear Apocalypse over Glasgow, Triumph of Death Canvas (1959), 71 x 34 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Illustration from Moores, P. (ed.), *Alasdair Gray: Critical Appreciations and a Bibliography*, Boston Spa and London 2002, after 116.
165. Ken Currie, The People's Palace History Panels: Plate 1: Weavers Struggles...The Calton Weavers Massacre (1987), oil on canvas, 218 x 251 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: The People's Palace.
166. Ken Currie, The People's Palace History Panels: Plate 2: Radical Wars ... Let Truth and Justice be Woven Together, Liberty is our Fabric, oil on canvas, 218 x 381 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: The People's Palace.
167. Ken Currie, The People's Palace History Panels: Plate 6: Fight or Starve ... Wandering Through the Thirties (1987), oil on canvas, 218 x 381 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: The People's Palace.
168. Ken Currie, The People's Palace History Panels: Plate 8: 'Unfurling Our History – Our Future!', oil on canvas, 218 x 381 cm. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: The People's Palace.
169. Ken Currie, Workshop of the World (1987), oil on canvas, 213 x 366 cm. Private collection.
170. Ken Currie, Life Grows Harder (1988), oil on canvas, 213 x 381 cm. Private collection.
171. Ken Currie, On the Edge of the City (1988), oil on canvas, 213 x 366 cm. Manchester Art Gallery.
172. Ken Currie, The Street (1990), oil on canvas, 274 x 365 cm. The Kasen/Summer Collection, Connecticut.
173. Ken Currie, Glasgow Triptych: Template of the Future (1986), oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm. Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.
174. Ken Currie, Glasgow Triptych: The Apprentice (1986), oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm. Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.
175. Ken Currie, Glasgow Triptych: Young Glasgow Communists (1986), oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm. Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.

[1] John Slezer
The Prospect of the Town of
Glasgow from ye South
illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*,
first published London 1693,
plate 17.
Illustration from 1718 edition held
in St Andrews University Library.



Town Scotiae GLASCOV ab e Anglis. The prospect of the Town of GLASCOV from ye South.
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[3] John Slezer
The Prospect of ye Town of
Glasgow from ye North East
illustration to *Theatrum Scotiae*,
first published London 1693,
plate 16.
Illustration from 1718 edition
held in St Andrews University
Library.



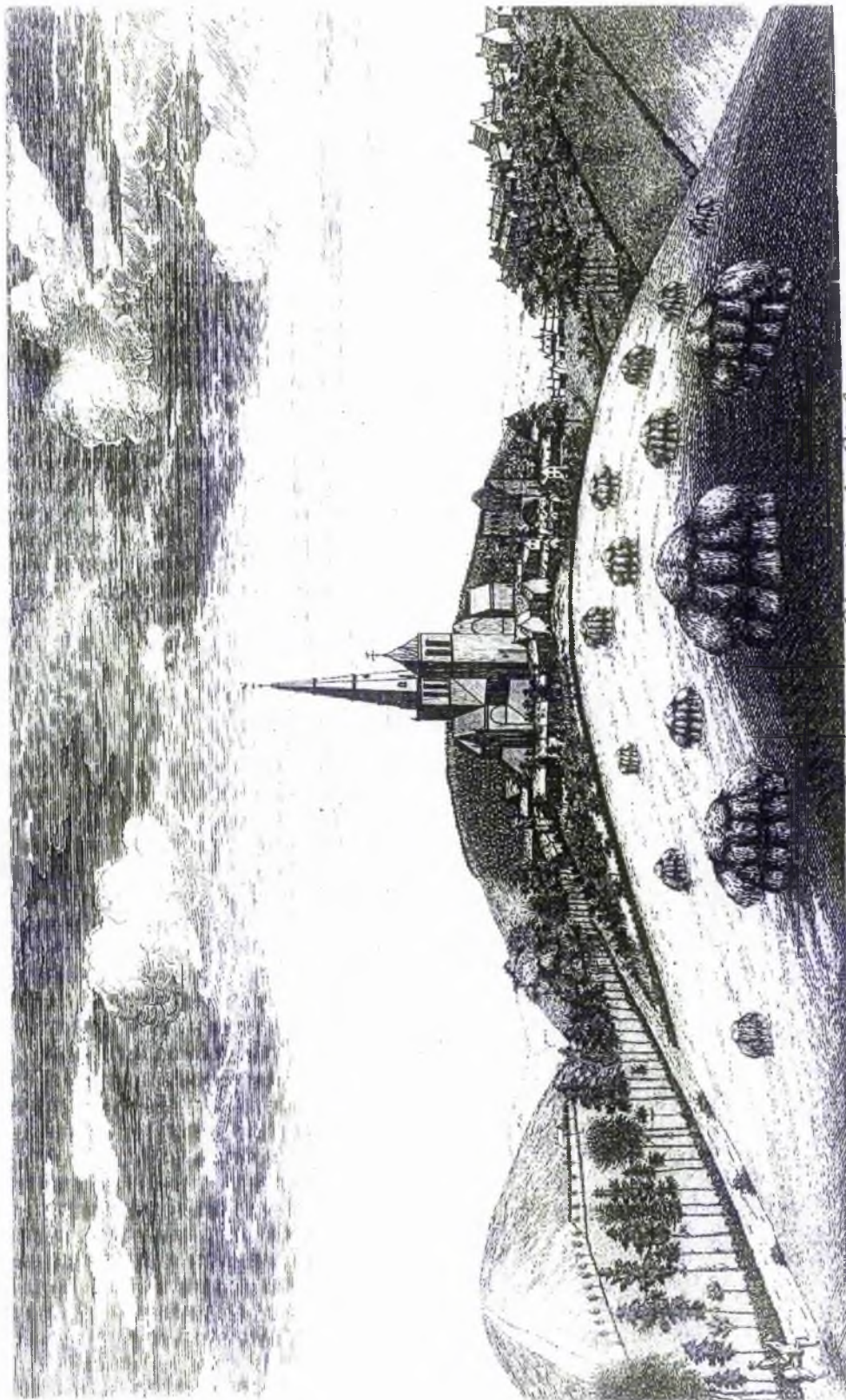
Facies Civitatis GLASGOW ab Oriente Extrem. The Prospect of ye Town of GLASGOW from the North East.



[4] Map Cartouche from James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver)
A Plan of the of the City of Glasgow (1797),
 accompanying Chapman, Stewart and Meikle, *An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and its Suburbs*, Glasgow 1797 and 1798.
 Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library



[5] J. & D. Nichol
Plan of Glasgow (1841)
 from J. & D. Nichol, *Glasgow Illustrated in Twenty One Views*, Montrose 1841.
 Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[6] Foulis Academy
(Robert Paul)

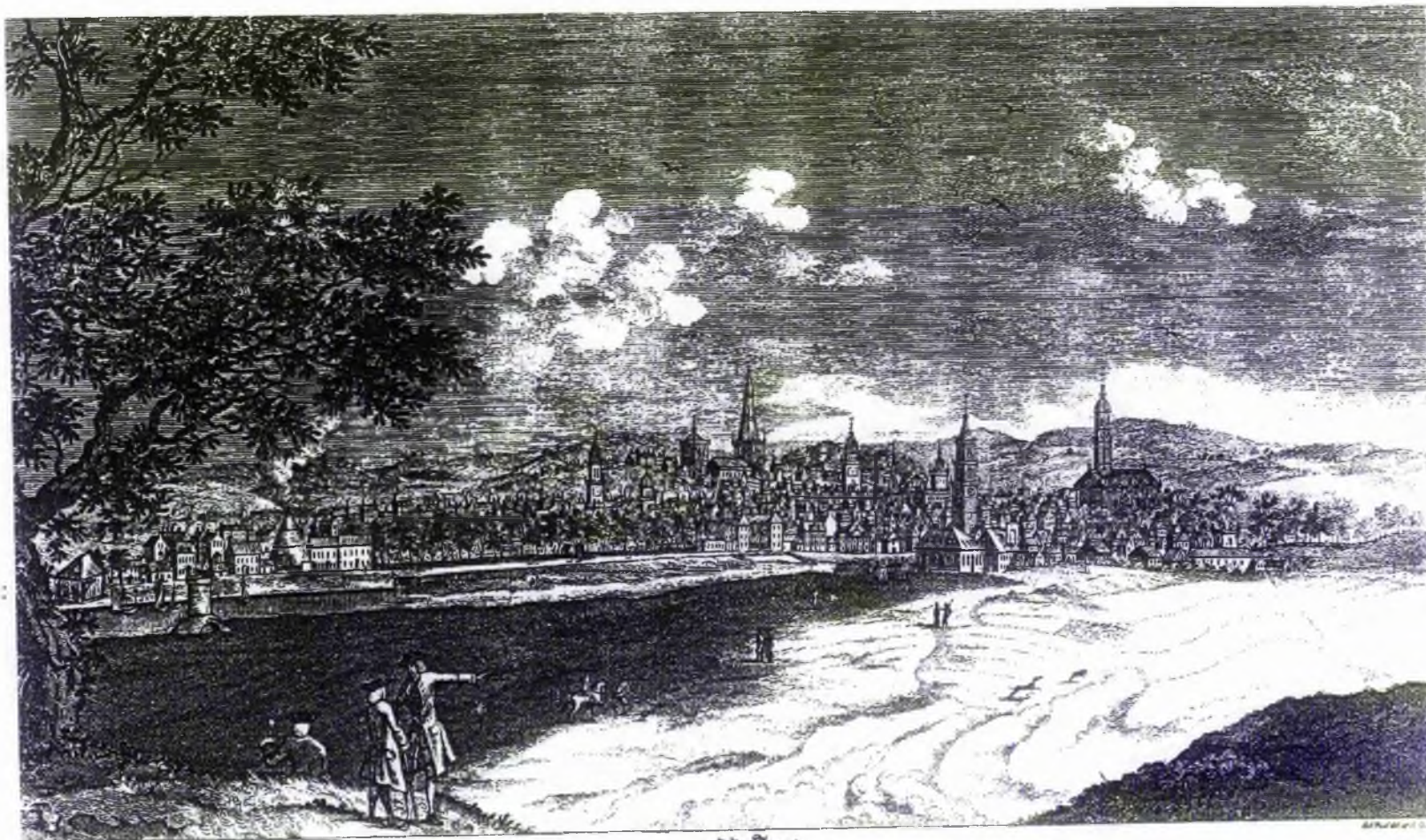
View of Glasgow
Cathedral (c.1760)

engraving in Glasgow
Views 1756-1770.

Glasgow n.d.,
plate 10, 24 x 41 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.

A View taken from the West of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, &c.
and Engraved in the Academy at Glasgow by R. Paul Stone J. Off.

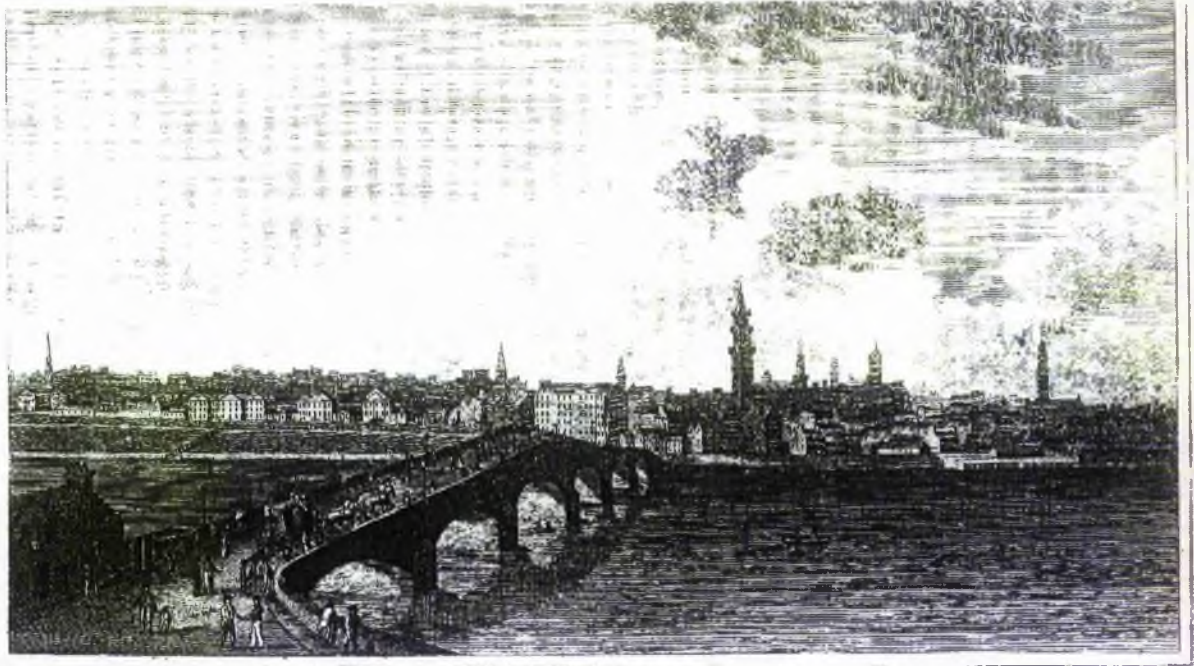
[7] Foulis Academy
(Robert Paul)
A View of Glasgow
from the
South West (1764),
engraving in *Glasgow*
Views 1756-1770,
Glasgow n.d.,
plate 5, 26 x 46 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.



A View of Glasgow from the South West.

[8] Foulis
Academy
(Robert Paul),
A View of
Port Glasgow
from the South
East (1762)
engraving in
*Glasgow Views
1756-1770*,
Glasgow n.d.,
25 x 42cm.
Glasgow City
Libraries:
Mitchell Library.

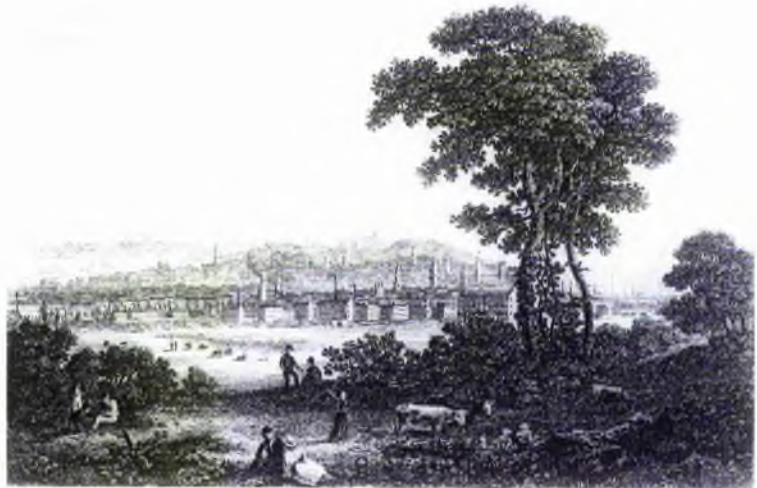




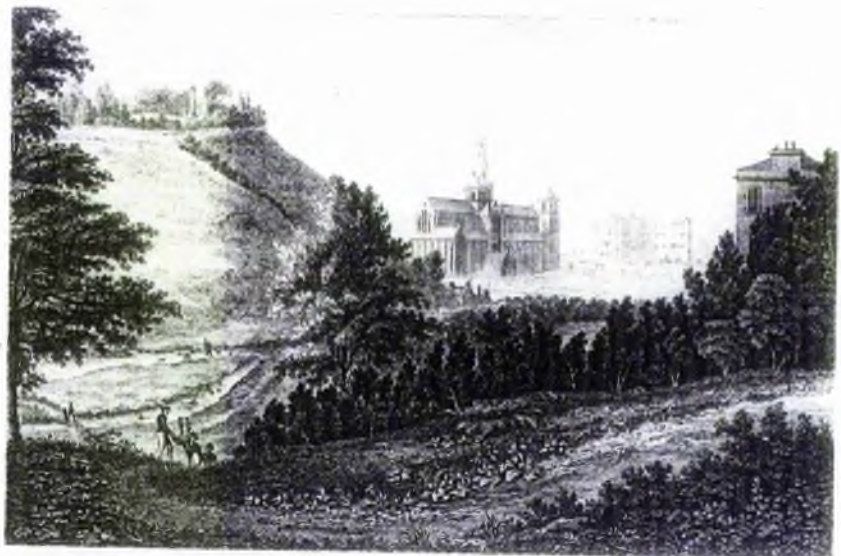
[9] James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver),
View of Glasgow from the South (1797).
from *The History of Glasgow and Suburbs*,
Glasgow 1797, 9.3 x 16.2 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



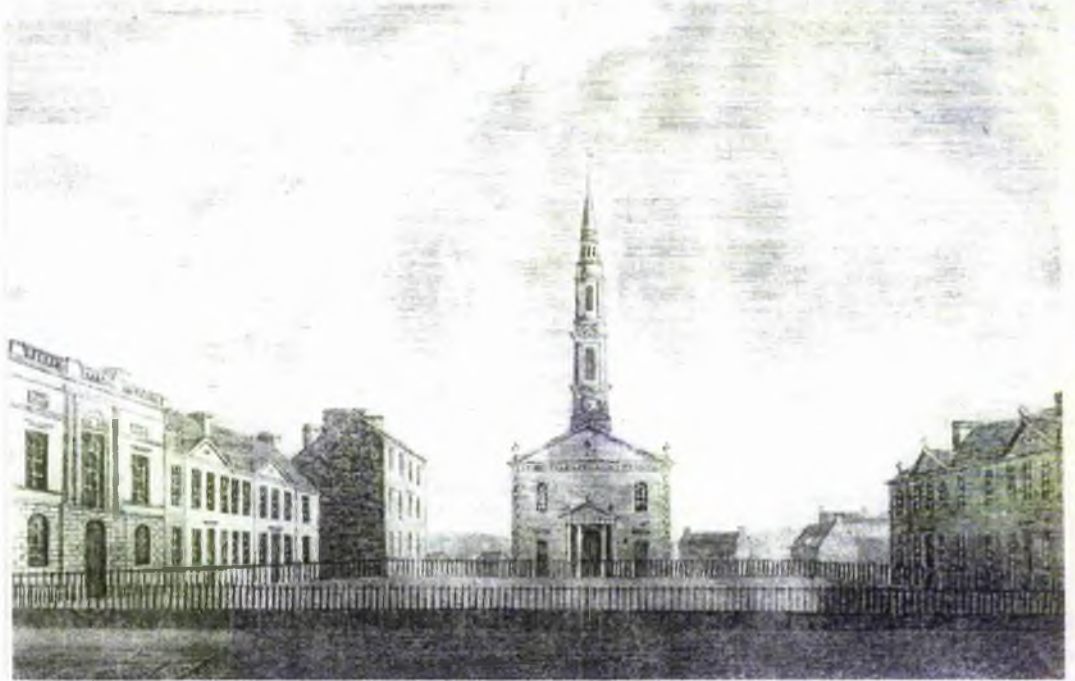
[10] Foulis Academy (Robert Paul),
View of Glasgow from the South (1758)
engraving in *Glasgow Views 1762-1770*,
Glasgow n.d., plate 7, 16.5 x 39.3 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[11] Joseph Swan
View of Glasgow from the Farm of Shields (1828),
engraved illustration to
Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs,
Glasgow 1828, 9.3 x 13.3 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[12] Joseph Swan
View of Cathedral and Royal Infirmary
from Fife Mills (1828),
engraved illustration to
Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs,
Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.5 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

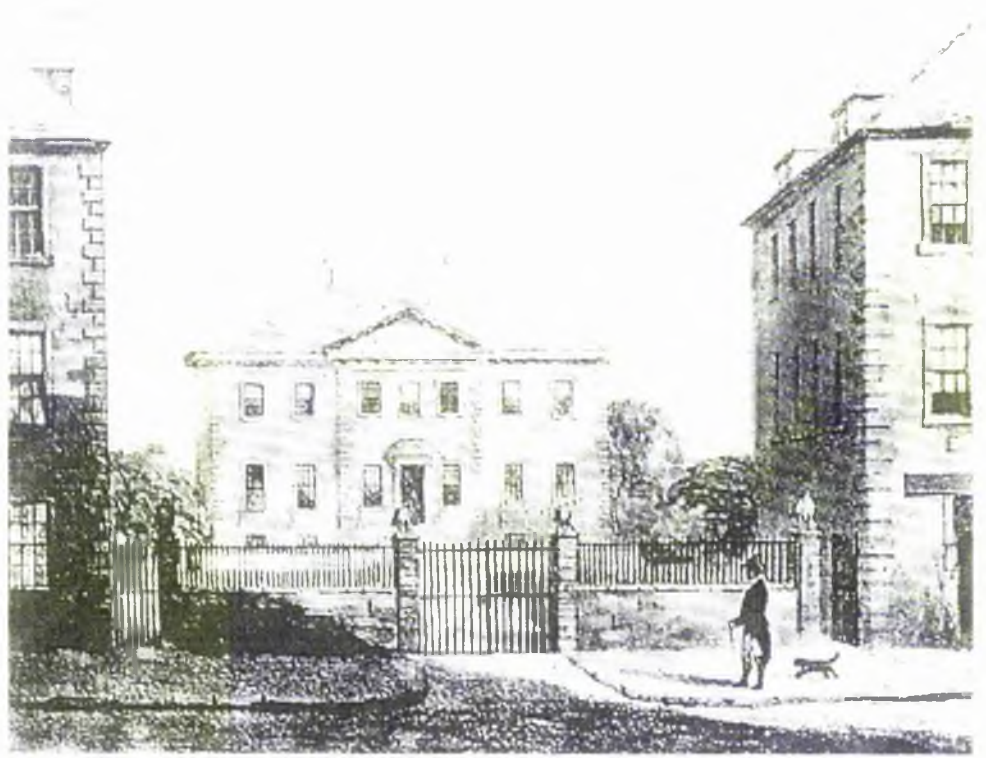


[13] James Denholm (artist) and Robert Scott (engraver)
St Enoch's Square with the Church
and Surgeon's Hall (1797)

illustration to *An Historical and Topographical Description of
the City of Glasgow and Suburbs,*
Glasgow 1797, 8 x 12.9 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

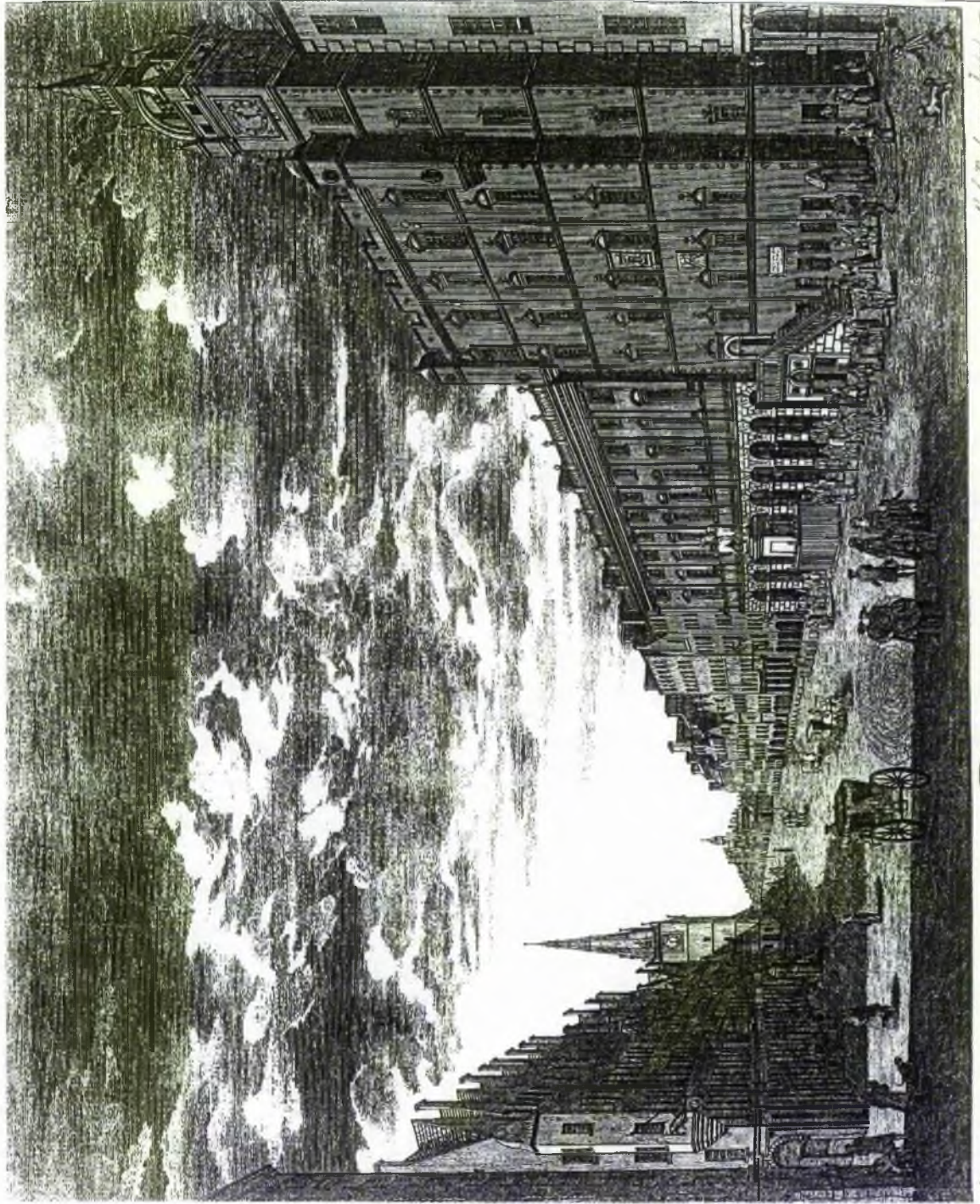


[14] Paul Sandby (artist) and W. Angus (engraver),
Cathedral from the South West (1781)
engraved illustration in *A Collection of One-Hundred and
Fifty Select Views in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland,*
London 1781, 13 x 18.4 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



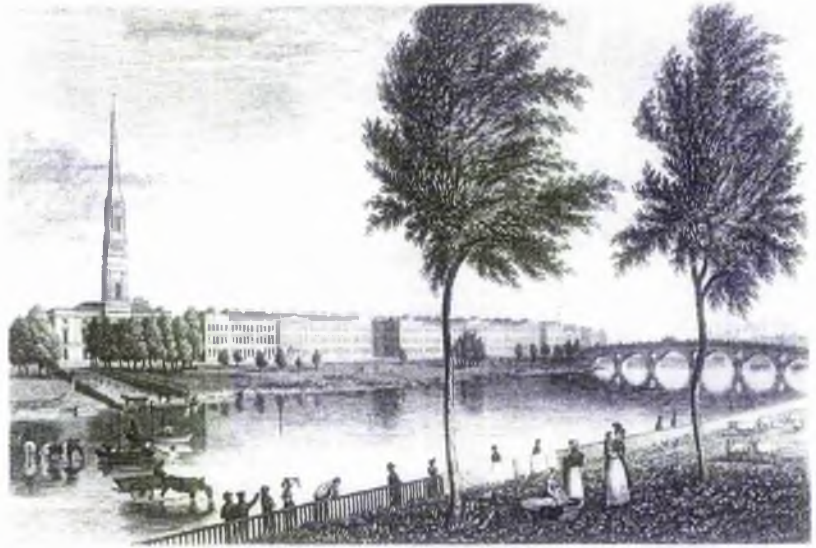
[15] Thomas Fairbairn
The Shawfield Mansion (1845).
as illustrated in G. Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow*,
Glasgow 1931, 8 x 10.7cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

[16] Foulis Academy
(Robert Paul and
William Buchanan)
View of Trogate from the East
engraving from *Glasgow Views*
1756-1770, Glasgow n.d.,
plate 4, 39 x 49.5 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell
Library.





[17] John Knox
Tron Gate (1806)
oil on canvas
90.2 x 125.1 cm.
Glasgow Museums and
Art Galleries.



[18] Joseph Swan
View of Carlton Place from Clyde Street, Glasgow (1828)
illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*,
Glasgow 1828, 9.2 x 13.3 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[19] John Fleming (artist) and Joseph Swan (engraver),
View of Glasgow from Arn's Well (n.d.)
illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*,
Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.3 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[20] John Claude Nattes (artist)
and James Fittler (engraver)

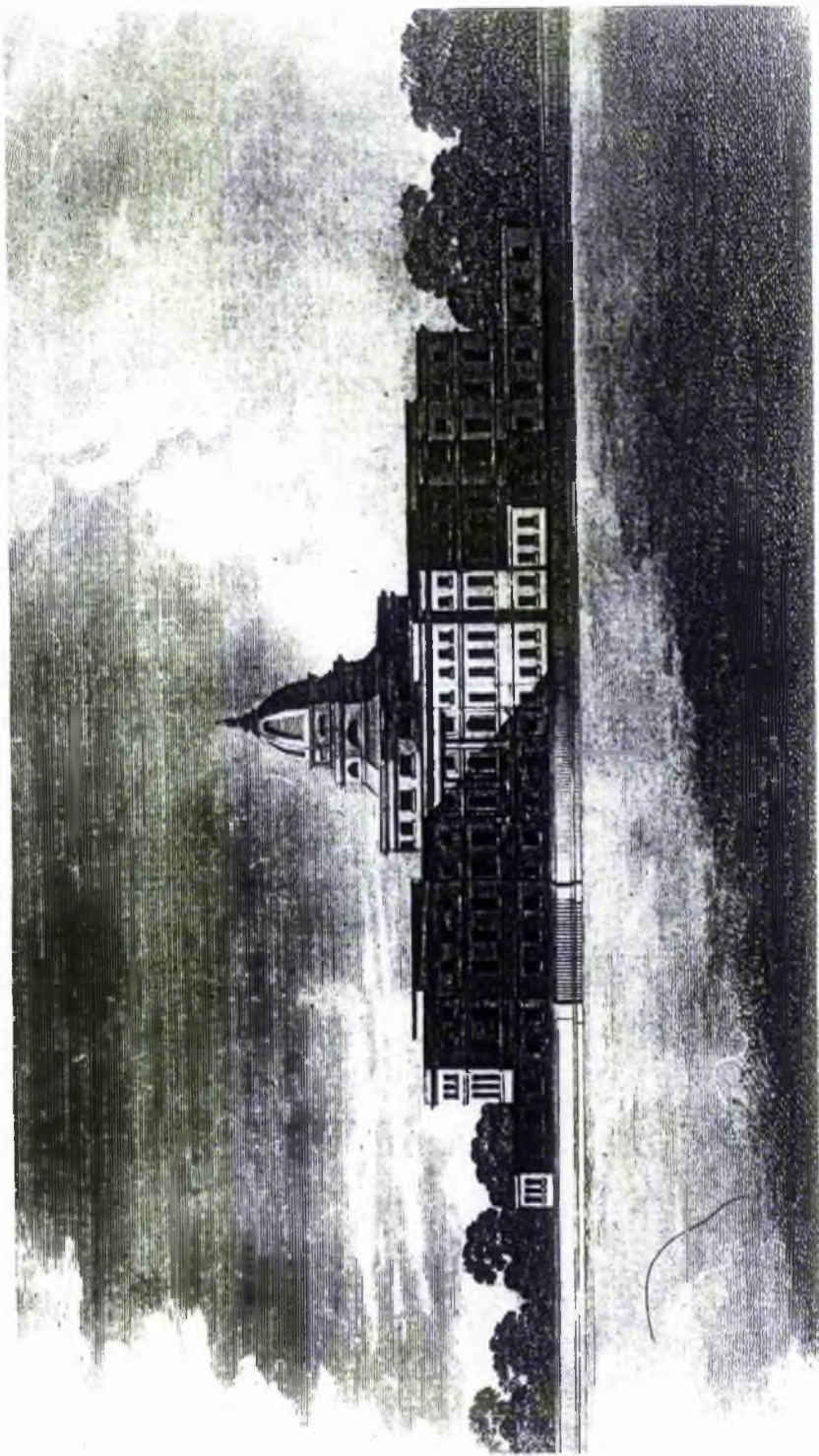
Glasgow Royal Infirmary (1804).

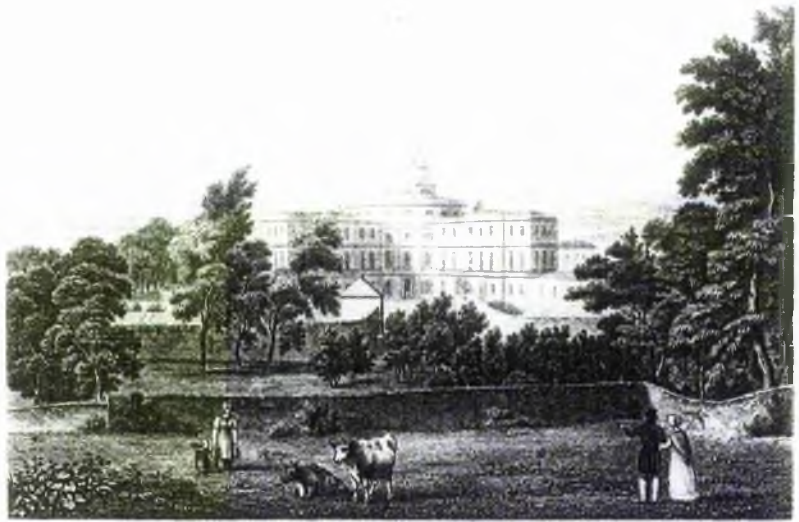
engraved illustration to *Scotia Depicta, or the Antiquities,
Castles, Public Buildings, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats,
Cities, Towns and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*,
London 1804, plate 12, 18.5 x 24.8 cm.

Glasgow University Library: Special Collections.

[21] Robert Chapman
(author)
and Robert Scott
(engraver)
*Glasgow Lunatic
Asylum* (1820).
illustration to

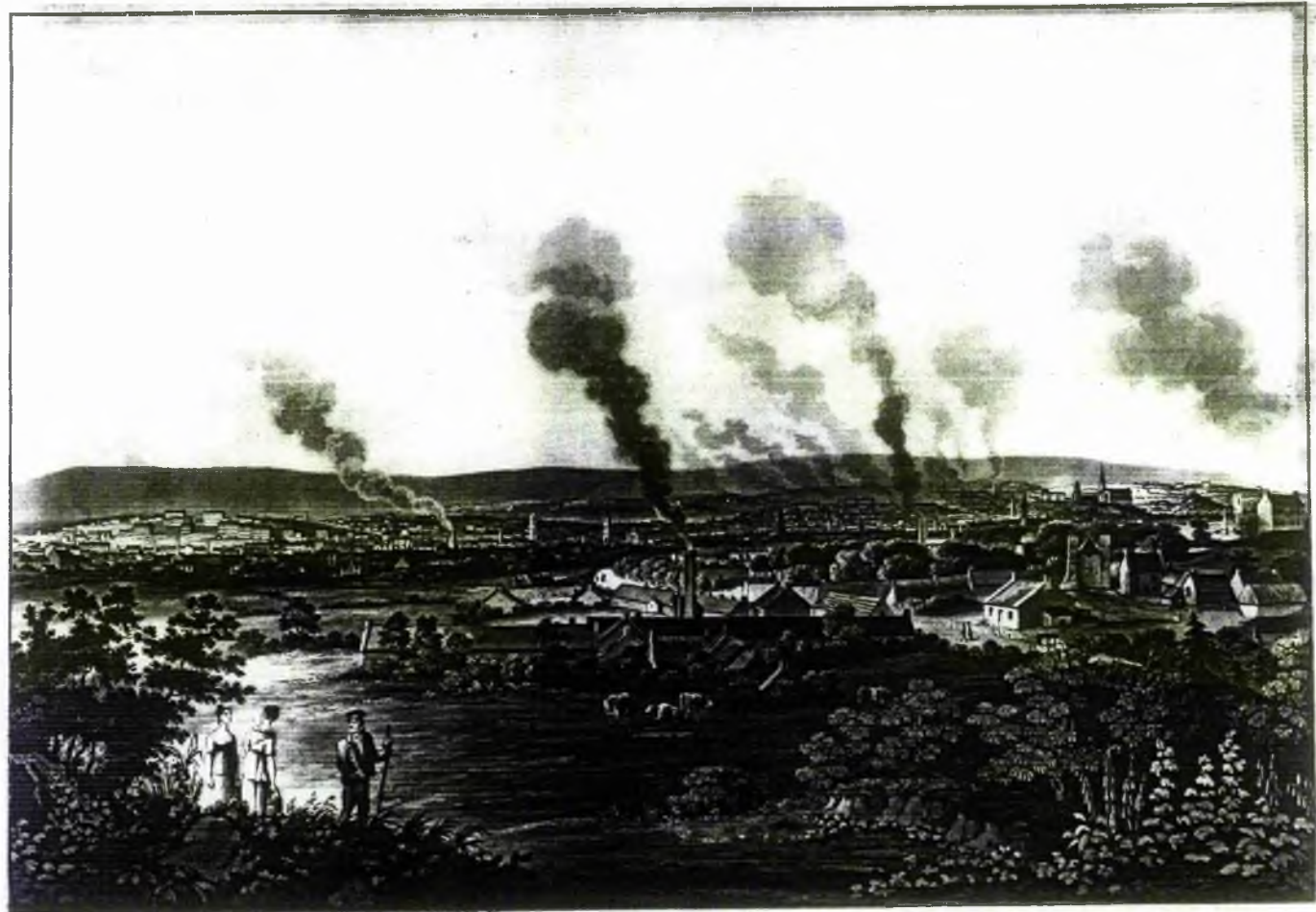
*The Topographical Picture of
Glasgow in its Ancient and
Modern State, Glasgow
1820, 16.3 x 12 cm.*
Glasgow University Library:
Special Collections.

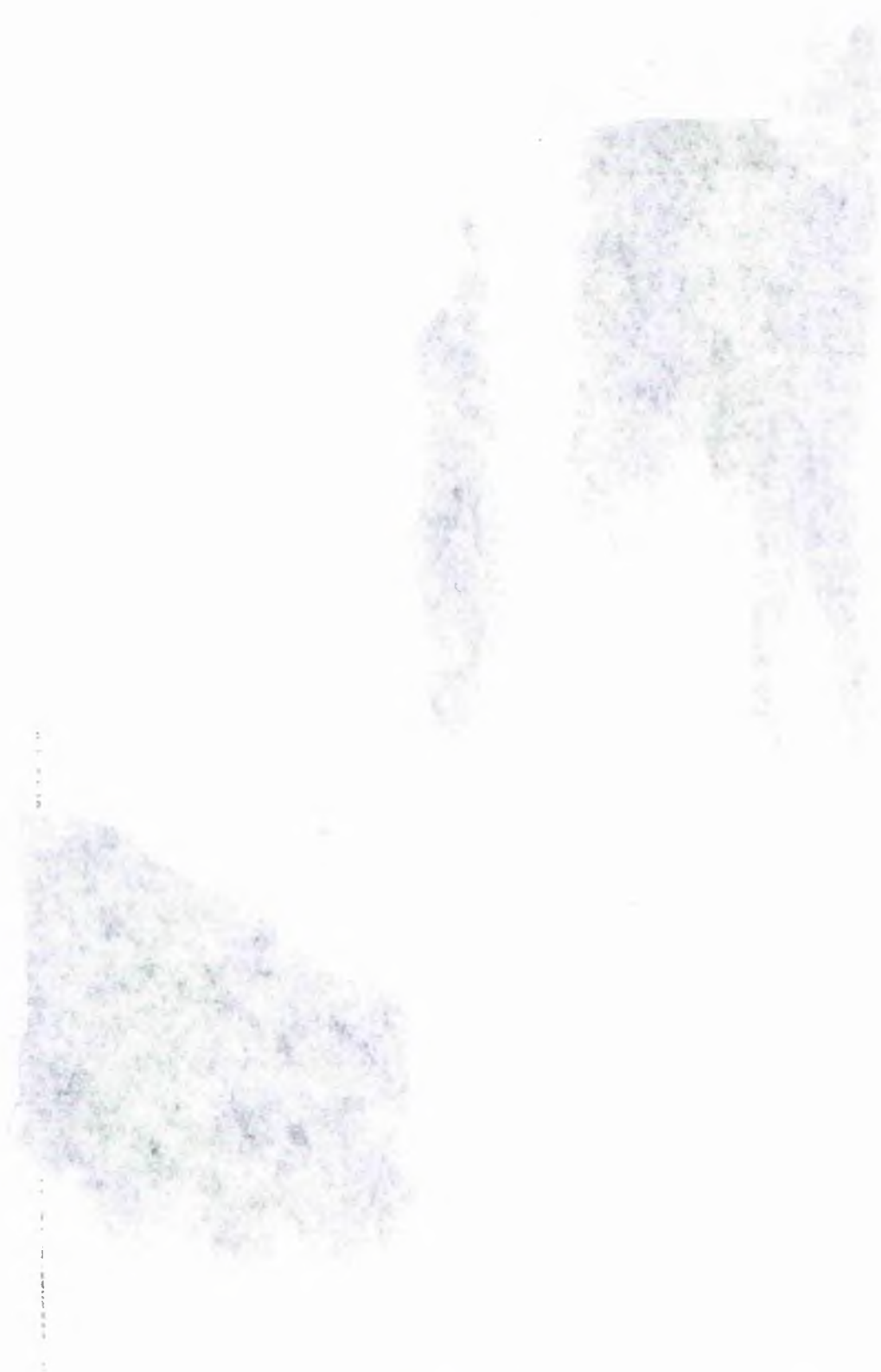




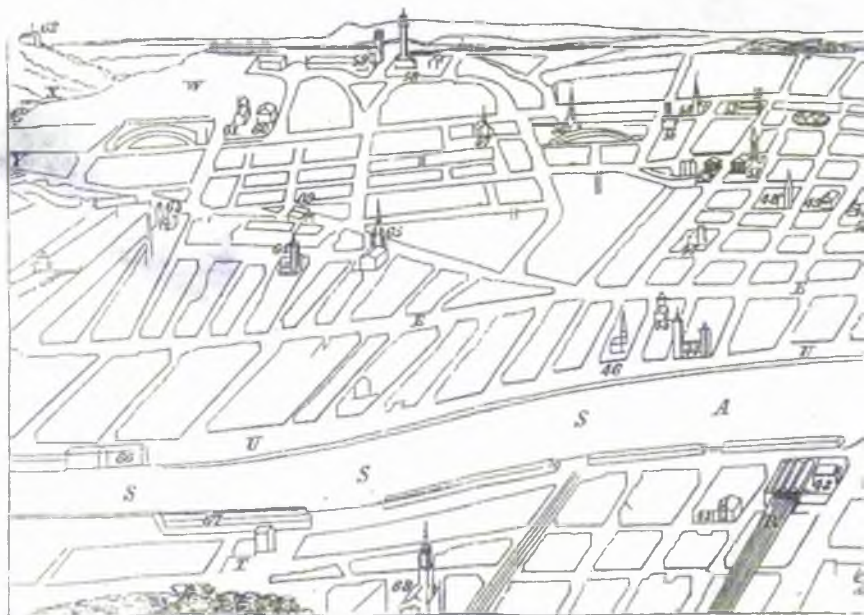
[22] Joseph Swan, View of Lunatic Asylum, &c. (1828),
illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*,
Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.4 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

[23] John Clark
The City of Glasgow, drawn
on the spot in 1824
print in black with original
hand colour, 14.1 x 17.8.
Hunterian Art Gallery,
University of Glasgow.





[24] Thomas Sulman, *Glasgow (1864)* illustrated supplement to *The Illustrated London News*, 26 March 1864 with key. Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



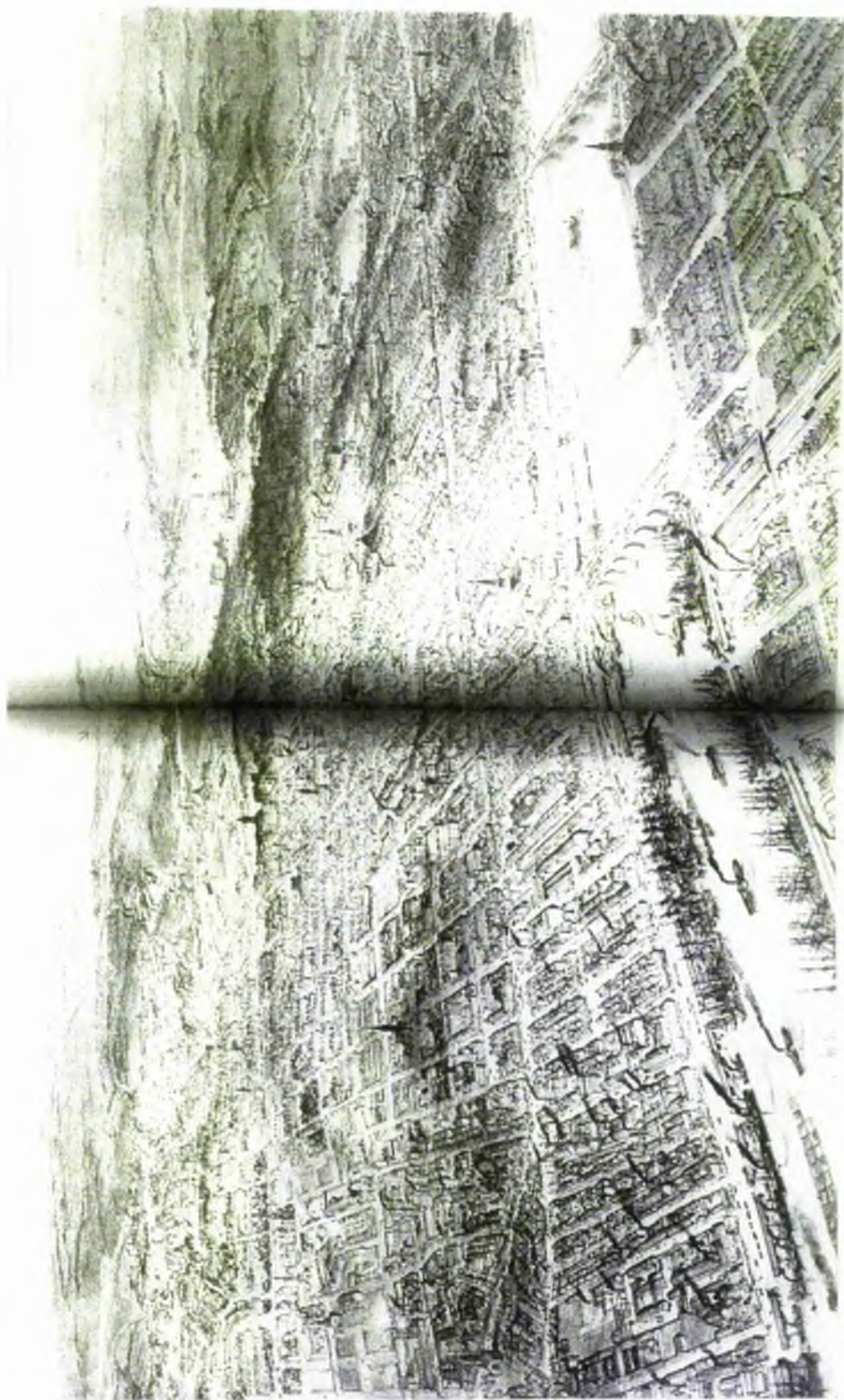
- | | | | |
|--|---|------------------------|---|
| A. The Elbow Clyde. | K. High-street. | V. Park Dundas. | 8. Scotch Prison. |
| B. Broomielaw. | L. The Saltmarket. | W. Fife-road Park. | 7. St. James Chemical Works. |
| C. Glasgow Green. | M. The Saltmarket. | X. Edwin Grove. | 6. University. |
| D. The Tron. | N. Hutchison's Bridge. | Y. Road to Paisley. | 5. Strathclyde Museum. |
| E. Argyle-street. | O. Old Bridge. | Z. Dunhill-street. | 10. College Ch., St. Ch. (Blackfriars). |
| F. Buchanan-street. | P. Accommodation Bridge. | | 11. St. John's, S. C. |
| G. Queen-street. | Q. Glasgow Bridge. | 1. Waterworks. | 12. Infirmary Square. |
| H. Caltonian Railway Terminus. | R. Greenock, Ayr, and Paisley Rail-
way. | 2. John Knox Monument. | 13. Welford Church, S. C. |
| I. Mitchell and Glasgow Railway
Terminus. | S. Forth. | 3. Cathedral. | 14. St. Andrew's Church, S. C. |
| J. George-street. | T. Springhall. | 4. Bannockburn Church. | 15. Nelson's Monument. |
| | U. Beacon-Post Wharf. | 5. Royal Infirmary. | 16. Public Washhouse. |



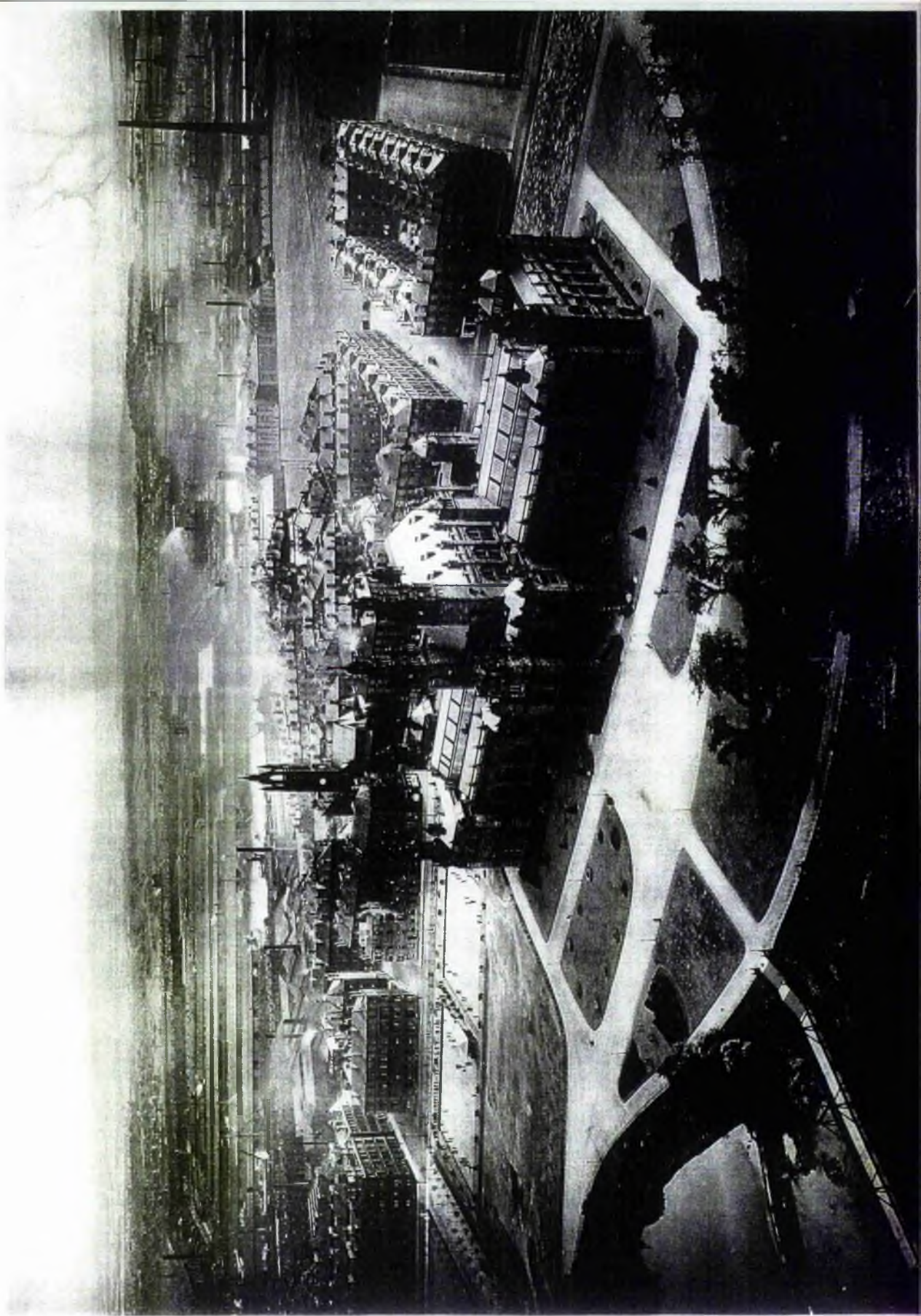
- | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| 17. <u>Glynn's</u> | 35. St. John's, F. C. | 43. St. Andrew's, Rom. Cath. | 49. King-pl. Congregational Chapel. | 60. Queen's Rooms. |
| 18. <u>Strasburgh Bridge.</u> | 36. St. Paul's, R. C. | 44. St. Joseph's Church. | 50. Wellington-street, U. P. | 61. Government Church, U. P. |
| 19. <u>Palmerston.</u> | 37. <u>Barony Footbridge and New Town Hospital.</u> | 45. <u>Gorbals East Church, R. C.</u> | 51. St. Vincent-street, U. P. | 62. Gilmore-hill. |
| 20. <u>New Gaol and Court-house.</u> | 38. <u>Hundred Acre.</u> | 46. <u>Leaveland Church, R. C.</u> | 52. <u>Unitarian Chapel, St. Vincent-st.</u> | 63. <u>Pinnacleton Church, F. C.</u> |
| 21. <u>Bridgwater Church, R. C.</u> | 39. <u>Scott's Monument, George's-sq.</u> | 47. <u>South-Western Railway Tm-inals.</u> | 53. <u>High-place Church.</u> | 64. <u>St. Patrick's, R. C.</u> |
| 22. <u>Bridgwater Church, Free Ch.</u> | 40. <u>Exchange.</u> | 48. <u>Gorbals F. C.</u> | 54. <u>West End Independent Chapel.</u> | 65. <u>St. Mary's, F. C.</u> |
| 23. <u>Town Clock.</u> | 41. <u>St. George's, R. C.</u> | 49. <u>Water's Home.</u> | 55. <u>North-street, F. C.</u> | 66. <u>Napier's Dock.</u> |
| 24. <u>King William's Statue.</u> | 42. <u>Renfield Un. Presb. Church.</u> | 50. <u>Brownfield Church, R. C.</u> | 56. <u>St. Matthew's, R. C.</u> | 67. <u>Lading Shed.</u> |
| 25. <u>Glasgow on a Skye.</u> | 43. <u>Free Normal School.</u> | 51. <u>St. James's Chapel.</u> | 57. <u>Burghley-street U. P. Church.</u> | 68. <u>Kingsway Church, R. C.</u> |
| 26. <u>City Hall and Market.</u> | 44. <u>Theatre.</u> | 52. <u>Anderson Church, F. C.</u> | 58. <u>Free Church College.</u> | 69. <u>St. John's Scotch Episcopal Church.</u> |
| 27. <u>St. David's, R. C.</u> | | 53. <u>St. Peter's, F. C.</u> | 59. <u>Park Church, R. C.</u> | |

TO THE VIEW OF GLASGOW.

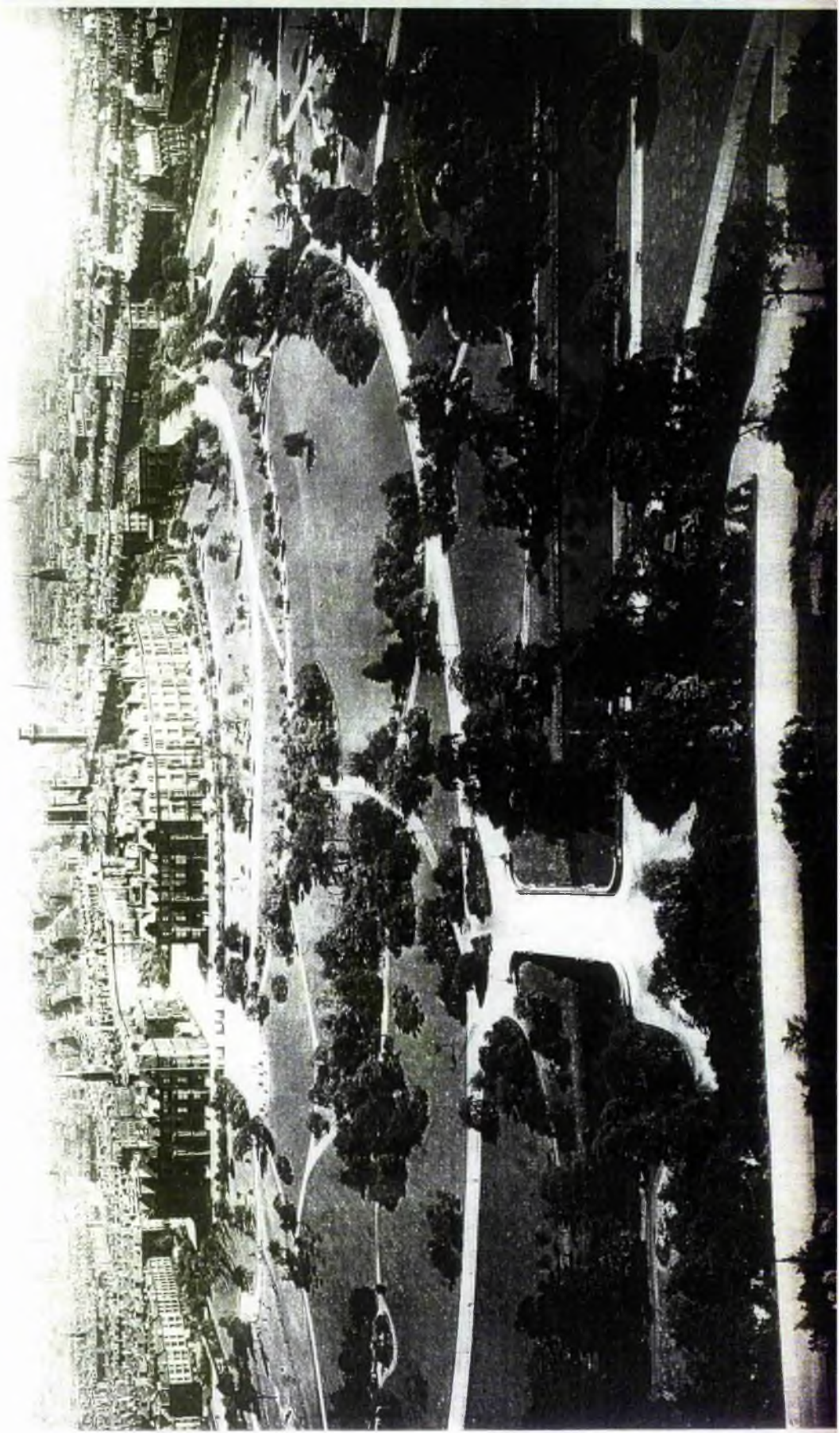




[25] George MacCulloch
Glasgow (1853)
as reproduced in
C. A. Oakley,
The Second City,
Glasgow 1946.

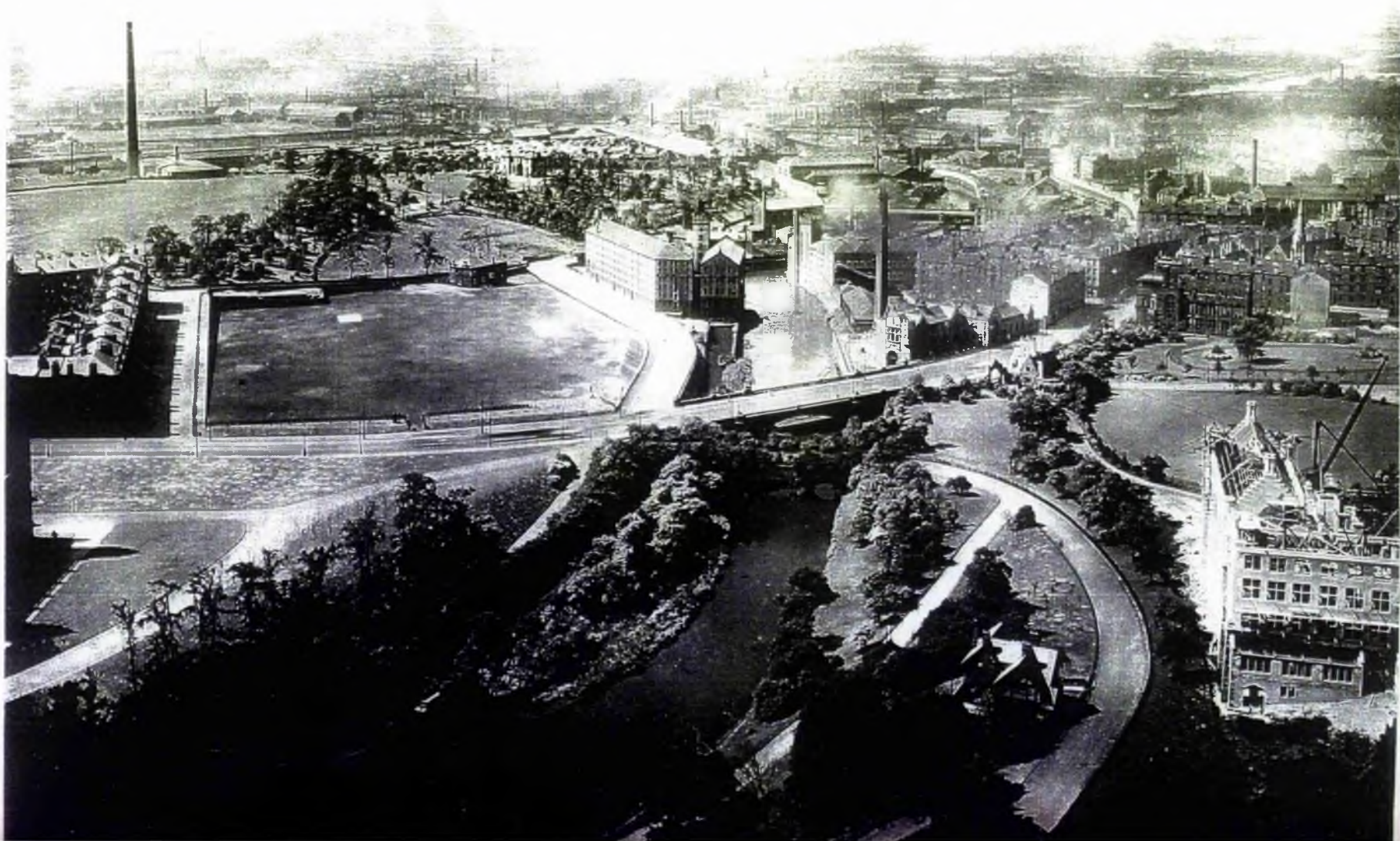


[26] T. & R.
Annan and Sons
Glasgow in
Panorama: eight
magnificent
photographs
taken from the
octagonal spire
of the University
Tower on 19th
July 1905
forming a
complete
panorama of
Glasgow,
Glasgow 1906.
Plate 5: South
West
photograph.



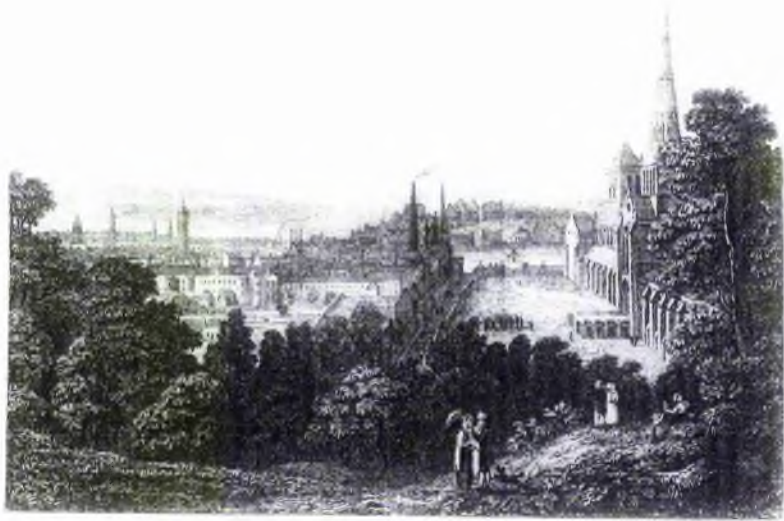
[27] T. & R.
Annan and Sons
Glasgow in
Panorama: eight
magnificent
photographs
taken from the
octagonal spire of
the University
Tower on 19th July
1905 forming a
complete
panorama of
Glasgow,
Glasgow 1906.
Plate 3: East
South East,
photograph.

[28] T. & R.
Annan and Sons,
*Glasgow in
Panorama: eight
magnificent
photographs
taken from the
octagonal spire of
the University
Tower on 19th July
1905 forming a
complete
panorama of
Glasgow,
Glasgow 1906.*
Plate 6: West
South West,
photograph.

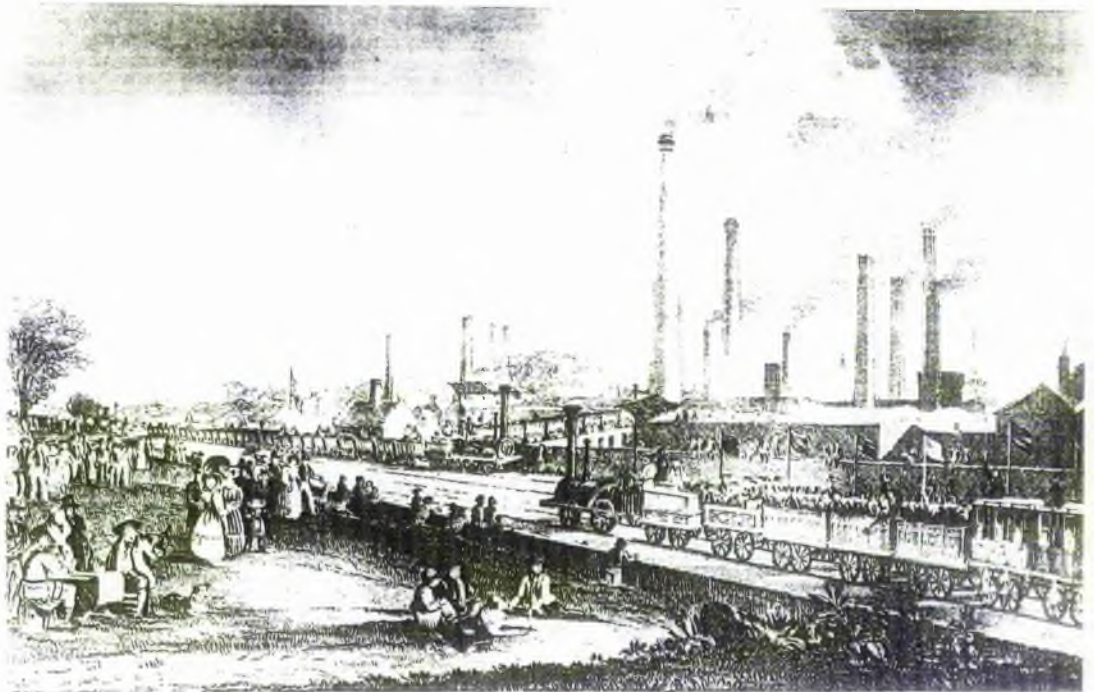


[29] T. & R.
Annan and Sons,
*Glasgow in
Panorama: eight
magnificent
photographs
taken from the
octagonal spire of
the University
Tower on 19th July
1905 forming a
complete
panorama of
Glasgow,
Glasgow 1906.*
Plate I: North
North East,
photograph.





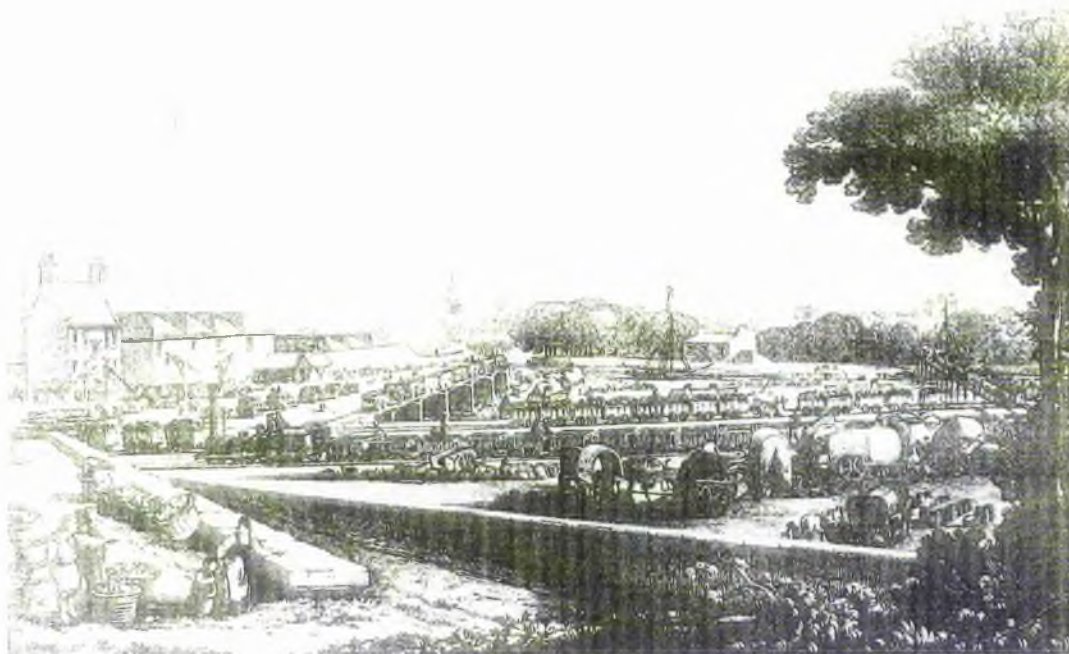
[30] Joseph Swan
View of Glasgow from Knox's Monument (1828)
engraved illustration to *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*,
Glasgow 1828, 9 x 13.2 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[31] David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer),
View of Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway:
St Rollox Looking South East (1832)
lithographed illustration to
View of the Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway,
Glasgow 1832, 31 x 42.8cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[32] David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer)
View of Garnkirk and Glasgow Railway: View of the
Germiston Embankment Looking West (1832)
lithographed illustration to *View of the Opening of the Glasgow
and Garnkirk Railway*, Glasgow 1832, 31 x 42.8 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[33] David Octavius Hill (artist) and W. Day (lithographer)
View of the Depot of Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway View of
the Depot Looking South (1832)
lithographed illustration to *View of the Opening of the Glasgow
and Garnkirk Railway*, Glasgow 1832, 31 x 43 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



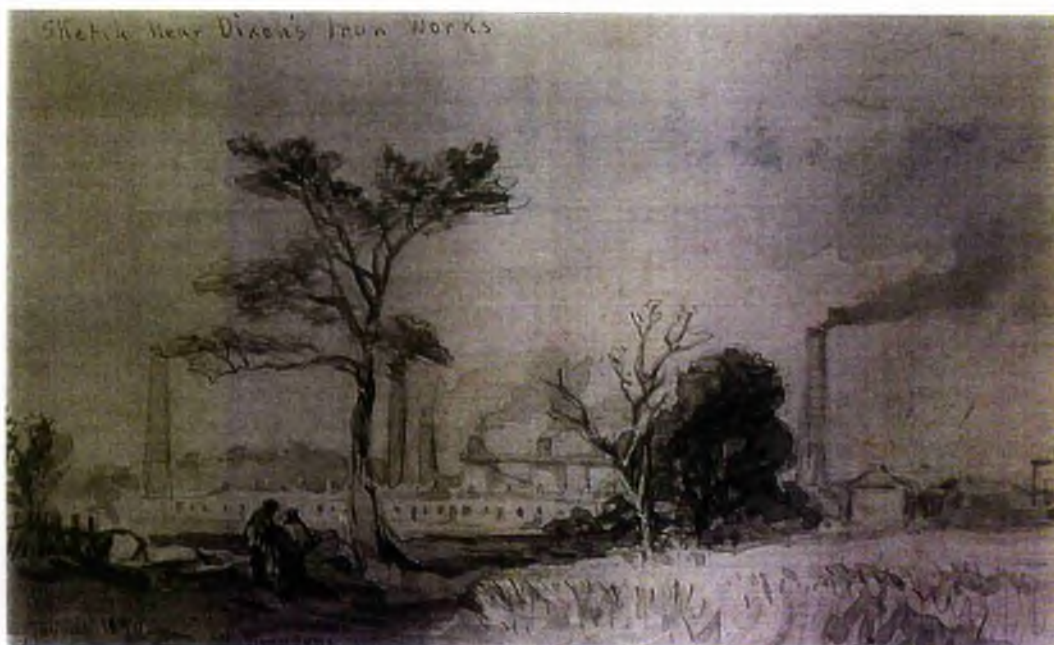
[34] William Simpson
Old Sugar House, 138 Gallowgate circa 1845 (1890s)
pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 23 x 16.7cm, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 11.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



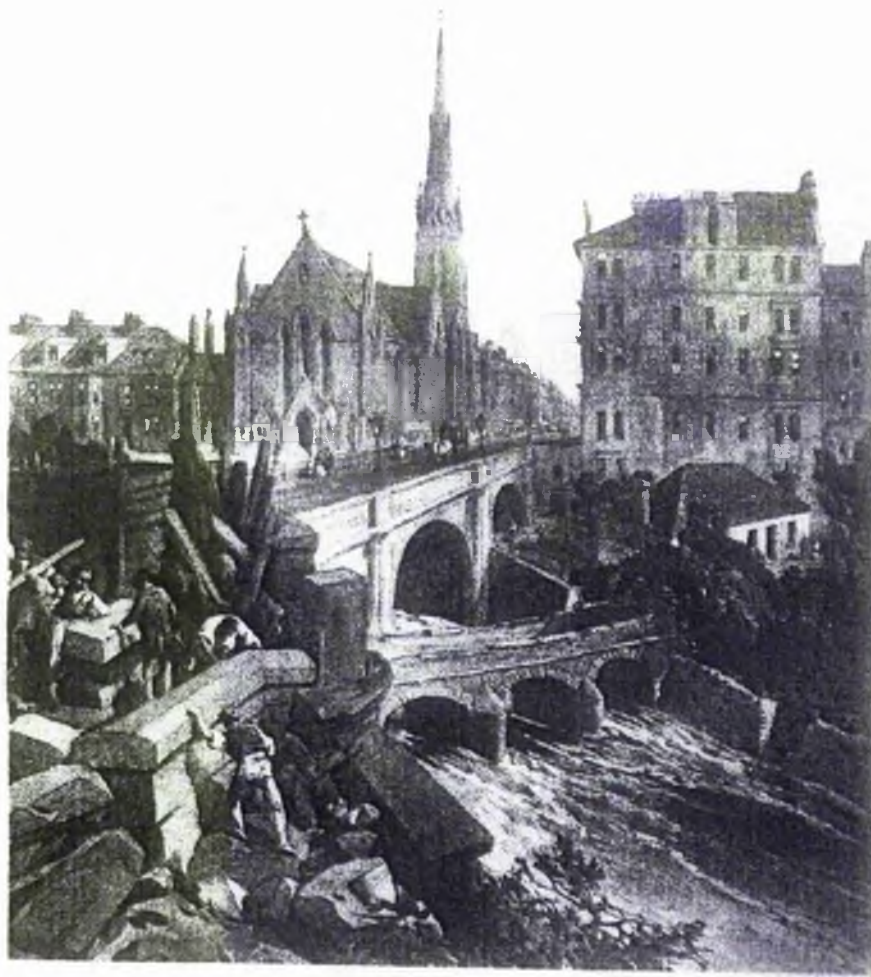
[35] William Simpson
New Quay on the South Side
or Widening of the harbour, 1847 (1890s)
pencil and watercolour on paper from the series *Glasgow in the Forties*, 19.8 x 33.2 cm,
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 29.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[36] William Simpson
Barclay and Curle's Slip Dock 1845 (1890s)
pencil and watercolour on paper from the series
Glasgow in the Forties, 19.8 x 29.7 cm,
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the
late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 34.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[37] William Simpson
View of Dixon's Iron Works, Glasgow (c.1850)
reproduction of watercolour as illustrated in Simpson, *Views
and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, 1871, 7.5 x 12 cm,
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[38] William Simpson
Old Bridge Over the Kelvin,
at Great Western Road, 1888 (1898)
pencil and watercolour on paper from the series
Glasgow in the Forties, 31.6 x 26.9 cm,
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the
late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 43.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



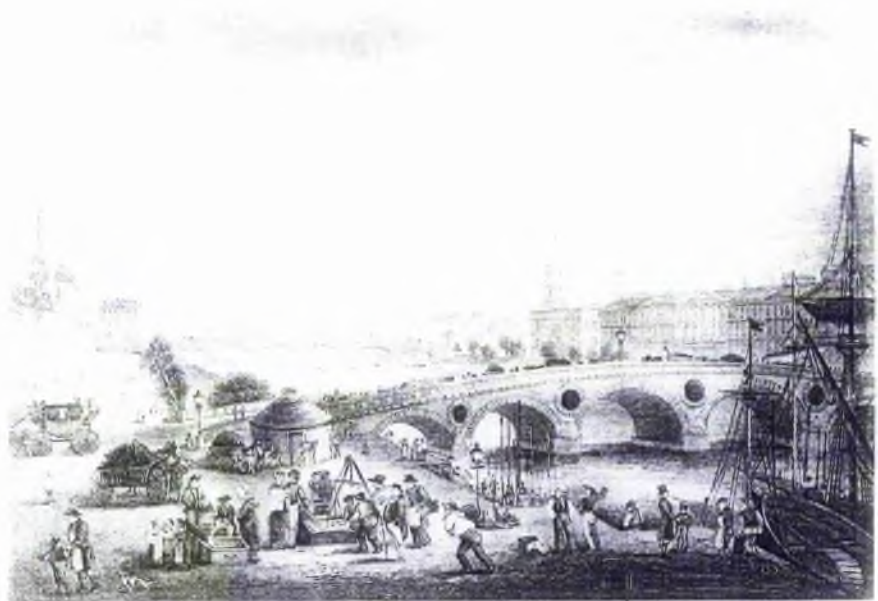
[39] John Willox (author), J. Stewart (artist)
and W. H. Lizars (Engraver)

View of Broomielaw (c.1850)

engraved illustration in *Glasgow Tourist*,

Glasgow 1850, 8.5 x 16.5 cm

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[40] John Fleming (artist) and Joseph Swan (engraver)
View of Clyde Street, Broomielaw, Carlton Place (n.d.)

Illustration in *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs*,

Glasgow 1828, 9.2 x 13.3 cm.

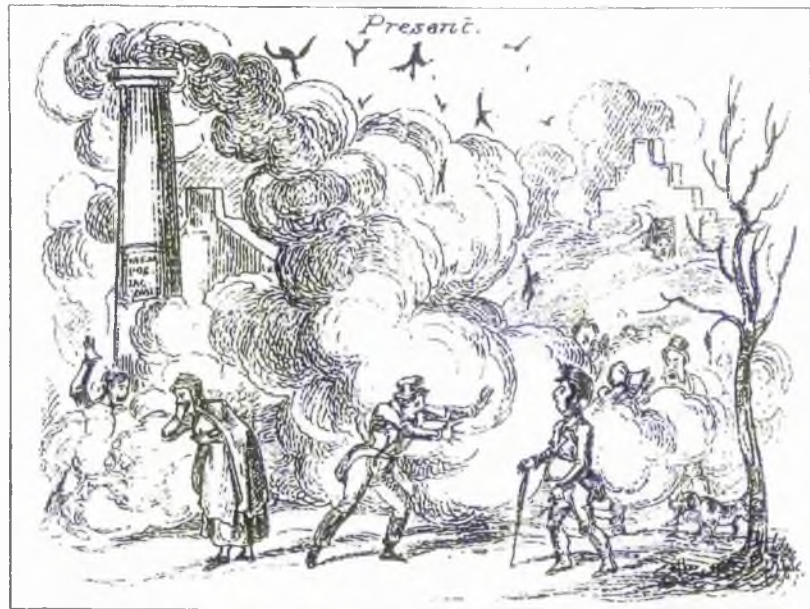
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



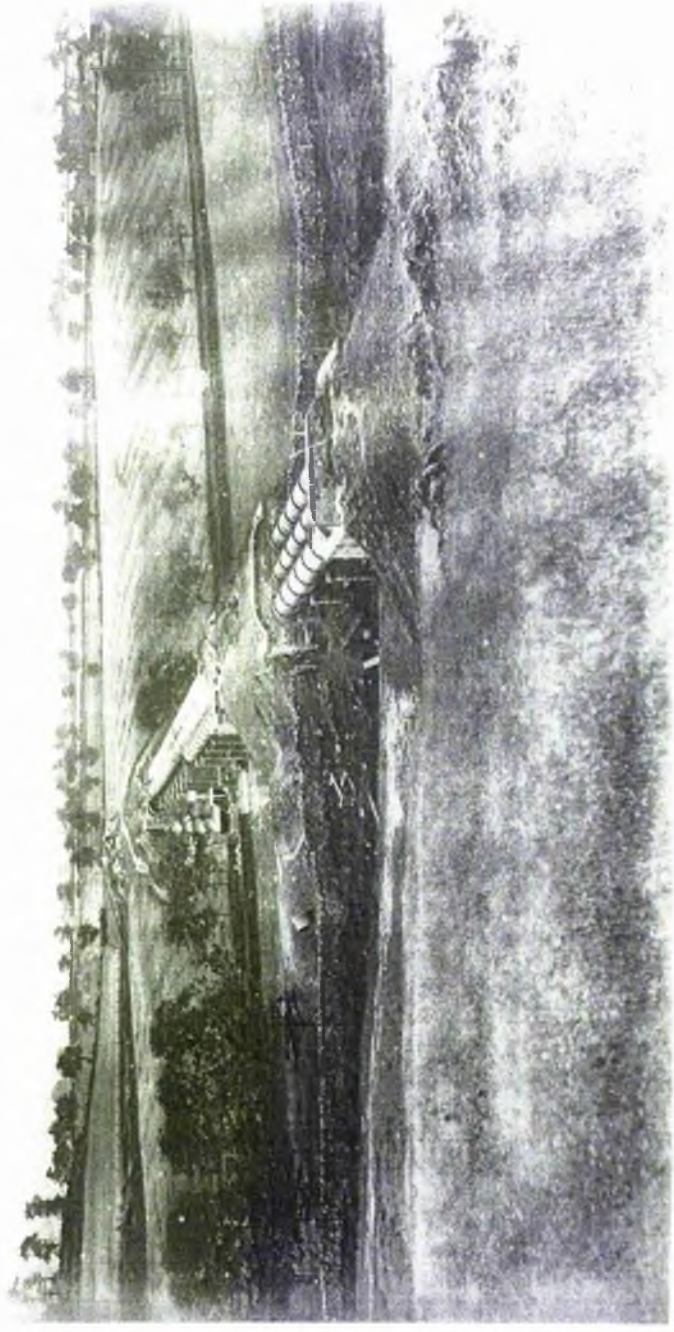
[41] John Gullan (author)
and John Scott (artist and engraver)
View of Broomielaw, Glasgow (c.1834)
engraved illustration in *Glasgow Illustrated in a Series of
Picturesque Views*, Glasgow 1834, 8.8 x 13.5 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[42] J. & D. Nichol
Broomielaw (c.1841)
lithographed illustration in *Glasgow Illustrated in
Twenty-one Views*, Glasgow 1841, 26.8 x 41 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[43] Glasgow 'present' and 'future'
illustration in *The Northern Looking Glass*, 1 (8) 1825, 28.

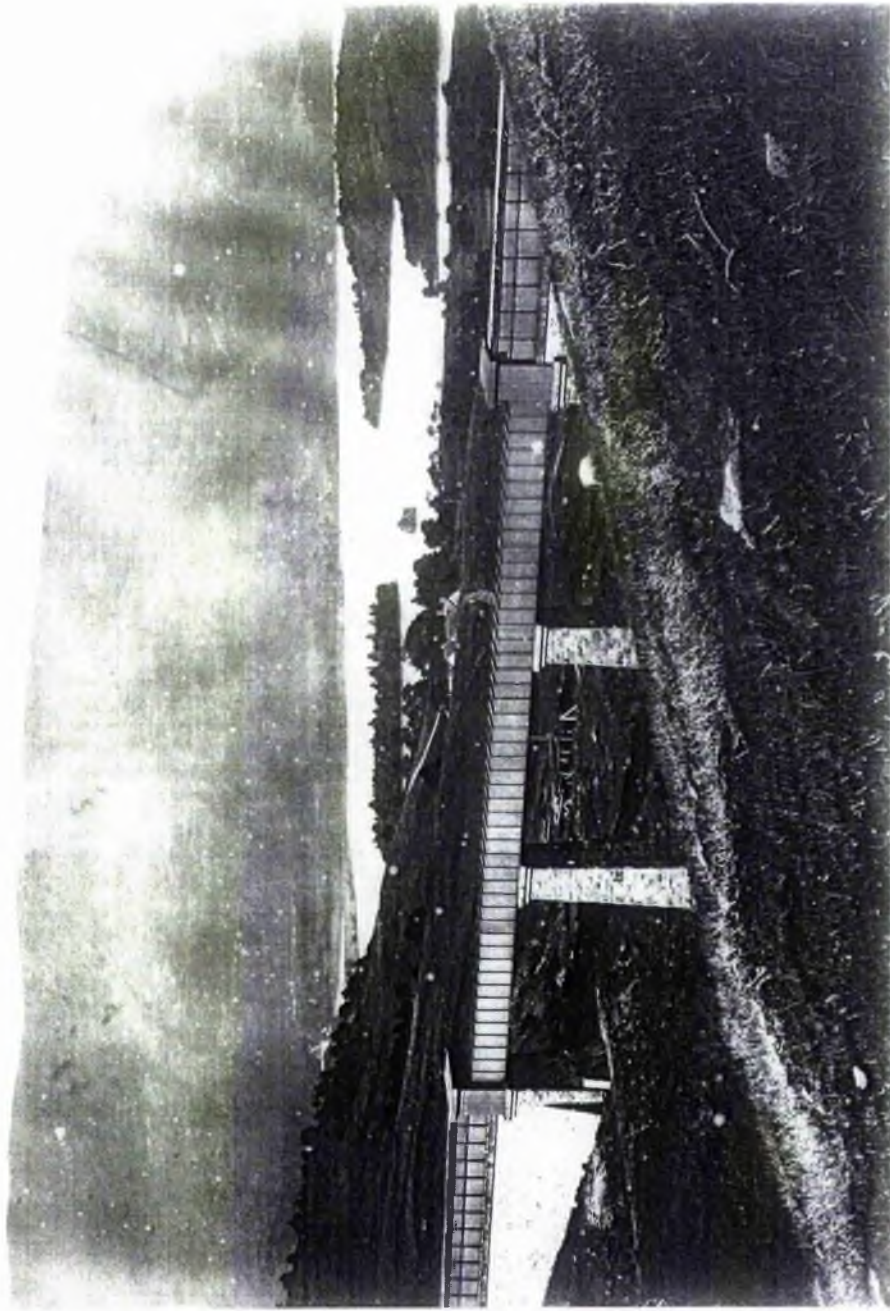


[44] Thomas Annan
Endrick Valley looking
South (1859)

photograph, 21.5 x 28cm,
from *Views on the Line of*
Loch Katrine Waterworks,
Glasgow 1859.

Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.

[45] Thomas Annan
Aqueduct Bridge No.1 near
Culegarton (1859)
photograph, 21.5 x 28cm, from
*Views on the Line of Loch Katrine
Waterworks, Glasgow 1859.*
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.



THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS



No. 998.—VOL. XXXV.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1859.

[WITH A SUPPLEMENT, FIVEPENCE]

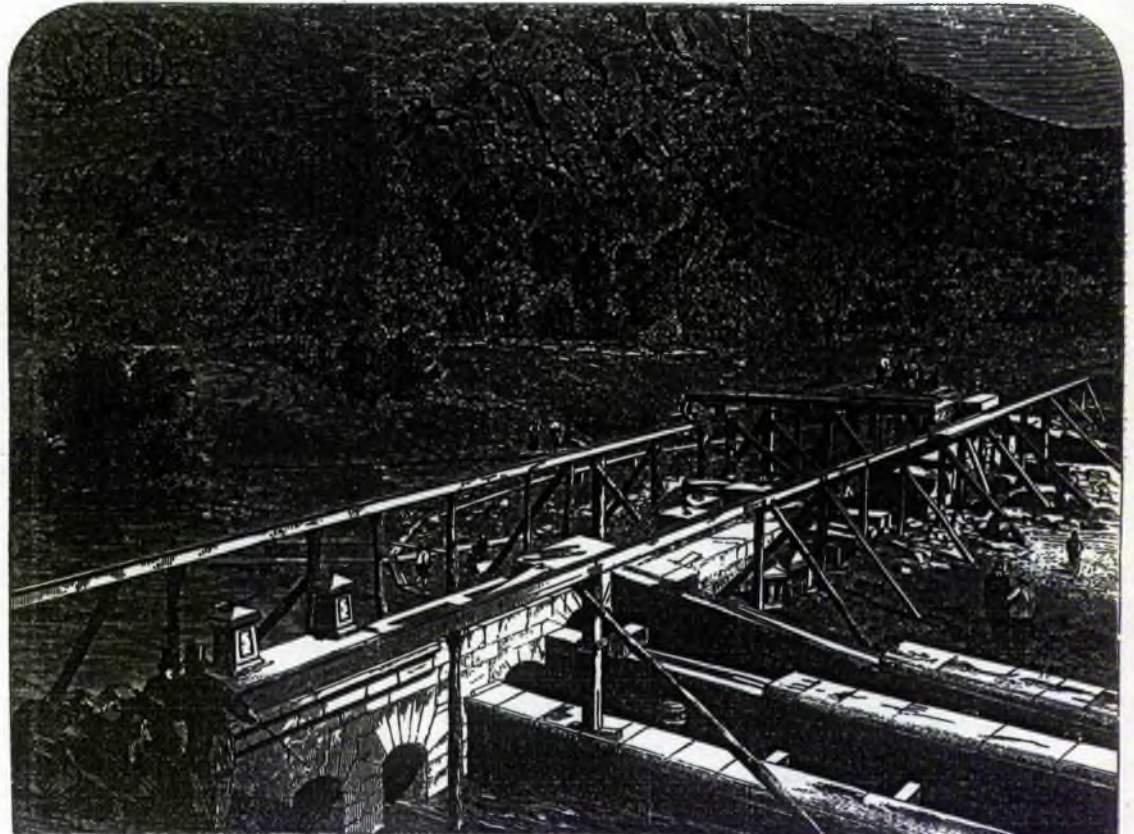
WANTED, A LITTLE COURAGE

There is a point beyond which no virtue can be carried without changing both its name and its nature. Too much generosity may degenerate into prodigality, too much economy into parsimony, too much courage into foolhardiness, and too much prudence into cowardice or simplicity. The affairs of Northern and Central Italy have arrived at such a point, and have linked themselves so inseparably around the name and the fortunes of the King of Sardinia that Victor Emmanuel is called upon to show, by some decisive act, whether he is or is not the man that Italy expects. The exemplary prudence which he has displayed since the truce of Villafranca may speedily merit another name if he cannot, or will not, see that his alone is the hand which can end the crisis. It is wisdom older than Solomon that there are times to hesitate and times to dare; times to reflect and times to act; times to respect and fear impediments, and times to set them at defiance. A wise boldness may yoke Fate itself to the chariot of Victory, if displayed at the proper moment. The King of Sardinia is bold in the battle-field, as all the world is prepared to acknowledge but the mere

courage of the soldier is not all that is requisite in an ambitious King. There must not only be courage in the council-chamber, but courage independent of council;—the courage that risks all in order to gain all. When Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the French Republic, saw that the hour had arrived when he must either put an end to the Republic or be himself put an end to—falling, like Lucifer, never to rise again—he did not stand hesitating upon the brink of the River of Difficulty, but plunged boldly in, buffeted through it, did the deed, and became the first man in Europe. Victor Emmanuel has a better cause and a greater opportunity, but does not seem to be aware of it. At all events, he takes no steps to show that he understands the possible greatness of his destiny, or that his courage and abilities are equal to the opportunities not only of Italy but of the world. The Italians want a leader. If Victor Emmanuel cannot arouse himself to a proper consciousness of the fact that he is the man he will let slip a most magnificent occasion; and the Italians, failing to find a King to lead them to liberty, may betrink themselves of the next best man, and find him in Garibaldi. This is not the conversation that the Italian desire, or that the King of Sardinia should permit. But it may

arrive for all that, if "I dare not" is still allowed to wait upon "I would," and if he who might be great will neither achieve greatness, nor allow it to be thrust upon him.

The people of Turin, Modena, Parma, and the Legations in passivity, and all but unanimously, voting their allegiance to the only Constitutional State in Italy, and in comporting themselves as a host of ditherers, during the last six months, in a manner which has belied the old ideal that the Italians neither understand freedom nor are worthy to enjoy it, have weakened the position of Austria, the Duke, and the Pope, as much as if they had beaten these combined forces in a pitched battle. They have also weakened the position of France, and taken it out of the power of the Emperor, notwithstanding the army which he still retains upon Italian soil, to do them violence without such betrayal of his pledged word and such a general European scandal as Napoleon III. is too little interested as well as too sagacious to incur. They have done everything to smooth the way for Victor Emmanuel, and nothing to impede or hamper him. Acting under the dictates of these prudential motives which were most praiseworthy when the gift of Lombardy was still to be secured, he has refused Turin,



THE GLASGOW NEW WATERWORKS OPENED BY HER MAJESTY ON THE 15TH INST.—OUTLET OF LOCH KATRINE.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THOMAS ANNAN, ROBEY-STREET, GLASGOW.—SEE PAGE 57.

[46] Thomas Annan (after)
Loch Katrine Waterworks

illustration to *The Illustrated London News*, 15 October 1859, cover.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

THE LAUNDRY.

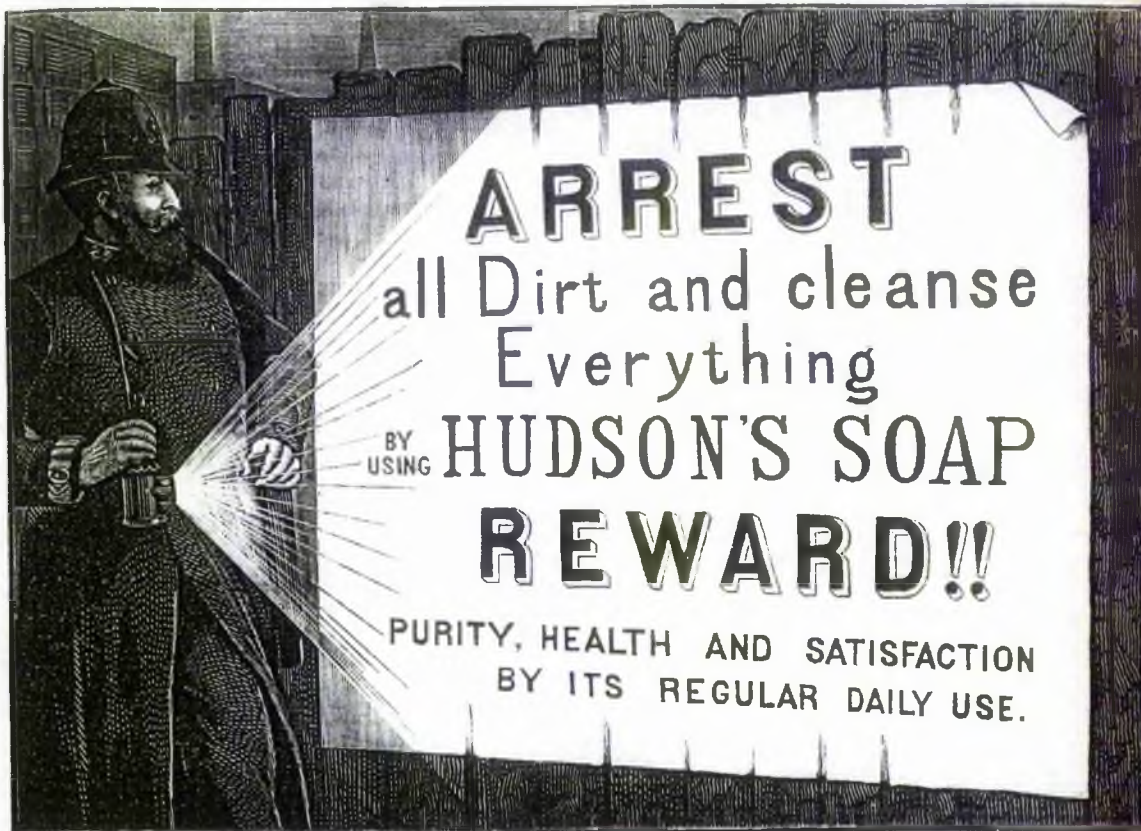
Linen, Shirts, Collars, Sheets, Table Cloths, Towels, &c., keep a good colour if washed regularly with Hudson's Soap. Leaves no smell.

DIRECTIONS FOR WASHING FLANNELS. Dissolve about two table-spoonfuls of Hudson's Soap in every bucket or pail of hot water. Stir up and let the articles soak for a few minutes, then stir them about and press through your hands, take them out and wring quickly; rinse thoroughly in clean warm water and wring again; stretch them length ways and side-ways and put to dry; they should not be allowed to get cold but ironed while they are warm and moist. On no account rub ordinary soap on them, or use anything but Hudson's Soap, which dissolves immediately. Never put flannels into cold or boiling water.

THE KITCHEN.

STOVE TOPS, COOKING RANGES, HOT PLATES.

Copper and Enamelled Pans not liable to burn if scoured with HUDSON'S SOAP. Paste Boards and Mincing Machines can be used immediately after being washed with HUDSON'S —it leaves no taint or smell, and ensures perfect cleanliness.



THE PANTRY.

PANTRY SINK, TEA CLOTH, TOWELS.

A little of HUDSON'S sprinkled in the Washing-up bowl saves the drudgery of "Washing-up," and ensures all the grease being removed from Glass, Dishes, Cups, Knives, Forks, Spoons, &c.—Leaves no smell.

THE NURSERY.

Every mother knows the difficulty of keeping Baby's Bath free from rim of grease arising from the necessary use of Cold Cream, Vaseline, &c. A teaspoonful of HUDSON'S SOAP whisked round with a wet bath mop, will remove everything objectionable. If the floor be scoured weekly with HUDSON'S SOAP the Nursery will be wonderfully freshened. The same applies to Sponges and Brushes.

HUDSON'S SOAP is a pure Dry Soap in Fine Powder, in 1-lb., ½-lb., and ¼-lb. packets—softens all waters—makes a good colour.

HUDSON'S SOAP is excellent for washing Flannels and Woollen Underclothing, as well as Linen, Shirts, Collars. HUDSON'S SOAP for washing up. Hudson's is as good for Plates, Dishes, Knives, Forks, &c., as for Washing Clothes.

[47] Anon.

Hudson's Soap Advertisement

Quiz, Summer Number 1889, 21.

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[48] Charles Marville
Impasse des Bouronnais (View from the rue de la Limace and
the rue des Bourdonnais (n.d.)
photograph, 35.3 x 27.
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



[49] Charles Marville
Rue du Murier (View from the rue Traversine) (n.d.)
photograph, 35.8 x 27.8 cm.
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

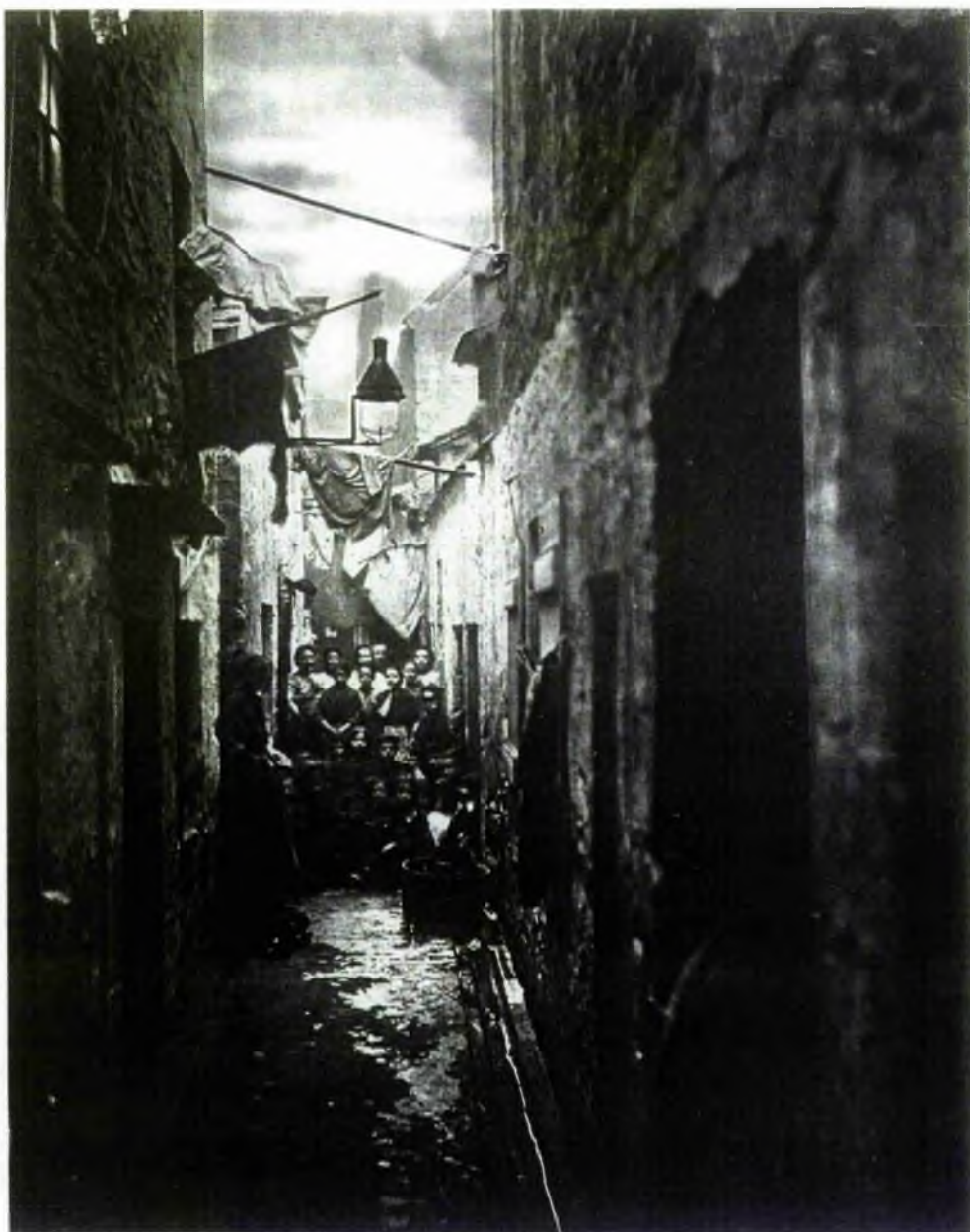


PLATE 58. Close, No. 136 Saltmarket

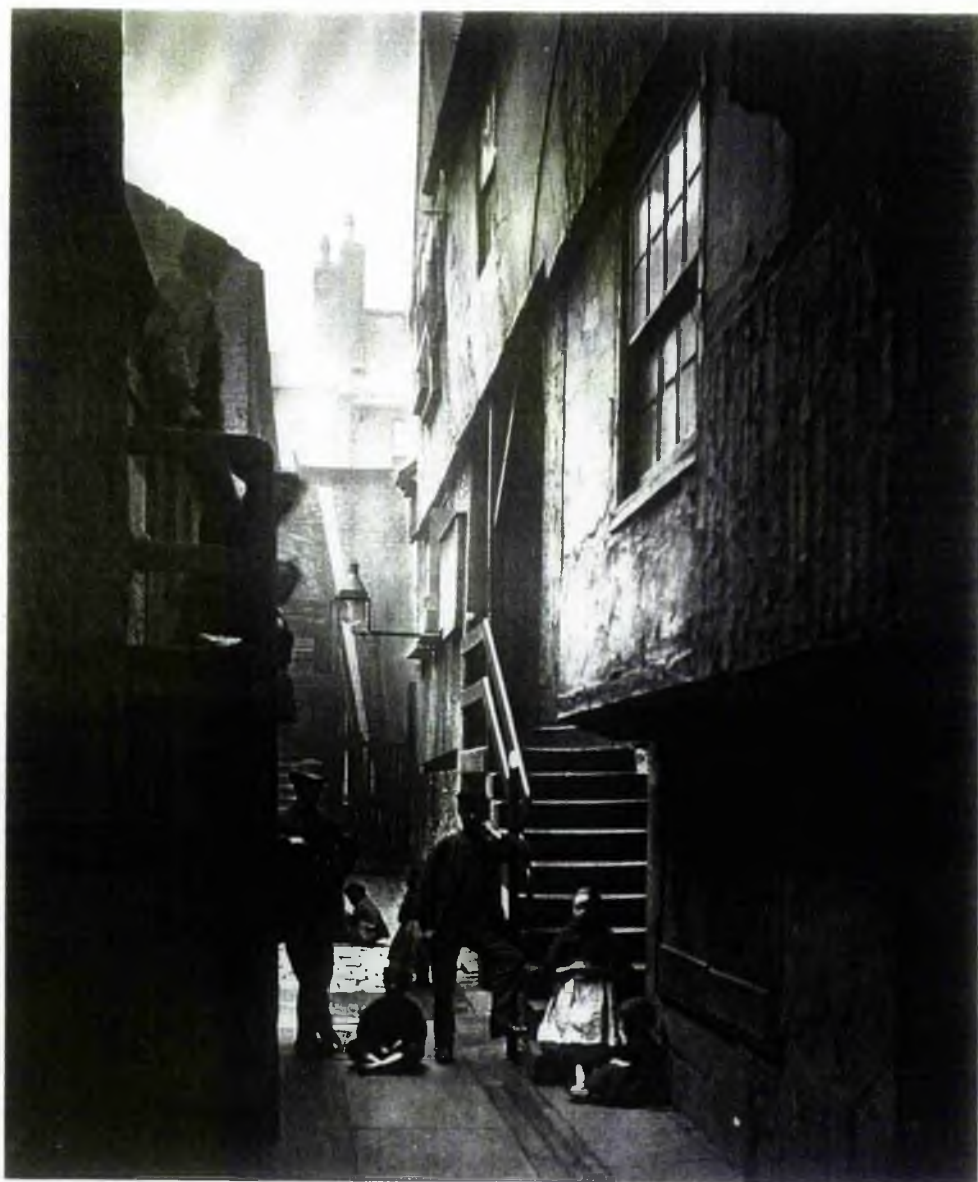
[50] Thomas Annan
Close, No. 136 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877)
photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series,
1871: 21.3 x 28.7 cm, 1877: 21.9 x 28.1 cm;
1900: 17.5 x 21.7 cm,
Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



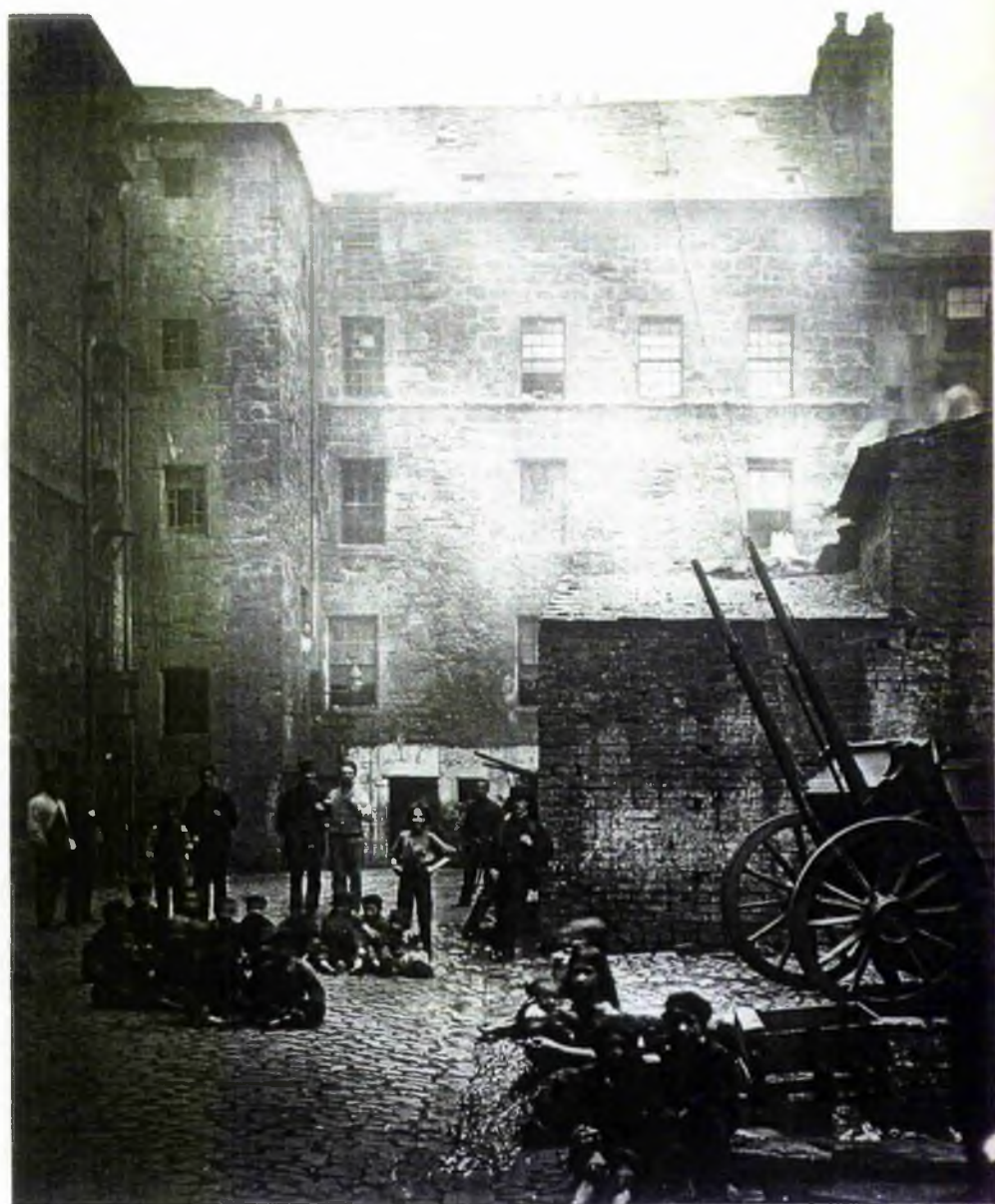
[51] Charles Marville
Rue de Hautefeuille (Looking toward the rue Serpente) (n.d.)
photograph, 27.4 x 20.8 cm.
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



[52] Thomas Annan
Close, No. 118 High Street (between 1868 and 1877)
photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series,
1871: 21.3 x 28.7 cm, 1877: 21.9 x 28.1 cm;
1900: 17.5 x 21.7 cm,
Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[53] Thomas Annan
Close, No. 28 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877)
photograph, from *Old Streets and Closes* series,
1871: 22.8 x 28.2 cm, 1877: 22.7 x 28 cm,
1900: 18.4 x 22.5cm,
Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[54] Thomas Annan

Close, No. 46 Saltmarket (between 1868 and 1877)
photograph from *Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow* series,
1871: 22.2 x 27 cm, 1877 and 1900: 23 x 28.3 cm,
Glasgow 1871, 1877 and published 1900.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library,



[55] Horatio Thomson
Ship Bank Building, Saltmarket (1903)
watercolour over pencil on paper, 41.6 x 30.5 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



Rabb's Close, Saltmarket.
Occupied by Mr. LOCHHEAD.

[56] Horatio Thomson
Rabb's Close, Saltmarket
(Occupied by Mr Lochhead) (c.1901)
watercolour on paper, 35.4 x 25.2 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



[57] David Small
28 Saltmarket (1864)
watercolour, 27.7 x 39.7cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[58] David Small
The Royal Exchange, Glasgow
postcard, Raphael Tuck & Sons 'Art'
Postcard Series 791 "Glasgow".



[59] Louis Reid Deuchars
Picturesque Glasgow No. 30:
"Princes Street" –
now being removed (c.1893)
The Bailie Cartoon Supplement,
17 May 1893, 7.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.



[60] Louis Reid Deuchars
Picturesque Glasgow No. 24: "The Old Fruitmarket, Kent St., Calton" (c.1893)
The Bailie Cartoon Supplement, 6 June 1893, 3.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[61] Louis Reid Deuchars
Picturesque Glasgow No. 11: Old Buildings at Bridgeton Cross (c.1893).
The Bailie Cartoon Supplement, 6 September 1893, 1.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[62] Robert Bryden
Balmano Brae (1913)
etching, 28 x 15.7 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[63] Robert Bryden
Tollbooth, High Street (1907)
etching, 20 x 10.1 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



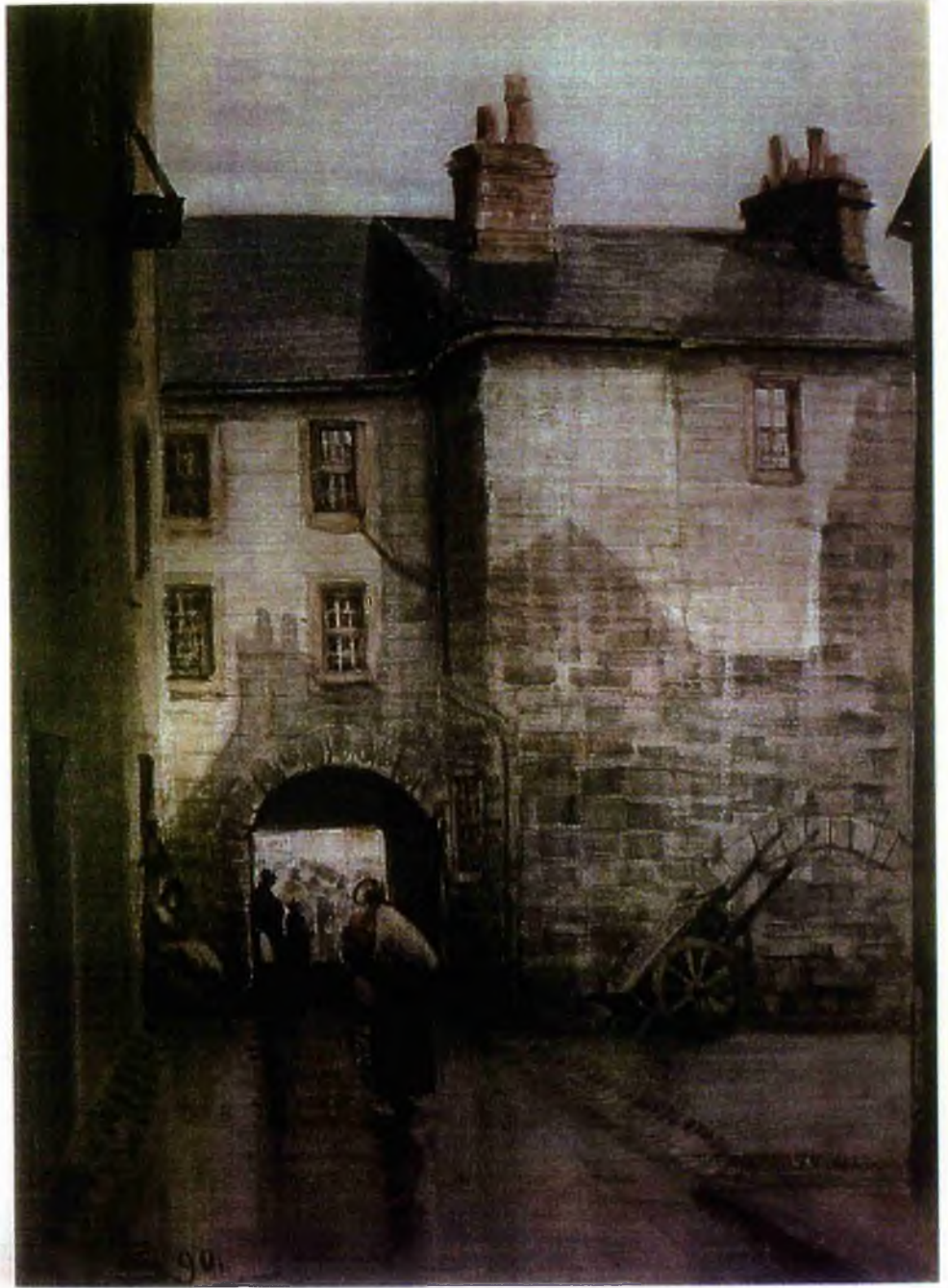
[64] Robert Bryden
Glasgow Cross (1907)
etching, 19.5 x 20.8 cm.
Glasgow City Library: Mitchell Library.

[65] Louis Reid Deuchars
Picturesque Glasgow No. 5:
The Old Trongate, at the
beginning of the present
improvements (1891)
The Bailie Cartoon
Supplement,
14 June 1893, 1.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.



[66] Louis Reid Deuchars
Picturesque Glasgow No. 9:
"The Fish market" (c.1893)
The Bailie Cartoon Supplement,
2 August 1893, 1.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.





[67] Patrick Downie
Laigh Kirk Close (1890)
pencil and watercolour on paper, 25.3 x 17.9 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



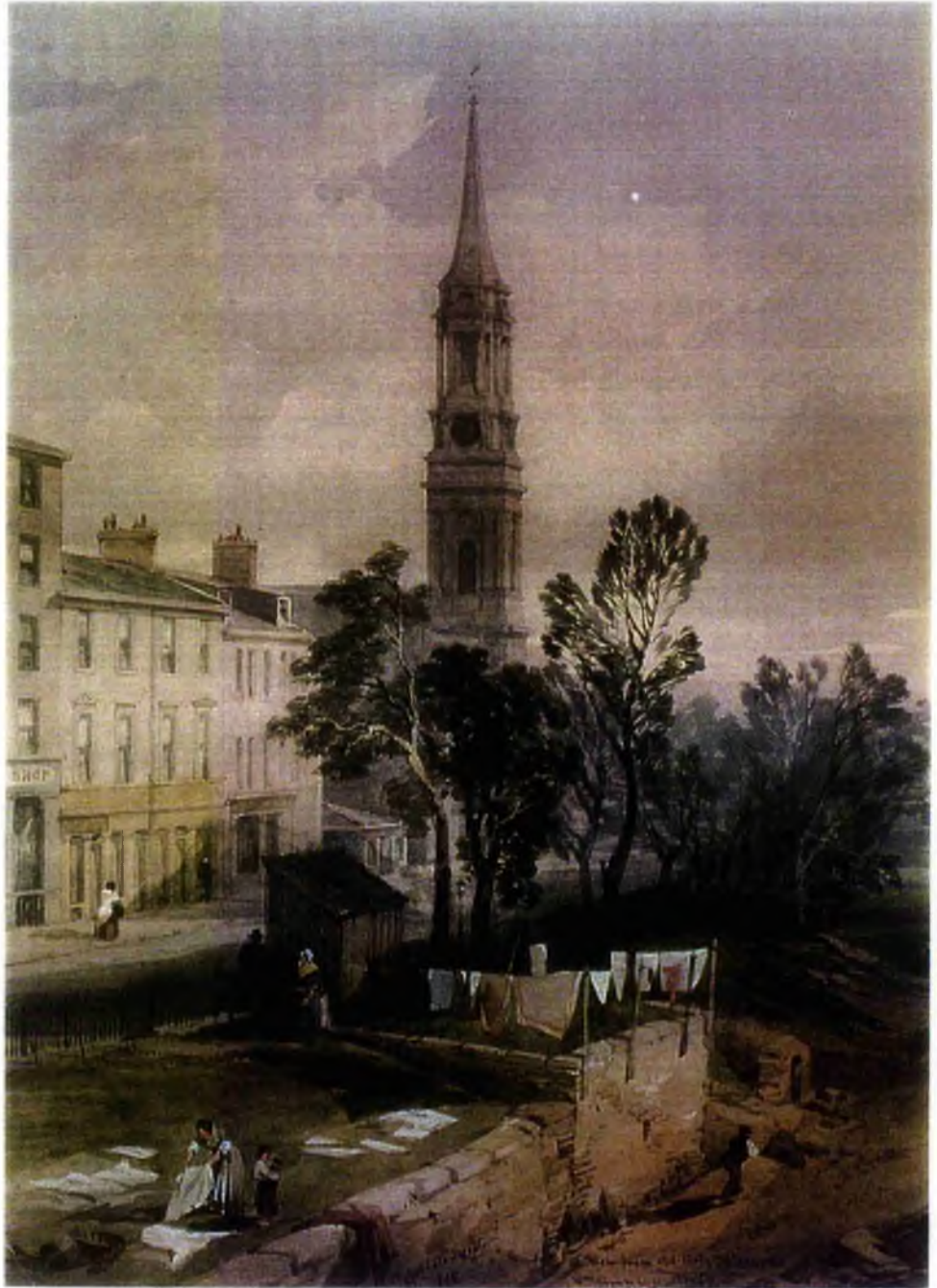
[68] Patrick Downie
Union Court off Rottenrow (1891)
pencil and watercolour on paper, 25 x 17.3 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[69] William Simpson
Corner of Stockwell and Briggate 1846 (1897)
pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series
Glasgow in the Forties, 20.7 x 34.3,
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the
late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 15.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[70] William Simpson
Main Street Gorbals (1897)
pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series
Glasgow in the Forties, 20.9 x 33.7 cm,
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the
late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate 20.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



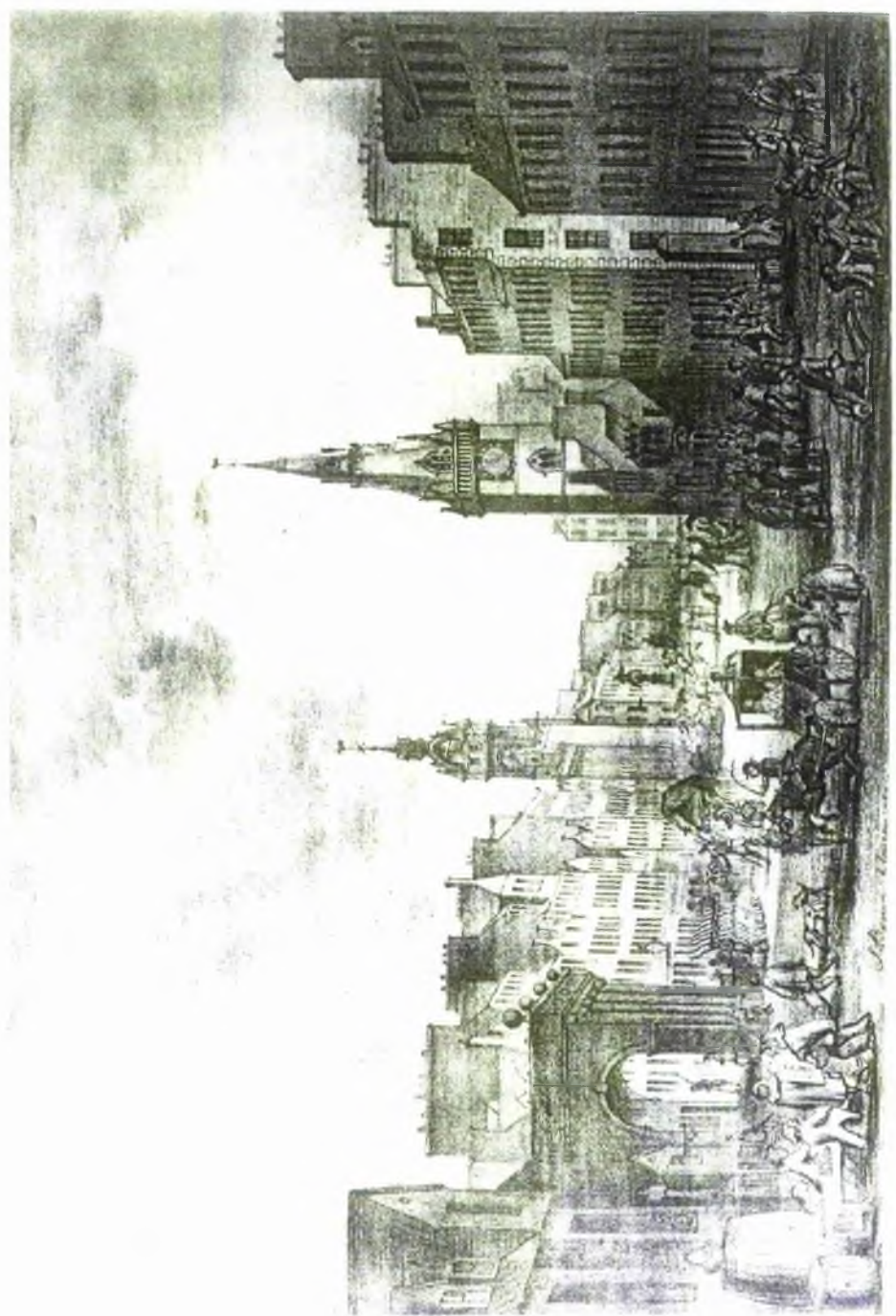
[71] William Simpson
View from South End of the Old Bridge with Gorbals Steeple
(from 1847 sketch) (1898)

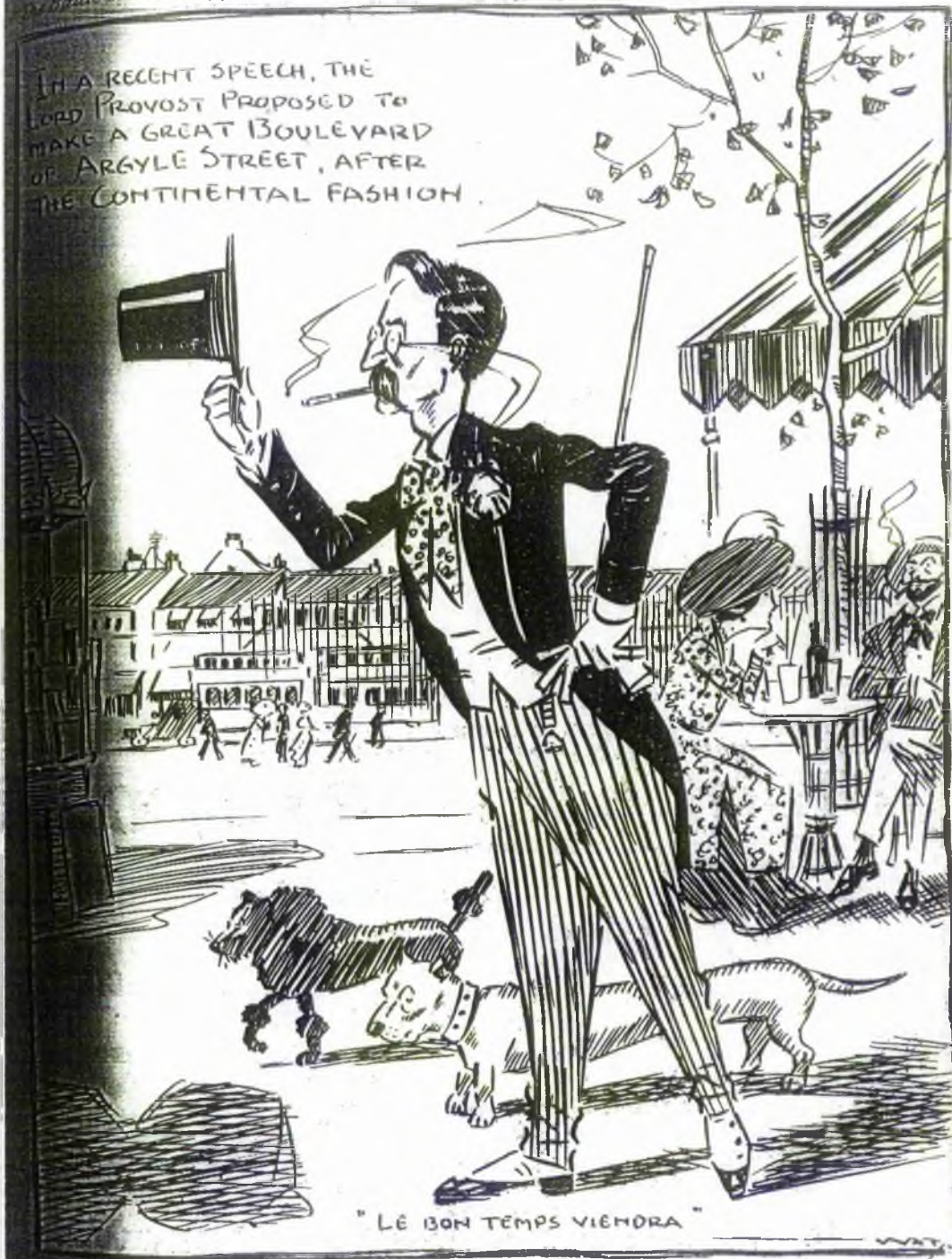
pencil and watercolour on paper from the series
Glasgow in the Forties, 48.1 x 34.9 cm,
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.

As reproduced in A. H. Miller, *'Glasgow in the Forties' by the
late William Simpson*, Glasgow 1899, plate 19.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

[72] J. Brown
Glasgow: Trongate in the
Olden Time
postcard, "Caledonia" Series
No. 154, postmarked 1906.

This engraving was
reproduced in T. Annan,
*The Old Streets and Closets of
Glasgow*, Glasgow 1900.





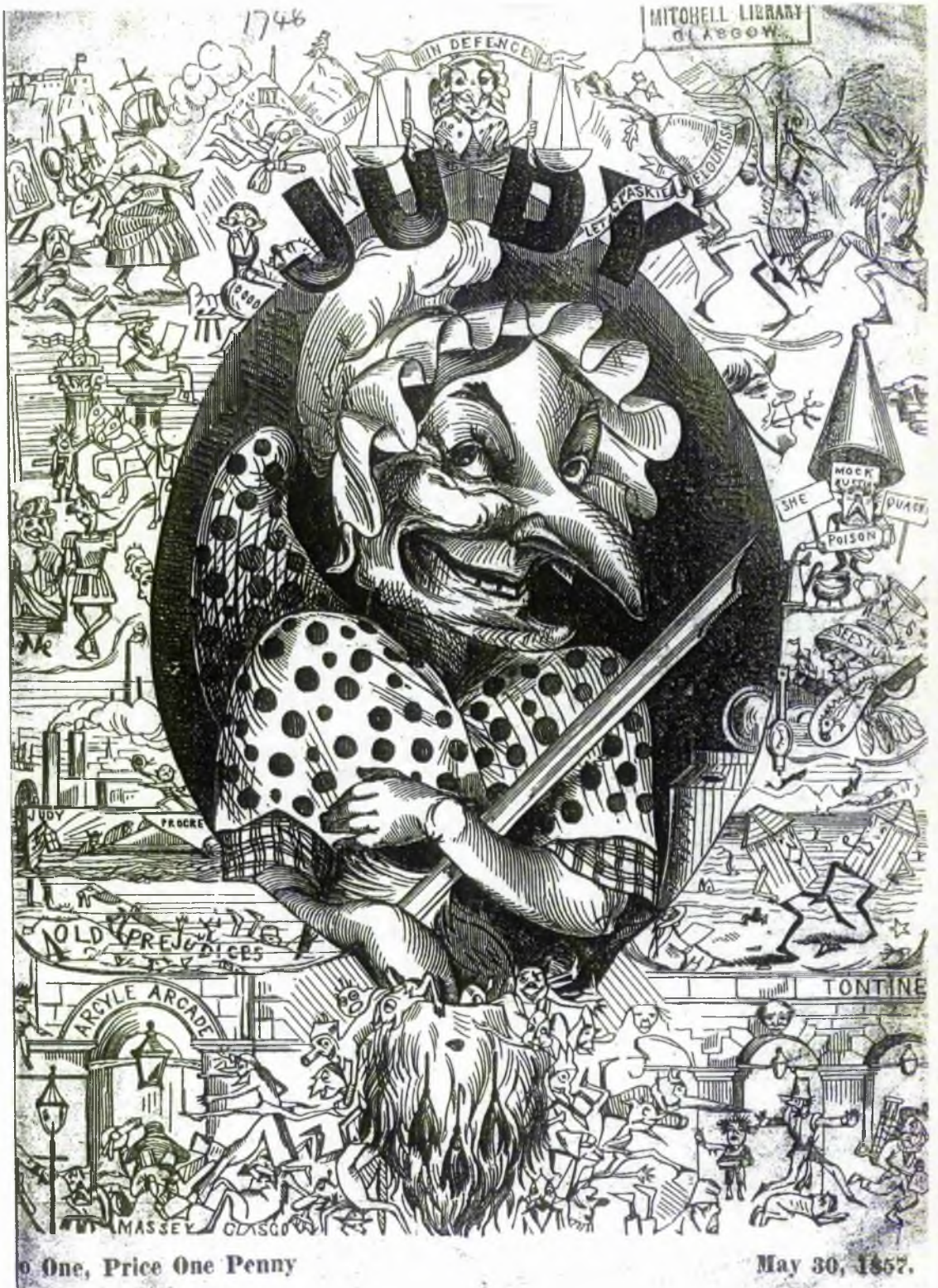
" THE BOULEVARDER " RUE DE TRONGATE 19 — ?

[73] Wat
Le Boulevarder - Rue de Trongate 19--?
illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*,
26 February 1913, 1.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



Designed & Etched by George Cruikshank. 1858.

[74] George Cruikshank
Frontispiece: *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs* (1858)
engraved illustration to
Shadow's Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs,
Glasgow 1858.



One, Price One Penny

May 30, 1857.

[75] Massey, Glasgow
cover illustration to *Judy, or the Glasgow Satirist*
30 May 1857.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[77] John Dall
Looking for a Job

illustration, *The Scots Pictorial*, 23 April 1898, 2 (56) 640.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



Homeward Bound.
Irish Harvesters leaving Glasgow Harbour.

Photo by Muirhead Bone.

[78] Muirhead Bone
Homeward Bound
The Scots Pictorial, 15 October 1898, 4 (81) 155.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

THE SCOTS PICTORIAL

An Illustrated Weekly Journal.

NO. 10. VOL. III.

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1898.

PRICE 2D.



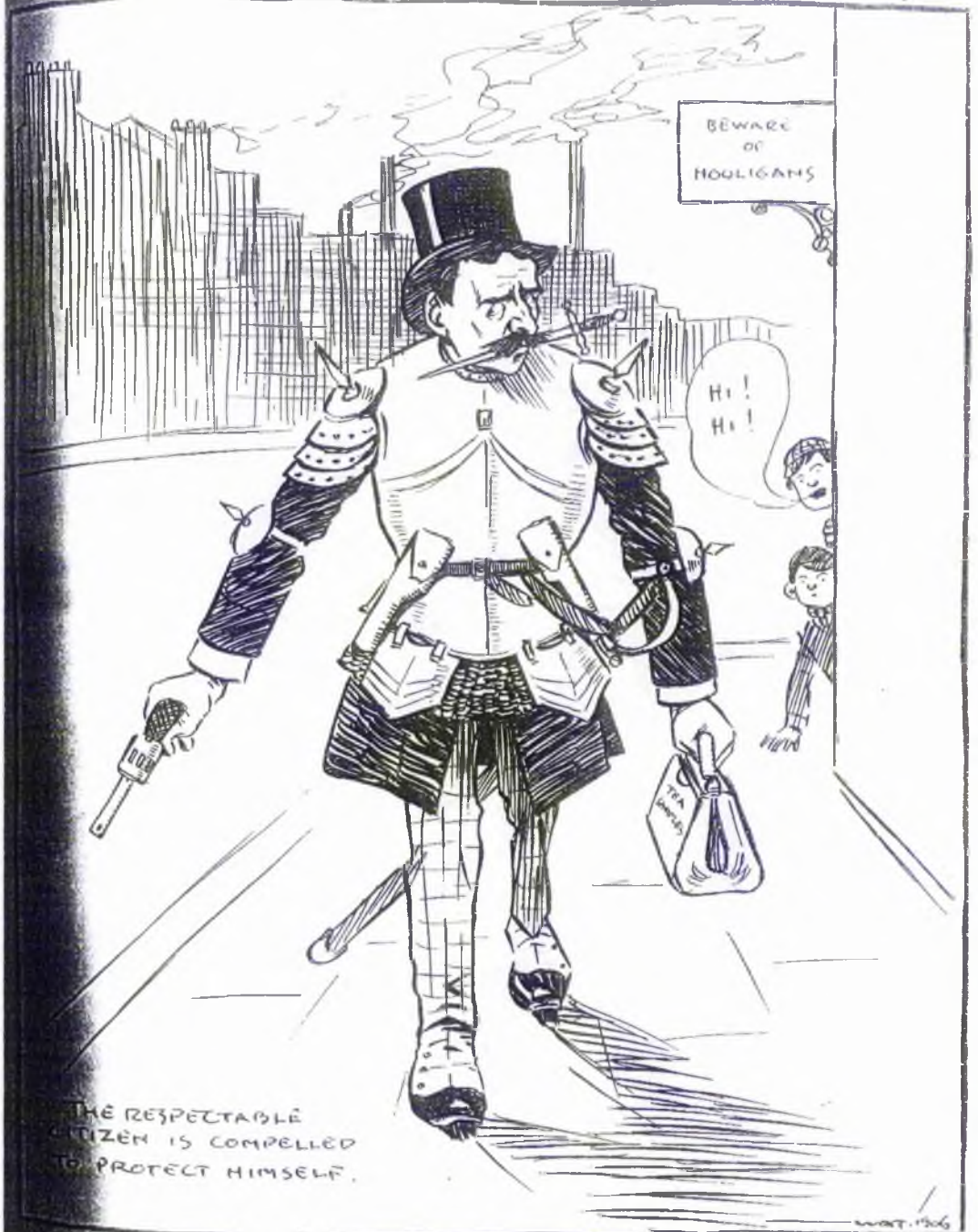
A City Maypole.

[79] John Dall

City Maypole

The Scots Pictorial, 16 April 1898, 2 (55) cover.

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



THE HOOLIGAN SCARE

[80] Wat

The Hooligan Scare

The Bailie Cartoon Supplement, 18 March 1906, 1.

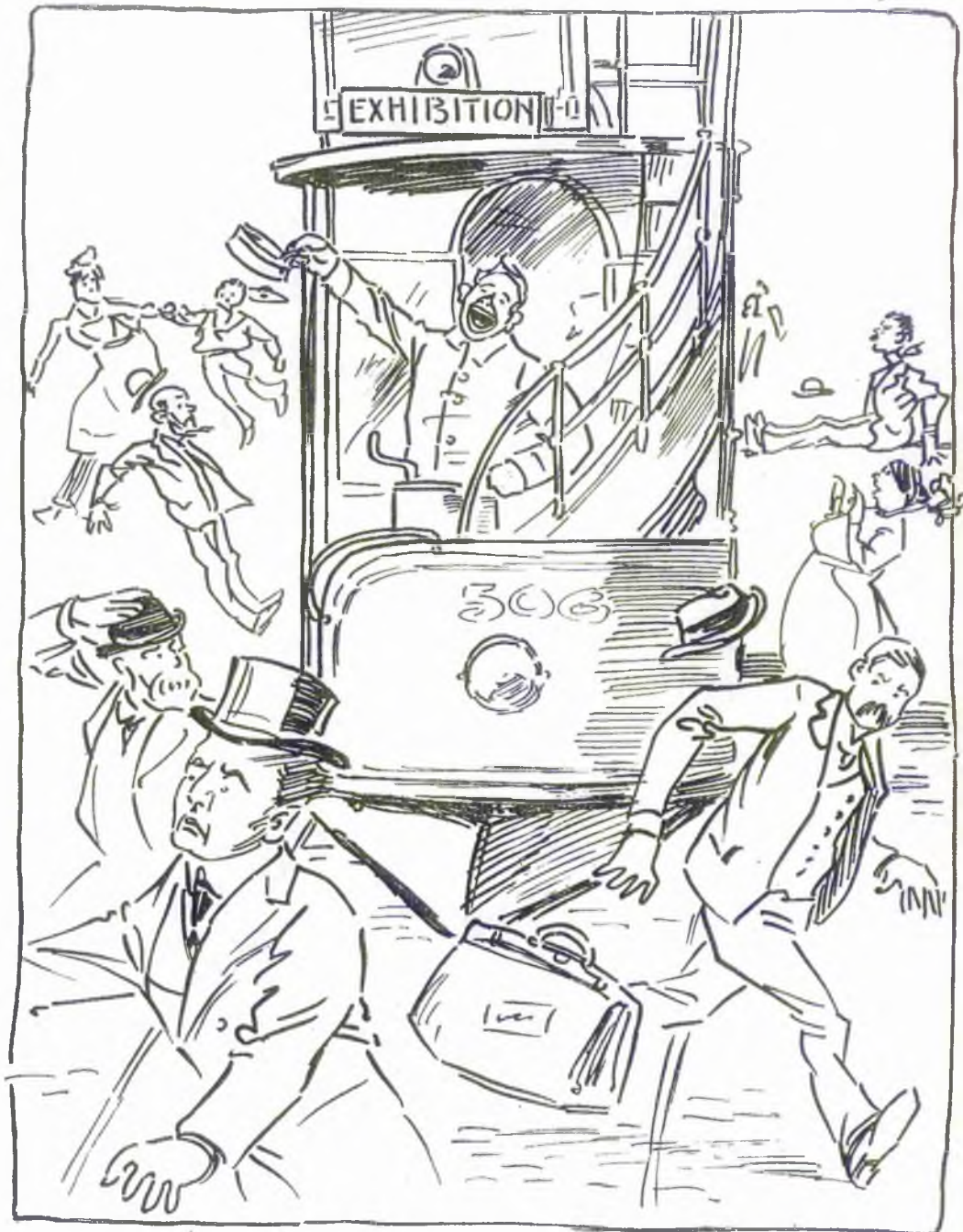
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[81] William Simpson, The Trongate 1849 (1898)
pencil and watercolour on paper, from the series
Glasgow in the Forties, 31 x 50.9 cm, Glasgow Museums.
As reproduced in A. H. Miller, '*Glasgow in the Forties*' by the
late William Simpson, Glasgow 1899, plate I.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[82] Alexander Shanks
Trongate (c.1850), watercolour, 23.9 x 28 cm.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



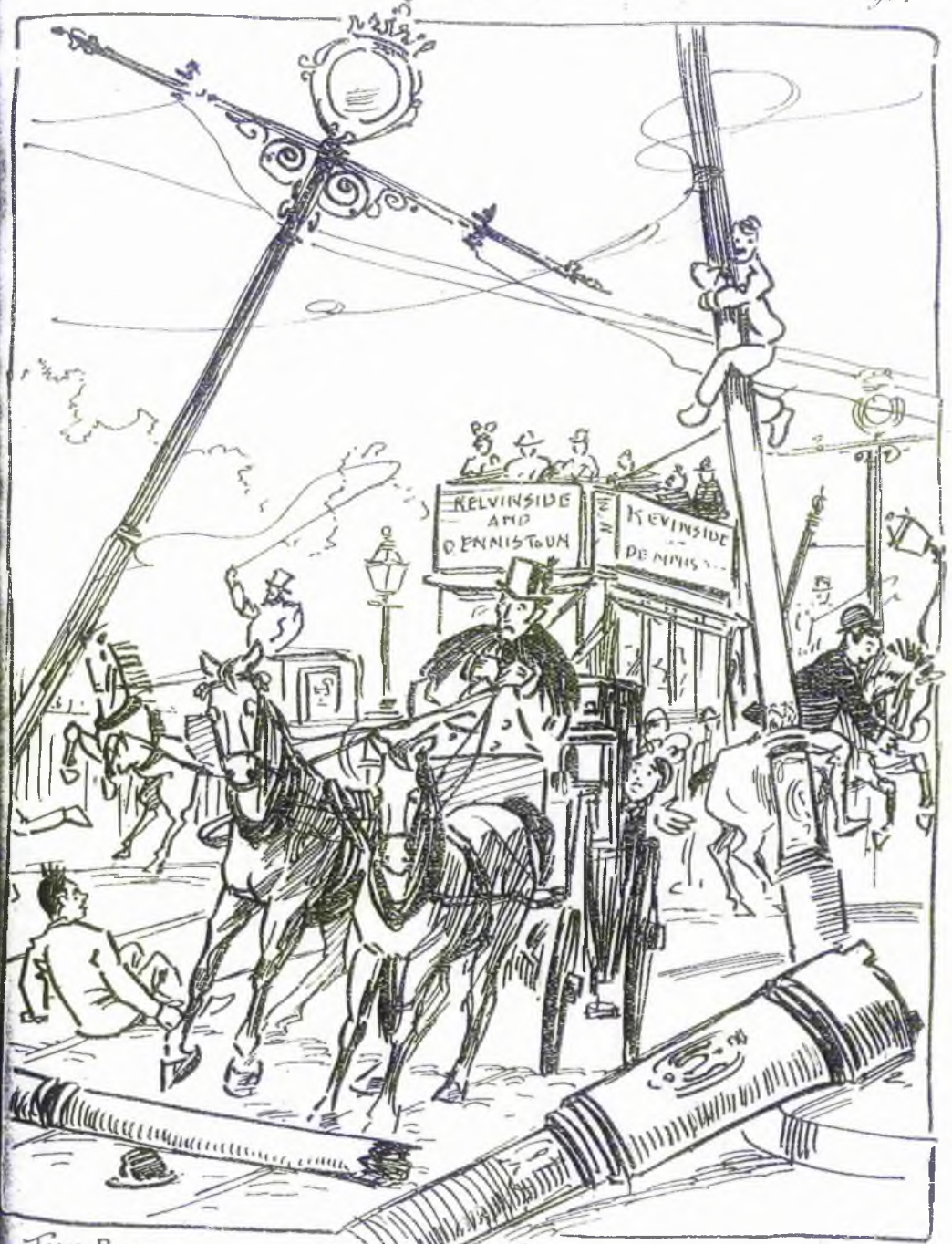
THE ELECTRIC JUGGERNAUT.

[83] Anon.

The Electric Juggernaut

illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 5 June 1901, 1.

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



THE BATTLE OF THE POLES.

GREAT WESTERN ROAD.

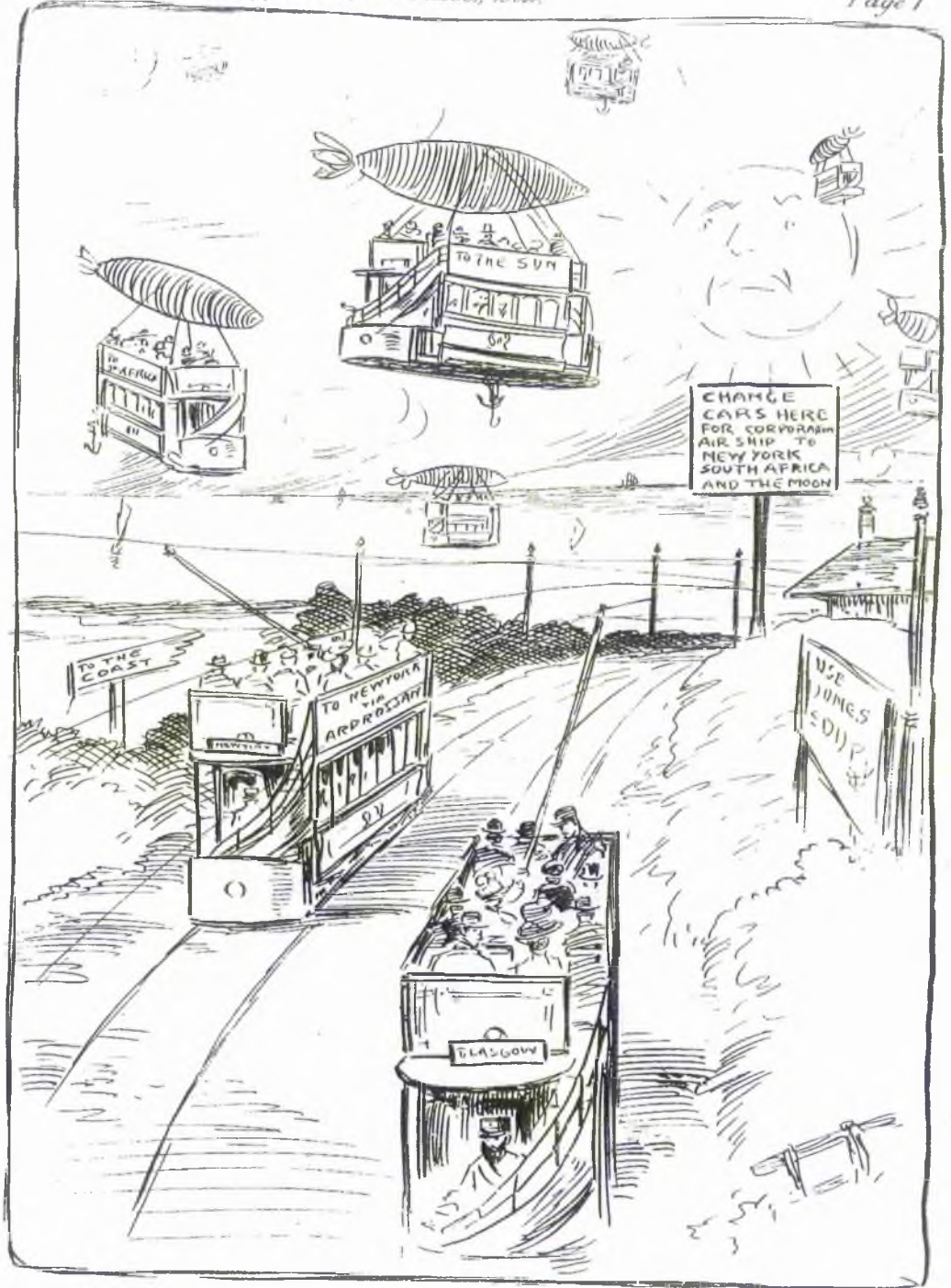
[84] Anon.

The Battle of the Poles – Great Western Road
illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 9 January 1901, 1.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



OUR MODERN TRAVELLING FACILITIES.

[85] Norman Maclean
Our Modern Transport Facilities
illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*,
16 December 1896, 5.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



WHAT CORPORATION ENTERPRISE MAY COME TO

[86] Anon.

Wat Corporation Enterprise May Come to?
illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*,

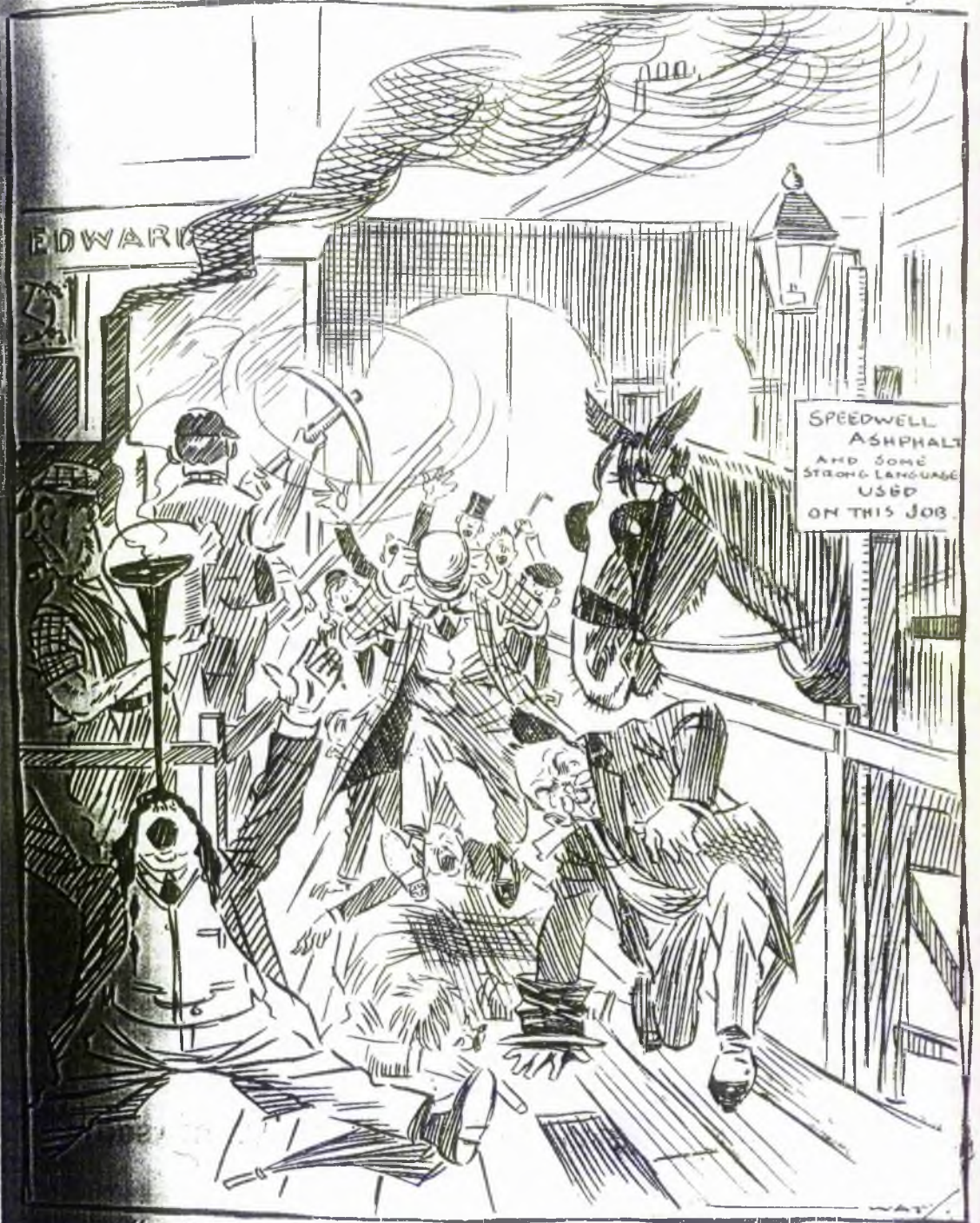
12 October 1904, 1.

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library

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[87] Walt Miller
Rue de Sauchiehall
illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*, 5 July 1899, 7.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



"WHIT'S UP? - OUR STREETS!"

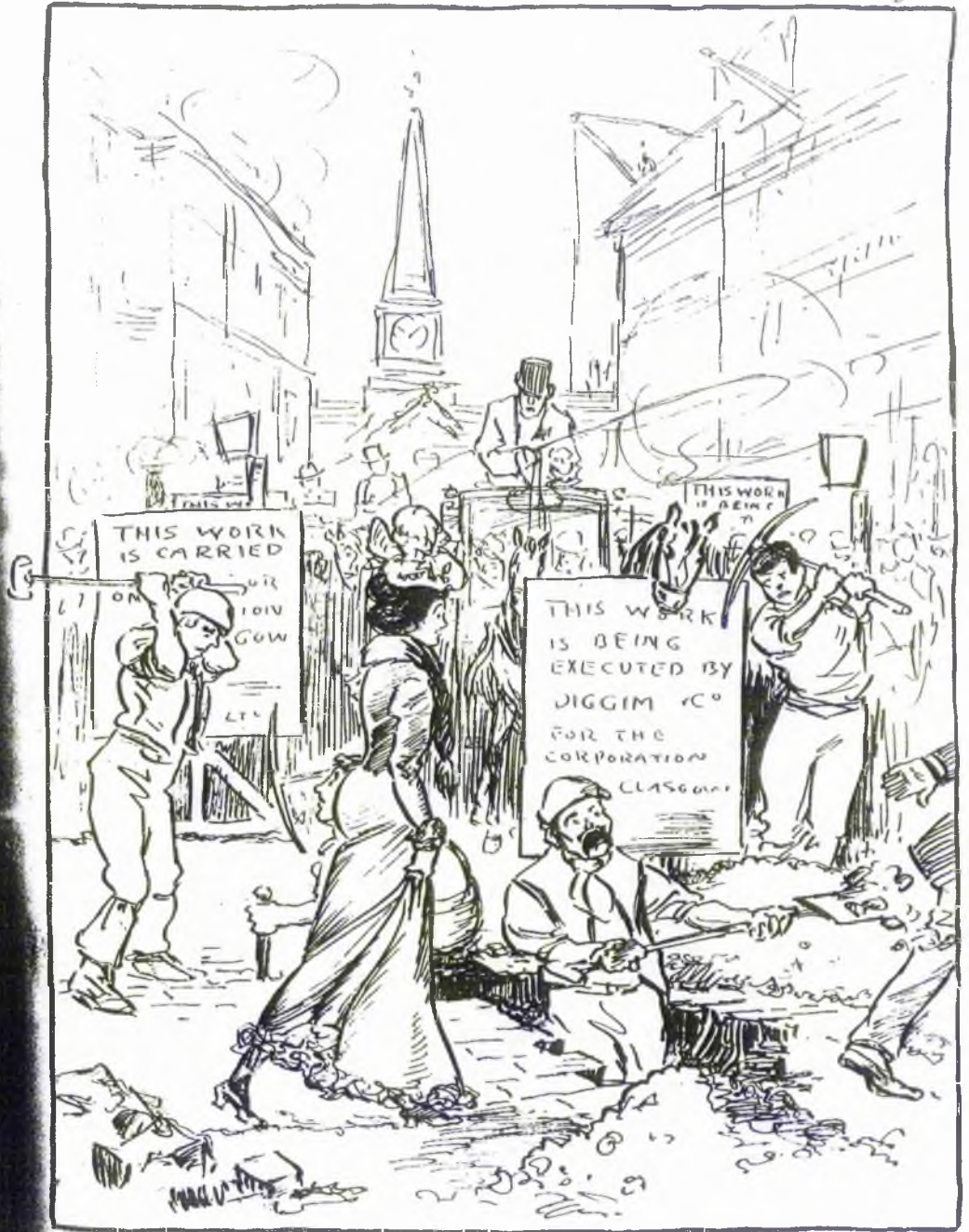
[88] Wat

Whit's Up? Our Streets

illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*,

20 October 1909, 1.

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



THE SIEGE OF BUCHANAN STREET.

[89] Anon.

The Siege of Buchanan Street.

illustration, *The Bailie Cartoon Supplement*,

24 October 1900, 1.

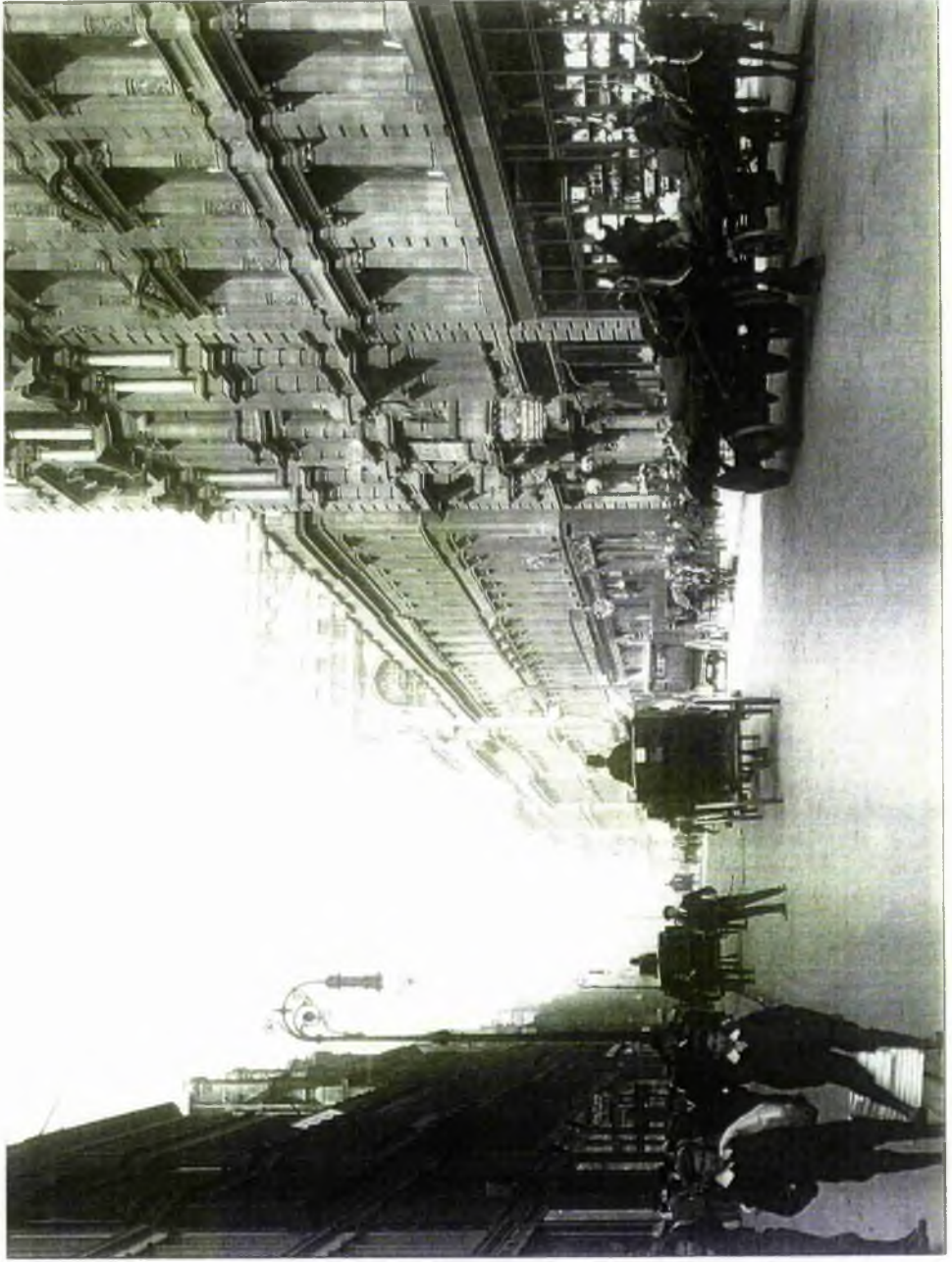
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[90] David Young Cameron
Tontine Building (1892)
etching, 13.2 x 20 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

[91] T. & R. Annan
Anderston Cross (1900)
photograph.
Annan Galleries.





[92] T. & R. Annan
Buchanan Street (c. 1900)
Photograph.
Annan Galleries.

[93] Horatio Thomson
Buchanan Street (1902)
watercolour over pencil on paper,
30.3 x 42.3 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery,
University of Glasgow.



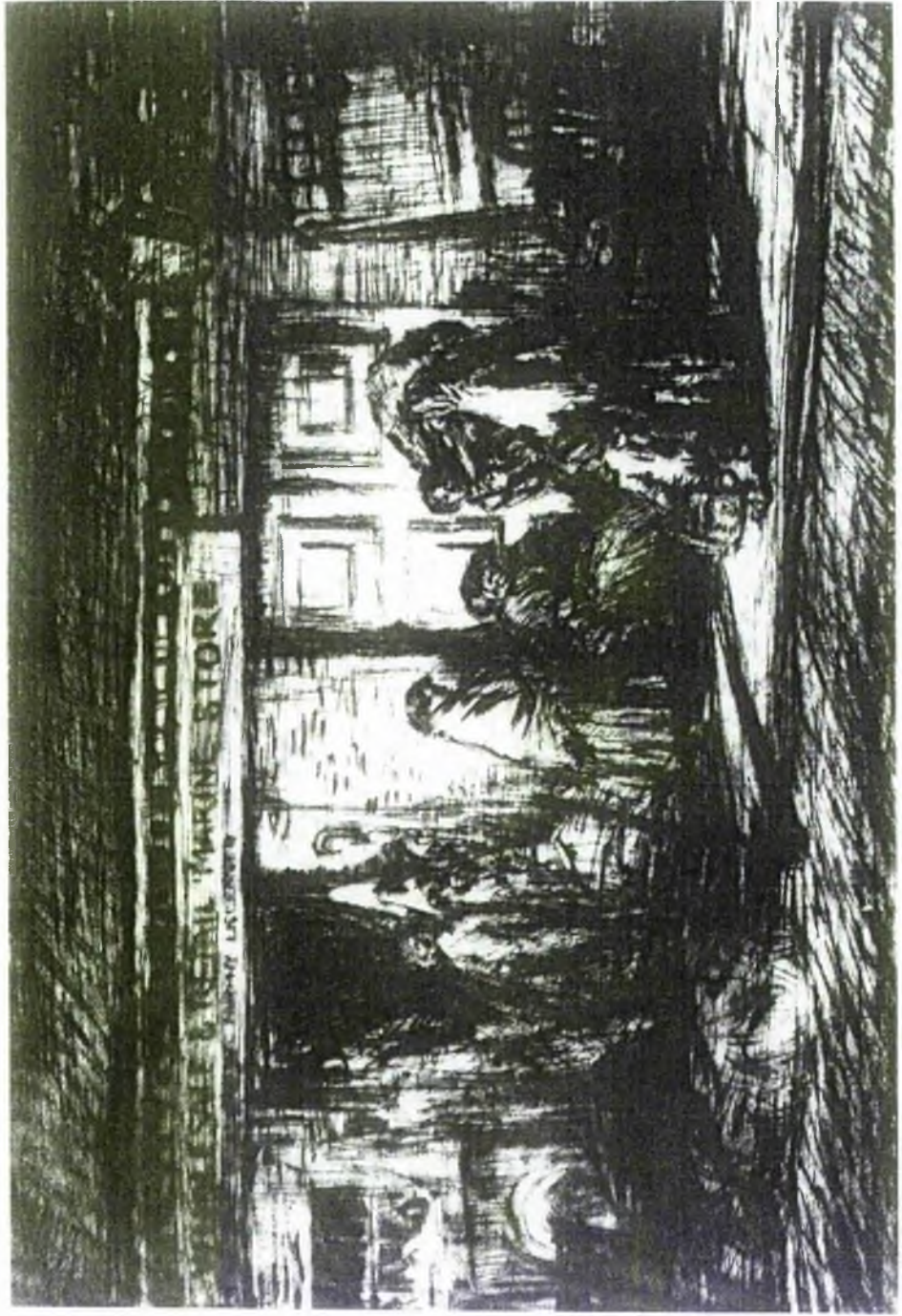


EST. 1902.

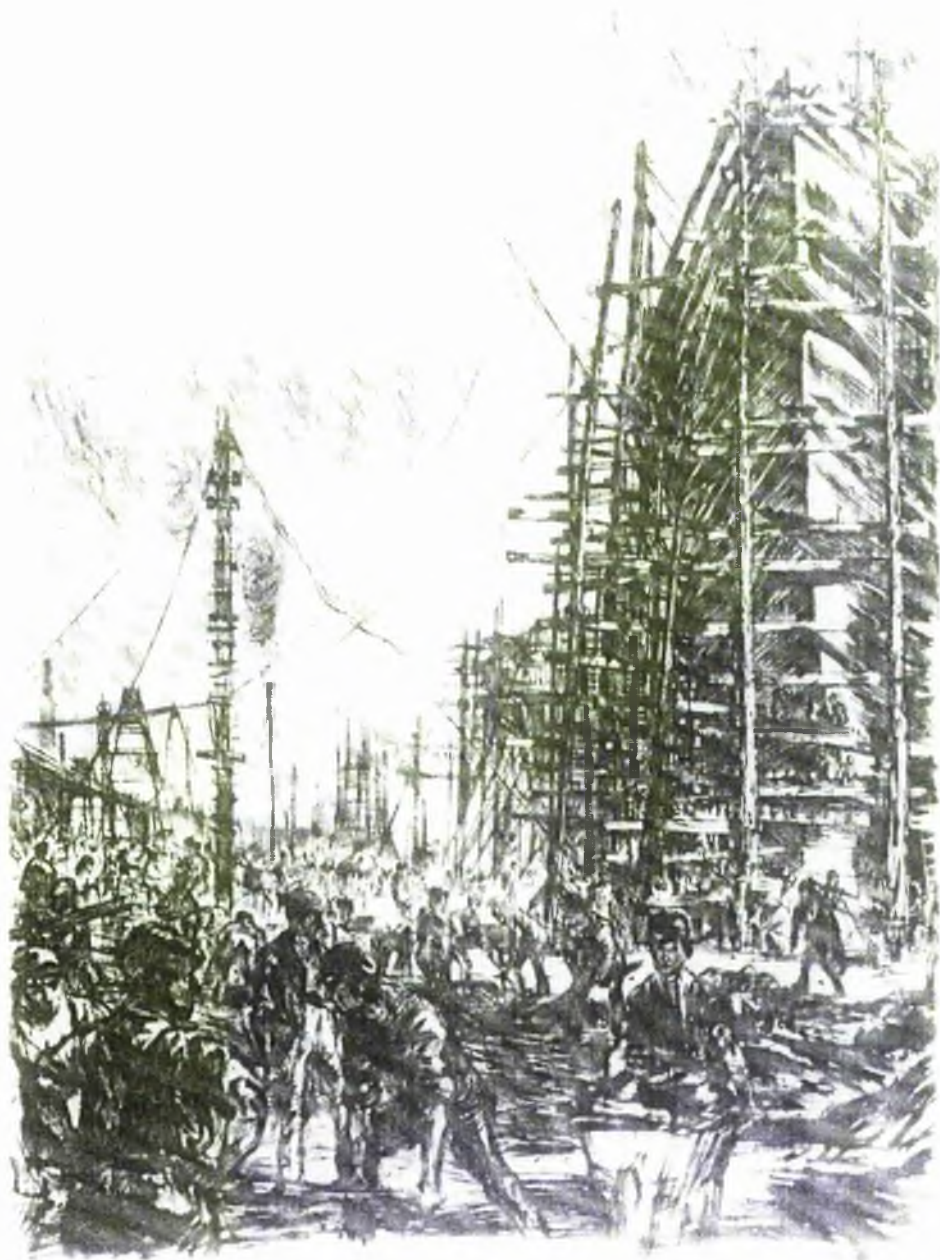
McHenry



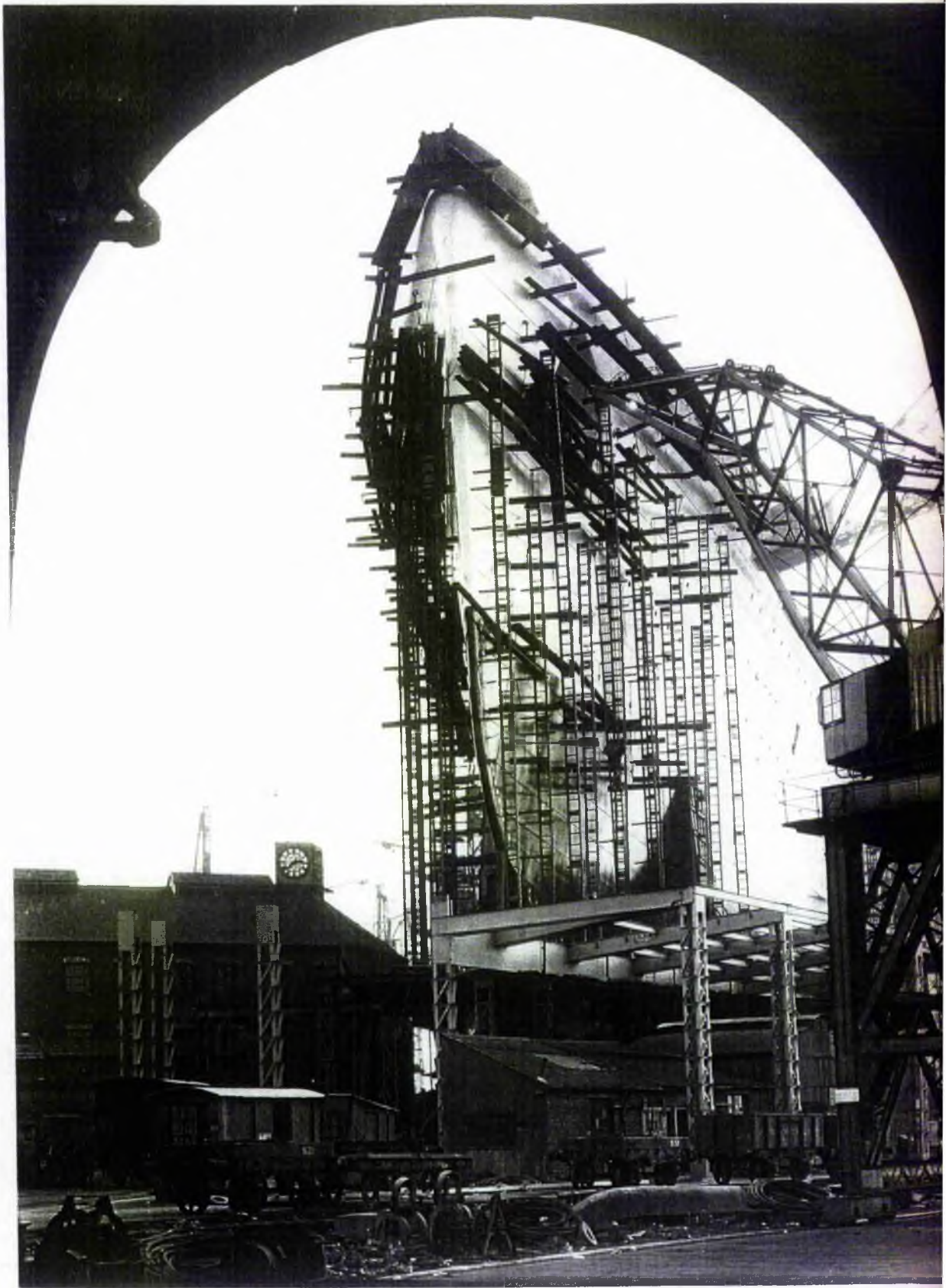
[94] Anon.
Britannia on the Clyde
illustration, *Glasgow Today*, Glasgow 1909.



[95] Muirhead Bone
Kingston Rag-Store (1900)
drypoint etching print: ink on
white paper, 24.5 x 32 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery,
University of Glasgow.



[96] Muirhead Bone
Shipbuilders, Whiteinch (1899)
drypoint print: ink on white laid paper, 28.5 x 21.3 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



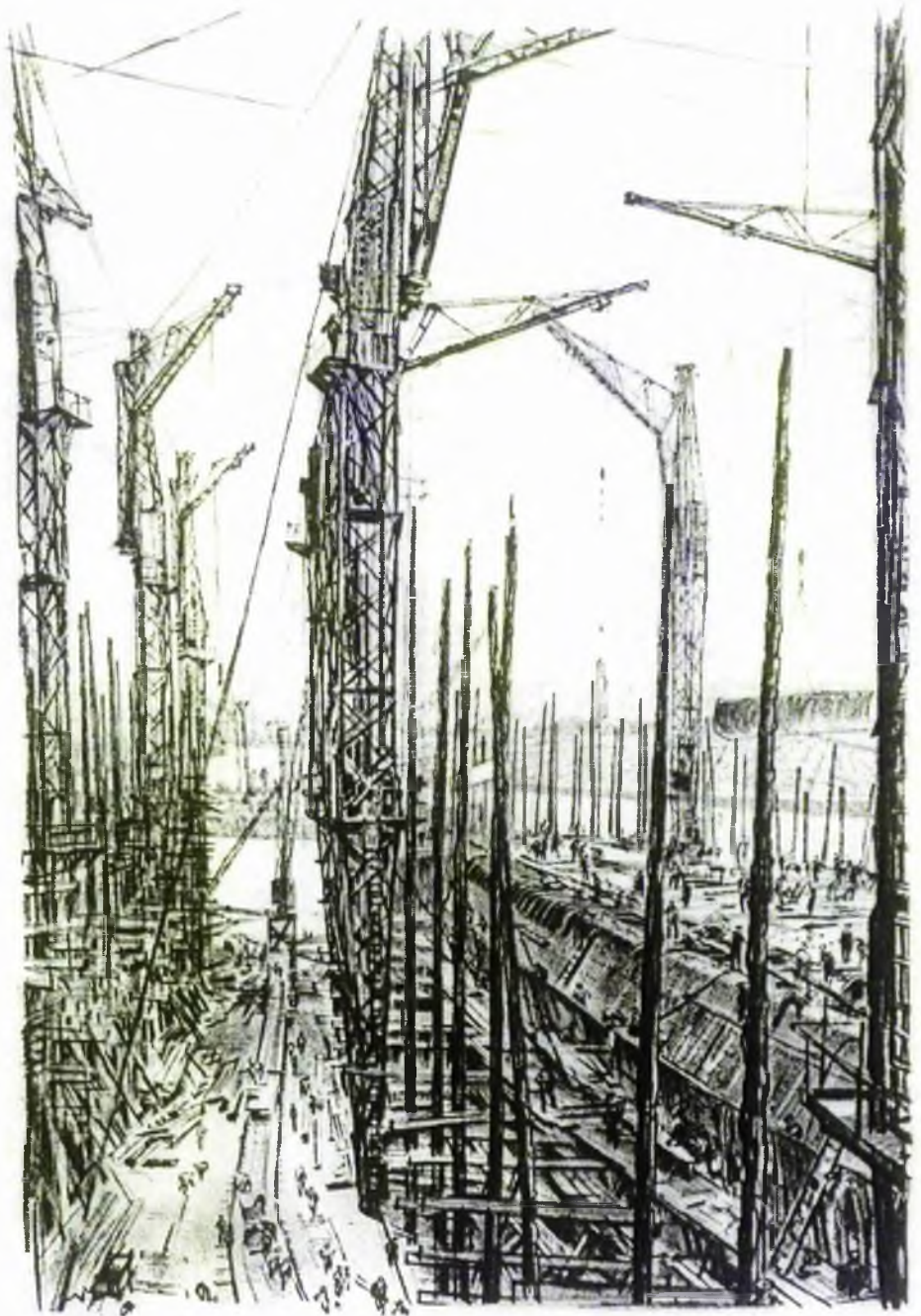
[97] Anon/William Graham
One of the First Official Pictures of Cunarder No. 534
William Graham Photographic Album I, 155 image a.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



[98] Muirhead Bone

The Dry Dock

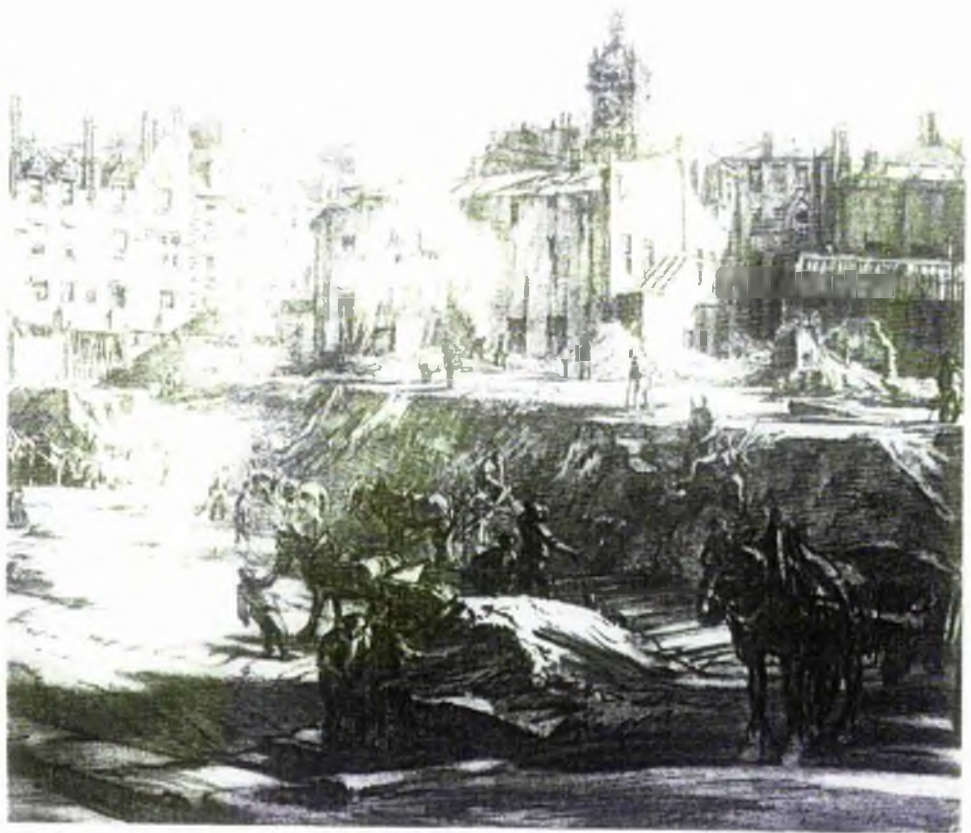
drypoint print: ink on white wove paper, 23.8 x 18.7 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



[99] Muirhead Bone
The Seven Cranes on the River Clyde (c.1918)
Lithograph on paper, 49 x 36.2 cm.
National Museums of Scotland.



[100] Muirhead Bone
Cranes: Start of a New Ship (1917)
lithograph, 45.8 x 36.4 cm.
McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock.

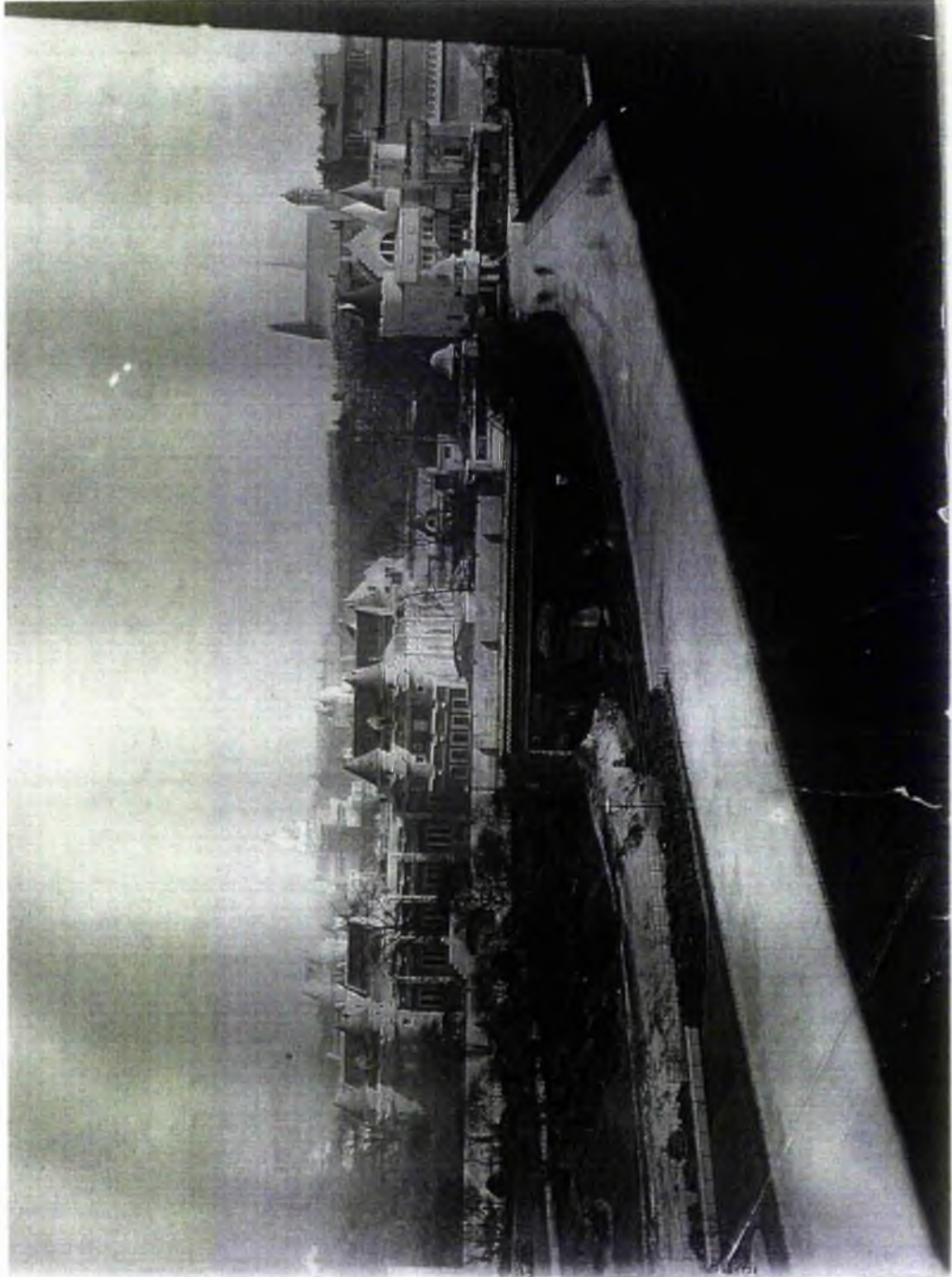


[101] Muirhead Bone
Demolition of the Old Sugar Exchange (1910)
pencil illustration from *Glasgow, Fifty Drawings*, Glasgow 1911.



[102] Muirhead Bone
Queen Street Station, Glasgow (1910)
pencil drawing, 28.3 x 37.3 cm.
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: Kelvingrove.

[103] William Graham
Scottish National
Exhibition 1911
photograph,
William Graham Album I, 27.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.





[104] James Anderson

View of Glasgow from Cross Steeple (1833)

Illustration in William Simpson, *Views and Notices of Glasgow in
Former Times*, scrapbooks, n.p., Glasgow c.1871,

20.7 x 35.7 cm.

Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.

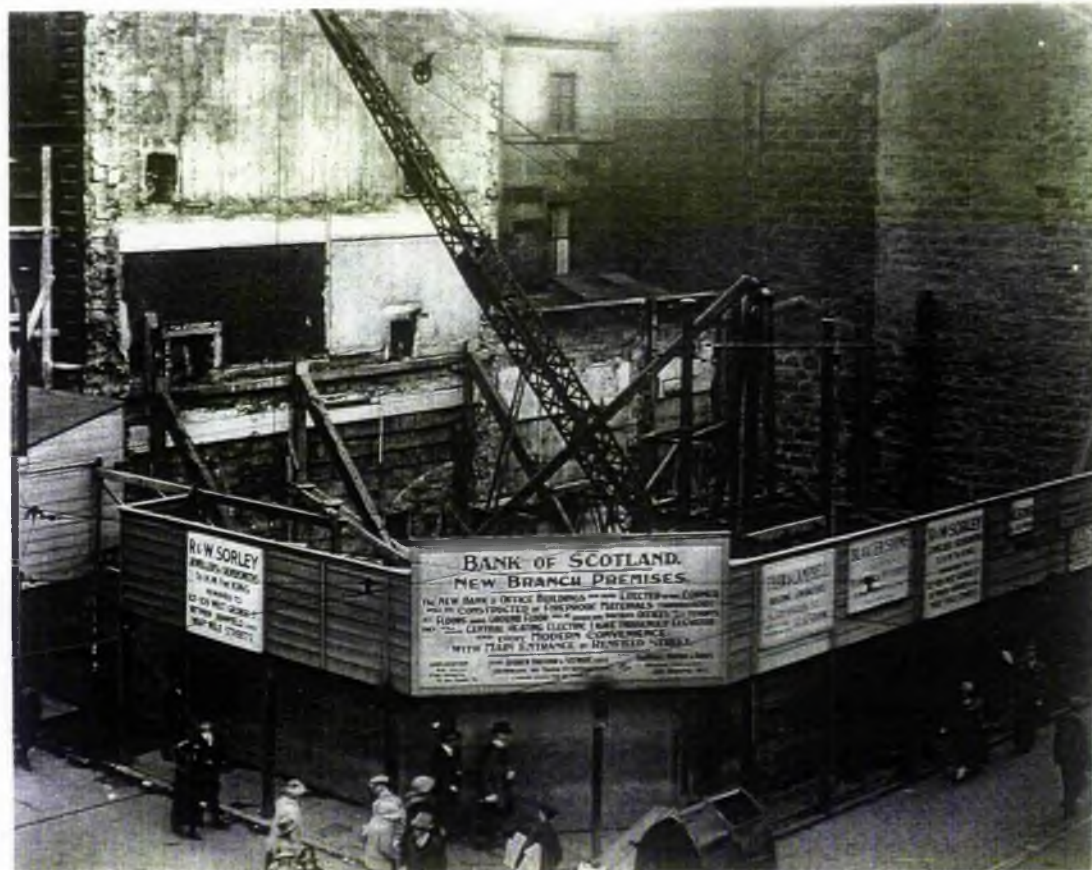


[105] Muirhead Bone
Gordon Street, Glasgow (1910)
drawing, 33.1 x 16.8 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

[106] William Graham
Bottleneck, Jamaica Street (n.d.)
photograph,
William Graham Album I, 69 image a.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.



[107] William Graham
Bank of Scotland (n.d.)
photograph,
William Graham Album I, 58 image a.
Glasgow City Libraries:
Mitchell Library.



[108] Muirhead Bone
St Rollox (1910)
pencil drawing from
Glasgow, Fifty Drawings,
Glasgow 1911.





[109] William Graham
Sighthill Cemetery Looking Towards St Rollox (n.d.)
photograph, William Graham Albums.
Glasgow City Libraries: Mitchell Library.



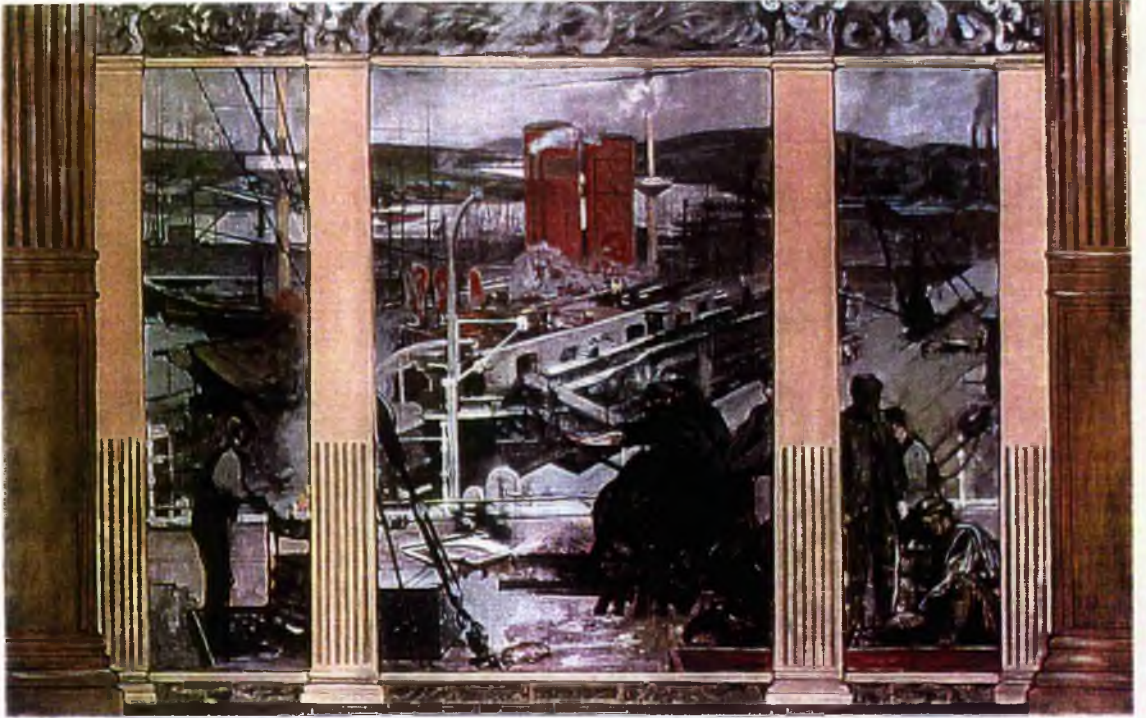
[110] John Quinton Pringle
Muslin Street, Bridgeton (1895-96)
oil on canvas, 35.9 x 41.2 cm.
Edinburgh City Arts Centre.



[111] John Quinton Pringle
Tollcross, Glasgow (1908)
oil on canvas, 43.2 x 53.4 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



[112] Thomas Corsan Morton
West End of St Vincent Street (1887)
oil on canvas, 39.4 x 15.2 cm.
Revd and Mrs J. P. Wilson.



[113] John Lavery, Modern Shipbuilding
on the Clyde (c.1899)
Decorative Triptych, Banqueting Hall,
Municipal Chambers, Glasgow.
As reproduced in W. S. Sparrow, *John Lavery and his Work*,
London 1911.



[114] Stanley Cursiter
Sensation of Crossing the Street, West End, Edinburgh (1913)
oil on canvas, 50 x 60 cm.
Private collection.



[115] William McCance
Heavy Structures in a Landscape Setting (1922)
oil on canvas (seven sided hardback board), 71.2 x 91.7 cm.
Private collection.



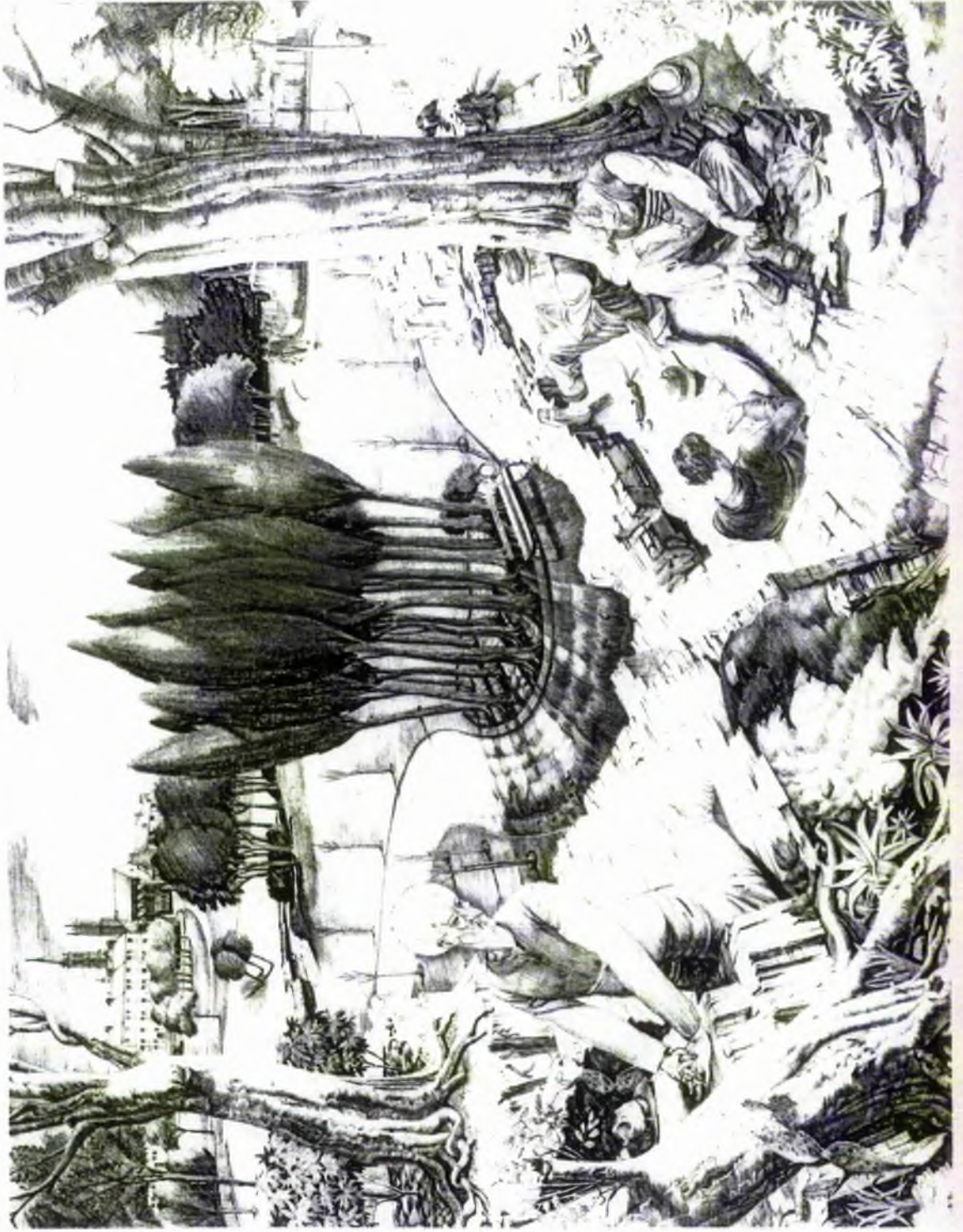
[116] William McCance
From Another Window in Thrums (1928)
oil on canvas, 63 x 67.5 cm.
Private collection.



[117] William McCance
Boatyard (1922)
oil on canvas, 63 x 67.5 cm.
Private collection.



[118] Ian Fleming
Gethsemene (1931)
final proof, engraving,
33.8 x 44.2 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery
and Museum.



[119] Ian Fleming
Gethsemene (1931)
pencil drawing, 33.8 x 44.2 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery
and Museum



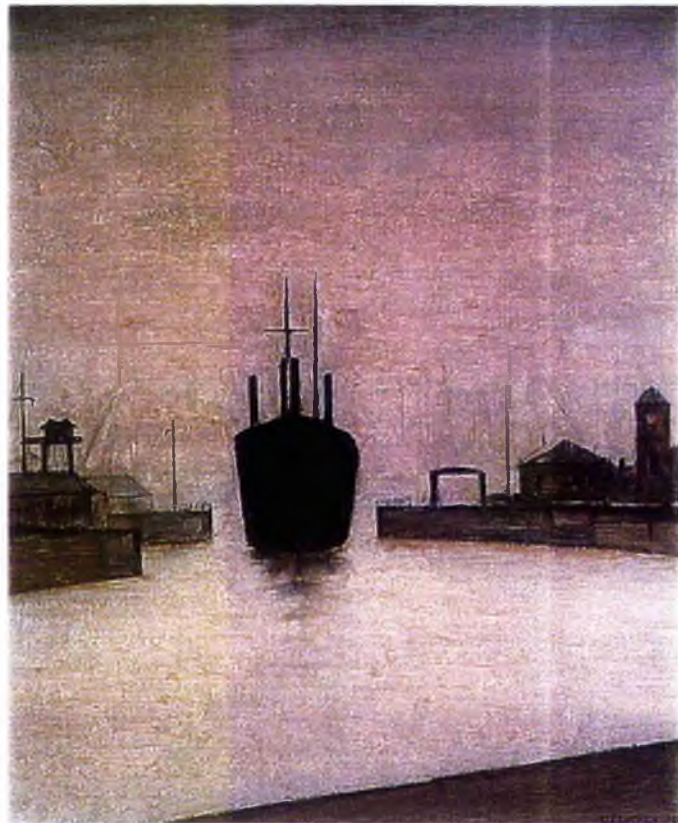
[120] Laurence Stephen Lowry
Blitzed Site (1942)
oil on canvas, 39.2 x 49.4 cm.
Salford Museum and Art Gallery.



[121] Laurence Stephen Lowry
The Tollbooth (1947)
oil on board, 55.5 x 45.1 cm.
Wakefield Art Gallery and Museums.



[122] Laurence Stephen Lowry
The Necropolis (1947)
oil on canvas, 45.7 x 63.5 cm.
Private collection.

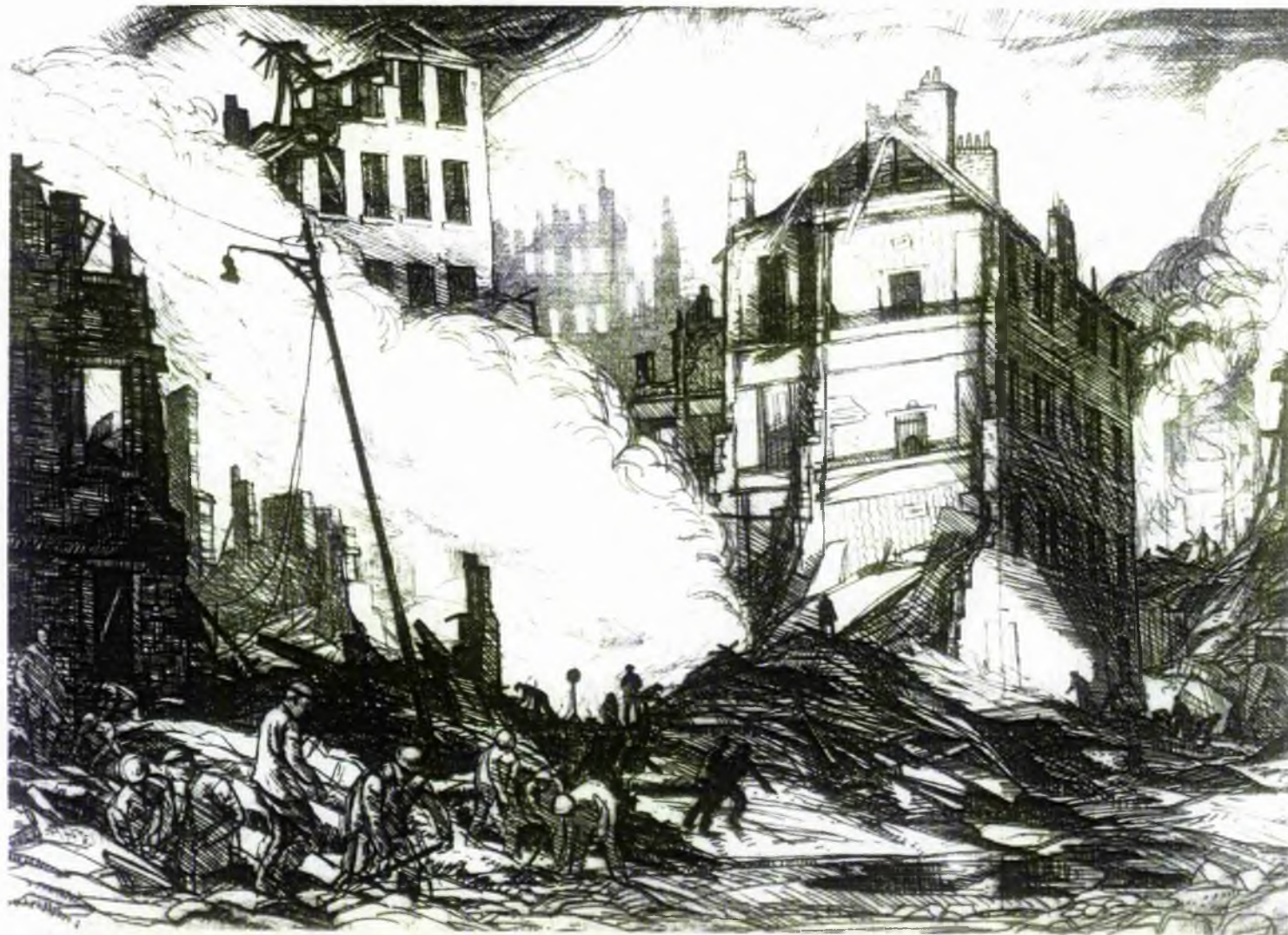


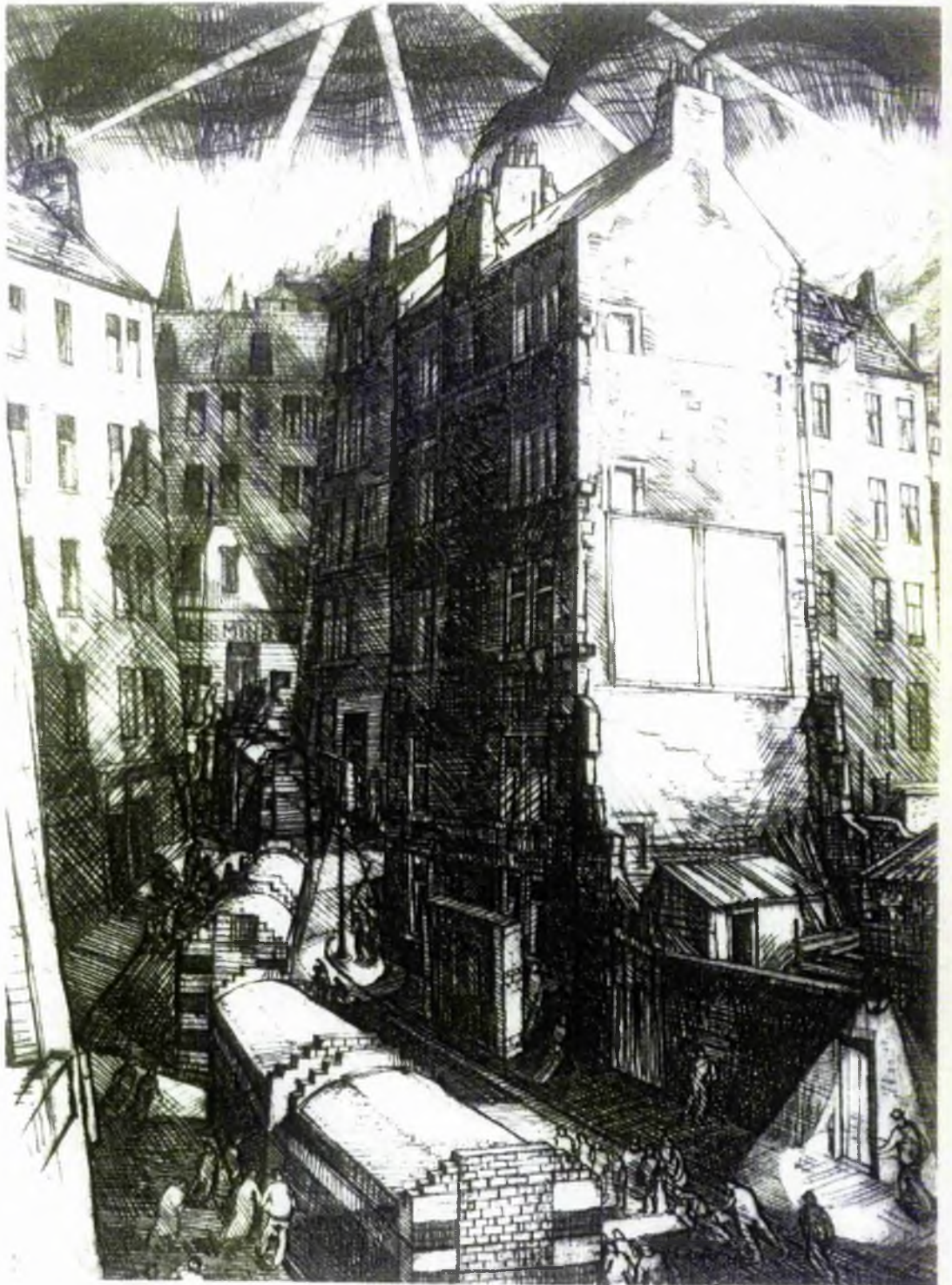
[123] Laurence Stephen Lowry
Ship Entering Princess Dock, Glasgow (1947)
oil on board, 54.6 x 45.7 cm.
Private collection.



[124] James Miller
Clydebank (1941)
watercolour, 55.9 x 38.1
Whereabouts unknown.
As reproduced in *Scottish Art Review*, 7 (2) 1959, 6.

[125] Ian Fleming
Blitz, Maryhill
Glasgow (1942)
etching, 15.1 x 21.4 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery
and Museum.

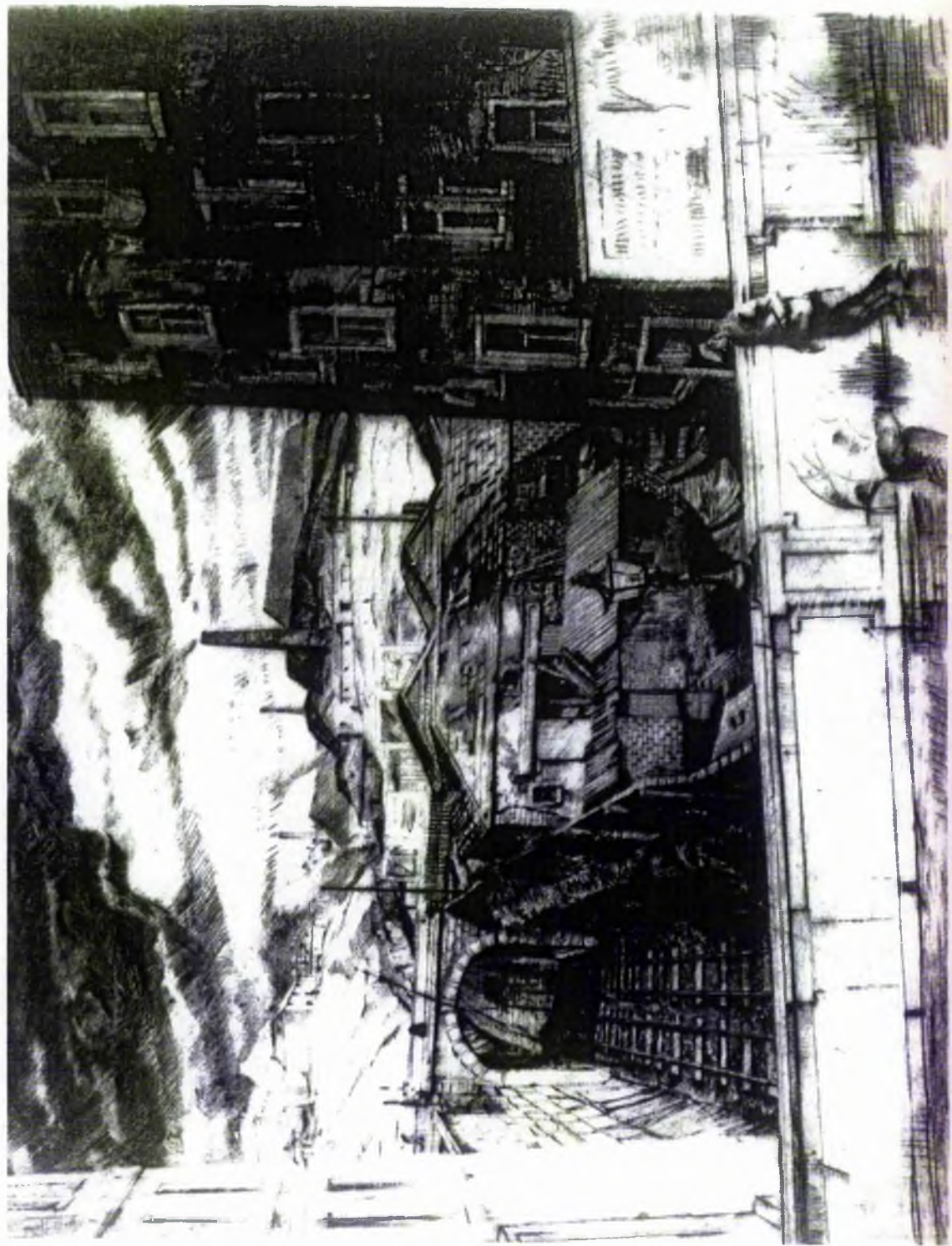




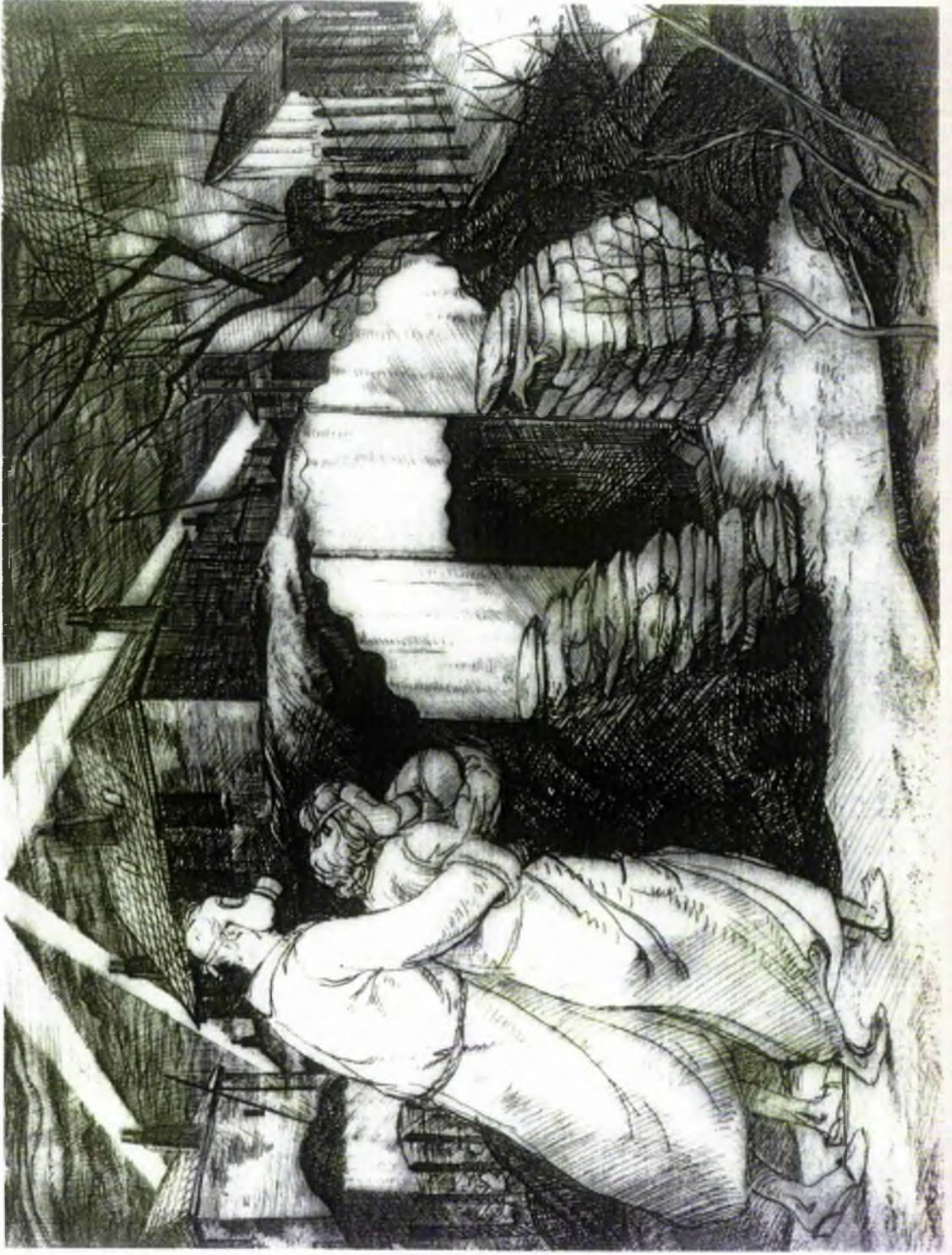
[126] Ian Fleming
Shelters in a Tenement Lane (c. 1940)
etching, 21.1 x 15 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.

[127] Ian Fleming
Gilsochill, Glasgow (n.d.)
etching, 26.2 x 32.5 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.





[128] Ian Fleming
Glasgow Landscape (n.d.)
etching, 27.8 x 34 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery
and Museum.



[129] Ian Fleming
Air Raid Shelter (1940)
etching, 15,6 x 21 cm.
Aberdeen Art Gallery
and Museum.



[130] Stanley Spencer
Shipbuilding on the Clyde: Riggers (detail) (1943)
oil on canvas, lower panel 50.8 x 493.5 cm;
upper panel: 30.4 x 82.5 cm.
Imperial War Museum, London.



[131] Stanley Spencer
Shipbuilding on the Clyde: Plumbers (detail) (1944-45)
oil on canvas, lower panel: 50.8 x 493 cm;
upper panel: 30.4 x 88.9 cm.
Imperial War Museum, London.



[132] Stanley Spencer
The Scrap Heap (1944)
oil on panel, 50.7 x 76.1 cm.
Art Gallery of New South Wales.



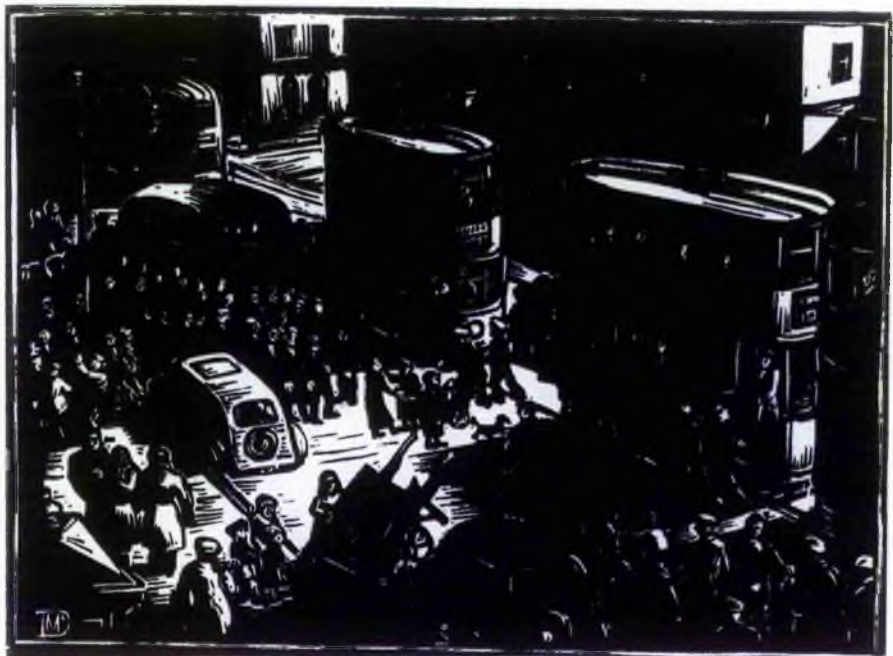
[133] John Duncan Fergusson
Spring in Glasgow (1950s)
oil, size and whereabouts unknown.
As reproduced in *The Studio*, 126 (606) 1943, 7.



[134] John Duncan Fergusson
The Dome, Botanic Gardens, Glasgow (1953)
oil on canvas, 64 x 53.3 cm.
Perth and Kinross Council: Fergusson Gallery, Perth.



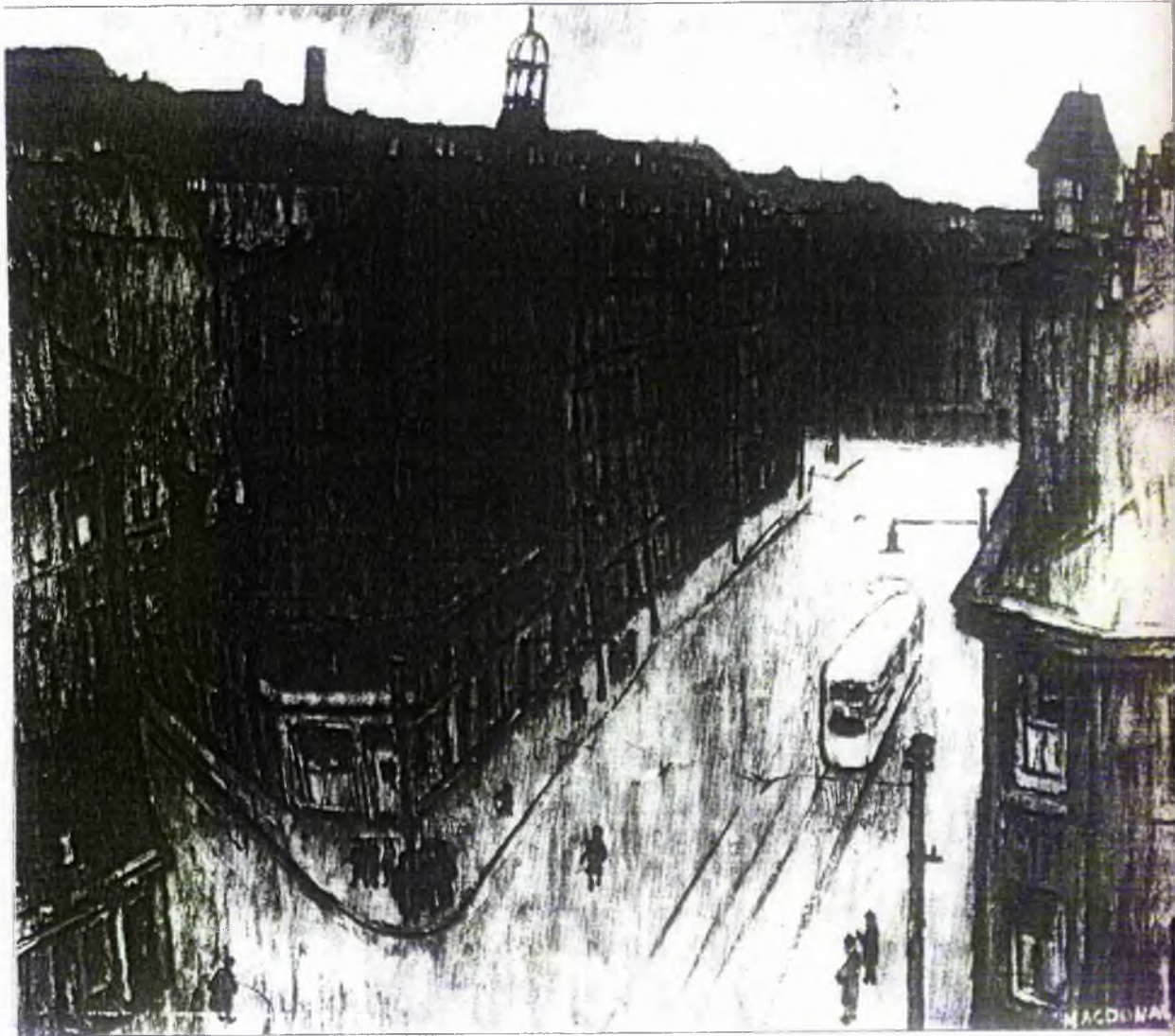
[135] Bet Low
Blochairn Steelworks (c. 1946)
oil on canvas, 38.1 x 53.3 cm.
The Artist.



[136] Tom MacDonald
Rushhour Clydeside (1940s)
linocut, 10.5 x 13.5 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.
As illustrated in *Tom MacDonald 1914-1985*,
Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1986, 40.



[137] Lawrence Gowing
Mare Street, Hackney (1937)
oil, 71 x 91.5 cm.
Shrewsbury Technical College.

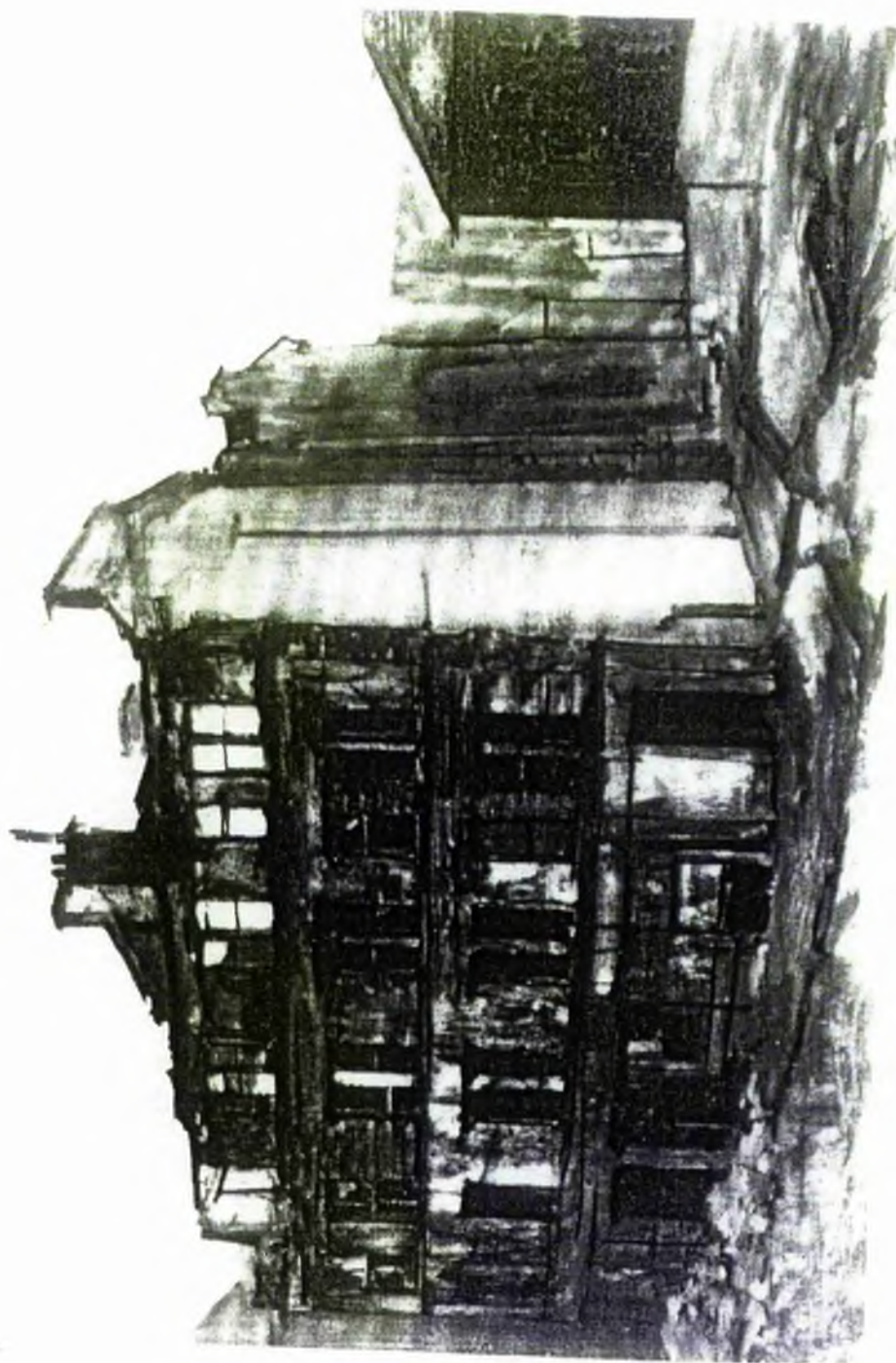


[138] Tom MacDonald
Garscube Road (1946)

oil on board, 76 x 91.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

As illustrated in *Tom MacDonald 1914-1985*,
Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1986, 33.



[139] James Morrison
Derelict Tenements (n.d.)
oil on canvas, 66 x 96.5 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.
As reproduced in *Scottish
Art Review*, 7 (1) 1959, 13.



[140] James Morrison
Belhaven Terrace (1966)
oil on canvas, 90.5 x 60 cm.
Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



[141] Josef Herman
Glasgow Worker (n.d.)

Ink drawing, 22 x 17 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

As illustrated in Josef Herman, "memory of Memories": *The Glasgow Drawings 1940-43*, ex. cat., Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 1985.



[142] Angus Neil
Townhead Tenements (c.1954)
pastel, 28 x 23 cm.
Private collection.



[143] Joan Eardley
Sweetshop Rotten Row (c.1961)
oil, 24.2 x 17.1 cm.
Private collection.



[144] Joan Eardley, Children: Port Glasgow (c. 1955)
oil on canvas, 134 x 123 cm. Private collection.



[145] Joan Eardley, Children and Chalked Wall (1961), oil and collage
on canvas, 60.3 x 73.7 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As reproduced in
Cordelia Oliver, *Joan Eardley, RSA*, Edinburgh 1988, 83.



[146] Joan Eardley
Little Girl with a Squint (c. 1961)
oil on canvas, 78 x 51 cm.
Scottish Arts Council.



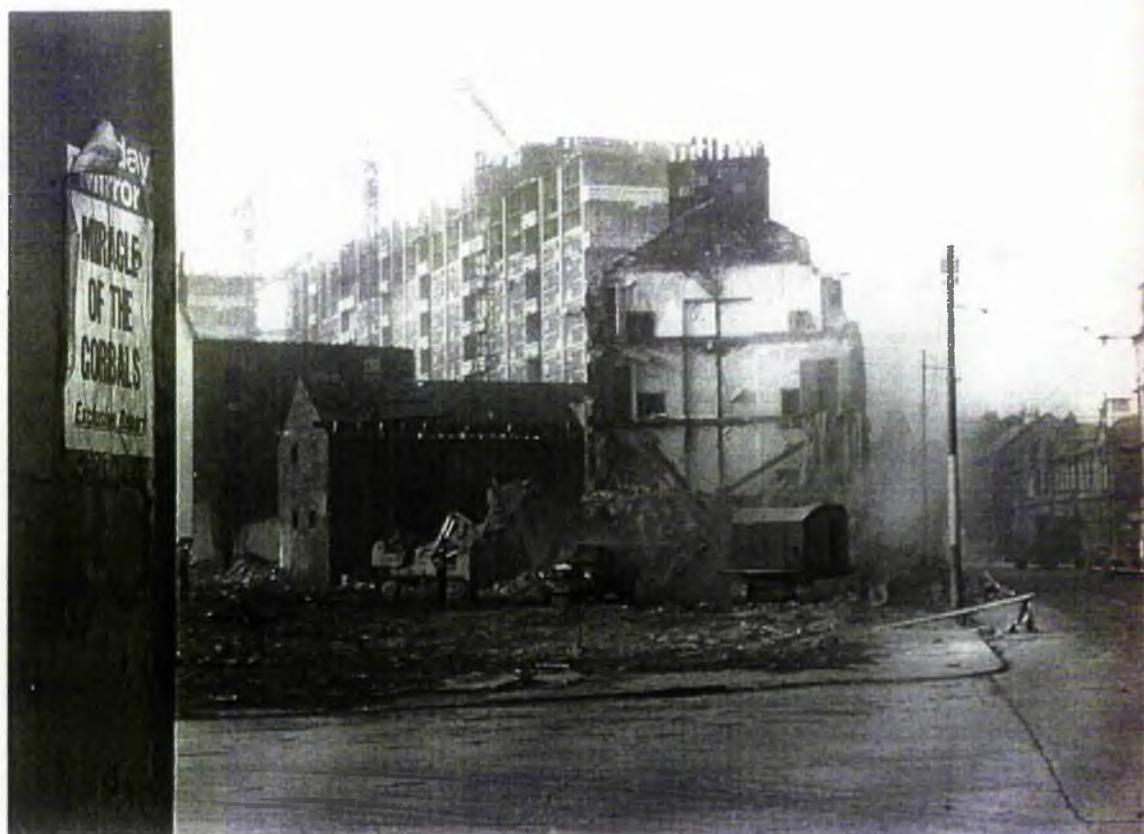
[147] Joan Eardley
Some of the Samson Family (c. 1961)
oil, 10.54 x 10.8 cm.
Private collection.



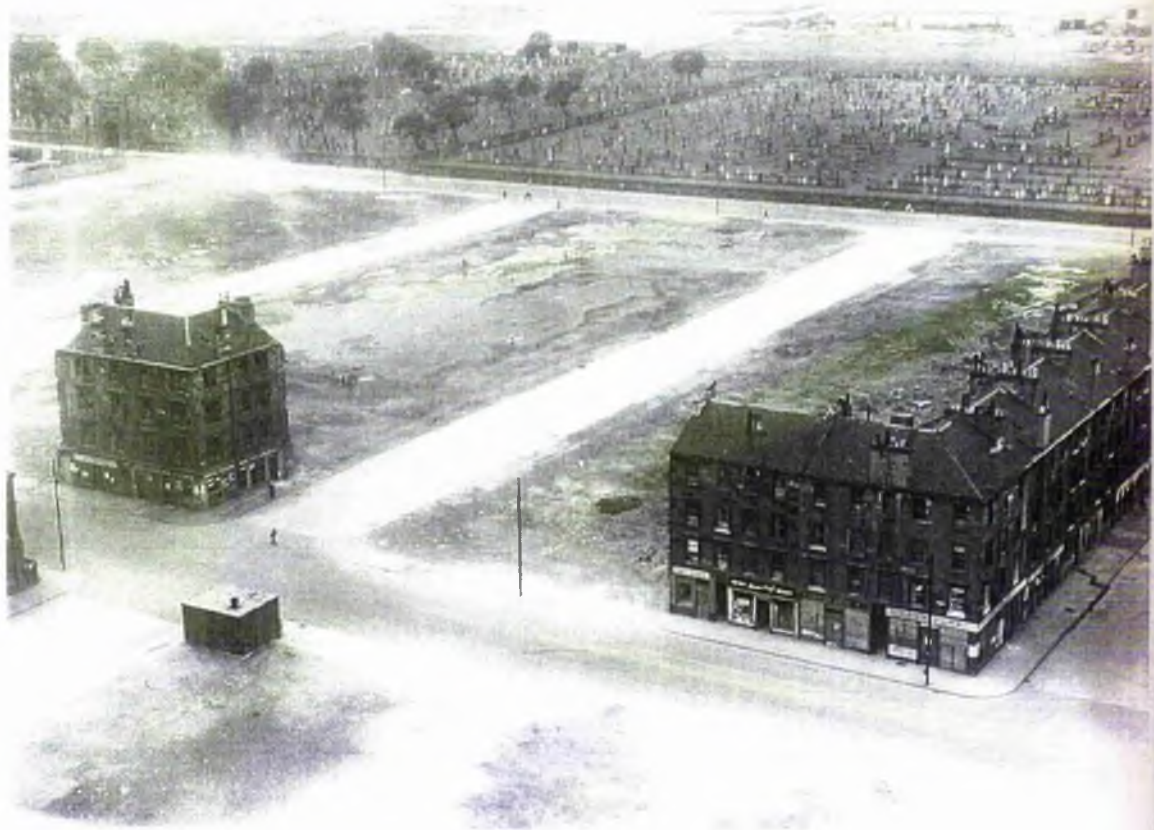
[148] Oscar Marzaroli, The Old and New Gorbals (1968)
Photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 83.



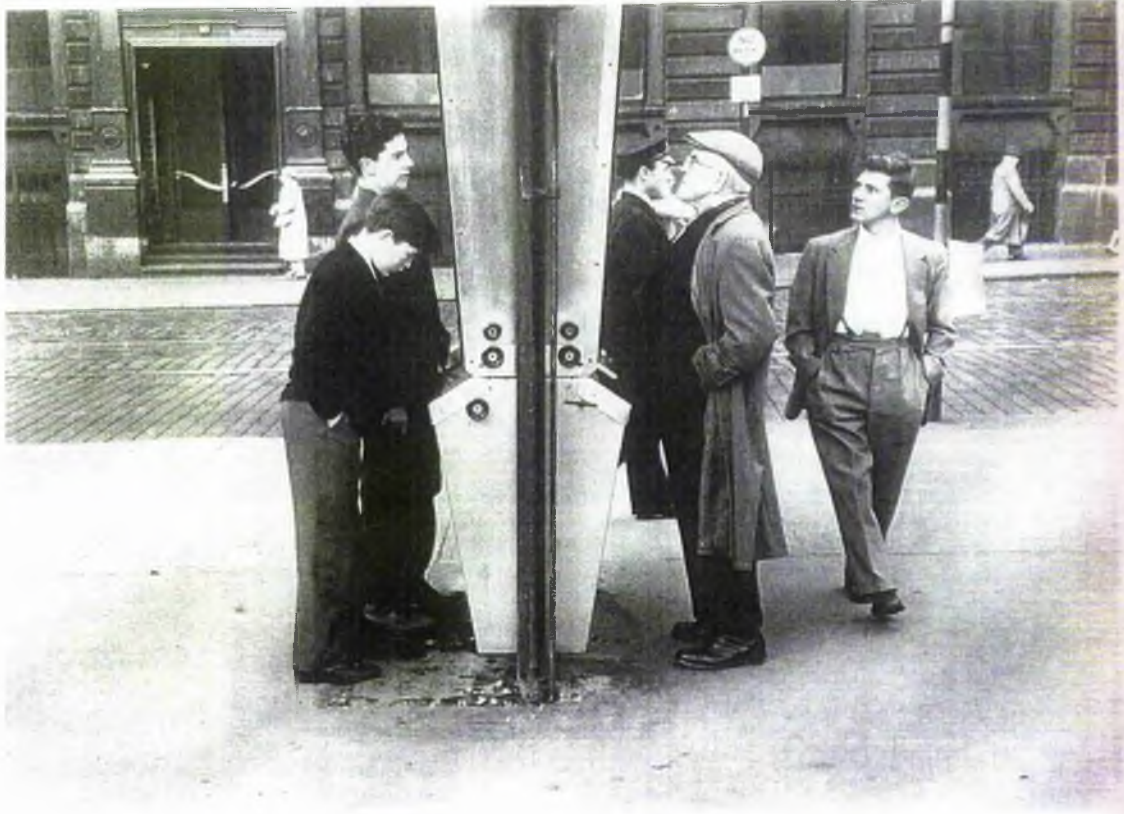
[149] Oscar Marzaroli, The Former British Goods Yard, High Street, Looking South to the Redevelopment Area (1987)
Photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*, Edinburgh 1987, 102.



[150] Oscar Marzaroli
"Miracle of the Gorbals" (1964)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 79.



[151] Oscar Marzaroli
Gorbals with Southern Necropolis Beyond (1964)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 82.



[152] Oscar Marzaroli
Street Plan, George Square (1960)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 109.



[153] Oscar Marzaroli
Red Road Flats (1966)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 98.



[154] Oscar Marzaroli
Site of Harland and Wolff after Clearing, Govan (1965)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 56.



[155] Oscar Marzaroli
QE2 Prior to Launch at John Brown's Yard (1967)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 99.



[156] Oscar Marzaroli
Ramsay Ladders Depot, Kelvinbridge (1958)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 116.



[157] Oscar Marzaroli
George Wyllie and "The Straw Locomotive" (1987)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 194.



[158] Oscar Marzaroli
Castlemilk Lads (1963)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 100.



[159] Oscar Marzaroli
"Golden Haired Lass". Gorbals (1964)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 73.



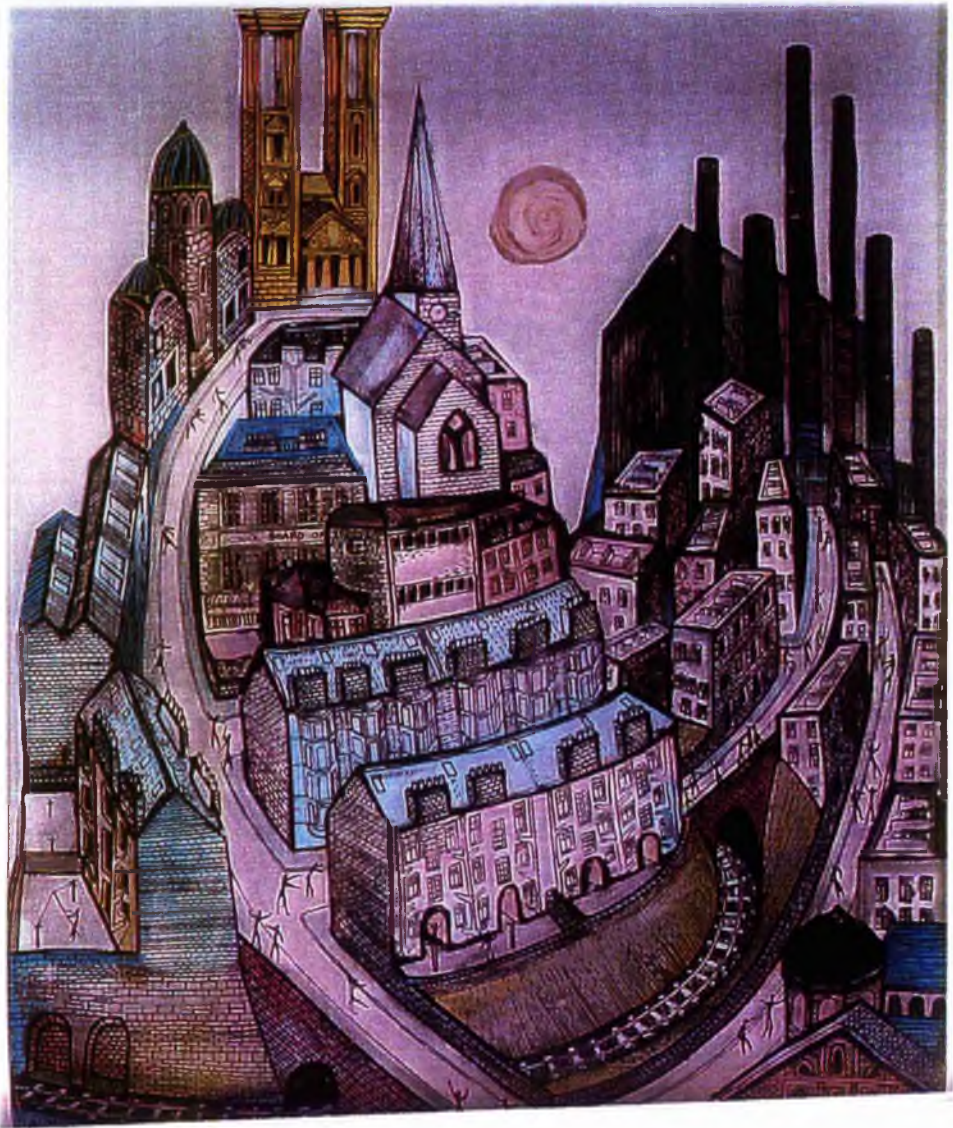
[160] Oscar Marzaroli
Children, Gorbals (1964)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 73.



[161] Oscar Marzaroli
Hydepark Street, Anderston (1963)
photograph from *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987*,
Edinburgh 1987, 106.



[162] Alasdair Gray
Cowcaddens 1950 (detail) (1963)
details and whereabouts unknown.
Illustration from A. Gray, *Lanark: A Life in Four Books*,
Edinburgh 2002, cover.



[163] Alasdair Gray, Two Hills (n.d.), gouache and ink on paper, details and whereabouts unknown. Illustration from P. Moores (ed), *Alasdair Gray*, Boston Spa and London 2002.



[164] Alasdair Gray, Nuclear Apocalypse over Glasgow, Triumph of Death Canvas (1959), oil, 71 x 34 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Illustration from P. Moores (ed), *Alasdair Gray*, Boston Spa and London 2002.



[165] Ken Currie
The People's Palace History Panels: Plate I: Weavers
Struggles...The Calton Weavers Massacre (1987)
oil on canvas, 218 x 251 cm.
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: The People's Palace.

[166] Ken Currie
The People's Palace History Panels:
Plate 2: Radical Wars...Let Truth and
Justice be Woven Together. Liberty is
Our Fabric (1987)

oil on canvas, 218 x 381 cm.

Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries:
The People's Palace.



[167] Ken Currie
The People's Palace History Panels:
Plate 6: Fight or Starve... Wandering
Through the Thirties (1987)
oil on canvas, 218 x 381 cm.
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries:
The People's Palace.



[168] Ken Currie
The People's Palace History Panels:
Plate 8: Unfurling Our History –
Our Future! (1987)
oil on canvas, 218 x 381 cm.
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries:
The People's Palace.





[169] Ken Currie
Workshop of the World (1987)
oil on canvas, 213 x 366 cm.
Private collection.



[170] Ken Currie
Life Grows Harder (1988)
oil on canvas, 213 x 381 cm.
Private collection.



[171] Ken Currie
On the Edge of the City (1988)
oil on canvas, 213 x 366 cm.
Manchester Art Gallery.



[172] Ken Currie
The Street (1990)
oil on canvas, 274 x 365 cm.
The Kasen/Summer Collection,
Conneticut.



[173] Ken Currie
Glasgow Triptych: Template of the Future (1986)
oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm.
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.



[174] Ken Currie
Glasgow Triptych: The Apprentice (1986)
oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm.
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.



[175] Ken Currie
Glasgow Triptych: Young Glasgow Communists (1986)
oil on canvas, 213 x 274 cm.
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.